A

GENERAL MARTYROLOGY,

CONTAINING A

COLLECTION

OF ALL THE GREATEST

PERSECUTIONS

WHICH HAVE BEFALLEN THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST,

From the CREATION, to our preſent Times: Wherein is given an exact Account of the Proteſtant Sufferings in

QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

A large Collection of Lives of great Perſons, eminent Divines, and ſingular Chriſtians, famous in their generations for Learning and Piety; and moſt of them Sufferers in the cauſe of CHRIST.

TOGETHER,

With the Lives of GUSTAVUS ERICSON King of Sweden, JASPER COLIGNI Admiral of France, who was ſlain in the Maſſacre of Paris, and JOAN Queen of Navarr, who died of Poiſon a few days before that bloody Maſſacre. Likewiſe of divers other Chriſtians who were eminent for Prudence and Piety.

By SAMUEL CLARKE, late Paſtor of St. BENNET-FINK, LONDON.

Victi ſunt { *Gentiles* / *Papiſtæ* } *et idololatria eorum, non a repugnantibus, ſed a morientibus Chriſtianis.* AUGUST. *Epiſt.* 42.

Quo malis præſentibus durius deprimor eo de futuris guadiis certius præſumo. GREG.

In nothing be terrified by your adverſaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition; but to you of ſalvation, and that of God, Phil. i. 28.

GLASGOW:

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M, DCC, LXX.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

Especially to the Suffering Saints in these three Nations.

Christian Reader,

THOU hast here presented to thy view that strange sight which so much astonished Moses, Exod. iii. 3. "A bush burning with fire, and not "consumed:" A lively emblem of the church, often-times all on a light flame with the fire of persecution, and yet so far from being consumed, That the blood of the martyrs proves the seed of the church: And indeed she is the only and true salamander, that can live in the fire: Yet this, not by any strength of her own, but because the Angel of the covenant, even the Lord Jesus Christ is in the bush, either to slack the fire, or to strengthen the bush, and make it incombustible. In this book thou mayst see, as in a mirror, what hath been the lot and portion of the church and people of God from the creation hitherto, viz. "Thro' many tribulations to enter into the kingdom of heaven." Here thou hast a certain and infallible mark of the true church of Christ, viz. To be hated and persecuted by the devil and his instruments. Here thou mayst see what is the constant concomitant of the gospel, when it is received in the love and power of it, viz. Persecution, according to that of the apostle, "Ye be-"came followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much "affliction," &c. Neither yet is God an hard master in dealing thus with his faithful servants. He knows that heavy afflictions are the best benefactors to heavenly affections; and that grace is hid in nature here, as sweet water in rose leaves, which must have the fire of affliction put under to distil it out. He knows that when afflictions hang heaviest, corrupt affections hang loosest upon his children. Yet doth not the Lord "afflict willingly, nor grieve the chil-"dren of men, to crush under his feet all the prisoners of the earth;" but he will hereby try who are his in deed and in truth, not in name and profession only: For as the eagle tries her young ones by turning their faces to the sun beams, so those Christians that can out-face the sun of persecution, are sincere indeed.

One thing is very remarkable in this history, that usually before any great persecution befel the church, the holy men of those times observed that there was some great decay of zeal, and of the power of godliness, or some mutual contentions and quarrels amongst the people of God, or some such sin or other that provoked God against them; and then, as the shepherd sets his dog upon his sheep, when they go astray to bring them in, and then rates him off again; so God lets loose wicked persecutors upon his own children, but 'tis only to bring them in unto him; and then, he not only restrains their rage, but casts the rod into the fire. "If judgment begin at the house of God, what shall the end of "them be that obey not the gospel of God?" Much excellent use may be made of this history: As, teaching us,

That whosoever will take Christ truly, must take his cross as well as his crown, his sufferings as well as his salvation:

That persecution is the bellows of the gospel, blowing every spark into a flame; and that martyr's ashes are the best compost to manure the church, their blood to water it, and make it fertile:

That God's children are like stars, that shine brightest in the darkest night; like torches, that are the better for beating; like grapes, that come not to the proof, till they come to the press; like spices, that smell the sweetest when pounded; like young trees, that root the faster for shaking; like vines, that are the better

for

for bleeding; like gold, that looks the brighter for ſcouring; like glow-worms, that ſhine beſt in the dark; like juniper, that ſmells ſweeteſt in the fire; like the pomander, which becomes more fragrant for chafing; like the palm-tree, which proves the better for preſſing; like the camomile, which the more you tread it, the more you ſpread it: Yea, God knoweth that we are beſt, when we are worſt; and live holieſt, when we die faſteſt; and therefore he frames his dealing to our diſpoſition, ſeeking rather to profit, than to pleaſe us:

That when God expoſeth us to perſecution, he expects our ſpeedy and thorow reformation, if we deſire the affliction to be removed. For as it were to no purpoſe for the finer to put his gold into the fire, except it lye there till it be refined; ſo were it to ſmall purpoſe for God to lay afflictions on us, if ſo ſoon as we whine and groan under his hand, he ſhould remove them, before we be bettered thereby. Whereas afflictions, like Lot's angels, will ſoon away, when they have done their errand. Like plaiſters, when the ſore is once whole, they will fall off of their own accord:

That we ſhould with patience ſubmit to the afflicting hand of the all-wiſe God, and our merciful Father, ſaying with the church, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him:" Conſidering alſo that impatience under affliction, makes it much more grievous. As a man in a fever, that by toſſing and tumbling exaſperates the diſeaſe, and increaſeth his own grief:

That "all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution." It hath been the portion of all the ſaints from the creation hitherto. What ſon is there whom the Father chaſtneth not? One Son indeed God had without ſin, but not without ſorrow; for tho' Chriſt his natural ſon, was *ſine corruptione*, without corruption, yet not *ſine correctione*, without correction; tho' he was *ſine flagitio*, without crime, yet not *ſine flagello*, without a ſcourge. And "if they did theſe "things to the green tree, what ſhall be done to the dry?" And behold the wonderful wiſdom of God herein! who by theſe afflictions ſeparates the ſin that he hates, from the ſon that he loves, and keeps him by theſe thorns from breaking over into Satan's pleaſant paſtures, that would fatten him indeed, but to the ſlaughter.

In an appendix to this book, I have added the lives of ſundry of our modern divines, which I conceive not to be heterogenial to the reſt of the work; for tho' they were not martyrs, yet may they well be ſtiled confeſſors, in regard of the great perſecution and ſufferings, which moſt of them met withal whilſt they lived here. And if any aſk the reaſon why I have added no more? it is becauſe my intelligence comes in ſo ſlowly; and if ſuch as are able, will take the pains to inform me, I ſhall (if God ſpares life) add more to the end of the next impreſſion of my lives of the fathers, and modern divines. I hope that theſe my weak and poor endeavours will not prove ungrateful, nor be judged unſeaſonable, conſidering the times wherein we live: For if the ſame ſins abound amongſt us in theſe days, which have been the forerunners of perſecutions formerly; we have cauſe to fear the worſt, and to prepare for it; forewarn'd, forearm'd. The reading of this hiſtory will manifeſt what wonderful conſtancy and patience the ſaints have ſhewed in their greateſt ſufferings; what hath been the power of Almighty God in their ſupport; and what miſerable ends many of their perſecutors have come to. My hearty deſire is, That by reading of this book, God may have the glory, and thy ſoul the comfort, and I ſhall be well appayed for my pains, Who am,

Thine in the Lord,

From my ſtudy in Threed-needle-ſtreet, Octob. 16, 1659.

SAMUEL CLARKE.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER

OF OUR

ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY.

CHRISTIAN READER,

HISTORY, ſaith one, is of noble and neceſſary uſe, becauſe by ſetting before us what hath been, it pre-moniſheth us of what will be again: Since the ſelf-ſame fable is acted over again in the world, the perſons only are changed that act it, Eccl. i. 9. The thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be: and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done, and there is no new thing under the ſun. *This is moſt true, eſpecially in regard of the ſtate of the church in this world, which hath been, and ever will be militant, till, as a bride ſhe be adorned and prepared for her husband. But in the mean time, (as St. Paul ſaid of himſelf) bonds and afflictions abide in every age and country; for the ſhadow doth not more neceſſarily follow the body, than tribulations the goſpel. That ſcripture muſt be fulfilled,* All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. *And indeed this enſuing hiſtory will make it good, wherein, as in a perſpective, you may look back upon all the perſecutions which the church of England for almoſt one thouſand and five hundred years together, and therein you ſhall ſee as their conflicts, ſo their conqueſts; as their tribulations, ſo their triumphs, whilſt the ſaints of God aſſured themſelves,* That their light afflictions, which were but for a moment, wrought for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. *Hence it is that many of them mentioned in this book have gloried in their tribulations; have counted it as a ſpecial favour that God had honoured them ſo far as to ſuffer for his name's ſake; and inſtead of complaining of the number and weight of their afflictions, have rather wondred that they were not more nor greater. For as the reaſon why a perſpective glaſs draws remote objects cloſe to the eye is, becauſe it multiplies the ſpecies; ſo they by faith apprehending an infinite and everlaſting glory, conceived any thing thro' which they looked upon it, to be but ſhort and vaniſhing.*

Indeed ſometimes we ſhall find ſome of theſe worthies at the firſt encounter (thro the violence of temptation and human frailty) giving back: But as the fire by an antiperiſtaſis *gathers heat when 'tis compaſſed about with the cold air, ſo they (according to the nature of true grace) have gathered ſtrength by their relapſes. And no marvel tho'. ſuch weakneſs ſometimes appear in the ſtrongeſt Chriſtians; for as the ſtars ſhine but with a borrowed light from the ſun, ſo unleſs God ſhine ſecretly into our hearts, and give light and heat to our graces, they will neither appear for our comfort nor ſupport in the dark hour of temptation. Yet as a workman hath neither loſt nor leſſened his ſkill, becauſe he either wants tools and cannot work, or hath bad tools, and therefore cannot work ſo well as if he had better; ſo neither doth it follow that grace is abated in the ſoul, becauſe 'tis not ſo able, vigorous and active when God withdraws his exciting and co-operating grace, as when he pleaſeth to afford them.*

Some may think this labour of mine ſuperfluous, becauſe theſe things have been ſo largely and fully handled by that faithful and laborious ſervant of Chriſt, Mr. Fox *in his* Acts *and* Monuments. *But ſuch may be pleaſed to take notice, that Mr. Fox writes not only a Martyrology, but a general hiſtory of the church, ſo that had I only gathered together what lieth diſperſed and ſcattered in thoſe three great volumes of his concerning this ſubject, I ſuppoſe my pains would not have been accounted (at leaſt by ſome) uſeleſs: But beſides, I have turned over many other authors, out of whom I have ſupplied what was wanting in Mr. Fox, and, I think, made this hiſtory of the perſecutions of the Engliſh church more compleat than ever it was before. I conſidered alſo that in theſe times many want money to buy, and leiſure to read larger volumes, who yet may find both money and time to purchaſe and peruſe ſo ſmall a volume as this is. I hope I can truly ſay, That my eye and aim hath not been at any man's prejudice, but at the advancement of God's glory and the public good, which that I may attain, I deſire thy prayers for him who is*

Thy Servant to promote thy

Faith and comfort,

SAMUEL CLARKE.

On our Engliſh Martyrs and Martyrologers,

Mr. FOX *and* Mr. CLARKE.

WHEN Iſra'l out of Egypt came,
A pillar of cloud and of bright flame
Him guided in his doubtful way,
As golden phœbus guides the day;
And when he hides his purer light,
Silver Cynthia ſteers the night:
Doubts any well-diſpoſed man
Which is the road to Canaan?
(As vile ſeducers ſubtile arts
Sometimes make *nutant* pious hearts:
But never more than now with us
Did walk the *ignis fatuus*.)
Lo here a pillar for his guide.
A cloud of martyrs, that did ride
In fiery cheriots to their crown;
Theſe let his eyes be fix'd upon.
Their flaming death he ſhall not die
Perhaps, but one that's cold and dry,
But their bright lives a copy are
Which muſt guide his, as did the ſtar
The eaſtern ſages to the ſun
Of righteouſneſs. Lives that were ſpun
So very fine, and choicely even,
That they were near of kin to heaven.
Burning and ſhining lights they were,
As Chriſt ſaid of his harbinger.
Perſons that deeply did abhor
The doctrine of the ſcarlet whore
And no leſs Proteſtant latitude,
Which holy fervour doth exclude.
The narrow way they nimbly trod,
Their zeal preſented them to God,
An *holocauſt* continually:
Not then alone when they did fry
In furious flames, and ſo aſſerted
God's ſacred truth, by moſt deſerted.
What would they ſay were they alive,
To what we ſee? How would they grieve?
O what a martyrdom would it be,
All England in a flame to ſee!
Firſt (which is ſad) political,
Then (worſe) eccleſiaſtical.
To ſee faith failing, love maſſacred,
And violated all that's ſacred.
To ſee God's oracle not prized,
His faithful meſſengers deſpiſed.
His day made little of, his houſe
A ſtable, baptiſm frivolous.
His zealous people that oppoſe
Abaddon's fury, counted foes.
Repentance folly, prayer a babble,
Nor better the communion-table.
To ſee Browniſm, Arminianiſm,
Anabaptiſm, Socinianiſm,
Mechanic Dawiſm, blaſphemies,
Antient and new-ſprung hereſies,
With ſaddeſt ſchiſms that ever were,
(Made without either wit or fear.)
And more than can be enumerated,
(They are ſo many) tolerated.
To thoſe heroic ſouls theſe things
Would have been ſorer ſufferings
Than dungeon, fire and faggot were:
For them they chearfully could bear;
But theſe ſo ſad, ſo execrable
They would have found intolerable,
(Juſt like a wounded ſpirit;) for ſo
God's faithful ones now living do.
Who had they many centuries
Of lives, would gladly ſacrifice
Them all to th' flames, to do away
Our darkneſs, and reſtore the day:
And all revolting do ſo hate,
That for a realm they'll not abate
The leaſt degree of what they know
God's children ought to be and do.
Says any one, You need not tie
Yourſelf ſo ſhort, take liberty.
Thoſe tedious duties which you do,
Save well you may, and be ſav'd too.
You are i' th' antient way, 'tis true:
But there is now found out a new,
Which thro' a pleaſant plain doth lie;
That other is too hard and high.
They anſwer, Poor ſeduced wretch,
How talkeſt thou? did not Chriſt preach
Strait is the gate, narrow the way?
Who talents owe, mites muſt not pay.
Think'ſt thou we do too much? Alas!
We do too little. Is our pace
Swifter than needs? It is too dull.
Seem we too hot? We are too cool.
Then they reſolve henceforth to bear
More fruit, and better ev'ry year.
The rather becauſe there's many a one
That did bear fruit, but now bears none.
And ſome bear bitter fruit. They were
Once ſweet wine, now ſharp vinegar.
Once fragrant roſes, that did ſeed
The ſenſe, now an unſavoury weed.
Once like pure honey, now like gall;
Or like the angels ſince their fall:
Who do oppoſe with all their might
What once they dearly loved, LIGHT.
Now gracious ſouls, the more they ſee
In other men deficiency,
The more they will themſelves apply.
To duty, ſo to make ſupply.
And the more active others are
Againſt the light, the greater care
They always to preſerve it take.
Great enmities, great courage make,
Witneſs this cloud of witneſſes.
Bleſſed be God that ſuch as theſe,
(Men with the height of grace endued,
Stars of the greateſt magnitude,)
Were our dear mother's ſons, and crown'd
With their impreſſions Engliſh ground.
Bleſſed be God for that full pen
Of Rev'rend Fox, that man of men.
A man inſpir'd by him that had
An ink-horn by his ſide, and made
Marks in his mourner's fronts, to free
Them from approaching miſery.
A Fox, whom that quaternion
Of beaſts, deſcribed by St. John,
So full of eyes, rejoic'd to ſee
Added to their ſociety.
Bleſſed be God for this fair hand
Of rev'rend CLARKE, that can command
Many voluminous books to come
Into one neat compendium.
Our martyrs here he doth preſent
Epitomiz'd; What's his intent?
To pleaſure ſuch as cannot buy
The greater Martyrology.
And ſuch as leiſure want to read
What's largely there hiſtoried.
Alſo to inflame the chill, and bring
To ſtedfaſtneſs the wavering.
Right Chriſtian ends. O may he ſee
Abundant fruit grow on this tree.

THO. DUGARD.
M. A. R. B.

TO

To the Reverend, the AUTHOR of the Book

CALLED,

A GENERAL MARTYROLOGY.

WHAT! yet more books! what ſpirit now inſpires
Your pen to write of torments, wars and fires?
What! will that pen that drew to th' life before,
Change ſtile, draw death, and ſpeak of life no more?
What bluſt'ring Boreas rais'd theſe ſtormy winds,
Which blew down churches, ſhook the ſteddieſt minds,
Sure hell's broke looſe, and devils in the fleſh
Are come out thence to try their wits afreſh.
Who ever heard Troy's ſtory with his ears,
And could reſtrain his eyes from ſhedding tears?
I quake to hear what ſaints in former days
Ne'er ſhook to feel, ſo they might win the bays.
They conquer'd all; their patient diſpoſition
O'ercame both Pope and Spaniſh inquiſition.
They conquer'd kings, and won the crown at laſt;
Preſt tow'rds the prize, forgetting what was paſt.
The ſtory's ſad; 'tis true, yet the author's ſkill,
Hath made that pleaſant which in'tſelf is ill.
Away long-winded volumes, time's diſeaſe;
This author doth our phanſies better pleaſe.
Large books are endleſs; but 'tis his deſign
T' incloſe great volumes in his ſingle line.

ELI. AWN.

To the Reverend

MR. SAMUEL CLARKE,

ON HIS

MARTYROLOGY.

OH! welcome home, divine Drake, welcome home!
Firſt girdle of the world of martyrdom;
Who ſeeks for more, can no new thing deſcry;
Y'have left no room for new diſcovery.
Theſe maps and charts you bring, nay, ev'ry letter
Makes you the world's great patron, it your debtor.
To call't a map doth but a part imply,
T'is the whole globe of martyrology.
Each picture is a map, each figure breathes
A little hiſt'ry of the martyr's deaths.
Piſgah's too far to ſee the Holy Land,
Stand here on Calv'ry, and view't at hand.
Let others brag at large, whoſe fancy 'tis
To ſay a SAINT by a periphraſis.
Who doth this book of your's with their's confer,
Finds Saint and Martyr in one character.
Tho' (ſome there be) that differ from the reſt
In judgment, and account ſhort writing beſt:
Thoſe I am ſure will praiſe you when they eye
Your ſkill in *Tachybagiography*.
Th' art many words make volumes, do but look
And you ſhall ſee 'tis matter makes a book.
All volumes of this ſubject here are ſet
As 't were contracted in an alphabet.
In characters, for brevity, 'tis good
That vowels be by cons'nants underſtood.
The leaſt is beſt if no eſſential be
Wanting to make't a perfect entity.
Man's but the world epitomiz'd, but this
Compendium of ſaints and martyrs is.
Its commendation is itſelf, 'tis beſt
Tho' 'twere without this my *probatum eſt*.

J. C

TO THE REVEREND, HIS MUCH HONOURED FATHER,

MR. SAMUEL CLARKE,

ON HIS

ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY.

BUT ſtay! what ſmell is this ſo near the graves?
Who's that, corruption from corrupting ſaves?
Whoſe tombs are theſe I ſee? whoſe bones? whoſe duſt?
Are theſe the holy reliks of the juſt?
Then ſure ſome curious chymiſt hath been here,
And limbeck't holy aſhes: Oh! come near
And taſte this quinteſſence; ſmell what perfumes
Evaporate out of the martyr's tombs.
Oh! were't not pity then theſe tombs ſhould ſtand
Seal'd up, ſay not, A ſacrilegious hand
Hath violated theſe their monuments,
How ſhould they elſe have ſent forth ſuch ſweet ſcents?
Egyptian embalms might keep a while
Some carcaſe from corrupting, and beguile
Poor hungry worms of taſting of thoſe feaſts,
To which death had invited them as gueſts.
The Roman could bereave the grave, and burn
His friends, and put up th' aſhes in an urn:
And after many generations paſt,
Could ſhew what did remain of firſt and laſt,
Methodically placed altogether,
His grandfire's grandfire, and his father's father.
Poor ſhifts to ſave an earthly tott'ring frame,
Which death, the ſoul's true heirs, as right doth claim:
But yet corruption plays both for the mother,
Takes life from one, and doubl'ſt to another.
Here ſuch are found, whoſe poſthume life's full bloom,
Phœnix-like ſprings from aſhe's barren womb:
They antidate the reſurrection,
And live two lives, where others live but one.

Your obedient Son,

JOHN CLARKE.

Aulæ. Pemb. Socius

[*Poems to the Author on his Lives.*]

To his Reverend Friend,

MR. SAMUEL CLARKE.

SAMUEL CLARKE. anagra. *A Cull markes: Or, Culls a marke.*

FALSE lights to error now our ſouls betray;
Thou art a *Cull-markes* to direct our way.

From

From white of truth we rove as in the dark;
Thy book's our marks-man, and *Calls* out *A Marke.*
We fail in troub'lous ſeas 'midſt rocks and ſhelves,
Thou ſet'ſt up ſea-marks left we loſe ourſelves:
Mercurial ſtatues here rais'd out of clay,
Whoſe faith, zeal, patience, guide us heav'n's way:
Thy life, name, works, ſo well in one agree,
I wiſh me follow'r of theſe LIVES with thee.

JOHN FULLER, miniſter of God's word at Botolph's Biſhop's-gate.

Another by the ſame.

STORY's a light of time for after-ages,
This book's a lanthorn which this light ineages:
No fatal comets here with fear to dread us,
But pole-ſtars all from Chriſt to Chriſt to lead us.
And ſhould the witneſſes not yet be ſlain,
Thou mak'ſt us ſee they may be rais'd again.
If teachers be as ſtars, then ſure thy book
Doth as an heavenly conſtellation look:
If they be a ſeas'ning ſalt, this book of thine
May well be nam'd a right ſalt-petre mine.
If watchmen, witneſſes; he's not miſled
Calls it a Mizpah and a Galeed.
A ſacred ſampler drawn to th' life in ſtory,
Legend of ſaints, indeed, a directory.
And whilſt that ſome ſnuff-out lights of our age,
Thou trim'ſt and ſett'ſt ſuch here in equipage:
Spirits once rais'd, employ'd not, vaniſh ſoon,
When theſe LIVES guide us, then thy book is done.

JOHN FULLER.

To my Reverend and Learned Friend, upon his Book called,

THE LIVES, *&c.*

LIKE Jacob's rods thy LIVES thou lay'ſt in view;
His rods were peel'd, thy LIVES are pick'd; their hewe
Reader, is thy examplar; look on, love,
Buy, read, yea, live their lives, and then 'twill prove
That when you have enquir'd what bargain's beſt,
A purchaſe made for LIVES is gainfulleſt:
Could but one life be bought, who would not trade?
Who buys thy book, buys many lives: I'll wade
One ſtep more in thy praiſe; how th' faces fit
I judge not, ſure thy LIVES to th' life are writ.

GULLIELM. JENKYN, *Eccleſiæ Chriſti apud Londinenſes paſtor.*

Upon the Book of the LIVES of the FATHERS, *&c.*

Made by the Reverend, his dear Father, Mr. SAMUEL CLARKE.

LO here the quinteſſence of more
Than Cræſus ever ſaw before,
Gold, ſilver, diamonds, theſe are
Compar'd to this, not half ſo rare.
Contracted worth! much in a little ſpace;
'Tis Homer's Iliad in a nut-ſhell caſe.

Rare chymiſtry! how could you make
So pure elixir? did you take
Theſe worthie's aſhes ſo divine,
As matter fit for your deſign?
Such ſacred relics, whereſoe'er enſhrin'd,
Make the urn precious to a pious mind.

Of ſev'ral ſtars our Sophies ſay,
United made the milky-way:
The *ignes fatui* cannot be
Exalted to ſuch dignity.
No wand'ring ſtars are here. Theſe fixed are;
A conſtellation in heav'n's higheſt ſphere.

Then ſure this book, if read, will pleaſe;
Who will not chooſe to be with theſe
Deceaſed heroes? this bliſs
To th' reader here imparted is.
Here's many ſaints; one book: thus, ſchools do tell,
Ten thouſand angels in one point may dwell.

SAMUEL CLARKE.

A. M. Aul. Pembr. Soc.

To his Reverend and much honoured Father, Mr. SAMUEL CLARKE,

Concerning his Book called, THE LIVES, *&c.*

HOW! LIVES! they're dead. No: death they did evade
By their good lives, which them immortal made.
Death could not take their lives away, you find
He took their bodies, left their lives behind;
Which here aſſembled ſhew themſelves ſo well,
As tho' they ſtrove each other to excel.
'Tis a choice ſynod, O who would not be
Preſent, their acts and orders for to ſee!
Like Cyrus' court with good men 'tis ſo ſtor'd,
That wink and chooſe, it will good choice afford.
Then ſince good lives are in this book ſo rife,
I make no doubt to call't a book of life.

JOHN CLARKE Fellow of Pemb-Hall, Camb.

THE

PERSECUTIONS

MENTIONED IN THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAP. I.

The Perſecution of the Church in the firſt Ages of the World, and ſo forward till the Incarnation of Chriſt.

THE firſt murtherer and perſecutor that was in the world, was the devil; and the firſt method and means that he made uſe of to carry on this perſecution, was by ſubtilty and large promiſes, That by eating the forbidden fruit, they ſhould have their eyes opened, and ſhould be as gods, knowing good and evil: And hereby he drew our firſt parents from their obedience unto God, and cheated them of that bleſſed and happy eſtate which God had created them in. Since which time, his enmity againſt the church and children of God, hath never ceaſed; but by his effectual working in the children of diſobedience, he hath provoked and ſtirred up one man to be the perſecutor and devourer of another. Thus he provoked Cain to riſe up againſt, and to ſlay his brother Abel, and tho' the ſcriptures be ſilent how the wicked Cainites, the ſons of men, behaved themſelves towards the ſons of God; yet doubtleſs they perſecuted them with the tongue, if they proceeded no further. Can we imagine that Noah, that was a preacher of righteouſneſs in the midſt of a perverſe generation, could eſcape without hatred, ſcorn and contempt? How many jeers, think ye, had he whilſt he was building the ark, as doating and dreaming (not of a dry ſummer, but) of a wet winter? The earth in his days was ſaid to be corrupt, and filled with violence; which violence certainly was principally exerciſed againſt the church of God: And afterwards when the world was reduced to a very ſmall number, yet then Satan had his curſed Ham that perſecuted and mocked his own father, the righteous Noah. Was not Lot alſo perſecuted and ſcoffed at in Sodom? Gen. xix. 9. Iſaac, in Abraham's houſe, mocked by Iſhmael? Gen. xxi. 9. Was not Jacob hated and perſecuted by his brother Eſau? Gen. xxvii. 41. Joſeph by his brethren? Gen. xxxvii. 4. and that becauſe he brought unto his father their evil report, ver. 2. Was he not afterwards caſt into a pit by them? ver. 24. then ſold to the Iſhmaelitiſh merchants, who carried him into Egypt, ver. 28. there he was perſecuted by his whoriſh miſtreſs, Gen. xxxix. 17, 18. caſt into priſon, *where his feet were hurt with fetters, and he was laid in irons*, Pſal. cv. 18. But theſe were but ſmall perſecutions in compariſon of thoſe which followed.

For when the children of Iſrael were multiplied in Egypt, Pharoah, king of Egypt, ſet over them taſk maſters to afflict them with their burdens, Exod. i. 11. thinking thereby to eat up, and wear them out; and when that prevailed not, *they made them ſerve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with the hard bondage in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of ſervice in the field: All the ſervice wherein they made them ſerve, was with rigour*, ver. 13, 14. And when this prevailed not, the king commanded the midwives, Siphrah and Puah, *When they did the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and ſaw them upon the ſtools, if they were delivered of a ſon, they ſhould preſently kill him*, ver. 15, 16. And when theſe midwives neglected his commands, *He charged all his people, that every ſon that was born to the Iſraelites, ſhould be caſt into the river Nilus*, ver. 22.

Moſes was perſecuted by Pharoah, who ſought to ſlay him; which cauſed him to fly into the land of Midian, Exod. ii. 15. And when God ſent him back into Egypt, to deliver his people from the houſe of bondage, how did Pharoah perſevere and proceed in his perſecuting the people of God; he cauſed ſtraw to be taken from them, and yet the number of bricks to be continued: And when the taſk was not done, the officers of the children of Iſrael were cruelly beaten, ver. 14. And when God had brought out his people with an high hand from under the tyranny of the Egyptians, and carried them into the wilderneſs, how did Satan ſtir up ſome ſons of Belial againſt Moſes and Aaron, even Korah and his complices, two hundred and fifty princes, who cried out againſt them, *Ye take too much upon you, ſeeing all the congregation are holy, even every one of them*, Numb. xvi. 3. Afterwards, when the children of Iſrael were ſettled in the land of Canaan, they were often

often grievouſly oppreſſed, and perſecuted by the wicked and idolatrous nations that lived amongſt them, and round about them; as firſt by Chuſhan Riſhathaim, king of Meſopotamia, who tyrannized over them eight years, Judg. iii. 8. Then by Eglon, king of Moab, who ſlew many of them, and oppreſſed them eighteen years, ver. 13, 14. Then by the Philiſtines, ver. 32. Then were they mightily oppreſſed for twenty years together, by Jabin, king of Canaan, Judg. iv. 2, 3. Then did the Midianites perſecute them with ſo much cruelty, that they were forced to forſake their houſes, and to make them dens and caves in the mountains, to ſhelter and hide themſelves from them, Jud. vi. 2. Yea, for ſeven years together, they tyrannized over them: And when the Iſraelites had ſown their land, they came up in ſuch multitudes, that they *deſtroyed the increaſe of the earth, and left no ſuſtenance for Iſrael neither ſheep, nor ox, nor aſs*, ver. 3, 4. Then the Philiſtines again, and the Ammonites lorded it over Iſrael, and brought them into great diſtreſs for eighteen years, Judg. x. 8 After that, the Philiſtines, yet again, oppreſſed them for forty years together, Judg. xiii. 1. and afterwards they ſlew of them, in two battles, thirty four thouſand, and carried away the ark of God alſo, 1 Sam. iv. 2, 10, 11. Then in Saul's time, theſe Philiſtines ſo diſtreſſed Iſrael, that the people were forced to hide themſelves in caves, and thickets, and in rocks, and in high places, and in pits; yea, ſome of them forſook their own country, and fled beyond Jordan, 1 Sam. xiii. 6 7. and the land was ſo inſlaved to them, that there was not a ſmith to be found in Iſrael, but the Philiſtines either ſlew them, or carried them away captives; ſo that the Iſraelites were fain to go to the Philiſtines to have their inſtruments of huſbandry ſet in order, ver. 19 20.

How David was perſecuted by Saul, all his time, the ſcripture doth amply ſet forth, 1 Sam xix. *&c.* And was not he perſecuted grievouſly, when curſed and railed upon by Shimei, 2 Sam xvi 5 6, *&c* The church of God was afterward perſecuted under Rehoboam's reign, by Shiſhak, king of Egypt, who took Jeruſalem, and carried away the treaſures of the Lord's houſe, and of the king's houſe into Egypt And again under Aſa, by Baaſha, king of Iſrael, 1 Kings xv. 16 and by Zera, the Ethiopian, who came againſt Judah with an army of a thouſand thouſand men, and three hundred chariots, 2 Chron. xiv 9. Yea, ſo malicious and ſubtle is Satan, that he ſometimes ſtirs up one ſaint to perſecute another, as he ſtirred up good king Aſa to perſecute the prophet of the Lord, who dealt plainly and faithfully with him, by caſting him into priſon, 2 Chron. xvi 10.

Micaiah alſo was perſecuted and impriſoned by Ahab, 2 Chron. xviii. 25, 26. Under Jehoſhaphat, the church of God was perſecuted by the Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites, whom God deſtroyed, by ſetting of them one againſt another, 2 Chron. xx. 23.

Elijah was perſecuted by Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 19. and xix. 2. The prophets of the Lord were ſlain by Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 13. Eliſha was hated and perſecuted by Jehoram, 2 Kings vi. 31. In the reign of this Jehoram, the Philiſtines and Arabians mightily oppreſſed Judah, 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. Then Athaliah, by murdering the king's ſeed, uſurpeth the kingdom, and tyrannizeth five years, 2 Chron. xxii. 10. Joaſh in his reign ſlayeth Zechariah for reproving him, 2 Chron. xxiv. 21. The church was oppreſſed at the ſame time by the Syrians, ver. 23. and afterwards alſo in the reign of Ahaz. 2 Chron. xxviii. 5. And about the ſame time the king of Iſrael ſlew of Judah a hundred and twenty thouſand, and carried away captive two hundred thouſand men women and children. Judah was alſo oppreſſed by the Edomites, ver. 17. and by the Philiſtines, ver. 18. and by the king of Aſſyria, ver. 20. And chap. xxxii. 1. Manaſſes perſecuted the prophet Iſaiah for reproving him, and cauſed him to be ſawn aſunder with a wooden ſaw, *Joſephus.*] Afterwards Pharaoh Necho tyrannized over Judah, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. and after him Nebuchadnezzar, ver. 6, *&c.* And ſo the ſins of Judah being come to the full, the good figs were carried away captive to Babylon, and the land afterwards was wholly laid waſte and deſtroyed; which being foretold by the prophet Jeremiah, the wicked Jews firſt perſecuted him with the tongue, Jer. xviii. 18. then was he ſmitten, and put into the ſtocks, chap. xx. 2. then was he in danger of death by their prieſts, and falſe prophets, chap. xxvi. then was he impriſoned by Zedechiah, chap. xxxii. 2, 3. then he is beaten, and again put into priſon, chap. xxxvii. 15. and after that caſt into a dungeon, where he ſtuck in the mire, chap. xxxviii. 6 then by the wicked captains he was carried into Egypt, chap. xliii. 6, 7. What grievous afflictions the church and people of God endured about this time, ſee it ſet forth to the life in the book of the Lamentations.

In the time of the captivity, the three children were perſecuted by Nebuchadnezzar, and thrown into the fiery furnace, for refuſing to worſhip his golden image, Dan. iii. 23. Daniel was perſecuted by Darius' courtiers, and caſt into the lion's den, chap. vi. 16. Mordecai was hated and perſecuted by Haman, and a decree procured for the murdering of all the people of God in one day, Eſther iii. 13.

After the return of the Jews from captivity, the people of the land laboured to weaken the hands of the men of Judah, and troubled them in the building of the temple, and hired counſellors againſt them, to accuſe them to Cyrus and Ahaſuerus: They wrote alſo againſt them to Artaxerxes, that they were a rebellious people; and that if they ſhould be ſuffered to rebuild Jeruſalem, they would neither pay toll, tribute, nor cuſtom to the king, Ezra iv. 4, *&c.* And having by this malicious ſuggeſtion gotten authority, they came upon the poor people of God, and forced them to give over their work. Yea, and afterwards, when by the command of the Lord, the Jews had again ſet upon the building, Tatnai and Shether Boſnai came up to diſcourage and diſcharge them from it; and when this prevailed not, they wrote againſt them to king Darius. Again, when Nehemiah came to Jeruſalem, and began to build the wall of the city, how were they ſcorned and jeered by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geſhem? And when the work proſpered in their hands and jeers would not prevail to ſtop it, they then conſpired to fight againſt Jeruſalem, and ſo to hinder it; but neither that prevailing, by reaſon of the prudent carriage of Nehemiah, they then ſought to intrap him, and by deſtroying him, to hinder the work, Neh. vi. 1. Then they accuſed the people of God of treaſon and rebellion, ver. 6, *&c.* then they hired a falſe prophet to terrify Nehemiah, ver. 10, 12. then they corrupted, and held intelligence with ſome of the nobles of Judah to betray him; notwithſtanding all which deſigns, God preſerveth Nehemiah, and the building of Jeruſalem is finiſhed. And thus far the ſacred ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament have given us a certain regiſter of the perſecutions, martyrdoms and ſufferings of the church and children of God for the ſpace of about three thouſand five hundred years; from the creation of the world, to the reſtoration of the Jewiſh polity under Nehemiah.

CHAP. II.

The Perſecution of the Church from Nehemiah to Antiochus' Time.

AFTER the death of Eliaſhib the high prieſt, Judas, his ſon ſucceeded, and after him John his ſon, which John had a brother called Jeſus, who was much favoured by Bagoſes, general of Artaxerxes, who promiſed him the prieſthood, which made him take occaſion to quarrel with his brother John, who thereby was ſo much provoked againſt him that he ſlew him in the temple: Bagoſes being informed hereof, came with his army to Jeruſalem, and kept the Jews in bondage ſeven years, making them tributaries, ſo that before they could offer their daily ſacrifice, they were compelled to pay for every lamb fifty drachms. After the death of John, Jaddus his ſon ſucceeded in the prieſthood, in whoſe time Alexander the Great paſſed over the Helleſpont, and having overcome the lieutenant of Darius, he conquered many countries in Aſia *minor*, intending ſuddenly to come upon Jeruſalem. Jaddus being informed of his intention, was ſore afraid; he therefore offered ſacrifice, and commanded the people to make their prayers unto God, for direction and protection in this common danger: And when he heard that Alexander approached, he cauſed the prieſts and people to put on white garments,

garments, and himſelf, attired in his prieſtly robes, went before them; when Alexander eſpied them, he himſelf marched before the reſt of his company, and coming to the high prieſt, he fell down on his face before him: Then did all the Jews circle him in round about, and with one voice ſaluted him. Alexander's chief commanders were wonderfully aſtoniſhed at this deportment of the king, and thought he was out of his wits: And Parmenio ſtepping to him, aſked him what he meant thus to adore the high prieſt of the Jews, when as all other men adored him; Alexander anſwered him, I do not adore him, but that God whom the high prieſt worſhippeth; for in my ſleep I ſaw him in ſuch an habit when I was in Macedonia, conſulting with myſelf how I might conquer Aſia; and he bade me make no delay, aſſuring me that he would both guide me and my army, and would deliver the empire of the Perſians into my hands: Then gave he the high prieſt his hand, and went with him to the city, and coming to the temple, he offered ſacrifice according to the direction of the high prieſt; then did Jaddus ſhew him Daniel's prophecy, wherein his victories over the Perſians, and his monarchy were foretold, which much rejoiced Alexander: Then did he command the Jews to aſk ſome favours at his hands; the high prieſt requeſted only that they might live after the ordinances of their forefathers, and that every ſeventh year they might be exempted from taxes and tributes, which he fully granted: They beſought him likewiſe that the Jews which were in Media and Babylon, might be permitted to live after their own laws, which he willingly promiſed, and ſo departed. This was about the year of the world 3632, and before Chriſt's nativity 332.

After the death of Alexander, his kingdom was divided amongſt his captains, amongſt whom Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus held Egypt, who falling out with Antigonus that held Aſia *minor*, there grew great wars between them, wherein Ptolemy won from him all Syria, and going to Jeruſalem on a Sabbath day under pretence to offer ſacrifice, the Jews ſuſpecting nothing, he ſurpriſed the city, carrying away many of the Jews into captivity into Egypt: But after his death, his ſon Ptolemy Philadelphus at his own coſt redeemed an hundred and twenty thouſand of them paying twelve crowns a-piece for each of them, and ſent them back into their own country: He ſent alſo by them fifty talents of gold for the temple, and obtained of Eleazar the high prieſt, the law of the Jews and ſeventy-two interpreters (out of every tribe ſome) who tranſlated it into Greek in ſeventy two days: And having finiſhed their work, Ptolemy returned them with great rewards for themſelves, and with many rich preſents to Eleazar.

Antiochus and Ptolemy being at war each againſt other, the Jews ſuffered much by them, Mach. 1.

[*Collected out of Joſephus.*]

CHAP. III.

The Perſecution of the Church of God under Antiochus Epiphanes, before the Nativity of Chriſt about 168 *Years.*

AFTERWARDS the Jews being divided amongſt themſelves, one part of them went to Antiochus, telling him that their purpoſe was to forſake the religion and ordinances of their forefathers, and to follow that of the kings, and to live after the manner of the Greeks, intreating him to licenſe them to live in Jeruſalem; which Antiochus aſſenting to, they went to Jeruſalem, where they behaved themſelves very wickedly, but finding oppoſition from the other party of the Jews, they ſent for Antiochus, who led his army againſt Jeruſalem, and encamped before it, and by his faction within, had the gates opened, and the city betrayed to him, about the year of the world 3796, and before the nativity of Chriſt 168.

Being entred Jeruſalem he ſlew many of the faithful Jews, and having taken great ſpoils, he returned back to Antioch.

Two years after he came to Jeruſalem again, and having ſeen what quantity of gold was in the temple, and what a huge number of preſents and precious ornaments were in the ſame, he was ſo overcome with covetouſneſs, that he violated all conventions and conditions formerly made, equally raging againſt his own and the adverſe party, ſparing neither friend nor foe: Then he ſpoiled the temple, and carried away the veſſels dedicated unto God, the golden table, the golden candleſtic, the cenſers, *&c.* leaving nothing behind him of any value; yea, he inhibited the godly Jews from offering their uſual and daily ſacrifices to God, and having ſpoiled the whole city, he ſlew many of the inhabitants, and carried the reſt away into captivity, with their wives and children, to the number of ten thouſand: He alſo burned the faireſt buildings of the city, and brake down the walls, and raiſed a fortreſs in the lower city, and having incloſed it with high walls, he planted a garriſon of Macedonians therein, with whom remained the ſcum of the apoſtate Jews. He alſo cauſed an altar to be erected in the temple, on which he commanded ſwine to be offered in ſacrifice, contrary to the law.

He conſtrained the Jews to forſake God, and adore thoſe idols which himſelf worſhipped; he forbade them to circumciſe their children, and appointed overſeers to conſtrain them to fulfil his commandments, ſo that many for fear of puniſhment conformed themſelves to his will; but ſuch as were of upright hearts, and valiant minds, little reſpected his menaces; whereupon they were beaten, and expoſed to cruel puniſhment many days together, in the midſt of which they yielded up the ghoſt; for after they were whipt, and maimed in their bodies, they were tortured and crucified; the women were ſtrangled, and the circumciſed children were hung up about the necks of their parents; and where any books of the ſacred ſcriptures were found, they defaced and burnt them, and ſuch with whom they were found, were put to moſt cruel deaths.

At this time there dwelt at Modin (a village of Jewry) one whoſe name was Matthias, a prieſt of the rank of Joarib, that had five ſons, John called Gaddis, Simon called Matthes, Judas called Maccabeus, Eleazar called Aaron, and Jonathan called Apphus. This Matthias often complained to his ſons of the miſerable ſtate of their country, of the ſacking of their city, the profanation of the temple, and the miſeries of the people; telling them, that it was better for them to die for the law, than to live in ignominy. When therefore the king's commiſſaries came unto Modin, and commanded the people to ſacrifice according to the king's edict; they firſt applied themſelves to Matthias, as to the moſt honourable perſon amongſt them, requiring him firſt to offer ſacrifice, that others might follow his example, promiſing that the king would much honour him for it. Matthias anſwered that he would by no means commit that idolatry, aſſuring them, that tho' all other nations, either for love or fear, ſhould obey the edicts of Antiochus, yet that he, nor his children could not be induced to forſake the religion of their fathers. As ſoon as he had thus ſpoken, a certain Jew ſtepped forth to offer ſacrifice according to the command of the king, wherewith Matthias, inflamed with zeal, was ſo diſpleaſed, that he and his ſons fell upon him, and with their ſwords hewed him to pieces; he alſo ſlew Apelles the king's captain, and ſome other ſoldiers, who would have withſtood him. Then he overthrew the altar, and with a loud voice, he ſaid, If any one be affected to the laws of their fathers, and to the ſervice of God, let him follow me? and ſo he retired into the deſarts with his ſons; the like did the reſt, with their wives and children, hiding themſelves in caves and dens. The king's captain having intelligence hereof, with the garriſon that was in the citadel at Jeruſalem, they purſued them into the deſart, and having overtaken them, they firſt endeavoured by perſuaſions to draw them to idolatry; but the Jews abſolutely refuſing to yield to their wicked wills, reſolved rather to die than to ſubmit to them, and to commit ſuch impiety; whereupon theſe bloody perſecutors aſſailed them on the Sabbath day, and burned them in their caves, who neither reſiſted their enemies, nor cloſed up the mouths of their caves, ſuppoſing it to be a violation of the Sabbath, if they ſhould fight or work upon that day; ſome thouſands of men, women and children, were there ſlain; yet divers eſcaped, who joined themſelves with Matthias, and choſe him for their captain. Then did he inform them, that they ought to fight on the Sabbath day, if they were aſſailed by their enemies, and prevailed with them not to be guilty of their own death, by

their

their neglect to defend themſelves; and ſo having aſſembled a ſufficient number, he deſtroyed the altars, and ſlew thoſe that had forſaken their religion; commanding others to circumciſe their children, and driving thoſe from every place, whom Antiochus had ſet to ſee his laws executed. But when he had thus governed one year, he fell ſick, and perceiving his end to approach, he called his ſons, and exhorted them to follow his ſteps in maintaining the law of God, and fighting for their country, telling them, that then they ſhould have God for their aſſiſter, who will not forſake thoſe that love and fear him, but taking pleaſure in their virtues, will once more grant them favour to recover their former peace and liberty: And ſaith he, 'God 'will eſtabliſh you in the poſſeſſion of your antient laws; 'and tho' our bodies be mortal, and ſubject unto death, 'yet the memory of our virtuous actions is enfranchiſed by 'immortality; make therefore no difficulty to hazard your 'lives in ſo good a cauſe: But above all things I exhort 'you unto concord, and in whatſoever any of you ſhall 'be found more naturally apt and fitted than another, let 'him proſecute the ſame without any contradiction from 'the reſt. I charge you to obey your brother Simon '(who is a politic and valiant man) in whatſoever he ſhall 'counſel you; but make Judas your captain, who is both 'valiant and ſtrong, for he ſhall revenge the injuries which 'have been done our nation, and put our enemies to flight: 'Second him therefore with men of valour, and ſuch as 'fear God, and by this means you ſhall be ſure to prevail.'

CHAP. IV.

The Life of Judas Maccabeus.

AFTER Matthias' death, Judas took upon him the government of the wars; and by the help of his brethren, and other Jews, he drove the enemies out of the country, purging the land of all the uncleanneſs that had been brought into it. But when Apollonius, who was Antiochus' general in Samaria, heard of it, he gathered his army together, and invaded Judea, againſt whom Maccabeus went forth, and after a terrible battle, overthrew him, ſlew Apollonius, and many of his ſoldiers; took his camp, and therein a very rich booty; and Judas gat Apollonius' ſword for his part in the ſpoil. Then Seron, governor of Cœloſyria, gathered all his forces together, and hired many apoſtate Jews to join with him, and ſo marched againſt Judas, as far as Bethoron: Judas alſo advanced towards him, but when he perceived that his ſoldiers were unwilling to fight, by reaſon of the inequality of their numbers; and for that they had eaten no meat, but had faſted for a long time, he encouraged them, ſaying, That the means to obtain the victory, conſiſted not in the greatneſs of their number, but in their devotion towards God; whereof they had evident examples in their forefathers, who with a ſmall number had often defeated many thouſands of their enemies, *&c.* Hereby he ſo prevailed with his ſoldiers, that, dreadleſs of the number of their enemies, they all together ran upon Seron, and after a cruel fight, routed his army, and ſlew him, together with eight hundred of the Syrians; the reſt eſcaped by flight.

Antiochus hearing of theſe things, was highly diſpleaſed, and therefore he aſſembled all his forces, and hired many mercenaries; but having muſtered his army, he found that his treaſure failed him to pay ſo great a multitude; whereupon he reſolved, firſt to go into Perſia, to gather up his tributes; and in the mean time he made Lyſias his vicegerent, a man of great eſteem with him, and one that governed all the countries from Euphrates, to the borders of Egypt: With him he alſo left ſome elephants, and part of his army, commanding him expreſly, That when he had conquered Judea, he ſhould make the inhabitants thereof his ſlaves, and ſell them to thoſe that would give moſt for them, and that he ſhould deſtroy Jeruſalem, and utterly aboliſh that race. Lyſias having received this commandment, ſent Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, men of great authority about the king, with an army of forty thouſand men, and ſeven thouſand horſemen, to invade Jewry; who marching as far as the city Emmaus, encamped in the field, and increaſed their army with many Syrians and apoſtate Jews. There came alſo divers merchants along with them to buy the priſoners that ſhould be taken, bringing gieves along with them to manacle the priſoners withal. Judas having viewed the camp, and number of his enemies, encouraged his ſoldiers, exhorting them to repoſe their confidence and hope of victory in God. He alſo appointed a faſt, that they might humble themſelves, and call upon God by ſupplications and prayers, for ſucceſs in ſuch an extreme danger. Then he told them, that God would have compaſſion upon them, and give them ſtrength to ſtand againſt their enemies, and to put them to ſhame. The next day he marſhalled his army by thouſands, and by hundreds, and ſent away all that were newly married, or that had lately bought poſſeſſions, according to the law. And ſaid unto the reſt, 'My countrymen and companions, we 'never yet had any occaſion more neceſſary, wherein we 'ought to expreſs our courages, and contemn dangers, 'than at this preſent: For now, if you fight valiantly, you 'may recover your liberties, which ought the more to be 'prized, becauſe thereby you may win opportunity to ſerve 'God, and ſo live an happy life; but if ye prove cowards 'in the fight, you ſhall be branded with perpetual infamy, 'and hazard the utter extirpation of our nation. Think 'therefore, that if you fight not, you muſt die; and on the 'contrary, aſſure yourſelves, that in fighting for your 'religion, laws, and liberty, you ſhall obtain immortal 'glory: Be ready therefore, that to morrow morning you 'may bid your enemies battle.' Immediately news was brought him, that Gorgias with five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſeman, was ſent forth under the conduct of ſome fugitives, by night to fall upon him. Whereupon he reſolved the ſame night to break into the enemy's army whilſt they were thus divided. Having refreſhed his army, leaving many fires in his camp thereby to deceive the enemy, he marched all night to ſeek them out. Gorgias finding that the Jews had forſaken their camp, conceited, that for fear they were fled into the mountains, and therefore he reſolved to ſearch them out diligently. But in the morning, Judas accompanied only with three thouſand men, and thoſe but ill armed, becauſe of their poverty, ſhewed himſelf to the enemies that were at Emmaus, and having viewed their warlike diſcipline, and mighty number, and how well they were encamped; he encouraged his followers to fight valiantly, telling them, That God would deliver their enemies into their hands, and thereupon cauſing his trumpets to ſound, he ruſhed in upon his enemies with ſuch fury and reſolution, as altogether affrighted and diſcouraged them; and having ſlain ſuch as reſiſted, he purſued the reſt as far as the plains of Idumea, *&c.* In this fight about three thouſand of the enemies were ſlain; yet would he not ſuffer his ſoldiers to take the ſpoil, telling them, That as yet they were to fight with Gorgias and his army; but ſo ſoon as they had (thro' God's mercy) with the like valour beaten them, they might then ſecurely enrich themſelves by the prey of all their enemies. Gorgias, with his army, being upon an hill, and diſcovering the flight of their friends, and the Jews readineſs to give them battle, were ſo affrighted, that they alſo fled; whereupon Judas with his men returned to gather the pillage, and having found great ſtore of gold ſilver, ſcarlet, and purple, he returned to his dwelling with joy, praiſing God for their happy ſucceſs.

Lyſias hearing of this overthrow was much enraged, and preſently aſſembled another army of near ſixty thouſand choſen foot, and five thouſand horſemen, wherewith he went to invade Judea, and encamped in Bethſura: Judas hearing of it, came forth againſt him with ten thouſand men, and ſeeing the number of his enemies ſo far to exceed his, he earneſtly cried unto God, that it would pleaſe him to fight with, and for him; and then charged the vanguard of the enemy with ſo great force, that he diſcomfited, and ſlew about five thouſand of them. Lyſias perceiving hereby the reſolution of the Jews, who would rather die than loſe their liberty, he returned with the reſt of his army unto Antioch, where he continued, and entertained many mercenaries, to make a greater army for the conqueſt of the Jews: In the mean time, Judas aſſembled the people, and told them, that having obtained ſo many victories, thro' the mercy of God, they ought now to go

up

up to Jeruſalem, and purify the temple that was deſolate, and to offer unto God the ſacrifices that were ordained by the law. Then going up with a great multitude of people, he found the temple deſolate, the gates burned, and graſs growing within the ſame: Grieving therefore at ſo ſad a ſpectacle, he began to weep, and all the people that were with him, and having choſen out ſome of his beſt ſoldiers, he commanded them to force the garriſons which were in the fortreſſes, whilſt himſelf purged the temple. Then he cauſed to be made a table, a candleſtic, and altar for incenſe, all of gold; he put up a rail alſo, and ſet gates to the temple: And having thrown down the altar of burnt-offerings that was profaned by Antiochus, he built a new one of ſtones neither hewn nor hammered: Then on the twenty fifth of Chiſleu (September) were lights ſet in the candleſtics, perfumes laid upon the altar, loaves ſet upon the table, and ſacrifices offered upon the new altar, which was the ſame day three years wherein before the ſacred ſervice was changed into profane and hateful impiety Then did Judas Maccabeus and his countrymen celebrate a feaſt unto the Lord for eight days, praiſing God with hymns and pſalms. He incloſed the city alſo with a wall, and built high towers thereon, in which he planted garriſons againſt the incurſions of the enemies. He fortified alſo the city of Bethſura, that it might ſerve as a fort againſt the enemy.

But the nations round about them, being greatly diſpleaſed with this proſperity of the Jews, oppreſſed divers whom they ſurpriſed by ambuſhes and treachery; whereupon Judas warred againſt them to hinder their incurſions: He ſlew many of the Idumeans, and brought away a great prey out of their country, and ſhut up the ſons of Baan their prince, who lay in wait for the Jews, and after a ſiege, he overcame them, ſetting fire to their towers, and killing all the men that were therein. After this he made war upon the Ammonites, who had a mighty army under the conduct of Timotheus: With theſe he fought and overcame them, and took their city of Jazor, and burned it, leading their wives and children into captivity, and ſo returned into Judea: But the neighbouring nations hearing of his departure, aſſembled themſelves together againſt the Jews in Galaad, who retiring into the fort of Dathema, ſent to Judas, requeſting him to come and relieve them: And whilſt he was reading their letters, other meſſengers came out of Galilee, informing him that they were aſſaulted by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon, and others thereabouts.

Hereupon Judas commanded his brother Simon to take three thouſand choſen men, and with them to relieve thoſe Jews that were aſſailed in Galilee: And himſelf with his brother Jonathan, accompanied with eight thouſand fighting men, marched into Galaad, leaving the reſt of his forces under two other captains, whom he commanded to have a watchful eye over Judea, yet not to join battle with any enemy till his return.——Simon in Galilee fought againſt his enemies, diſcomfited them, purſued them to the gates of Ptolemais and ſlew about three thouſand; and having gathered their ſpoils, he releaſed many Jews that were priſoners, reſtored their goods to them, and ſo returned home. But Judas having paſſed Jordan, and marched three days journey, he met the Nabathians, who told him that his brethren were beſieged in their caſtles and cities, and ſome of them were already brought into great extremity and penury: Hereupon he firſt aſſailed the inhabitants of Bozra, took their city, ſet it on fire, and killed all the men that were able to bear arms: Then marching all night, he came early in the morning to the caſtle, where the Jews were beſieged by Timothy's army. The enemy were juſt then raiſing their ladders to ſcale the walls, and applying their engines for battery: Then did he encourage his men to fight valiantly for their brethren that were in danger, and cauſing his trumpets to ſound, he diſtributed his forces into three battalions, wherewith he aſſaulted the enemy; but they, hearing that it was Maccabeus, were ſtruck with ſo great a fear, that immediately they fled: Judas with his men purſuing them, ſlew about eight thouſand, and then marching to Malla, (a city of the enemy) he ſurpriſed it, ſlew all the men therein, and burnt it with fire: After which he deſtroyed Chaſpomo, Boſor, and divers other places.

Shortly after Timothy levied another great army, hired many of the Syrians, and drew forth all his allies to his aſſiſtance; with theſe he marched to Jordan, exhorting them valiantly to oppoſe the Jews, and to hinder their paſſage over the river, telling them that if the Jews gat over, they were ſure to be put to the worſt: Judas hearing hereof, marched haſtily againſt his enemies, and having paſſed the river, he preſently ſet upon them, killing ſome, and grievouſly affrighting the reſt, who caſting away their arms, immediately fled; ſome of them to ſave themſelves fled into a temple called Carnain, but Judas having taken the city and temple, ſlew them and burnt the ſame. Then did he lead away with him all the Jews that lived in Galaad, together with their wives, children and ſubſtance, and brought them into Judea.

When he drew near to the town of Ephron, they had baricadoed up his way that he could not paſs: Then did he ſend ambaſſadors to them, to deſire them to open his paſſage; which when they refuſed, he beſieged the city, took it by aſſault, burned it down, and ſlew all the men that were therein. After having paſſed over Jordan, they came into Judea with great joy and gladneſs, praiſing God, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving to him, for the ſafe return of his army; for that in all thoſe battles and encounters, he had not loſt one Jew.

But whilſt Judas and Simon were gone upon theſe expeditions, the two captains which he had left to guard the garriſons of Judea, being deſirous to obtain the reputation of valiant men, took their forces, and went towards Jamnia, againſt whom Gorgias, governor of that place, iſſued out, and ſlew two thouſand of them; the reſt fled to Judea.

Afterwards Judas and his brethren warred againſt the Idumeans, took divers of their cities, and with a great booty returned home with great joy. Antiochus in the mean time being in Perſia, heard of a wealthy city called Elymais, in which was a rich temple of Diana, *&c.* Thither he went, and beſieged it, but the inhabitants ſallied out, and with great loſs drove him from thence, whereupon he returned to Babylon: There alſo news was brought unto him of the overthrow of his captains in Judea, and that the Jews were grown ſtrong; which together with his former defeat, ſo wrought upon him, that he fell ſick, and finding no hope of recovery, he called his moſt familiar friends to him, and told them that his ſickneſs was violent and deſperate, and that he was plagued with this grievous affliction, ſo that he had tormented the people of the Jews, deſtroyed their temple, committed horrible ſacrilege, and contemned the reverence of God; but now he vowed, that if it would pleaſe the Lord to reſtore him, he would become a Jew, and do many great things for the people of God: As alſo, that he would go thro' all the known world to declare the power of God. Notwithſtanding which, the Lord knowing his hypocriſy, continued to plague him after a terrible manner: He had a remedileſs pain in his bowels, and intolerable torments in all his inward parts; his body bred abundance of worms, which continually crawled out of the ſame; yea, he ſo rotted above ground, that by reaſon of the intolerable ſtink, no man could endure to come near him, neither could he himſelf endure the ſame. And thus this vile perſon, who had formerly in a proud and inſolent manner proteſted that he would make Jeruſalem a common burying place, and the ſtreets thereof to run with the blood of God's people, by God's juſt judgment ended his life in extreme miſery: But before his death, he called Philip one of his chief captains, and made him governor of his kingdom, requiring him to be very careful of his ſon Antiochus.

Then was Antiochus proclaimed king, and ſirnamed Eupator; about which time the garriſons, and apoſtates that were in the fortreſs at Jeruſalem, did much miſchief to the Jews; for ſetting unawares upon thoſe that came to the temple to worſhip, and to offer their ſacrifices, they ſlew them: Hereupon Judas reſolved to cut off theſe garriſons, and to that end he aſſembled all the people, and beſieged them, and having made certain engines, and raiſed divers rams, he earneſtly proſecuted the ſiege: But divers of thoſe apoſtates eſcaping by night, went to Antiochus deſiring him not to ſuffer them to periſh, who for his father's ſake, had forſaken their religion, *&c.* Then did

did Antiochus ſend for his captains, commanding them to raiſe a mighty army, which accordingly they did, gathering together a hundred thouſand footmen, and twenty thouſand horſemen, and thirty two elephants; with theſe forces he departed out of Antioch, and made Lyſias general of his army: Then did he beſiege Bethſura, a ſtrong city, but the inhabitants valiantly reſiſted him, and ſallying out, burned his engines which he had prepared for battery. The king continuing the ſiege for a long time, Judas hearing of it, raiſed his ſiege from before the caſtle of Jeruſalem, and marched towards Antiochus' army, and when he came near to the enemy's camp, he lodged his army in certain ſtreights, called Bethzacharia.

The king hearing thereof, raiſed his ſiege from Bethſura, and marched towards the ſtreight where Judas with his army was: The king firſt cauſed his elephants to march thorow the ſtreight; about each elephant were a thouſand footmen, and a hundred horſemen for his guard, each elephant carried a tower on his back furniſhed with archers: The reſt of his forces he cauſed to march two ways by the mountains, commanding them with huge ſhouts and cries to aſſail their enemies, and to uncover their gold and brazen bucklers, that the reflection thereof might dazzle the eyes of the Jews; yet was not Judas at all amazed, but entertained the army with a noble courage, ſlaying about ſix hundred of the forlorn hope: But Eleazar, Judas' brother, ſeeing a huge elephant armed with royal trappings, ſuppoſing that the king was upon him, he ran againſt him with a noble courage, and having ſlain divers that were about the elephant, he thruſt his ſword into the belly of the beaſt, ſo that the elephant falling upon him, ſlew him with his weight.

Judas ſeeing the great ſtrength of his enemies, retired back to Jeruſalem; and Antiochus ſent back part of his army againſt Bethſura, and with the reſt he marched on towards Jeruſalem. The Bethſurites deſpairing of relief, and their proviſions failing them, ſurrendred their city, having the king's oath that no outrage ſhould be offered to them, yet he thruſt them out of the city and placed a garriſon in it. He ſpent alſo a long time in beſieging the temple at Jeruſalem, they within defending it gallantly; for againſt every engine that the king erected, they ſet up a contrary engine: Their only want was of victuals, becauſe (it being the ſeventh year) the land had not been tilled; whereupon divers of them fled away ſecretly, ſo that very few remained for the defence of the temple. But behold the good providence of God! juſt then came tidings to Antiochus, that Philip coming out of Perſia, intended to make himſelf lord and maſter of the country, whereupon Antiochus concluded to give over the ſiege, and to march againſt Philip: But firſt he ſent an herald to Judas, promiſing them peace and liberty to live according to their religion, which conditions Judas accepting of, took an oath from the king for performance, and ſo ſurrendred up the temple. Whereupon Antiochus entred the ſame, and ſeeing it ſo impregnable a place, contrary to his oath he commanded his army to level the wall that environed it, and then he returned to Antioch, leading away with him Onias, ſirnamed Menelaus, the high prieſt, whom by the counſel of Lyſias, he put to death, becauſe he had adviſed his father to enforce the Jews to forſake their religion: A juſt reward for ſo wicked a fact.

Antiochus finding that Philip had already conquered much of his country, went ſtraight againſt him, fought with him and ſlew him.

Preſently after, Demetrius the ſon of Seleucus took poſſeſſion of Tripolis in Syria, and ſetting the diadem upon his own head, he levied an army, and invaded the kingdom of Antiochus. The people generally ſubmitted themſelves to him, and laying hold upon Antiochus and Lyſias, they brought them both to Demetrius, who cauſed them to be ſlain.

To this new king, divers Jews, (baniſhed for their impiety) together with Alcimus their high prieſt, reſorted, accuſing their nation, and in particular Judas and his brethren for killing their friends, and baniſhing ſuch as were friends to Demetrius. Demetrius was much moved with theſe reports, and therefore he ſent a great army under Bacchides, a valiant and experienced captain, with commiſſion to kill Judas and his confederates. Bacchides with his army marched into Judea, ſending an herald to Judas and his brethren, pretending peace, when he intended to ſurpriſe them by ſubtilty and treachery. But Judas ſeeing that he came with ſo great an army, found out his drift, and would not truſt him: Yet many of the people were deceived with his proclamation of peace, and therefore ſubmitted to live under his government, firſt having received an oath from him, that neither they, nor any of their followers ſhould be endamaged. But when they had committed themſelves to him, he falſified his oath, and ſlew ſixty of them.

Then removing his army from Jeruſalem, he came to the village of Bethzeth, where, apprehending many of the Jews, he ſlew them all, and commanded the reſt in the country to obey Alcimus, with whom he left a part of his army, and ſo returned to Antioch unto Demetrius.

Alcimus by his feigned and familiar deportment, drew many more of the wicked Jews to join with him, and then he went with his army thorow the country, and ſlew all that took part with Judas. Judas perceiving that hereby many upright men, and ſuch as feared God were ſlain; he alſo with his army went thorow the land, and ſlew all the apoſtates that were of Alcimus' faction. Whereupon Alcimus repaired to Demetrius, and made grievous complaints againſt Judas; who fearing that if Judas proſpered, it would be prejudicial to his eſtate; he ſent Nicanor to make war againſt him, and having furniſhed him with a ſufficient army, he commanded him that he ſhould not ſpare any one of that nation.

Nicanor coming to Jeruſalem, offered no act of hoſtility, endeavouring to entrap Judas by ſubtilty, ſending him a peaceable meſſage, wherein he proteſted that he would do him no injury, and that he came only to expreſs the good affections of Demetrius to the nation of the Jews.

Judas and his brethren being deceived with this gloſſing meſſage, entertained him and his army. Nicanor then ſaluted Judas, but whilſt he was conferring with him, he gave a ſign to his ſoldiers to lay hands on him; but Judas diſcovering the treaſon, brake from him, and eſcaped to his army. Then did Nicanor reſolve to make open war upon him, and bade him battle near to a burgh called Capherſalama, where he obtained the victory, and conſtrained Judas to retreat into the fortreſs at Jeruſalem; there did Nicanor beſiege him for a while, and then retired: At which time certain of the prieſts and elders met him, and having done their reverence, they ſhewed him thoſe ſacrifices which they intended to offer to God for the king's proſperity: But he blaſpheming, threatned them, that if they did not deliver Judas into his hands, he would deſtroy the temple at his return. Hereupon the prieſts wept abundantly, praying unto God to defend the temple, together with thoſe which called on his name therein, from the outrage of their enemies.

Nicanor coming near to Bethoron, received a great ſupply of ſoldiers out of Syria. Judas alſo was about thirty furlongs diſtant from him, not having above a thouſand men, yet he exhorted them not to fear the multitude of their enemies, but to ſet courageouſly upon them, expecting help from God; and ſo encountring with Nicanor, there was a very doubtful conflict, yet Judas had the upper hand, and ſlew a great number of his enemies. Nicanor himſelf alſo fighting valiantly, was ſlain; whereupon his army fled: But Judas ſpeedily purſuing, made a great ſlaughter of them, and by ſound of trumpet giving notice to the neighbouring places, the inhabitants thereof betook themſelves to their weapons, and meeting thoſe that fled, they ſlew them, ſo that no one eſcaped from this battle, tho' they were at leaſt nine thouſand men.

Hereupon enſued a little peace to the Jews. Shortly after Alcimus the high prieſt, intending to beat down an old wall of the ſanctuary, was ſuddenly ſtricken by God, became ſpeechleſs, and fell to the ground, and having endured many grievous torments for many days, he died miſerably. Then did the people by a general conſent give his place to Judas: Who hearing of the great power and victories of the Romans, ſent two of his intimate friends to Rome, to intreat the Romans to be their allies and confederates, and to write to Demetrius to give over his wars againſt the Jews.

The ambaſſadors coming to Rome, were entertained by the

the senate, and friendship concluded twixt them, upon these conditions, That none under the Romans should war against the Jews, nor furnish their enemies with victuals, ships or silver, That if any enemies should assail the Jews, the Romans should succour them to the uttermost of their power, That if any made war upon the Romans, the Jews should succour them, That if the Jews would add or diminish any thing from this association, it should be done with the common advice of the Romans, and that what should be so ordained, should remain irrevocable.

Nicanor's death, and the discomfiture of his army being reported to Demetrius, he sent another army under Bacchides, who coming into Judea, and hearing that Judas was encamped at Bethzeth, he marched against him with twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Judas had not in all above two thousand men, who seeing the multitude of Bacchides' army, were afraid, so that some, forsaking the camp, fled away, insomuch as there then remained with Judas but eight hundred men, whom he exhorted to be of good courage, and to fight valiantly: But they answered, That they were not able to make head against so great an army, and therefore they advised him to retire and stand on his guard, till he had gathered more forces: Judas replied, 'God forbid that the sun should 'see me turn my back upon the enemies; tho' I die, and 'spend my last blood in this battle, yet will I never foil my 'former worthy actions by an ignominious flight.' And so having encouraged his soldiers, he commanded them without apprehension of danger, to bend themselves altogether against the enemy. Bacchides drew out his army, arranged them in battle, placing his horsemen in the wings, his archers and light armed men in the front, and then the Macedonian phalanx, and so causing his trumpets to sound, and his soldiers to shout, he charged his enemies. Judas did the like, and encountred Bacchides, so that there was a most cruel conflict, which continued till sun-set.

Judas perceiving that Bacchides and the flower of his army fought in the right wing, he chose out the most resolute of his soldiers, and drew them towards that quarter, and set upon them, brake their squadron, and thrusting into the midst of them, he forced them to fly, and pursued them as far as to the mount Aza; but the left wing followed Judas, and so inclosed him on the back part. He seeing himself thus inclosed, resolved with his followers to fight it out to the last. He slew a great number of his enemies, till at last he was so wearied, that he fell to the ground, and was there slain: His soldiers seeing him dead, betook themselves to flight. Simon and Jonathan his brothers, by intreaty recovered his body, carried it to Modin, where they interred it, all the people weeping divers days for him; and Jonathan his brother succeeded him in the government.

CHAP. V.

The Martyrdom of the Maccabees.

WHILST Antiochus Epiphanes was living, he thrust out Onias the high priest from his office, and put into his room Jason his brother, whereupon Jason promised to pay him yearly three thousand six hundred and sixty talents of silver. This wicked Jason presently forced all the people to forsake their religion, and to build baths: He hindred the defence and building of the temple. Hereat God was very wroth, and stirred up Antiochus to go to Jerusalem, where he was gallantly entertained by the Jews. Then did he presently make an edict, 'That who-'soever of the Jews refused to offer sacrifice to the gods, 'he should presently be broken to pieces on the wheel.' But those that were godly did little esteem that edict.

Antiochus perceiving that the rigour of his edict prevailed little, and that many chose rather to die, than to forsake their religion, he sitting in an eminent place, and calling all the Jews together, caused swine's flesh to be sacrificed on the altar, and to be offered to every Hebrew to eat. Amongst the multitude thus assembled, there was one Eleazar, a priest, a man that feared God, and one who was very aged, of a reverend countenance, and famous for his vertue; to him Antiochus said, 'Be advised by me, 'holy old man, to avoid those torments which are prepar-'ed for the obstinate; preserve thy reverend age, and con-'temn not the benefit of life; take the sacrifice, and eat of 'the swine's flesh, for no wise man will credit the Jew's 'opinion to refuse that meat which nature hath ordained 'for man's use, as well as any other: Why should this 'beast be more abominable than others? &c. Or suppose 'your laws are to be observed, yet will they excuse thee, 'seeing thou sinnest not voluntarily, but by compulsion?' To whom Eleazar answered, 'We, O Antiochus, follow 'not vanity, but the verity of religion, and fear of tor-'ments cannot make us embrace another: But suppose that 'the religion left us by our fore-fathers had no firm ground, 'yet should not torments make me forsake it. Do not 'esteem it a small matter to eat forbidden meat, and to 'taste of that which is sacrificed to idols; for it is a pro-'fane thing to touch things that are profane, and we are 'taught by our law to suffer with patience whatsoever (for 'God's cause) is inflicted upon us, &c. And therefore I 'refuse this profane meat, well knowing what I ought to 'eat, as warranted by God's law, which I have learned to 'obey, &c. and herein will I persist, tho' with tyrannous 'hands thou pluck out mine eyes, or with a sharp knife 'rip up my entrails. Think not because I am old, my 'body is feeble: If I must be sacrificed for God's sake, 'thou shalt find me as lusty and constant as a young man, 'and most joyful in torments. Prepare an extraordinary 'fire, or what else thou pleasest, thou shalt find me more 'constant in the midst of all torments, than I am now be-'fore they come, &c. The chaste and pure company of 'fathers shall receive me into their number, where I shall 'not fear, O impious king! thy threats, &c.'

Whilst Eleazar spake thus boldly, the soldiers haled him to be tortured; and stripping him naked, they hanged him up, and whipped him: And whilst on either side he was beaten, one cried, Obey the king's pleasure and command. But this worthy man was not overcome by torment, but suffered as tho' he had been in a sleep; and fixing his venerable eyes upon heaven, he knew in whom he believed, and to whom he sacrificed his life, and beholding the flesh on each side of his body rent and torn with stripes, and the blood issuing out abundantly, he admired his own patience, and thanked God the author of it: At last finding his own frailty, scarce able to endure such torments, he fell upon his face, which with stripes was all rent and torn, still glorifying God as he did before: Then a soldier, to gratify the king, like a mad man did spurn and tread upon him, to increase his suffering; but Eleazar, strong in body and mind, like a champion of the true God, did never shrink at those pains, but by patience overcame the cruelty of his tormentors, so that his torturers admired that he should be able to bear them: Then the king's officers said, 'How 'long wilt thou forbear to obey the king? Eat swine's 'flesh, and free thyself from all that thou endurest.' Eleazar, tho' hitherto he had been silent in all his torments, yet could he not hear such profane counsel without answering, whereupon he cried out, 'We Hebrews are not 'so effeminate as to forsake the way of salvation wherein 'we walk in our old age, neither are we taught for fear of 'contumely, which will not long endure, to give others 'an occasion and example to sin, &c. Wilt thou, O tyrant, 'esteem of us if we should yield unto thee? nay, thou 'mightest justly reprove our inconstancy:' Then did the soldiers, by the king's command, cast him into the fire, and poured stinking and loathsome liquors into his nostrils, all which he patiently suffered, till he was consumed in the flames: Yet when nature began to fail, lifting up his dazzled eyes to heaven, he said, 'Thou, O God, art he from 'whom life and salvation proceedeth: Behold, I die for 'observing thy laws: Be merciful to this thy nation, and 'forsake not them whom hitherto thou hast protected in 'thy bosom, and under the shadow of thy wings, let my 'death end all my misery,' &c. and so he joyfully yielded up the ghost.

Antiochus was but more incensed hereby, and therefore he caused seven children of the Hebrews to be brought to Antioch, who being young, and therefore, as he thought, weak, and unable to endure torments, he presumed that either by persuasion or fear, he should force them to forsake their religion.

Then

Then he commanded these seven, together with their mother Salamona, now aged, to be brought before him: They were of excellent beauty, and worthy children of so virtuous a mother. The tyrant beholding them, with a merry countenance craftily spake unto them, 'I wish your 'good, O admirable young men, do not therefore like mad 'men resist my commands: Avoid not only torments, but 'death also: I desire not only to exalt you to honour, but 'to increase your riches and possessions: Contemn there-'fore your own superstition, and embrace our religion: 'If you refuse this, (as I hope you will not) I will devise 'all torments, that by a lingring and painful death I may 'consume you:' And to terrify them the more, he caused all sorts of instruments for torment to be brought forth before them, as wheels, rods, hooks, rakes, cauldrons, cages, gridirons, &c. with engines to torment the fingers and hands, as gauntlets, awls, bellows, brazen pots and frying pans, &c Then said he, 'Obey me, O prudent 'young men, for if I command that which is a sin, yet do 'not you offend, being compelled to it.'

But these holy young men, inflamed with a divine spirit, contemned these torments, and despised both threats and flattery, denying to eat of the sacrificed swine's flesh, and saying, 'Wherefore, O tyrant, dost thou persecute us 'that are innocent? We desire to die, and will, till death 'expels life, firmly keep that which God commanded, and 'Moses taught us: And therefore seek not, O tyrant, to 'seduce us by protesting thy feigned love: Thou lover of 'injustice, master of cruelty, deviser of iniquity, the par-'don thou proferrest is more painful to us than punish-'ments: We contemn death, and esteem not thy words, 'our master Eleazar having taught us to despise them. 'Why dost thou expect such pusillanimity in us young 'men, when of late thou foundest such courage in an old 'man? Thou canst not know our minds except by tearing 'our bodies thou searchest them out: We will wil-'lingly for our God suffer any thing, and expect heaven, 'whilst thou for thy cruelty to innocents, shalt be reserved 'to eternal fire.'

The tyrant greatly moved herewith, caused them to be beaten with bulls pizzles: first commanding Maccabeus the eldest to be stripped, and stretched out upon a rack, and his hands to be bound, and so to be most cruelly beaten, who so wearied his tormentor by suffering, that they rather desired to give over, than he requested it: Then was he put upon a wheel, and a weight hanged at his feet, and so stretched round about it, that his sinews and entrails brake; yet all this while he called upon God, and then said to the tyrant, 'O bloody tyrant, who persecut-'est the majesty of God; I whom thou thus tormentest, 'am no witch nor murtherer, but one who dies for ob-'serving God's law:' And when the tormentors, overcome with compassions, willed him to submit to the king's pleasure, he said, 'O ye wicked ministers of tyranny! your 'wheels are not so sharp and cruel, that I thereby will be 'forced to forsake heaven, whereon my mind is fixed: 'Tear my flesh, yea, if you please, roast it at the fire; tor-'ture each parcel of my body with several cruelties, yet 'you shall not be able to force us young men to impiety.'

As he thus spake, a fire was kindled, and he thus racked on the wheel, was thrown into it, and by flames was so burned, that his bowels appeared, yet was his mind unmoved, and in the midst of his torments he cried thus to his brethren, 'O beloved brethren, make me your exam-'ple: despise the alluring baits of this world; obey God 'rather than this tyrant, who can, if he please, humble the 'proud and mighty, and exalt the dejected:' Then was he taken from the fire, and slain alive; his tongue was pulled out of his head, and he put into a frying-pan, and so he departed out of this life, to the admiration of his enemies, and the joy of his mother and brethren.

Then was the second brother, called Aber, haled by the soldiers, and the tyrant shewed him all those instruments of torment, and asked him if he would eat of the sacrifice, which he denying to do, his hands were bound with iron chains, and being hanged up thereby, the skin of his body was slain off from the crown of his head to his knees, so that the entrails in his breast were seen: Then was he cast to a cruel lizard, greedily thirsting after blood, but the beast smelling at him, forgat his cruelty, and went from him, without doing him any harm: This increased the tyrant's rage, and Aber by his torments grew more constant, crying aloud, 'O how pleasant is that death to me, which 'is caused by all sorts of torments for God's sake! yea, 'the more pleasant, because I know I shall be rewarded in 'heaven: Let these torments, O tyrant, satisfy thy cruelty, 'for my pain is not increased by them, but my pleasure, as 'thou shalt find by my patience in these sufferings; I am 'more willing to suffer than thou to punish, yet my pain is 'less in suffering, than thine by inflicting: I am tormented for keeping the law, thou by God's justice shalt be 'banished from thy regal seat; yea, eternal torments are 'prepared for thee, which neither thy profane mind is able 'to endure nor thy power to decline,' &c. And so shortly after he yielded up his soul to God.

Then Iachim the third son was brought, whom all pitied, and exhorted by his brother's examples to forsake his opinion and so decline the punishment: But he being angry at such counsel, replied, 'One father begat us, one 'mother bore us, one master instructed us, &c. therefore 'no longer prolong the time in vain; I came to suffer, not 'to speak, use all the tyranny that possibly you can against 'my body, yet have you no power over my soul.' This so moved the tyrant, that he devised new torments beyond the reach of human wit; and commanding a globe to be brought, he caused him to be tied about it in such sort, that all his bones were put out of joint, hanging one from another in a most pitiful manner; yet was the holy martyr nothing dismaid; then the skin of his head and face was pulled off, and then was he put upon the wheel, but he could be racked no worse, for all his bones were dislocated before; the blood issuing from him abundantly, he said, 'We, O tyrant, endure this torment for the love of God, 'and thou the author of such cruelty, shall be punished 'with everlasting pain:' Then was his tongue cut out, and he being put into a fiery frying-pan, resigned his spirit unto God.

Next followed Judas the fourth brother, whom all the people persuded to obey the king; but he said, 'Your 'fire shall not separate me from the law of God, nor from 'my brethren; to thee, O tyrant, I denounce destruction, 'but to such as believe, salvation: Try me thou cruel 'wretch, and see if God will not stand by me, as he did by 'my three brethren now in glory,' &c. The cruel tyrant hearing this, was so enraged, that he leaped down from his chair to torment this martyr himself; he commanded also his tongue to be cut out, to whom Judas said, 'Thy cru-'elty will nothing avail thee; our God needs not by voice 'to be awaked, &c. he heareth such as call upon him with 'their hearts, and knows our thoughts afar off, &c. Cut 'out my tongue if thou please, would thou wouldst so 'sanctify all the parts of my body, &c. and think not that 'thou shalt long escape unpunished:' Then was his tongue cut out, and he being bound to a stake, was beaten with ropes ends, which torments he bore with admirable patience; after which he was put upon the wheel, where he ended his life, and went to the rest of his brethren.

Then spake Achas the fifth brother, 'Behold, O tyrant, 'I come to be punished before thou commandest me; 'therefore hope not to alter his mind that desireth to be 'tormented: The blood of my innocent brethren hath 'condemned thee to hell; I shall make up the fifth, that 'by it thy torments may be increased: What offence have 'we committed that thou thus ragest against us? &c. All 'that thou canst alledge against us is, that we honour God 'and live in obedience to his laws, and therefore we esteem 'not punishment, which is an honour to us; tho' no part 'of us be left untormented, yet we shall be the more re-'warded by God.' Then at the command of the king the executioner cast him into a brazen pot, where he was prest down with his head to his feet, and afterwards he suffered all the torments inflicted on his brethren; but he was so far from being discouraged, that suddenly starting up, he said, 'Cruel tyrant, how great benefits dost thou (tho' a-'gainst thy will) bestow upon us! yea, the more thou ra-'gest, the more acceptable to God shalt thou make us; 'therefore I shall be sorry if thou shewest me any mercy; 'by this temporal death, I shall go to everlasting life.' And having thus finished his sufferings, he died.

Then was Arath the sixth brother brought, to whom the tyrant

tyrant proffered the choice of honour or punishment; but he being grieved at this proffer, said, 'O tyrant, tho' I be 'younger in years than my brethren, yet the constancy of 'my mind is not inferior; as we have lived, so we will 'die together in the fear of God: Hasten therefore thy tor-'ments, and what time thou wouldst spend in exhorting 'me, spend it in devising torments for me.' Whereupon Antiochus in a rage, commanded him to be tied to a pillar with his head downwards; then caused he a fire to be made at such a distance as might not burn, but roast him; then he made them prick him with awls, that the heat might pierce the sorer: In these torments, much blood, like froth, gathered about his head and face, yet said he, 'O noble 'fight! O valiant war! O strife betwern piety and impi-'ety! my brethren have past thro' their agonies, whose 'crown of martyrdom is the punishment of their persecut-'ors I willingly follow them, that as by blood I am con-'joined to them, so by death I may not be separated from 'them. Devise, O tyrant, some new torment, for I have 'overcome these already: O master of cruelty, enemy of 'piety, and persecutor of justice! we young men have con-'quered thy power, thy fire is cold, and heateth not; thy 'weapons are bended and blunted in our bodies; our God 'giveth us more courage to suffer, than thou hast to pu-'nish,' &c. As he thus spoke, they pulled out his tongue with an hot pair of tongs, and lastly frying him in a frying-pan, he gave up the ghost.

There being now only the youngest brother left, called Jacob, he presenting himself before the tyrant, moved him to some compassion, wherefore he called the child to him, and taking him aside by the hand, he said, 'By the ex-'ample of thy brethren thou seest what to expect if thou 'disobeyest me: therefore deliver thyself from these tor-'ments, and I will give thee what honour my kingdom 'can afford; thou shalt be a ruler, general of my army, my 'counsellor,' &c. But when this prevailed not, he called his mother, who coming, and standing by her son, the tyrant said to her, 'O worthy woman, where now are all thy 'children? yet thou hast one remaining, advise him there-'fore not to ruin himself, and to leave thee childless by his 'obstinacy,' &c The mother bowing herself to the king, said to her child in Hebrew, that she might not be understood of others, 'Pity and comfort thy sorrowful mother, 'O my son, who bare thee nine months in my womb, gave 'thee suck with my breasts three years, and with great 'care have brought thee up hitherto. I pray thee, dear 'son, consider the heavens and earth, and remember that 'God created them all of nothing, &c. fear not therefore 'these pains and torments. but imitate thy brethren, and 'contemn death, that in the day of mercy I may receive 'thee with thy brethren again in heaven.' Then did he desire to be unbound, which being granted, he immediately ran to the torments, and coming where a frying-pan was red hot, he said to the king, 'Cruel tyrant, I now 'know thee not only to have been cruel to my brethren, 'but even cruelty itself. Wretch that thou art, who gave 'thee these purple robes? who exalted thee to thy king-'dom? Even he whom thou in us dost persecute, whose 'servants thou tormentest and killest, for which thyself 'shalt suffer eternal torments: Tho' thou art above others, 'yet he that made other men, made thee also of the same 'nature, for all are born, and must die alike. He that kills 'another, sheweth that he himself may be killed; thou 'teares and tormentest thine own image all in vain; in thy 'fury thou killest him whom God created like thyself, &c. 'thou pullest out our tongues, tearest our body with flesh-'hooks, and consumest us with fire; but they that have 'already suffered, have received everlasting joys, and ever-'lasting punishments attend thee. Think not that I ex-'pect any favour, I will follow my brethren, and remain 'constant in keeping God's law.' The tyrant herewith enraged, caused him to be tormented; but his mother comforted him, and with her kind hands held his head, when thro' violence of the torturers, the blood issued out of his mouth, nose, and privy parts; the tormentors not ceasing till his life was almost spent; but then giving over, God gave him strength to recover, and to endure more than any of his brethren had done. At last his hands and arms being cut off, with his eyes lift up to heaven, he cried, 'O Adonai! (*i. e.* O Lord) be merciful unto me, 'and receive me into the company of my brethren,' &c. Then was his tongue pulled out, and he of his own accord going into the fiery frying pan, to the great admiration of Antiochus, died.

The mother seeing all her children dead, was inflamed with a holy zeal to suffer martyrdom also; and despising the tyrant's threats, she offered her motherly breasts to those torments which her children had suffered before her. Indeed herein she excelled them all, in that she had suffered seven painful deaths, before she came to suffer in her own person, and feared in every one of them, lest she should have been overcome. She alone with dry eyes did look upon them whilst they were torn in pieces, yea, she exhorted them thereunto, rejoicing to see one torn with flesh-hooks, another racked upon the wheel, a third bound and beaten, a fourth burned, and yet she exhorted the rest not to be terrified thereby; and tho' her grief in beholding their torments was greater than that which she had in child birth, yet did she frame a chearful countenance, as if it had been one triumphing; wishing rather the torments of their bodies than of their souls; for she knew that nothing was more frail than our lives, which are often taken by agues, fluxes, and a thousand other ways. Therefore when they were first apprehended, she thus exhorted them in the Hebrew tongue, 'O my most dear and 'loving children, let us hasten to that agony which may 'credit our profession, and be rewarded by God with e-'ternal life. Let us fearlessly present our bodies to those 'torments which aged Eleazar endured. Let us call to 'mind our father Abraham, who having but one only son, 'willingly sacrificed him at God's command, and feared 'not to bring him to the altar, whom with many prayers 'he had obtained in his old age. Remember Daniel, the 'three children,' &c. Antiochus being enraged against her, caused her to be stripped naked, hanged up by the hands, and cruelly whipped; then were her dugs and paps pulled off, and herself put into the red hot frying-pan; where lifting up her eyes and hands to heaven, in the midst of her prayers she yielded up her chaste soul unto God. But God suffered not the cruel tyrant to escape unpunished, for in his wars against the Persians, the Lord struck him with madness, his entrails were devoured with worms, and stinking like a carrion, in the extremity of his torments he gave up the ghost.

Concerning this Antiochus, Daniel, chap. viii. 9, 10, &c. saw in the vision, that there *came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land, and it waxed great even towards the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them: Yea, he magnified himself even to the Prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.* Which afterwards is thus interpreted by the angel unto Daniel, ver. 23, &c. *In the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up, and his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power, and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and holy people. And thro' his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: He shall also stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.*

[*Collected out of Josephus, and the books of the Maccabees.*]

CHAP. VI.

The Persecution of the Church from Christ's time to our present Age; and first of those mentioned in the New Testament.

HEROD the Great, hearing by the wise men of one that was born king of the Jews, and being informed by the chief priests and the scribes, that the place of his

birth ſhould be Bethlehem of Judah; he ſent forth ſoldiers, and ſlew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under, hoping thereby to have deſtroyed Chriſt. For which cruel fact, amongſt others, the Lord gave him over to ſuch a ſpirit of phrenzy, that he ſlew his own wife, his children, neareſt kinsfolks, and familiar friends. And ſhortly after, God's heavy judgment fell upon him by a grievous ſickneſs, which was a ſlow and ſlack fire in his inward parts; and withal, he had a greedy appetite after food, and yet nothing ſufficed him; he had alſo a rotting in his bowels, and a grievous flux in his fundament; a moiſt and running humour about his feet, and the like malady vexed him about his bladder; his privy members putrified, ingendring abundance of worms, which continually ſwarmed out; he had a ſhort and ſtinking breath, with a great pain in breathing, and thro' all the parts of his body ſuch a violent cramp, as human ſtrength was not able to endure. Yet longing after life, he ſent for phyſicians from all parts, by whoſe advice he went to the hot baths of Callirde; but finding no eaſe thereby, his torments ſtill increaſing, he ſought to lay violent hands upon himſelf, if he had not been prevented by his friends, and ſo in extreme miſery he ended his wretched life.

Then Herod the Leſs, having married the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia, put her away, and took Herodias, who had forſaken her huſband Philip, brother to Herod. For which inceſtuous and adulterous marriage, John Baptiſt plainly reproved him; whereupon at the inſtigation of Herodias, Herod firſt impriſoned him, and afterwards cut off his head: But the Lord left not this murder long unpuniſhed, for Aretas raiſing an army againſt Herod for that ignominious dealing with his daughter, in a pitched battle wholly overthrew him, and cut off all his hoſt. And not long after, Herod falling into diſgrace with the Roman emperor, he, with his inceſtuous Herodias, were baniſhed to Vienna in France, where they ended their wretched lives with much ſhame and miſery.

After the aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Peter and John having cured a man that was born lame, and preaching Jeſus to the people, upon that occaſion they were apprehended and caſt into priſon by the prieſts and captain of the temple; who the next day having examined him, threatned to puniſh them if they ſpake any more in that name, and ſo diſmiſſed them. Yet afterwards the high prieſts and the Sadducees again laid hands on the apoſtles, and caſt them into the common priſon: But in the night time the angel of the Lord opened the priſon doors, and releaſed them, Acts v. 18, 19. The next day, as they were preaching to the people, they were again apprehended and carried before the council, ver. 26, 27. at whoſe command they were beaten, and ſo diſmiſſed, ver. 40.

Then were falſe witneſſes ſuborned againſt Steven, who accuſed him for ſpeaking blaſphemous words againſt Moſes, and againſt God, Acts vi. 11. for which being apprehended and brought before the council, he was there condemned, led out of the city, and ſtoned to death. chap. vii. 58.

After this there was a general perſecution raiſed up againſt the church in Jeruſalem, whereby all the faithful were ſcattered abroad thro'out the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apoſtles, chap. viii. 1. *Saul alſo made great havock of the church, entring into every houſe, haling both men and women, and committing them to priſon*, ver. 3.

But Saul, after his converſion, preaching Chriſt boldly, the enraged Jews took counſel, and lay in wait to kill him, watching the gates of Damaſcus, where he then was, both day and night; but the diſciples took him by night, and let him down over the wall in a baſket, whereby he eſcaped, Acts ix. 23, &c.

Then roſe up a third Herod, called alſo Agrippa, who not taking warning by his predeceſſors calamities, fell to perſecuting the church of Chriſt; and ſending for James, the brother of John, before him, he condemned him to be beheaded. Concerning whom, Clemens reports, That he which drew James before the tribunal ſeat, when he ſaw him ſo chearfully embracing the ſentence of death, was exceedingly moved therewith, and voluntarily confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſo was condemned to be beheaded with him. As they went in the way to execution, he requeſted the apoſtle James to pardon him, who after a little pauſe, turning to him, ſaid, Peace be unto thee, and kiſſed him; and ſo they were beheaded both together. Herod ſeeing that the death of James pleaſed the Jews, he took Peter alſo, and delivered him to four quaternions of ſoldiers to keep him in priſon, intending after the paſſover to put him to death: But the night before he ſhould ſuffer, as he was ſleeping, bound with two chains to two ſoldiers, and the keepers watching before the priſon doors, an angel came and awaked him, cauſing his chains to fall off; and ſo going before him, he led him out of priſon, cauſing the iron gate to open to them, and having brought him out of danger, left him. But this cruel perſecuting Herod eſcaped no better than his predeceſſors had done; for being arrayed in gliſtering and royal apparel, and ſitting upon his throne, he made an oration to his people, who like flattering court parаſites, gave a ſhout, ſaying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. Whereupon the angel of the Lord immediately ſmote him, and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghoſt, ver. 21, &c. in the fifty fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign, and under Claudius Cæſar.

Then the wicked Jews ſtirred up the Gentiles againſt Paul and Barnabas at Iconium, ſo that being in danger to be ſtoned to death, they fled into Lycaonia, Acts xiv. 2, 5, 6.

Again at Lyſtra they ſtirred up the Gentiles againſt them, whereupon Paul was ſtoned and drawn out of the city, and left for dead; but it pleaſed God that he revived, and ſo eſcaped to Derbe, ver. 19. 20.

Afterwards Paul and Silas, for caſting a ſpirit of divination out of a damſel at Philippi, were dragged before the rulers, who cauſed them to be whip'd and caſt into priſon. But the magiſtrates, hearing that they were Romans, were much afraid, as having done more than they could anſwer; and therefore they came to them, releaſed them out of priſon, and beſought them to depart out of their city, Acts xvi. 23, 39.

Preſently after at Theſſalonica, the Jews again ſtirred up the people againſt Paul and Silas, and raiſing up an uproar, they ſought for them in the houſe of Jaſon; and not meeting with them there, they drew forth Jaſon himſelf, and ſome brethren before the rulers, who giving ſecurity for their forth-coming, were diſmiſſed. Yet theſe wretched Jews followed Paul to Berea alſo, and there ſtirred up a perſecution againſt him, whereby he was forced to depart. At Corinth alſo they made an inſurrection, caught Paul, and brought him before Gallio, deputy of Achaia; and when he would be a judge of no ſuch matters, they took Soſthenes, the chief ruler of the ſynagogue, and beat him before the judgment ſeat, Acts xviii. 12, 17.

Afterwards at Epheſus, Demetrius that made ſilver ſhrines for Diana, raiſed an uproar, and having caught Gaius and Ariſtarchus, Paul's companions, they with them ruſhed into the theatre. But this tumult being allayed by the wiſdom of the town clerk, Paul haſted away into Macedonia, chap xix. 29, &c. Paul at laſt returning to Jeruſalem, the Aſian Jews finding him in the temple, ſtirred up all the people, and laid hands on him: But as they were about to kill him, he was reſcued by the chief captain of the Romans, chap. xxi. 31, 32. then being brought forth before the council of the Jews, he was firſt ſmitten by the command of the high prieſt, chap. xxiii. 2. and afterwards being in danger of being pulled to pieces, he was again reſcued by the captain, ver. 10. then above forty of thoſe deſperate Jews, bound themſelves under a curſe, That they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him, ver. 12, 13. Hereupon he is ſent to Felix at Cæſarea, who kept him in priſon till his accuſers came, ver. 24, 25. then being accuſed by Tertullus, he clears himſelf; yet becauſe he would not bribe Felix, he is kept priſoner ſtill. Feſtus ſucceeding Felix, the Jews importune him alſo for ſentence againſt Paul, or that he might be ſent for to Jeruſalem, laying wait in the way to kill him, chap. xxv. 3. But when that was denied them, they went to Cæſarea to accuſe him there, whereupon he is forced to appeal to Cæſar, ver. 11. then he was ſent to Rome, and there committed priſoner to the captain of the guard, chap. xxviii. 16. where he continued priſoner at large for two years,

and

and then being releaſed, he viſited the churches of Greece and Aſia. Afterwards, probably, he preached in Spain and France; and at laſt returning into Italy, he was again apprehended and impriſoned at Rome, where alſo he ſuffered martyrdom, as afterwards you ſhall hear.

The Jews being much diſpleaſed that they could not reak their ſpleen upon Paul, turn themſelves againſt James, the brother of Chriſt: Him therefore they bring, and ſet him in the midſt of them, requiring him publicly to renounce the faith of Chriſt. But he on the contrary made a bold and open confeſſion of Jeſus, to be the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world. Then did they ſet him upon a pinacle of the temple, again requiring him in the audience of all the people, to tell them which is the way of Jeſus crucified: To whom he anſwered, 'Why 'aſk you me of Jeſus, the Son of man, when as he ſits at 'the right hand of God in heaven, and ſhall again come in 'the clouds of the air?' This ſo enraged the Scribes and Phariſees, that they threw him down headlong: But he not being dead with the fall, gat upon his knees, and ſaid, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Then one taking a fuller's club, ſtruck him on the head, and brained him.

This James was ſirnamed Juſtus, of whom Ægeſippus writes, that his knees were as hard as camel's knees, by reaſon of his continual kneeling in prayer. But ſhortly after his death, Veſpaſian came into Judea, and ſubdued the Jews, and his ſon Titus deſtroyed Jeruſalem and the temple.

Andrew, the brother of Peter, preached the goſpel to the Scythians, Sogdians and Ethiopians, and was at laſt crucified by Ægeas king of Edeſſa.

Philip preached the goſpel in Phrygia, and at laſt was crucified at Hierapolis.

Bartholomew preached to the Indians, and (as ſome ſay) was beaten with cudgels to death; or as others, he was flayed alive, and then beheaded.

Thomas preached unto the Parthians, Medes and Perſians, *&c.* and in India he was ſlain with a dart.

Matthew preached to the Ethiopians, and at laſt, by the command of the king, was run thro' with a ſword.

Simon Zelotes preached in Mauritania and Afric, and at length was crucified under Trajan, being above one hundred and twelve years old.

Judas, the brother of James, preached to the Edeſſeans, and at laſt was ſlain by the command of the king.

Matthias preached firſt in Macedonia, and afterwards coming into Judea, he was by the Jews firſt ſtoned, and then beheaded.

Mark the evangeliſt preached in Alexandria and the neighbouring regions, and afterwards was burnt by the furious idolaters.

Nicanor, one of the deacons, was martyred, together with two thouſand other faithful Chriſtians.

[*Collected out of the New Teſtament and Dorotheus.*]

THE

PERSECUTION

Of the CHURCH under the Heathen Roman Emperors.

CHAP. VII.

The firſt Primitive Perſecution which began anno Chriſti 67.

THIS firſt perſecution was begun by Domitius Nero, the ſixth emperor, *anno* 67. or thereabouts. The occaſion whereof was this, Nero having paſſed over the firſt five years of his reign ſomewhat plauſibly, he then began to fall to all manner of prodigious impieties; and amongſt other wicked deſigns, he had a great deſire to conſume the ſtately imperial city of Rome with fire; pronouncing king Priamus an happy man, becauſe he beheld the end of his kingdom and country together. Yea, ſaid he, let not all be ruined when I am dead, but whilſt I am yet alive. And for the effecting of this villany, he ſent divers to kindle the fire in ſundry places; yea, ſome of his own bed-chamber were ſeen to carry flax, tow, torches, *&c.* to further it; and when any attempted to quench it, they were threatned for it. Others openly hurled fire-brands, crying, They knew what they did, there was one would bear them out. This fire firſt began amongſt the oil-men and drugſters; the night watch and pretorian guards did openly cheriſh it; and when it was throly kindled, Nero went up to the top of Mecenas' tower, which overlooked the whole city, where he fed himſelf with the ſight of infinite burnings, and ſung to his harp the burning of Troy.

Amongſt other ſtately buildings that were burned down, the *circus* or race-yard was one, being about half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of ſeats one above another, capable to receive at leaſt a hundred and fifty thouſand ſpectators, without uncivil ſhouldrings. But the particulars were innumerable, the damage inеſtimable; beſides which, many thouſands of people periſhed; the flame and ſmoak ſmothered ſome, the weight of ruins cruſhed others, the fire conſumed others; others threw themſelves into the fire out of ſorrow and deſpair, and villains ſlew many.

But Nero finding that this fire, which continued burning nine days, brought great odium upon him; to excuſe himſelf, he transferred the fault upon the Chriſtians, as if out of malice they had done it, and thereupon he raiſed this firſt perſecution againſt them. For there was at this preſent a flouriſhing church of Chriſtians in Rome, even before St. Paul's arrival there, and Nero's own court was ſecretly garniſhed and enriched with ſome of thoſe diamonds, whoſe ſalutations the apoſtle remembers in his epiſtle to the Philippians. But whilſt Nero with their blood ſought to quench and covet his own infamy, he procured to himſelf new envy; whilſt many that abhorred Chriſtians for their religion, commiſerated their ſufferings as undeſerved. Some he cauſed to be ſewed up in the ſkins of wild beaſts, and then worried them to death with dogs; ſome he crucified, others he burnt in public, to furniſh his evening ſports with bone-fires. Many he cauſed to be packed up in paper ſtiffened in molten wax, with a coat of ſearcloth about their

their bodies, and bound upright to axle-trees, many of which were pitched in the ground, and ſo ſet on fire at the bottom, to maintain light for Nero's night ſports in his gardens. Some of them were gored in length upon ſtakes, the one end faſtned in the earth, the other thruſt into their fundaments, and coming out at their mouths.

Nor did this perſecution rage in Rome alone, but it was extended generally over the whole empire, inſomuch, that a man might then have ſeen cities lying full of dead men's bodies, the old lying there together with the young, and the dead bodies of women caſt out naked in the open ſtreets, without all reverence to their ſex: Yea, his rage and malice was ſo great, that he endeavoured to have rooted out the very name of Chriſtians in all places. Whereupon Tertullian ſaid, *That it could be no ordinary goodneſs which Nero condemned: And*, ſaith he, *we glory on the behalf of our ſufferings, that they had ſuch a dictator as he*. But this great perſecution, like a blaſt, did ſpread the religion that it blew, and having continued four years from the firſt riſing, it expired in two moſt ſhining blazes, *viz.* In the martyrdom of the two great apoſtles, Peter and Paul; Peter was crucified with his head downwards, which manner of death himſelf made choice of; and whilſt he thus hung upon the croſs, he ſaw his wife going to her martyrdom, whereupon he much rejoiced; and calling her by her name, he bade her remember the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. At the ſame time alſo Paul before Nero, made a confeſſion of his faith, and of the doctrine which he taught; whereupon he was condemned to be beheaded, and the emperor ſent two of his eſquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, heard him inſtruct the people, and thereupon deſired him to pray for them, that they might believe; who told them, that ſhortly after they ſhould believe and be baptized. Then the ſoldiers led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he prayed, and ſo gave his neck to the ſword, and was beheaded. This was done in the fourteenth, which was the laſt year of Nero.

[Collected out of the life of Nero Cæſar, Euſebius, and the book of martyrs.]

CHAP. VIII.

The ſecond Primitive Perſecution, which began anno 96

AFTER the death of Nero, there ſucceeded firſt Veſpaſian, and then his ſon Titus in the empire, under both whom the church had reſt; but Titus aſſociating to himſelf his brother Flavius Domitian in the government of the empire. This wicked monſter firſt ſlew his brother, and then raiſed the ſecond perſecution againſt the church of Chriſt. His pride was ſo great, that he commanded himſelf to be worſhipped as God; and that images of gold and ſilver ſhould be ſet up for his honour in the capitol His cruelty was unmeaſurable. The chiefeſt nobles of the Roman ſenators, either upon envy, or for their goods, he cauſed to be put to death. Having alſo heard ſome rumours of Chriſt's kingdom, he was afraid, as Herod had been before him; and thereupon commanded all of the lineage of David to be ſought out and ſlain. At laſt two poor Chriſtians that came of Judas, the brother of Chriſt, according to the fleſh, were brought before Domitian, and accuſed to be of the tribe of Judah, and of the line of David; then did the emperor demand of them what ſtock of money and poſſeſſions they had? To whom they anſwered, That they two had not above thirty nine acres of land, out of which they paid tribute, and relieved themſelves by their labour and induſtry, withal ſhewing him their hard and brawny hands, by reaſon of their labour. Then did he aſk them of Chriſt, and of his kingdom; to whom they anſwered, That Chriſt's kingdom was not of this world, but ſpiritual and celeſtial; and that he would come at the laſt day to judge the quick and the dead. Hereupon he deſpiſed them as ſimple and contemptible perſons, and ſo diſmiſſed them. He puniſhed an infinite company of Chriſtians that were famous in the church with exile and loſs of their ſubſtance. Under this perſecution it was that St. John the beloved diſciple was firſt put into a veſſel of boiling oil, and coming ſafe without hurt out of the ſame, he was then baniſhed into the iſle of Patmos, *anno* 97. where he continued till after the death of Domitian, but was releaſed under Pertinax. At which time he returned to Epheſus, where he lived till he was an hundred and twenty years old. During his abode there, he was requeſted to repair to ſome place not far off, to order their eccleſiaſtical affairs; and being in a certain city, he beheld in the congregation a young man, mighty of body, beautiful of countenance, and fervent mind: Whereupon calling the chief biſhop unto him, he ſaid, 'I commend this man unto thee 'with great diligence, in the witneſs here of Chriſt and of 'the church.' The biſhop having received this charge, and promiſed his faithful diligence therein, John ſpake the like words to him the ſecond time alſo, after which he returned unto Epheſus. The biſhop having received this young man thus committed to his charge, brought him home, kept, nouriſhed, inſtructed and baptized him; and the young man ſo profited under him, that at laſt he was made the paſtor of a congregation. But having by this means more liberty than before, ſome of his old companions began to reſort unto him; who firſt drew him forth to ſumptuous and riotous banquets, then enticed him to go abroad with them in the nights to rob and ſteal, and to much other wickedneſs. And he being of a good wit and ſtout courage, ran like an unbridled horſe to all manner of diſorders and outrage; and aſſociating to himſelf many looſe and diſſolute companions, he became their head and captain in committing all kinds of murder and felonies. Not long after, upon ſome urgent occaſions, St. John was again ſent for into thoſe parts, where having decided thoſe controverſies, and diſpatched thoſe buſineſſes for which he came, meeting with the before-mentioned biſhop, he required of him the charge, which before Chriſt and the congregation, he had committed to his cuſtody. The biſhop herewith amazed, ſuppoſing that he meant it of ſome money committed to him, which yet he had not received, not daring to contradict the apoſtle, he thereupon ſtood mute; then John perceiving that he was not underſtood, ſaid, 'The young man, and the ſoul of our brother com-'mitted to your cuſtody, I do require.' Whereupon the biſhop with many tears, ſaid, He is dead; to whom John replied, How, and by what death? the biſhop anſwered, 'He is dead to God, for he is become a wicked and vici-'ous man, and a thief; and now he doth frequent theſe 'mountains with a company of thieves and villains like 'himſelf,' &c. The apoſtle rending his garments with a great lamentation ſaid, 'I left a good keeper of my bro-'ther's ſoul, get me an horſe and guide preſently.' Which being done, he went ſtraight to the mountains, and was no ſooner come thither, but he was taken by the thieves that watched for their prey; to whom he ſaid, I came hither for this cauſe, lead me to your captain. And ſo being brought before him, the captain all armed, looked fiercely upon him, and ſoon coming to the knowlege of him, he was ſtricken with ſuch ſhame and confuſion, that he began to fly; but the old man followed him as faſt as he could, crying, 'My ſon, why doſt thou fly from thy father? an 'armed man from one naked? a young man from an old 'man? Have pity upon me my ſon, and fear not, there is 'yet hope of ſalvation; I will anſwer for thee to Chriſt, 'I will die for thee, if need be, as Chriſt died for us, I will 'give my life for thee: Believe me, Chriſt hath ſent me.' He hearing theſe things, firſt, as in a maze, ſtood ſtill, loſt his courage, caſt down his weapons, then trembled and wept bitterly; and coming to the old man, he embraced him with many tears, only his right hand he kept hid and covered. Then the apoſtle, after he had promiſed and aſſured him that he ſhould obtain pardon of our Saviour, falling upon his knees, he prayed for him, kiſſing his murthering right hand, which for ſhame he durſt not ſhew before; and then brought him back to the congregation, where he faſted and prayed continually for him, comforted and confirmed him with many ſcripture-promiſes, and left him not till he had reſtored him to his former office, and made him a great example of God's mercy to repentant ſinners.

In this perſecution Simeon biſhop of Jeruſalem, after many torments, was crucified to death; and an innumerable company of martyrs ſuffered for the like teſtimony of the

the Lord Jeſus, amongſt whom was Flavia, the daughter of Flavius Clemens, a Roman ſenator and conſul; who amongſt many others was baniſhed into the iſle of Pontia.

This law alſo was made by the Roman ſenate, *Non debere demitti Chriſtianos, qui ſemel ad tribunal veniſſent, niſi propoſitum mutent*, That Chriſtians ſhould not be let go that were once brought before the tribunal ſeat, except they renounced their religion. Yea, that which ſtirred up the emperor more to perſecute the Chriſtians, were thoſe abominable lies and malicious ſlanders raiſed againſt them by the heathen idolaters; as that they were a people that lived in inceſt, that in their meetings putting out the candles, they ran together in all filthy manner; that they killed their own children and uſed to eat men's fleſh; that they were ſeditious and rebellious, and refuſed to ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar, and would not adore his image in the market-place; and in brief, that they were pernicious to the Roman empire: Yea, whenſoever any thing happened amiſs to the city of Rome, or to her provinces, either by famine, peſtilence, earthquakes, wars, unſeaſonable weather, &c. it was preſently imputed to the Chriſtians. Beſides alſo, there were a number of wicked promoters and accuſers, that for lucre's ſake, to have the poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians, accuſed and perſecuted them to death. Alſo when the Chriſtians were brought before the magiſtrates, they gave them an oath, requiring them to declare the truth, whether they were Chriſtians or no; and if they confeſſed, then by the law, ſentence of death was paſſed againſt them. Yet were not theſe tyrants content by death to deſtroy their bodies, but the kinds of death were divers and horrible; whatſoever the cruelty of man's witty and wicked invention could deviſe for the puniſhment of man's body, was practiſed againſt the poor ſaints of God; impriſonments, ſtripes, ſcourgings, rackings, tearings, ſtoning, plates of iron burning hot laid to the tendereſt parts of their bodies, deep dungeons, ſtrangling in priſons, the teeth of wild beaſts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, toſſings upon the horns of bulls, &c. and when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid on heaps, and dogs left to keep them, that none might come to bury them; neither could any prayer or intreaty obtain leave that they might be interred. Notwithſtanding all which horrible puniſhments, the church of Chriſt daily increaſed, being deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apoſtles and apoſtolical men, and watered plenteouſly with the blood of the ſaints.

Alſo in this perſecution, Protaſius and Gervaſius were martyred at Milan, Timothy was ſtoned to death at Epheſus by the worſhippers of Diana. Dionyſius Areopagita was ſlain with the ſword at Paris, &c.

CHAP. IX.

The third Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 108.

DOMITIAN being ſlain by ſome of his own ſervants, Nerva ſucceeded him, who was a good and merciful man, ſtayed the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, called them home from baniſhment, ſo that the church enjoyed peace in his time: But he reigning only thirteen months, Trajan, a Spaniard, ſucceeded him, who in the tenth year of his reign raiſed the third perſecution againſt the church, which was far more cruel than either of the former: In as much as Plinius Secundus, an heathen philoſopher, ſeeing the lamentable ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, moved with pity, he wrote to Trajan concerning the ſame. That whereas there were many thouſands of them daily put to death, there were none of them which did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy of perſecution, ſaving that they uſed to gather together in the morning before day, and ſing hymns to a certain God that they worſhipped, called Chriſt; in other things they were godly and honeſt. And for proof hereof, ſaith he, I cauſed two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined about the ſame; but finding nothing in them but only lewd and immoderate ſuperſtition, I reſolved to ſurceaſe further enquiry, till I received further inſtructions from you about this matter, &c. Trajan having read this epiſtle, returned anſwer, That it was his mind that the Chriſtians ſhould not be ſought after; but if they were brought and convicted, that then they ſhould ſuffer execution. Whereof Tertullian ſpeaking, ſaith, 'O confuſed ſentence! he would 'not have them ſought for as men innocent, and yet would 'have them puniſhed as men guilty.' Now tho' upon this act, the rage of the perſecution was ſomewhat abated, yet many evil diſpoſed men, and cruel officers there were, which ceaſed not to afflict the Chriſtians in divers provinces; eſpecially if any commotion was raiſed in any of them, then preſently were the Chriſtians blamed for it. Trajan ſent a command to Jeruſalem, That whoſoever could be found out of the ſtock of David, ſhould be enquired for, and put to death. Hereupon ſome ſectaries of the Jewiſh nation accuſed Simeon, the ſon of Cleophas, to come of David's line, and that he was a Chriſtian. Of which accuſers it happened, that ſome of them were taken to be of the ſtock of David, and ſo moſt righteouſly were executed themſelves, who ſought the deſtruction of others. In this perſecution ſuffered Phocas, biſhop of Pontus; whom Trajan, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to Neptune, cauſed to be caſt into a hot lime kiln, and afterwards to be put into a ſcalding bath, where he ended his life in the cauſe of Chriſt. As alſo Sulpitius Servilianus, and Nereus; and Achilleus ſuffered martyrdom in Rome, Segaris in Aſia: then alſo Ignatius, biſhop of Antioch, was apprehended and ſent to Rome, where he was devoured of wild beaſts; and beſides theſe, many thouſand others.

After the death of Trajan ſucceeded Adrian, who continued this third perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; at which time Alexander, biſhop of Rome, with his two deacons, as alſo Hermes and Quirinus, with their families, ſuffered martyrdom. Alſo about this time, Zenon, a nobleman of Rome, with above ten thouſand more, were ſlain for Chriſt's ſake. Alſo in mount Ararath were ten thouſand Chriſtians crucified, crowned with thorns, and thruſt into the ſide with ſharp darts, after the example of the Lord's paſſion. Euſtachius, a noble captain, whom Trajan had ſent out to war againſt the barbarians; after (thro' God's mercy) he had valiantly ſubdued his enemies, was returning home with victory; Adrian for joy, went to meet him, and to bring him home with triumph; but by the way he would needs ſacrifice to Apollo for the victory obtained, willing Euſtachius to do the ſame with him. But when by no means he could be perſuaded thereto, coming to Rome, he with his wife and children ſuffered martyrdom, by the command of the ungrateful emperor. Alſo Fauſtinus and Jobita, citizens of Brixia, were martyred with many torments; which cauſed one Calocerius, beholding their admirable patience in the midſt of their cruel torments, to cry out, *Vere magnus eſt Deus Chriſtianorum*, Verily great is the God of the Chriſtians; whereupon being apprehended, he was made partaker of their martyrdom. Alſo Eleutherius, biſhop in Apulia, was beheaded, together with his mother Anthea. Alſo Symphoriſſa, a godly matron, was often cruelly ſcourged, afterwards hanged up by the hair of her head, at laſt had a huge ſtone faſtened to her, and ſo was thrown into the river; after which her ſeven children in like manner, with ſundry and divers kinds of torments, were all of them martyred by the tyrant. Theſe ſeven children of Symphoriſſa, were faſtned to ſeven ſtakes, then racked up with a pully, and afterwards thruſt thorow; Creſcens in the neck, Julianus in the breaſt, Nemeſius in the heart, Primitivus in the navel, Juſtinus was cut in every joint of his body, Stacteus run thorow with ſpears, and Eugenius cut aſunder from the breaſt to the lower parts, and then all of them were caſt into a deep pit. Adrian being at Athens, ſacrificed to the idols after the manner of the Grecians, and gave free leave to whomſoever would, to perſecute the Chriſtians which ſhould refuſe it. Whereupon Quadratus, biſhop of Athens, a man of admirable zeal and famous for learning, exhibited to the emperor a learned and excellent apology in defence of the Chriſtian religion; the like alſo did Ariſtides, an excellent philoſopher in Athens. There was alſo one Serenus Granius, a man of great ability, who wrote pithy and grave letters to Adrian, ſhewing that it was neither agreeable to right nor reaſon, that the blood of innocents ſhould be given up to the rage and fury of the people, and be condemned for no other fault, but for their opinions. Hereupon the emperor became more favourable to them; writing alſo in

their behalf to Minutius Fundanus, proconſul of Aſia, That if they had no other crime objected againſt them but their religion, they ſhould not be put to death. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the rage of the heathen multitude did not ceaſe from perſecuting the people of God; imputing to them whatſoever miſchief and judgments befel them: Yea, they invented againſt them all manner of contumelies and falſe crimes to accuſe them of, whereby many in ſundry places were moleſted and put to death.

After Adrian ſucceeded Antoninus Pius, who being informed of the cruel ſufferings of the Chriſtians, wrote this letter to his commons of Aſia, forbidding them to perſecute the Chriſtians any further; which epiſtle he thus concludes. *If any hereafter ſhall offer any vexation and trouble to Chriſtians, having no other cauſe, but becauſe they are ſuch, let him that is appeached be releaſed and freely diſcharged, and let his accuſer ſuſtain the puniſhment*, &c.

By this means then the tempeſt of perſecution began in thoſe days to be appeaſed, thro' the merciful providence of God, who would not have his church to be utterly overthrown and rooted up thereby. *The rod of the wicked ſhall not always reſt upon the lot of the righteous*, Pſal. cxxv. 3.

CHAP. X.

The fourth Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 162.

AFTER the death of that quiet and mild prince Antoninus Pius, his ſon M. Antoninus Verus ſucceeded in the empire; a ſtern and ſevere man by nature, who raiſed the fourth perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; wherein a great number of them, who truly profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruel puniſhments and torments, eſpecially in Aſia and France; among whom was Polycarp biſhop of Smyrna, who was burnt at a ſtake there, together with twelve others that came from Philadelphia. Alſo Germanicus a young man, did moſt conſtantly perſevere in the doctrine of Chriſt, whom when the proconſul of Aſia deſired to remember his age, and to favour himſelf, he would by no flatteries be withdrawn from his ſtedfaſtneſs, but remaining conſtant, was thrown to the wild beaſts, whom he allured and provoked to come upon him and devour him, that he might be the more ſpeedily delivered out of this wretched life. Alſo in this perſecution ſuffered Metrodorus, a miniſter, who was conſumed by fire; and Pionius, who after much boldneſs of ſpeech, with his apologies exhibited, and his ſermons made to the people in defence of the Chriſtian faith, and after much relieving and comforting ſuch as were in priſons and diſtreſs, at laſt was put to cruel torments and then burned in the fire. Alſo at Pergamopolis in Aſia, ſuffered Carpus, Papilus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their moſt conſtant and worthy confeſſions, were put to death.

At Rome, Felicitas with her ſeven children were martyred, whereof her eldeſt ſon, after he was whipt and grievouſly ſcourged with rods, was preſt to death with leaden weights; the two next had their brains beaten out with malls; the fourth was thrown down headlong from an high place, and brake his neck; the three youngeſt were beheaded; and laſtly, the mother was ſlain with the ſword.

Alſo Juſtin Martyr, a man that excelled in learning and philoſophy, and a great defender of the Chriſtian religion, who had delivered to the emperor and ſenate an apology in defence of the Chriſtians, ſuffered martyrdom in this perſecution.

There was in Egypt a woman married to a huſband that was given much unto laſciviouſneſs, whereunto ſhe herſelf alſo had been formerly addicted; but being inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, ſhe became a chaſte and godly matron, and endeavoured to perſuade her huſband alſo thereunto: But he, continuing in his filthy life, ſhe reſolved to be divorced from him; yet at the requeſt of her friends, ſhe forbore, to try if by any means he would be reclaimed: But he going to Alexandria, and living more licentiouſly than before, ſhe ſued out a bill of divorce, and ſo was ſeparated from him: Then did this malicious wretch accuſe her to be a Chriſtian, which was no leſs than death, whereupon ſhe being in great peril, delivered up a ſupplication to the emperor, craving but ſo much favour, that ſhe might go and ſet her family in order, and then ſhe would be ready to anſwer to all ſuch crimes as ſhould be objected againſt her: This petition the emperor granted; her huſband perceiving that he was fruſtrated of his expectation, went and accuſed Ptolemæus (who was her inſtructor in the faith of Chriſt) that he was a Chriſtian. Ptolemæus loving the truth, and not thinking it good to hide his profeſſion, confeſſed it: Therefore being brought before Urbicius the judge, he was by him condemned to die; whereupon one Lucius a Chriſtian, ſtanding by, ſaid to the judge, 'What reaſon, I pray you, or equity is this, that this 'man, who is neither adulterer, fornicator, murderer, nor 'felon, nor guilty of any other crime, ſhould be condemn-'ed for his name and profeſſion of Chriſtianity? Theſe 'manner of judgments, O Urbicius! are neither honoura-'ble for the emperor, nor for the eſtate of the ſenate of 'Rome:' Then ſaid Urbicius, Methinks thou alſo art a Chriſtian, which Lucius confeſſing, the judge without any further delay, commanded him alſo to be had away to the place of execution; to which he anſwered, 'I thank 'you with all my heart, that hereby you releaſe me from 'moſt wicked governors, and ſend me to my good and 'loving Father, who is God of gods, and King of kings.' Alſo a third man coming to the judge, and uſing the like liberty of ſpeech, had the like ſentence of death, and was crowned with the ſame crown of martyrdom.

Alſo one Concordus, a miniſter of the city of Spoleto, becauſe he refuſed to ſacrifice to Jupiter, and did ſpit in the face of the idol, after divers cruel torments ſuſtained, was beheaded with the ſword.

Many others alſo ſuffered martyrdom at the ſame time, becauſe they ſharply reprehended idolatry, and refuſed at the emperor's command to offer ſacrifice to idols, for which they were beheaded.

Many Chriſtians alſo ſuffered in France, the hiſtory of whom was written, and ſet forth by their own churches, and directed to the brethren of Aſia and Phrygia; wherein they write, That Satan's inſtruments were ſo maliciouſly active againſt them, that they could not be ſafe any where, neither in the markets, ſhops, nor their own houſes. Yea, they were forbidden to come into any public places: But God in mercy took out of the tyrants hands ſuch as were weak amongſt the Chriſtians, and ſet up others as pillars, who were able to abide all ſufferings, and valiantly to withſtand the enemy, notwithſtanding all the opprobrious puniſhments they could deviſe; yea, by their admirable patience they ſhewed that all the ſufferings of this preſent time were not to be compared with the glory which they expected to be reveal'd in them. Firſt they ſuffered whatſoever the frantic multitude could inflict upon them, by railings, ſcourgings, drawings and hailings, flinging of ſtones, impriſonments, &c. Then were they led to the market place, where the captain and other city officers commanded them to priſon, after they had made confeſſions of their faith publicly, till the return of the chief governor; who being come back, he uſed all extremity that poſſibly he could againſt them. At which time a noble young man, called Vetius Epagathus, being repleniſhed with fervent zeal and love, both to God and the brethren, could not ſuffer the wicked judgment which was given againſt the brethren: Whereupon he deſired the governor to hear what he had to ſay in their behalf, in whom was no impiety found: But the people cried out againſt him, and the juſtice denied his lawful requeſt, withal aſking him whether he himſelf were not a Chriſtian? unto which, with a loud and bold voice he anſwered, I am a Chriſtian; and thus was he received into the fellowſhip of the martyrs. By this worthy example the reſt of the brethren were more animated to ſuffer martyrdom: Yet ſome there were as yet weak, and not ſo well prepared for ſufferings, of whom there were ten that fainted, which filled the reſt with great heavineſs. Their example alſo cauſed ſuch as were not yet apprehended to be leſs forward in adventuring themſelves; yet every day were ſome apprehended, which were worthy to fill up the number of them which were falln.

Againſt the Chriſtians were their heathen ſervants examined, and being threatned with extreme torments, they were

were forced to confeſs againſt their maſters, that at their meetings they kept the feaſts of Thieſtes, and inceſt of Oedipus, and many other ſuch like crimes, not fit to be named, which things being bruted abroad, every one began to exerciſe their cruelty againſt the people of God; yea, their familiar friends diſdained and waxed mad againſt them.

Then was all manner of cruelty uſed againſt them, eſpecially againſt Sanctus, deacon of the church of Vienna, and Maturus, but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy ſoldier of Chriſt. Alſo againſt Attalus and Blandina, concerning whom (ſay they) were all afraid, eſpecially her miſtreſs, leſt thro' weakneſs ſhe ſhould not ſtand to her profeſſion; but, thro' God's grace ſhe was ſo admirably repleniſhed with ſtrength and boldneſs, that they which had the tormenting of her by courſe from morning till night, for very wearineſs gave over, and fell down, confeſſing that they could do no more againſt her, marvelling that ſhe yet lived, having her body ſo torn and rent as it was; profeſſing that any one of thoſe torments alone had been ſufficient to bereave her of life. But this bleſſed virgin became ſtronger and ſtronger in her ſufferings, and as often as ſhe ſpake theſe words, I am a Chriſtian, and have not committed any evil, ſhe was wonderfully comforted.

Sanctus alſo, who in his torments had endured more pains than the nature of man was able to ſtand under, when the wicked thought to have heard him utter ſome blaſphemous words, thro' the intolerableneſs of his pains, abode notwithſtanding ſo conſtant in mind, that they could neither extort out of him what countryman he was, where brought up, what his name was, whether a bondman or a free, but to every queſtion he anſwered, I am a Chriſtian: When therefore they had uſed all other kinds of torments, they clapped plates of braſs red hot to the tendereſt parts of his body, wherewith, tho' he was grievouſly ſcorched, yet ſhrunk he not for the matter; yea, tho' his body was all drawn together with the ſcorching fire, ſo that he retained not the proper ſhape of a man, yet did he draw comfort from Chriſt, ſo as to rejoice in theſe tribulations. After a while they brought him again to new torments, hoping thereby to force him to a recantation; at which time his body was ſo ſore and ſwoln, that he could not ſuffer a man to touch him: But contrary to their expectation, his body in theſe latter torments was ſo ſupplied and reſtored, that he recovered the former ſhape and uſe of his members, ſo that theſe ſecond torments, through the grace of Chriſt, proved a ſovereign medicine to him.

Satan alſo now thinking that he was ſure of Biblides, who was one of thoſe that had denied Chriſt, and hoping to prevail with her, a weak and feeble woman in the faith, to damn her ſoul by blaſpheming God, brought her to the place of execution; but ſhe, in the midſt of her torments returning to herſelf, and by thoſe pains remembring the torments of hell, ſaid to her tormentors, 'How ſhould we 'Chriſtians eat our own children, as you report of us, 'when we eat not the blood of any beaſt?' and ſo confeſſing herſelf to be a Chriſtian, ſhe was martyred with the reſt.

Yet here did not the rage of the enemies ceaſe; for when the Chriſtians were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and drawn by the feet in a rack, even unto the fifth hole: Some of them were ſtrangled and killed in the priſons; others remaining in priſon, deſtitute of all human help, were ſo ſtrengthned by the Lord, both in body and mind, that they were a great comfort to the reſt: The younger ſort, whoſe bodies had not yet felt the laſh of the whip, were not able to endure the ſharpneſs of their impriſonment, but died under the fame.

Photinus, deacon to the biſhop of Lyons, about eighty nine years old, weak and feeble by reaſon of age and ſickneſs, yet of a lively ſpirit and courage, by reaſon of the great deſire which he had of martyrdom, being brought to the judgment ſeat, and being there demanded of the chief ruler, What was the Chriſtian man's God? he anſwered, If thou beeſt worthy to know, thou ſhalt know: The ruler being enraged herewith, cauſed him to be extremely beaten; alſo ſuch as ſtood next him, did him all the deſpight they could, beating and kicking him without any regard to his reverend grey hairs; others that were further off, threw at him whatſoever came next to hand; and thus while he was gaſping after life, they threw him into priſon, where after two days he died.

They alſo which in the firſt perſecution had denied Chriſt, were apprehended, caſt into priſon, and made partakers of the others afflictions; yea, they had twice ſo much puniſhment as the other had: And whereas they which had been conſtant, were refreſhed with the joy of martyrdom, with the hope of God's promiſes, and with the love of Chriſt and his holy Spirit: The other apoſtates being full of guilt, went out to death with dejected and ill-favoured countenances, and were filled with ſhame, ſo that the very Gentiles reviled them as degenerate perſons, and worthy to ſuffer as evil doers; whereas in the mean time, they which had remained conſtant, went to their martyrdom with chearful countenances, adorned with glory and grace; yea, their very bonds wherewith they were tied, ſet them out as brides when they are decked in gorgeous array; and withal, they had ſuch a redolent ſmell, as if they had been anointed with ſome ſweet balm; by which ſight the reſt were confirmed, and being apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtaggering.

The martyrdom of the ſaints was of divers kinds, as the offering to God a garland decked with ſundry kinds of colours and flowers.

Maturus, Attalus and Blandina, were again brought forth to the public ſcaffold, where Maturus and Sanctus ſuffered again all manner of torments, as if they had ſuffered nothing before; they were ſcourged, torn of wild beaſts, ſet in red hot iron chairs, in which their bodies were fried as on a gridiron, and their tormentors raged more and more againſt them, labouring to overcome the patience of the ſaints; yet could they get nothing out of Sanctus' mouth, but that he was a Chriſtian: Theſe holy men having been thus made a ſpectacle all the day to the people, were at laſt ſlain. Then Blandina being faſtned to a ſtake, was caſt to the wild beaſts, but they, as being more merciful than men, would not come near her; then they caſt her again into priſon, where ſhe, tho' a weak woman, yet armed with invincible courage by Chriſt, mightily encouraged her brethren.

Then was Attalus brought forth with this inſcription, *This is Attalus the Chriſtian, againſt whom the people were much enraged, but the governor underſtanding that he was a Roman, remanded him to priſon till he underſtood the emperor's pleaſure:* Many that had before denied Chriſt, thro' God's grace, recovered themſelves again, and taſted the ſweetneſs of him that *deſired not the death of a ſinner*, &c. and of their own accord came to the judgment-ſeat to be examined; then did the judge, when a great concourſe of people was met together, ſend for all the Chriſtian priſoners, and as many as were free-men of Rome he beheaded, the reſidue he gave to be devoured of wild beaſts; amongſt whom alſo they which had before denied Chriſt, joyfully ſuffered martyrdom. Whilſt the Chriſtians were examining at the bar, one Alexander a phylician, by ſigns and becks perſuaded thoſe which were examined, boldly to confeſs Chriſt, which the people taking notice of, accuſed him to the judge; who aſking him what religion he was of, he anſwered, I am a Chriſtian; whereupon he was immediately adjudged to be devoured of the beaſts.

The next day was Attalus and this Alexander brought forth to the ſcaffold, where they had all manner of torments inflicted upon them, and having endured the greateſt agony that poſſibly they could be put to, they were at laſt ſlain: Alexander never ſo much as ſighed, but prayed to, and praiſed God all the while he was tormented: Attalus, when he was ſet in the iron chair, and the frying ſavour of his burning body began to ſmell, ſaid to the people, *Behold this which you do is to eat man's fleſh: for we neither eat men, nor commit any other wickedneſs*: And being demanded what was the name of their God, he ſaid, *Our God hath no ſuch name as men have*; then ſaid they, *Let us ſee whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands.* Then was Blandina again brought forth, and with her one Ponticus, a youth of fifteen years old, who defying their idols, and conſtantly cleaving to Chriſt, were put to all the torments their enraged enemies could deviſe; the youth having ſuffered all kinds of torments, at

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laſt gave up the ghoſt: Blandina was firſt pitifully whipped, then thrown to the wild beaſts, then tormented upon the gridiron, then put into a net and thrown to the wild bull, and when ſhe was toſſed, gored, and wounded with his horns, ſhe was at laſt ſlain, but was ſo filled with the raviſhing joys of the Holy Ghoſt, that ſhe felt no pain during all her torments. Such as were ſtrangled in priſons, were afterwards thrown to dogs, and had keepers both day and night ſet to watch them, leſt their bones and members ſhould be buried. In the mean time the Gentiles extolled their idols, mocking and flouting the Chriſtians, ſaying, *Where is your God that you ſo much boaſt of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you give your lives?* The bodies of the martyrs were thus made a gazing-ſtock for ſix days in the open ſtreets, and then were burned, and their aſhes thrown into the river.

Alſo in this perſecution Juſtin Martyr, thro' the malice of Creſcens the philoſopher, ſuffered martyrdom. Alſo one Alcibiades, a man of a ſtrict life, eating only bread and water, was caſt into the priſon where Attalus and other Chriſtians lay, and Alcibiades continued the ſame ſtrict diet in priſon: But it was from God revealed to Attalus, that he did not well in refuſing the other good creatures of God, and that it was ſcandalous to his brethren; whereupon he reformed, and eat of all things boldly with thankſgiving.

About this time Claudius Apolinaris, biſhop of Hieropolis, and Melito biſhop of Sardis, eloquent and learned men, delivered to the emperor excellent apologies written by them in defence of the Chriſtian religion, whereby they prevailed with him ſomewhat to ſtay the rage of this perſecution; which alſo was furthered upon this occaſion, Marcus Aurelius, and Marcus Antoninus the emperors, going to war againſt the Quades, Vandals, Sarmates and Germans, their army, by the multitude of their enemies, was coopt up in ſome ſtrait, dry and hot places, where the ſoldiers having been deſtitute of water for five days together, were all like to periſh. Hereupon a legion of Chriſtian ſoldiers being in the army, withdrew apart from the reſt, and falling proſtrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer obtained of God a double relief; for the Lord ſent the Romans ſuch ſhowers, as ſatisfied their neceſſities, and flaſhed ſuch lightnings againſt their enemies, that thereby they were diſcomfited and put to flight. This miracle ſo pleaſed the emperor, that ever after he uſed the Chriſtians gentler, writing alſo to divers rulers, commanding them to give thanks to the Chriſtians, as for the victory, ſo for the preſervation of himſelf and army. His letters was to this purpoſe, That whereas himſelf and army were environed with nine hundred ſeventy five thouſand fighting men, and were like to periſh for want of water, the Chriſtians praying to a God that he knew not, obtained relief for him, and by hail and lightning, deſtruction to his enemies; whereby he perceived their God to be a mighty God. Hereupon he decreed that none ſhould be puniſhed for the Chriſtian profeſſion, being guilty of no other crime, and that the accuſers of the Chriſtians ſhould be burned alive: Which decree he commanded to be recorded in the ſenate-houſe, proclaimed publicly in the court of Trajan, and ſent diligently into all his provinces, that all might take notice of the ſame.

Yet not long after, Apollonius, a noble ſenator of Rome, was accuſed by his own ſervant before the judge for being a Chriſtian: The accuſer, according to the decree, had his legs broken, and was put to death. But Apollonius having rendred an account of his faith before the ſenate, was condemned to be beheaded, notwithſtanding the decree, becauſe there was an old law, that any that was arraigned for profeſſing Chriſt, without a recantation, could not be releaſed.

Commodus the emperor upon his birth day, calling the people of Rome together, in great royalty, clothed in his lion's ſkin, ſacrificed to Hercules, cauſing it to be proclaimed, That Hercules was the patron of the city; whereupon Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus and Potentianus, learned men, and paſtors of the congregations, being ſtirred up with zeal, went about from place to place converting the Gentiles to the faith of Chriſt, and hearing of the madneſs of the emperor and people, they reproved that idolatrous blindneſs, exhorting them to believe in the true and living God, and that, forſaking the worſhipping of devils, they ſhould honour God alone. The emperor hearing thereof, cauſed them to be apprehended, and required them to ſacrifice to Hercules, which they refuſing to do, he cauſed them to be grievouſly tormented, and at laſt to be preſſed to death with weights of lead.

Julius, a Roman ſenator, having been converted by the preaching of theſe men, afterwards ſent for Ruffinus a miniſter, by whom himſelf and all his family were baptized, and burning with holy zeal, he made an open profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, praying that he might not only believe, but that he might have the honour to ſuffer for his name. The emperor hearing that he was become a Chriſtian, ſent for him, to whom he ſaid, 'O Julius, what 'madneſs poſſeſſeth thee thus to forſake the religion of thy 'forefathers, to embrace a new and fond kind of religion 'of the Chriſtians?' Hereupon Julius made before him a free and open profeſſion of his faith, affirming that the Roman gods were falſe gods, and that they that worſhipped them ſhould be puniſhed with everlaſting damnation. The emperor hearing that he deſpiſed his gods, was much enraged, and committed him to Vitellus, a cruel and fierce man, to compel him either to ſacrifice to Hercules, or to ſlay him: But Julius nothing diſcouraged, and perſuading Vitellus to acknowlege and ſerve the true God, was at his command beat to death with cudgels.

CHAP. XI.

The fifth Primitive Perſecution which began anno Chriſti 205.

COMMODUS being dead, Pertinax ſucceeded in the empire, under whom the church enjoyed peace, and flouriſhed exceedingly, ſo that many of the nobles of Rome embraced the true faith, together with their whole houſhold.

Pertinax being dead, Severus ſucceeded, and in the firſt ten years of his reign he was very mild and gentle to the Chriſtians; but afterwards, thro' ſiniſter ſuggeſtions and malicious accuſations, he was ſo incenſed, that by his proclamations he commanded that no Chriſtians ſhould any more be ſuffered to live. Hereby a great perſecution was ſtirred up on every ſide, and an infinite number of martyrs were ſlain. The crimes objected againſt the Chriſtians were ſedition, rebellion againſt the emperor, ſacrilege, murdering of infants, inceſtuous pollutions, eating raw fleſh, worſhipping the head of an aſs, *&c.* but eſpecially, that they would not worſhip their idols. The places where this perſecution moſt raged, were Africa, Cappadocia, Alexandria and Carthage. The number of them that ſuffered was innumerable, amongſt whom was Leonides the father of Origen; with whom Origen his ſon, being but ſeventeen years old, would have ſuffered, ſuch a fervent deſire he had of martyrdom, had not his mother privily in the night conveyed away his ſhirt and cloaths, whereupon, more for ſhame to be ſeen, than for fear to die, he was conſtrained to remain at home.

Origen was afterwards a profeſſor of divinity at Alexandria, and out of his ſchool, one Plutarch ſuffered martyrdom, as alſo Serenus his brother, who was burned, and another Serenus who was beheaded. Potamiena alſo, who was tormented with boiling pitch poured upon her, and afterwards with her mother Marcella, and Rhais was burned in the fire. This Potamiena being a beautiful virgin, was committed to captain Baſilides to ſee execution done upon her, and as he led her to the place of execution, he repreſſed the rage of the multitude, who followed her with many railings and revilings, whereupon, to requite his kindneſs, ſhe prayed to the Lord for his converſion to the true faith, and ſo with admirable patience ſhe ſuffered martyrdom.

Shortly after Baſilides being required to give an oath in the behalf of his fellow ſoldiers, he denied the ſame, plainly affirming that he was a Chriſtian, and therefore he could not ſwear by the idols, *&c.* they which heard him thought that he jeſted at firſt, but when he had conſtantly affirmed it, they had him before the judge, who committed him to ward: The Chriſtians wondring at it, went to him,

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and enquiring the cauſe of his converſion, he told them that Potamiena had prayed for him, and ſo he ſaw a crown put upon his head, adding that it ſhould not be long before he received it, and accordingly the next day he was beheaded.

As many ſuffered death in this perſecution, ſo others there were, who thro' God's providence, ſuffered great torments, and yet eſcaped with life; of whom there was one Alexander, who for his conſtant confeſſion, and torments ſuffered, was afterwards made biſhop of Jeruſalem. Alſo Narciſſus, againſt whom three wicked perſons conſpired to accuſe him, binding their accuſations with oaths and curſes, one wiſhing to be deſtroyed with fire, if it were not true, another to be conſumed with a grievous diſeaſe, the other to loſe both his eyes; Narciſſus being unable to withſtand ſo wicked an accuſation, retired himſelf into a deſart: In the mean time God's vengeance followed theſe perjured wretches; for the firſt, by a ſmall ſpark of fire was himſelf with all his family and goods burned; the ſecond was taken with a grievous ſickneſs which tormented him from the top to the toe, whereof he died; the third, being warned by theſe judgments, confeſſed his fault, but by reaſon of his abundant ſorrow and weeping, he loſt both his eyes: Narciſſus being hereby cleared from their falſe accuſation, returned home, and was received into his congregation again. Alſo one Andocius was ſent by Polycarp into France, who becauſe he ſpread there the doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended by the command of Severus, and firſt beaten with ſtaves and bats, and afterwards beheaded. Aſclepiades alſo, afterwards biſhop of Antioch, ſuffered much in this perſecution. Then did Irenæus, and many others with him ſuffer martyrdom, and ſhortly after Tertullian alſo. Perpetua and Felicitas, two godly women, with Revocatus their brother, and Satyrus, were thrown to the wild beaſts and devoured by them. Saturnius was beheaded. Secundus caſt into priſon, where he died. All theſe ſuffered martyrdom at Carthage.

Alſo Zepherinus, and after him Urbanus, both biſhops of Rome, were martyred in this perſecution: This Urbanus by preaching and holineſs of life, converted many heathens unto Chriſt; amongſt whom were Tiburtius and Valerianus, two noblemen of Rome who both ſuffered martyrdom; alſo Cecilia a virgin, who was eſpouſed to Valerian, was apprehended and carried to the idols to offer ſacrifice, which ſhe refuſing to do, ſhould have been carried to the judge to receive the ſentence of condemnation; but the ſerjeants and officers beholding her excellent beauty and prudent behaviour, began with many perſuaſions to ſolicit her to favour herſelf, &c. but ſhe ſo replied with wiſdom and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God, their hearts began to relent, and at length to yield to that religion which before they perſecuted; which ſhe perceiving, deſired leave to go home; and ſending for Urbanus the biſhop to her houſe, he ſo grounded and eſtabliſhed them in the faith of Chriſt, that about four hundred perſons believed, and were baptized; amongſt whom was Gordianus a nobleman. Afterwards this bleſſed martyr was brought before the judge, by whom ſhe was condemned; then ſhe was incloſed in an hot bath for twenty four hours, yet remaining alive, ſhe was there beheaded.

At Preneſte in Italy was one Agapetus of fifteen years old apprehended, and becauſe he refuſed to ſacrifice to idols, he was firſt ſcourged with whips, then hanged up by the feet, and had ſcalding water poured on him; then he was caſt to the wild beaſts; but becauſe they would not hurt him, he was laſtly beheaded. Antiochus that executed theſe torments on him, ſuddenly fell down from his judicial ſeat, crying out, That all his bowels burned within him, and ſo he died miſerably.

Calepodius, a miniſter of Chriſt in Rome, was firſt dragged thorow the ſtreets, and after caſt into Tiber.

Pamachius, a ſenator of Rome, with his wife and children, and other men and women to the number of forty two, were all beheaded in one day, together with another nobleman, whoſe heads were all hung up over the gates of the city, to deter others from the profeſſion of Chriſtianity. Alſo Martina, a Chriſtian virgin, having ſuffered many other bitter torments, was at laſt ſlain with the ſword.

CHAP. XII.

The ſixth Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 237.

THE emperor Maximinus raiſed the ſixth perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, eſpecially againſt the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking that if theſe captains were removed out of the way, he ſhould the eaſier prevail againſt the reſt. In the time of this perſecution, Origen wrote his book *de Martyrio*, which being loſt, the names of moſt that ſuffered martyrdom in thoſe times are buried in oblivion, yet were they very many; amongſt whom Urbanus biſhop of Rome, and Philippus, one of his miniſters, were baniſhed into Sardinia, where they both died.

About this time one Natalius, that had formerly ſuffered great perſecution for the cauſe of Chriſt, was ſeduced by Aſclepiodotus and Theodorus, two ſectaries, to be the biſhop of their ſect, promiſing to pay him a hundred and fifty crowns of ſilver every month, and ſo he joined himſelf to them; but the Lord in mercy not intending to loſe him that had ſuffered ſo much for his ſake, admoniſhed him by a viſion to adjoin himſelf to the true church again, which the good man for the preſent, blinded with lucre and honour, did not regard as he ought to have done: The night after he was ſcourged by angels, whereupon in the morning, putting on ſackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation, he went to the Chriſtian congregation, praying them for the tender mercies of Chriſt, that he might be received into their communion again, which requeſt was accordingly granted unto him.

Hippolitus was drawn thorow the fields with wild horſes till he died; many others were martyred and buried by ſixty in a pit.

CHAP. XIII.

The ſeventh Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 250.

DECIUS the emperor raiſed this ſeventh perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which was firſt occaſioned by reaſon of the treaſures of the emperor, which were committed to Fabian the biſhop of Rome, who thereupon by the command of Decius, was put to death, and moreover his proclamations were ſent into all quarters, that all which profeſſed the name of Chriſt, ſhould be ſlain. In the time of this perſecution Origen ſuffered many and great torments for the cauſe of Chriſt, by rackings, dungeons, &c.

Nicephorus, who writeth of this perſecution under Decius, declareth the horribleneſs of it to be ſo great, and that ſo many martyrs ſuffered, 'That, ſaith he, it is as eaſy 'to number the ſands of the ſea, as to ſet down the names 'of all thoſe whom this perſecution did devour.'

Alexander, biſhop of Jeruſalem, who was very aged, having governed the church forty years, was from thence carried to Cæſarea, where after a bold and conſtant confeſſion of his faith, made before the judge, he was caſt into priſon, and there died. Babilas biſhop of Antioch alſo died in priſon, and forty virgins were martyred there about that time. And one Peter, in the country of Phrygia, being apprehended by the proconſul, ſuffered moſt bitter torments for the name of Chriſt, the like did divers others in Troada. From Babylon divers Chriſtians were led away by Decius into Spain, and there executed; the like ſufferings had many in Cæſarea.

Dionyſius Alexandrinus, writing of the martyrs that ſuffered in Alexandria, ſaith thus, 'This perſecution began about a year before the emperor's proclamation came 'forth, by reaſon of a wicked ſoothſayer, who coming to 'the city, ſtirred up the multitude of heathens againſt the 'Chriſtians, perſuading them to uphold their idolatrous 'ſervices; wherewith the people being inflamed, obtained full power to proſecute their wicked purpoſes, con'ceiving all religion to conſiſt in the deſtruction of the

'Chriſtians.' And firſt of all they fell upon a miniſter, called Metra, whom they would have enforced to blaſpheme Chriſt; which when he refuſed, they laid upon him with ſtaves and clubs, and with ſharp reeds they pricked his face and eyes; and then, bringing him to the ſuburbs, they ſtoned him to death. Then they took an holy woman, called Quinta, and bringing her to the idol temple, would compel her to worſhip there; which ſhe conſtantly refuſing, they bound her feet and drew her thro' all the ſtreets upon the hard ſtones, whipt her with whips, daſhed her againſt milſtones, and laſtly ſtoned her to death. Then the enraged multitude breaking into the Chriſtian's houſes, plundred them of all they had; the reſt of the lumber they carried into the market place, and burned it: The ſaints in the mean time taking patiently and joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, knowing that they had a more enduring ſubſtance in heaven.

Then they took an antient virgin, called Apollinia, whom they brought forth, and daſhing all the teeth out of her head, they made a great fire, threatning to caſt her into it, unleſs ſhe would blaſpheme and deny Chriſt, whereupon ſhe, after a little pauſe, leaped into the fire, and ſo was burned. Then they took Serapion out of his houſe, whom they aſſailed with all kind of torments, broke almoſt all the joints of his body; and laſtly throwing him down from an high loft, killed him. The poor Chriſtians could no where ſhelter themſelves, nor reſt day nor night, the multitude crying out, That unleſs they would blaſpheme Chriſt, they ſhould all be burned. But, thro' God's mercy, the miſerable wretches at laſt fell out amongſt themſelves, turning their cruelty, formerly exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians, upon their own heads, whereby the church had a little breathing time.

Shortly after came forth the cruel edict of the emperor, which ſo terrified the Chriſtians, that ſome, eſpecially the rich, partly thro' fear, and partly by the perſuaſion of their neighbours, came to thoſe impure and idolatrous ſacrifices. Others came boldly to the altars, declaring publicly, That they were not of that religion: Of the reſt, ſome ran away, others were taken, enduring bands and torments conſtantly. Others again, after long impriſonment and ſundry torments, renounced their faith, whilſt others more ſtrong in the faith, valiantly endured martyrdom; amongſt whom was Julianus, a man diſeaſed with the gout, and not able to go, and Cronion, who were laid upon camels, and there ſcourged, and at laſt thrown into the fire, where, with much conſtancy, they were conſumed. As Julianus went to martyrdom, a certain ſoldier took his part againſt thoſe which railed upon him; whereupon the people crying out againſt him, he was apprehended, and being conſtant in his profeſſion, was preſently beheaded.

Alſo Macar, a Chriſtian Lybian, was burned alive. Epimachus and Alexander, having been long impriſoned, after innumerable pains and torments, with razors and ſcourges, were with four women conſumed with fire. Ammonarion a virgin, Mercuria an aged matron, and Dionyſia a mother of many children, whom yet ſhe loved not above the Lord; theſe, when they could not be overcome by any torments inflicted on them by the cruel judge, but rather were inſenſible of them all, were at laſt ſlain with the ſword.

Alſo three Egyptians, and a youth of fifteen years old, were brought before the judge, who firſt began with the child by fair words, ſeeking to entice him, then by torments to conſtrain him, which not prevailing, when he had tormented the others alſo, he condemned them all to the fire. But the judge wondering at the wiſe anſwers and grave conſtancy of the child, diſmiſſed him.

Nemeſion, alſo an Egyptian, was firſt accuſed to be a companion of thieves, but being purged from that, he was accuſed of Chriſtianity, tormented and ſcourged extremely, and then amongſt other thieves, burned to death.

A certain Chriſtian being examined before the judge, and thro' fear being ready to ſhrink back, there were by certain ſoldiers of the degree of knights, and an aged man, named Theophilus, who were ready to burſt for grief, making ſigns to him by their hands and geſtures to be conſtant; which being obſerved by the by-ſtanders, they were ready to lay hold of them; but they of their own accord, preſſing up to the judge, profeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, which much emboldened the weak Chriſtian that was before the tribunal, and terrified the judge. This being done, they departed, rejoicing for the teſtimony that they had given of their faith.

In other cities many Chriſtians were torn in pieces by the heathens.

Iſchirion, a ſervant to a nobleman, was commanded by his maſter to ſacrifice to the idols; which when he refuſed, and would by no means be perſuaded to, his maſter took a pike and run him thro'. Multitudes of Chriſtians wandring in deſarts and mountains, were devoured by hunger, thirſt, cold, ſickneſs, thieves and wild beaſts; amongſt whom was Cheremon, biſhop of the city of Nilus, and his wife, who flying into the mountains of Arabia, were never heard of more. Dionyſius alſo ſaith of himſelf, 'I ſpeak 'the truth before God, and lie not, I having no regard of 'my own life, and not without the motions of God's Spi-'rit, did fly and avoid the danger of this perſecution. 'Yea, and before that, when one was ſent from the gover-'nor to ſeek me, I remained three days at home to tarry 'for him; the meſſenger, in the mean time, narrowly 'ſought for me by all ways, fields, floods and corners, 'where he thought I might hide myſelf. God ſtriking 'him with blindneſs, that he could not find my houſe. 'After theſe three days, the Lord God willing and com-'manding me to fly, and marvelouſly opening to me the 'way, I with my children and many other brethren, went 'out together, and ſo eſcaped.'

Alſo Agatha, a godly virgin of Sicily, ſuffered divers and bitter torments of impriſonment, with beatings, famine, racking, as alſo rolling naked upon ſharp ſhells and coals, and had their breaſts cut off their body. Alſo forty other virgins, by ſundry kinds of torments, were put to death about the ſame time.

Decius erecting a temple at Epheſus, compelled all in the city to offer ſacrifice to idols; but there were ſeven Chriſtian ſoldiers of his own retinue who refuſed, neither could the emperor by perſuaſion or threats induce them to it; yet he gave them reſpite till his return from the wars; in the mean time they hid themſelves in a cave in the mountain Celitus. At the emperor's return he made great inquiſition for them, and at laſt hearing where they were, he cauſed the mouth of the cave ſo to be cloſed up, that they could not get out, and ſo they were famiſhed there.

There was alſo one Nicetas a Chriſtian ſoldier, whom when the Prætor could not by any torments remove from his ſtedfaſtneſs, he took another courſe with him; for he brought him into a moſt fragrant garden, flowing with all manner of pleaſures and delights, where he laid him upon a bed of down, ſoftly enwrapped in a net of ſilk, among the lilies and roſes, the delicious murmur of the ſtreams, and the ſweet whiſtling of the leaves moved with a gentle wind, and ſo departed: Preſently comes in a beautiful ſtrumpet, and uſeth all the abominable tricks of her impure art, and whoriſh villanies, to draw him to commit wickedneſs with her; whereupon the young man fearing that he ſhould now be conquered by folly, who was conqueror over fury, bites off a piece of his tongue with his own teeth, and ſpits in the face of the whore, and ſo prevented the hurt of ſin by the ſmart of his wound.

At Antioch, Theodora a godly virgin, refuſing to ſacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the judge to the ſtews; which ſentence being executed, there were many wanton young men ready at the door to preſs into the houſe where ſhe was; but one of the brethren, called Didymus, putting on a ſoldier's habit, would have the firſt admittance, and coming in, he perſuaded her to change garments with him; and ſo ſhe, in the ſoldier's habit eſcaped away, and Didymus was left to the rage and wondring of the people, when he was found a man. Hereupon he was preſented to the preſident, to whom he preſently confeſſed the whole matter, profeſſing himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſo was condemned; which Theodora hearing of, thinking to excuſe him, ſhe came and preſented herſelf to the judge as the guilty party, deſiring that ſhe might be condemned, and the other excuſed. But the cruel judge, neither conſidering the virtue of the perſons, nor the innocency of the cauſe, moſt inhumanly condemned them both, firſt

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to be beheaded, and then burnt, which was accordingly executed.

Agathon, a man at arms in Alexandria, rebuking ſome lewd perſons who ſcornfully uſed the dead bodies of the Chriſtians, was accuſed to the judge, and loſt his head.

In Troada, two Chriſtians being delivered by the proconſul to the people, were firſt ſcourged, then drawn out of the city, and there trodden to death. Two miniſters, with a deacon, were martyred in Rome; and two noblemen were brought and accuſed to Decius, for burying the dead bodies of the Chriſtians; and being by him commanded to ſacrifice to the idols, and they refuſing, he cauſed them to be caſt to the wild beaſts; but when they would not touch them, they were beheaded with the ſword.

Alſo Secundianus was accuſed to be a Chriſtian, which he affirming, was commanded to priſon. By the way, two Chriſtians cried to the ſoldiers, aſking them, Whither they carried the innocent man; whereupon being apprehended and examined, they confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, and ſo were condemned. Firſt, they were beaten with cudgels, then hung up and tormented with the gibbet, having fire ſet to their ſides, and laſtly, were beheaded. But ſome of theſe tormentors were taken with evil ſpirits; others of them fell down ſuddenly and died.

But the number of martyrs of all ranks that ſuffered in this perſecution was ſo great, that it is impoſſible to ſet them down all; biſhops, miniſters, deacons, *&c.* young, old, men, women, *&c.*

Yet amongſt this great number, ſome there were that fell away, as Serapion, an old man, that for a long time had lived a ſincere and godly life, who afterwards repenting of his apoſtacy, deſired to be re-admitted into the church, but that was not granted: Shortly after he fell ſick, and in it, having remained dumb, and bereaved of his ſenſes for twenty four hours; the day after he began a little to recover, and calling his nephew to him, he ſaid, 'How long, how long do you detain me here? Make haſte, 'that I may be abſolved. Call me hither ſome of the mi-'niſters,' *&c.* And ſo being abſolved, he preſently after died.

In Troada, Nicomachus being grievouſly tormented, cried out, I am no Chriſtian; and ſo being let down from the engine, he had no ſooner ſacrificed to the idols, but being poſſeſſed by the devil, he was thrown on the ground, where he bit off his own tongue, and immediately after died. Many others which ſhewed the like cowardice, were taken and tormented with wicked ſpirits: One was ſtruck dumb: A maid taken with a wicked ſpirit, tore out her own tongue, and died with grievous torments in her belly and inward parts. But tho' ſome did thus fall away, yet others there were, whom neither fear nor pain could remove from their ſtedfaſtneſs, but they continued glorious martyrs to the end.

Cyprian relates a ſtory of one of his fellow miniſters, who in the midſt of his torments began to faint, being greatly afraid of death and deſired to be releaſed; at which time there appeared to him a young man of admirable beauty, and ſo bright, that man's mortal eye could ſcarce endure to behold him, who angrily ſaid to him, *Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?* To ſuffer you dare not, to go out you will not, what would you have me do unto you?

In this perſecution there ſprung up the Novatian ſchiſm, which made a great diſturbance in the church. This Novatus being a miniſter under Cyprian in Carthage, by ſtirring up diſcord and factions, bred much trouble to the church, ſeeking to withdraw certain of the brethren from the biſhop. And afterwards Novatus going to Rome, ſet up himſelf as a biſhop againſt Cornelius, the then biſhop of Rome; and to further his deſign, he by ſubtilty allured to him three or four holy men that had been confeſſors: Then he enticed three weak biſhops that lived in Italy to come to Rome, and there perſuaded them by impoſing hands upon him, to make him biſhop; for which fact, two of them afterwards were ſuſpended, and the third upon his repentance was re-admitted. Novatus being thus made a biſhop, grew proud, and ſought by all means to withdraw the people from Cornelius to himſelf; yea, he made many of them to ſwear, that they would not leave him to go to Cornelius. But the holy confeſſors before-mentioned, when they perceived the crafty ſubtilty of Novatus, left him, and much grieving for their ſin, were reconciled to Cornelius again. Novatus held this opinion, That they which once renounced the faith, and for fear of torments had offered incenſe to the idols, altho' they repented, yet could never be re admitted into the church of Chriſt again. To ſuppreſs this error, there was a ſynod called at Rome of ſixty biſhops, *anno* 255. who condemned it.

Cyprian alſo relates of Aurelius, a godly and valiant young man, who for his conſtancy in the cauſe of Chriſt, ſuffered great and many torments, and afterwards was baniſhed. And of Mappalicus, who before the day he ſuffered, in the midſt of his torments told the proconſul, *Videbis cras agonem*, To-morrow you ſhall ſee the running for a wager; and accordingly the next day being brought forth to his martyrdom, he with no leſs conſtancy than patience, endured faithful unto the death.

But Decius, the author of this perſecution, eſcaped not the revenging hand of God: for warring againſt the Goths, and being overcome by them, leſt he ſhould fall into their hands, he leaped with his horſe into a whirlpit, where he was drowned, and his body was never found after: Yea, God avenged the blood of his ſaints upon the whole Roman empire, by ſending a general plague of peſtilence upon it, which continued ten years together; and Dionyſius ſaith, That in Alexandria, where he was biſhop, there was ſcarce any houſe clear: And tho' ſome Chriſtians died in this plague, yet it fell moſt heavy upon the Gentiles. The Chriſtians alſo in this plague ſhewed much brotherly love each to other, by viſiting, comforting and relieving one another. Whereas the idolaters, being ſtricken with extreme fear of the plague, none conſidered his neighbour, but every man ſhifted for himſelf; and of thoſe that were infected, ſome they caſt out of doors half dead, to be devoured of dogs and wild beaſts; ſome they let die in their houſes without all ſuccour; others they ſuffered to lie unburied, and durſt not come near them, notwithſtanding which, the peſtilence followed them whitherſoever they went, and miſerably conſumed them: So that the moſt part of the inhabitants were conſumed by it in every country, eſpecially in thoſe provinces where had been the greateſt perſecutions raiſed againſt the Chriſtians.

After the death of Decius, there ſucceeded Gallus and Voluſianus in the empire, *anno Chriſti* 255, who continued this perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which fell moſt heavy upon the miniſters and paſtors of the congregations. For about this time Cyprian, and many other miniſters were baniſhed; others were put into the metal mines, to whom Cyprian wrote an epiſtle conſolatory, wherein he writes thus, "Wounds and ſcars are an ornament to a "Chriſtian breaſt, ſuch as bring not ſhame, but honour-"eth them before the Lord; and tho' in the mines there "be no beds for their bodies to reſt on, yet they have reſt "in Chriſt; and tho' their weary bones lie on the cold "ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Chriſt. Their feet "are fettered with chains, but he is bound of man, whom "the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: He lies tied in the ſtocks, "whoſe feet thereby are made ſwifter to run to heaven; "neither can any man tie a Chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runs "ſo much the faſter for his garland of life. They have "no garment to ſave them from cold, but he that puts on "Chriſt, is ſufficiently clothed. Doth bread fail to their "hungry bodies? *Man lives not by bread alone, but by "every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God.* Your "deformity ſhall be turned to honour, your mourning to "joy, your pain to pleaſure, and felicity infinite. And "if this grieve you, that you cannot ſerve God in your "places as formerly, yet your daily ſacrifice ceaſeth not, "which is a contrite and humble heart; and tho' your "travel be great, yet ſhall your reward be greater: For "God beholding them which confeſs his name, approv-"eth their willing minds, in their ſtrivings helpeth them, "in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us "which he hath performed, and crowning that which he "hath in us perfected." Again, he tells them that they are now in a joyful journey, haſting apace to the manſions

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of the martyrs; there to enjoy after darkneſs, durable light, and comfort above all their ſufferings, &c.——About the ſame time alſo, Lucius biſhop of Rome was baniſhed.

After the death of Gallus and Voluſianus, there ſucceeded Valerianus, who ceaſed the perſecution, and carried himſelf exceeding friendly to the Chriſtians; ſo that his whole court was repleniſhed with holy ſaints and ſervants of Chriſt, whereby his houſe ſeemed a church of God. But the devil envying the peace of the church, by the means of an Egyptian inchanter, (who was hindred from doing his feats by the preſence of the Chriſtians) ſtirred up the emperor againſt them, who grew to ſuch impiety himſelf, that he ſacrificed young infants to his idols, quartered their bodies, divided the entrails of young children new born, &c. as hereafter follows.

CHAP. XIV.

The eighth Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 259.

VALERIANUS being ſeduced by the Egyptian inchanter, as is before related ſtirred up the eighth perſecution againſt the church of Chriſt; concerning which, Cyprian writeth thus, "We muſt confeſs, that this great "calamity which hath waſted, for the moſt part, all our "churches, and ſtill daily conſumes us, ariſeth chiefly from "our own wickedneſs, whilſt we walk not in the way of "the Lord, nor obſerve his precepts as we ought; whilſt "we are full of lucre, pride, emulation, diſſention, void "of ſimplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing the world "in word, but not in deed, every man pleaſing himſelf, "and diſpleaſing others; and therefore we are thus worthily ſcourged. For what ſtripes do we not deſerve, "when the confeſſors themſelves do keep no diſcipline, &c. "Concluding, *Non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala, ſi in unum fraternitas fuiſſet animata.* Theſe evils had not happened to the brethren, if they had joined together in "brotherly unanimity." A little before this perſecution began, God by a viſion revealed it to Cyprian, ſaying to him, *Be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come: albeit, a little ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remain yet to be proved and tried,* &c.

The crimes and accuſations that were laid to the charge of the Chriſtians by the perſecutors were, That they refuſed to worſhip idols and the emperors, and that they profeſſed the name of Chriſt: Yet beſides all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famine, peſtilence, &c. were imputed only to the Chriſtians. But Cyprian and Tertullian confuting theſe ſlanders, proved, That the ſpecial cauſe of all thoſe miſeries which befel the empire, proceeded from the cruel ſhedding of the innocent blood of the Chriſtians. In this perſecution Cyprian was at laſt condemned to have his head cut off, who patiently and willingly ſubmitted his neck to the ſtroke of the ſword.

Alſo about this time, Sixtus biſhop of Rome, with his ſix deacons, were accuſed for being Chriſtians; whereupon being brought to the place of execution, they were all beheaded.

Laurence alſo, another of his deacons, following Sixtus as he went to his execution, complained that he might not ſuffer with him, but that he was ſecluded, as the Son from the Father. To whom the biſhop anſwered, That within three days he ſhould follow him, bidding him, in the mean time to go home, and if he had any treaſures, to diſtribute them amongſt the poor. The judge hearing mention of treaſures, ſuppoſing that Laurence had great ſtore in his cuſtody, commanded him to bring the ſame to him: Laurence craved three days reſpite, promiſing then to declare where the treaſure might be had. In the mean time he cauſed a good number of poor Chriſtians to be gathered together, and when the day of his anſwer was come, the perſecutor ſtrictly charged him to make good his promiſe. But valiant Laurence, ſtretching out his arms over the poor, ſaid, 'Theſe are the precious treaſures of the church, 'theſe are the treaſures indeed in whom Chriſt hath his 'manſion,' &c. But O what tongue is able to expreſs the fury and madneſs of the tyrant's heart! how he ſtamped ſtared, ramped, and fared like one out of his wits! His eyes glowed like fire, his mouth foamed like a boar, like a hell hound he grinded his teeth: then he cried, 'Kindle 'the fire, make no ſpare of wood; hath this villain deluded 'the emperor? away with him, whip him with ſcourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fiſts, brain him 'with clubs: Jeſteth the traitor with the emperor? pinch 'him with tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring 'out the ſtrongeſt chains and fire forks, and the grate of 'iron ſet it on fire, bind the rebel hand and foot; and 'when the grate is red hot, on with him, roaſt him, broil 'him, toſs him, turn him; upon pain of our high diſ'pleaſure do every man his office, O ye tormentors!' Immediately his command was obeyed, and after many cruel handlings this meek lamb was laid, I will not ſay upon a bed of fiery iron, but on a ſoft bed of down; ſo mightily God wrought for his ſervant, ſo miraculouſly did he temper this element of fire, that it was not a bed of conſuming pain, but of nouriſhing reſt unto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the emperor ſeemed to be tormented, the one broiling in the fleſh, the other burning in his heart. When this triumphant martyr had been preſſed down with fire forks for a great ſpace, in the mighty Spirit of God, he ſpake to the tyrant thus,

This ſide is now roaſted enough, turn up, O tyrant great; Eſſay, whether roaſted or raw, thou think'ſt the better meat.

By the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy and valiant deacon, a Roman ſoldier was converted to the ſame faith, and deſired to be baptized; whereupon he was called before the judge, ſcourged, and afterwards beheaded.

About the ſame time, Dionyſius biſhop of Alexandria, with his three deacons, were brought before Emilianus, who told them of the clemency of the emperor, and therefore required them to ſacrifice to his gods, &c. to whom Dionyſius anſwered, 'Divers men worſhip divers gods, 'but we only that one God who is the Creator of all things, 'making our prayers to him inceſſantly for the health of 'the emperor,' &c. Then ſaid the preſident, 'Why can 'you not worſhip your own God, and ours alſo?' Dionyſius replied, 'We worſhip only one God, as we have ſaid.' The preſident ſaid, 'I ſee you are ungrateful perſons, and 'regard not the emperor's clemency, therefore I baniſh 'you to Cephro in Lybia, and charge you, that you con'veen no more your aſſemblies nor be found out of that 'place at your peril.' And though Dionyſius was ſick, yet would he not grant him one days reſpite before his departure.

In Cephro he had a great congregation, as well of thoſe that followed him in his baniſhment, as of others that reſorted to him out of Egypt; yea, tho' at firſt he was perſecuted there and ſtoned, yet afterwards a great number of the inhabitants forſook their idols, and were converted unto God by his miniſtry; and having accompliſhed his miniſtry there, the Lord removed him to another place. 'For, ſaith Dionyſius, Emilianus tranſlated us from thence 'to a ſharper place of Lybia, commanding us to meet all 'together at the city Mareota; intending to ſeparate us 'into ſeveral villages, or rather to take us by the way. 'When we came thither, I was commanded to Colluthion, 'a place which I had never heard of; yet was it ſome ſo'lace to me, that the brethren told me it was near to the 'city Paretonium: For as my being at Cephro got me the 'acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, ſo I hoped that 'the vicinity of that place to the city, might procure me 'the concourſe of certain loving brethren from it, as it 'came alſo to paſs,' &c.

He writeth moreover, That the number of thoſe which ſuffered martyrdom about that time was great, men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, ſoldiers, and men of all ſorts and ages; of whom, ſome with ſcourgings and fire, and ſome with the ſword, obtained the victory and got the crown. 'Neither, ſaith he, to this day doth the 'preſident ceaſe cruelly murdering ſuch as be brought 'before him, tearing ſome with torments, impriſoning o'thers, and commanding that no man ſhould come to them: 'Yet God with the daily reſort of the brethren doth comfort 'the afflicted.'

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In Paleſtine, Priſcus, Malchus and Alexander, three godly men, ſeeing the valiant courage of the Chriſtians ſo boldly to venture, conſtantly to ſtand, and patiently to ſuffer in this perſecution, as being grieved with themſelves, began to accuſe their own ſluggiſhneſs and cowardice, to ſee others ſo zealous and valiant, and themſelves ſo cold and faint hearted, in labouring for the crown of martyrdom: Whereupon, agreeing amongſt themſelves, they came to Cæſarea, and ſtepping to the judge, they declared themſelves to be Chriſtians, and ſo they were ſentenced and given to the wild beaſts.

A certain woman alſo in the ſame place, formerly a Marcioniſt, being brought before the preſident, obtained the ſame martyrdom.

In Carthage three hundred Chriſtians being brought before the preſident, were put to their choice either to offer ſacrifice, or to go into a lime-kiln: Whereupon by mutual conſent, they all choſe the lime kiln, in which, with the ſmoak of the lime, they were ſmothered.

In another part of Afric three godly virgins had firſt vinegar and gall given them to drink; then they were ſcourged, tormented upon the gibbet, and rubbed with lime; then were they ſcorched upon the fiery gridiron, and caſt to the wild beaſts, which would not touch them; therefore, laſtly, they were beheaded.

In Italy, a godly man was firſt tormented with the rack, then caſt to the wild beaſts, which not hurting him, he was burned in the fire. Fructuoſus, a biſhop in Spain, with his two deacons, having witneſſed a good confeſſion, were all of them burned in the fire. But this cruel emperor Valerian, who thus perſecuted the ſaints of God, ſhortly after felt the revenging hand of God: For in an expedition that he made againſt the Perſians, he was taken priſoner by Sapores the king, who made a footſtool of him, every time that he got upon his horſe; and at laſt, by the command of the king, he was ſlaid alive, powdered with ſalt, and ſo ended his wretched life. Alſo Claudius, a preſident and miniſter of his perſecutions, was poſſeſſed by the devil, and biting of his tongue in ſmall pieces, he ended his wretched life. Alſo there were great and terrible earthquakes, and many commotions and rebellions in ſundry parts of the empire, inſomuch as Galienus, the ſon of Valerian, and his fellow emperor, began to relent towards the Chriſtians, and ſet forth ſome edicts in their favour. Notwithſtanding which, ſome there were that ſuffered in ſundry places, amongſt whom was one Marinus, a nobleman, and valiant captain in Cæſarea, who ſtood for an honourable office, which of right fell to him; but his competitor to prevent him, accuſed him to the judge to be a Chriſtian. Hereupon the judge examined him of his faith, and finding that indeed he was a Chriſtian, he gave him three hours to adviſe and deliberate with himſelf. Then the biſhop of the place, finding that he ſtood doubtful in himſelf what to do, took him by the hand, and led him into the church, and laid before him a ſword and a New Teſtament, bidding him take his free choice, which of them he would have. Marinus immediately ran to the New Teſtament, and choſe that; and ſo being animated by the biſhop, he preſented himſelf boldly before the judge, by whoſe ſentence he was beheaded.

About the ſame time there was in Cæſarea, Aſyrius, a noble ſenator of Rome, and a Chriſtian; and whereas the Gentiles, in that place, uſed to offer ſacrifice by a fountain ſide; which ſacrifice, by the working of the devil, uſed ſuddenly to vaniſh out of their ſight, to the great admiration of the deluded multitude. Aſyrius pitying their miſerable ignorance, came amongſt them, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, prayed to God in the name of Chriſt, That the people might no longer be thus ſeduced by the devil; whereupon the ſacrifice was ſeen to ſwim upon the fountain, and ever after that falſe miracle ceaſed.

After the death of Galienus, there ſucceeded Claudius, a quiet emperor) and after him Quintilianus his brother; both which, reigning nineteen years, the church enjoyed peace in their time.

CHAP. XV.

The ninth Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 278.

AFTER the death of Quintilian ſucceeded Aurelius in the empire, who was by nature ſevere and rigorous, and a ſtrict puniſher of diſſolute manners, ſo that it grew into a proverb, *That he was a good phyſician, ſaving that he gave too bitter medicines.* In the beginning of his reign he was a moderate and diſcreet prince, and no great diſturber of the Chriſtians, whom he neither moleſted in their religion, nor in their councils. But afterwards, thro' ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of thoſe which were about him, his nature being before inclineable to ſeverity, he was altered to plain tyranny, which he firſt ſhewed in the death of his own ſiſter's ſon, and afterwards he raiſed the ninth perſecution againſt the church of Chriſt; but when he was about to ſign a proclamation or edict for that perſecution, it pleaſed God that a thunderbolt fell ſo near him, that all men thought he had been ſlain, and the emperor was ſo terrified thereby, that he gave over his tyrannical purpoſe, ſo that he rather intended than moved perſecution. Having reigned about ſix years, he was ſlain.

After whoſe death divers other emperors ſucceeded, in whoſe time the church had peace for about the ſpace of forty four years. During which time it did mightily increaſe and flouriſh: Yea, the more the Chriſtians had ſuffered, the more they were honoured; inſomuch as ſome of the emperors did ſingularly favour them, preferred and made them governors of provinces.

Dorotheus, with his wife, children and whole family, were accepted and highly advanced in the emperor's court. Yea, Gorgonius and divers others for their doctrine and learning, were with their princes in great eſtimation. The biſhops were alſo in great favour with the rulers and preſidents where they lived; ſo that innumerable multitudes and congregations aſſembled together in every city, and there were great concourſes of ſuch as daily flocked to the public places of prayer.

But thro' this great proſperity, the Chriſtians, by reaſon of the corruption of their natures, and the temptations of Satan, began to degenerate, and to grow idle and delicate, ſtriving and contending amongſt themſelves upon every occaſion, with railing words beſpattering one another in a deſpiteful manner; biſhops againſt biſhops and people againſt people, moving hatred and ſedition each againſt other; beſides, curſed hypocriſy and diſſimulation increaſed more and more; by reaſon whereof God's judgments brake forth againſt them, which began firſt to fall upon thoſe Chriſtians which were ſoldiers; but that touched the other very little, neither did they ſeek to appeaſe God's wrath, nor to call for mercy, but thinking that they ſhould eſcape well enough, they heaped iniquities daily more and more, one upon another. The paſtors being inflamed with mutual contention each againſt other; then did the Lord raiſe up adverſaries againſt his people, that razed their churches to the ground, burnt the ſacred ſcriptures in the open market places, made the paſtors of the church to hide themſelves, and ſome with great ſhame were taken priſoners, and were mocked of their enemies, and put to open reproach.

CHAP. XVI.

The tenth Primitive Perſecution, which began anno Chriſti 308.

DIOCLESIAN and Maximinian having many wars, aſſociated to themſelves two Cæſars, Galerius, who was ſent into the eaſt againſt the Perſians, and Conſtantius, who was ſent into Britain, where he married Helena the daughter of king Coel, a maiden excelling in beauty, and no leſs famous for her ſtudies and learning, by whom he had Conſtantine the great.

Theſe two emperors having obtained many victories, were ſo puffed up with pride, that they ordained a ſolemn

triumph at Rome. After which, Diocleſian would needs be worſhipped as a god, ſaying, That he was brother to the ſun and moon, and adorning his ſhoes with gold and precious ſtones, he commanded the people to kiſs his feet. Then did he raiſe a great and grievous perſecution againſt the church of God; and the feaſt of Eaſter drawing nigh, he commanded all the churches of the Chriſtians to be ſpoiled and caſt down, and the books of the holy ſcriptures to be burnt, which was executed with all the rigour and contempt that might be.

Then he ſent forth his edicts for the diſplacing of all Chriſtian magiſtrates, and put all others out of their offices, impriſoning ſuch of the common people as would not abjure Chriſtianity, and ſubſcribe to the heathen idolatries.

Then were cruel edicts ſent abroad for the impriſoning of the elders and biſhops, and conſtraining them by ſundry kinds of torments to ſacrifice to the idols; whereupon enſued a great perſecution againſt the governors of the church, amongſt whom many of them manfully paſſed thro' exceeding bitter torments; ſome were ſcourged all over their bodies with whips; ſome with racks and tearings of their fleſh, were exceedingly cruciated; ſome one way, others another way were put to death.

Some were violently drawn to the impure ſacrifices, and as tho' they had ſacrificed, (when indeed they did not) were let go. Others neither coming to their altars, nor touching any piece of their ſacrifice, yet were born in hand by thoſe which ſtood by, that they had ſacrificed; and ſo being defamed by their adverſaries, were let go. Others as dead men were carried out and caſt away, being but half dead.

Some were caſt down on the pavement, and trailed a great ſpace by the legs, and the people made to believe that they had ſacrificed; others withſtood them, ſtoutly affirming with a loud voice, that they had not ſacrificed, withal ſaying that they were Chriſtians, and gloried in the profeſſion of that name.

Some cried that they neither had, nor ever would be partakers of that idolatry, who were buffetted on the face and mouth by the ſoldiers, that they might hold their peace. But if the ſaints ſeemed never ſo little to do what their enemies would have them, they were made much of; yet none of theſe devices prevailed againſt the conſtant ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt; but of the weaker ſort, thro' frailty, many fell at the firſt brunt.

When theſe edicts were firſt ſet up at Nicomedia, a Chriſtian, and nobleman born, moved with an holy zeal, ran and took them down, and tare them in pieces, tho' the emperors were preſent in the city; for which he was put to a moſt bitter death, which with great conſtancy and patience he endured to the laſt.

Theſe furious tyrants, Diocleſian in the weſt, and Maximinian in the eaſt, raged exceedingly againſt the poor ſaints of Chriſt. But Diocleſian proceeded more ſubtily, firſt beginning with the ſoldiers in his camp; to whom the marſhal of the field propoſed, that they ſhould either offer ſacrifice, or leave their places and offices, and lay down their arms; whereunto the Chriſtians reſolutely anſwered, That they were not only ready to lay down their weapons, but to ſuffer death, if it was impoſed upon them, rather than ſo to ſin againſt God.

In the beginning of this perſecution few were tormented, but afterwards the emperor grew to greater cruelty. It cannot be expreſſed what number of martyrs ſuffered; what blood was ſhed thro' all cities and regions for the name of Chriſt.

In Tyre certain Chriſtians were given to the moſt cruel wild beaſts, which yet would not hurt them; and the lions, bears and leopards, which were kept hungry for the purpoſe, would not touch them; yet did they vehemently rage againſt thoſe that brought the Chriſtians into the ſtage, who tho' they ſtood, as they thought, without their reach, yet were they caught and devoured by them. Afterwards theſe martyrs were ſlain with the ſword and caſt into the ſea.

Sylvanus, biſhop of Gazenſes, with thirty nine more, were ſlain in the metal mines. Pamphilus of Cæſarea died a glorious martyr.

In Syria, all the chief paſtors were firſt caſt into priſon, together with the biſhops, elders and deacons. Tiranion was thrown into the ſea. Zenobius a phyſician was ſlain with brickbats.

At Antioch two young maidens were thrown into the ſea. Alſo an aged matron and her two beautiful daughters being ſought after, and at laſt found, rather than they would be drawn to do ſacrifice, threw themſelves headlong into a river. Sylvanus biſhop of Emiſſa, with ſome others were thrown to the wild beaſts.

The Chriſtians in Meſopotamia were tormented divers ways; ſome of them were hanged up by the feet, and with the ſmoak of a ſmall fire ſtrangled. So outrageous was the emperor in the beginning of this perſecution, that in Nicomedia he ſlew the chiefeſt princes of his court, whom a little before he prized as his own children.

Alſo one Peter was hoiſted up naked, and ſo beaten and torn with whips, that his bones might be ſeen; then they poured upon him ſalt and vinegar, and laſtly roaſted him with a ſoft fire. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, men of great authority under the emperor, after divers torments were ſtrangled with an halter. Anthimus biſhop of Nicomedia, with divers others, having made a good confeſſion, were beheaded. Yea, Serena the wife of Diocleſian the emperor was martyred for her religion. Some others were bound hand and foot to a poſt, and ſo burnt.

Alſo many Chriſtians of all ages and ſorts, being met together in a church to celebrate the memorial of Chriſt's nativity, Maximinian the emperor ſent ſome to fire the church, and burnt them all; but firſt they commanded a crier to proclaim, That whoſoever would have life ſhould come out and ſacrifice to Jupiter, otherwiſe they ſhould be all burnt; then one ſtepping up boldly, in the name of all the reſt, ſaid, 'We are all Chriſtians, and believe that 'Chriſt is our only God and King, and we will ſacrifice to 'none but him:' Hereupon the fire was kindled, and ſome thouſands of men, women and children were burnt in that place.

In Arabia many martyrs were ſlain with axes. In Phrygia, the emperor ſent his edicts to a city, commanding them to ſacrifice to the idols: But the major, and all the citizens profeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, whereupon the emperor made his army environ the city, and ſet it on fire, whereby all the inhabitants were burnt together in it.

Euſtatius an Armenian, and ſkilful in the Greek tongue, highly honoured and advanced by the emperor, who alſo had executed many Chriſtians; beholding the marvellous conſtancy of the martyrs, privately learned the Chriſtian religion, burned exceedingly with a deſire of martyrdom, and not ſtaying for accuſers, profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, openly execrating the vanity and madneſs of the heathens; being therefore apprehended, he was tied up and bitterly beaten; afterwards he was parched with fire put to his bowels, then baſted with ſalt and vinegar, then ſcraped and bemangled with ſharp cutting ſhells, that his whole body ſeemed to be but one wound, yet afterwards, thro' God's goodneſs, it was reſtored again whole. And laſtly was he burned.

In Alexandria Peter the biſhop, and his deacons conſtantly ſuffered martyrdom; as alſo many other biſhops in Egypt, together with many famous and excellent men, ſuffered about the ſame time.

A whole legion of Chriſtian ſoldiers that lay at Thebes in Egypt, under their Chriſtian colonel Mauritius, becauſe they refuſed to ſacrifice to idols, were firſt tithed over by the emperor's command, once and again, and afterwards by the exhortation of Mauritius, they died all together conſtant martyrs.

The perſecution raged not only in Aſia and Africa, but alſo in Italy, France, Spain, &c. in all which countries an innumerable company of Chriſtians were martyred by ſundry kinds of deaths. In Trevers were ſo many Chriſtians ſlain, that their blood ran like ſmall brooks, and diſcoloured great rivers; yet this ſufficed not the tyrant, but he ſent abroad his horſemen to command all thoſe which had apprehended any Chriſtians, immediately to put them to death.

At Collen alſo, and in Rhetia many were martyred; yea, this perſecution extended into our Britain, where all the Chriſtians were put to death.

Beſides

Beſides the kinds of death, the puniſhments were ſo great and horrible as no tongue is able to expreſs; as whippings, ſcourgings, rackings, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire, ſhipboats whereunto many were put and ſunk into the ſea: As alſo hanging upon croſſes, binding ſome to the bodies of trees with their heads hanging downward, hanging others by the middle upon gallowſes till they died of hunger; throwing others alive to lions, bears, leopards, wild bulls, &c. pricking others with bodkins and talons of beaſts, till they were almoſt dead.

In Thebaid they hanged up women naked by one of their feet, the reſt of their body hanging downwards, with many other ſorts of puniſhments moſt cruel to be thought of: Some were bound to the boughs of trees, and had their members torn aſunder; others were mangled with axes, ſome choaked with ſmoak over a ſlow fire, ſome had their hands, ears, and feet cut off, others were ſcorched and broiled upon coals, yet not to death, but had the torment renewed every day.

In Pontus the martyrs had other horrible torments inflicted on them, ſome had their finger-ends under their nails thruſt in with bodkins; ſome were ſprinkled all over with boiling lead, having their neceſſary members cut from them, others ſuffered moſt filthy and intolerable torments in their bowels and privy members: What the outrage of this perſecution was in Alexandria, Phileas a biſhop thus writeth,

Becauſe, ſaith he, every man might torment the holy martyrs as he liſted, ſome beat them with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whips, ſome with thongs, ſome with cords, ſome having their hands bound behind them were lifted upon timber logs, and with certain inſtruments had their members and joints ſtretched out, where their bodies hanging, were ſubjected to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments: On their ſides, bellies, thighs, legs, they ſcratched them with the claws of wild beaſts: Some were hanged but by one hand on the engine, that they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the reſt of their members: Some were bound to pillars, having no ſtay under their feet, that with the weight of their bodies being drawn down, they might feel the greater torments: And theſe torments endured all day long; the judge commanding that they ſhould not be let down, till either by the extremity of torment, or by the cold, they were near death; and then they were let down and haled upon the ground.

They deviſed alſo another greater torment; for when the Chriſtians were lamentably beaten, they had a new kind of rack, wherein they, lying upright, were ſtretched by both the feet above the fourth hole, with ſharp ſhells ſtrawed under them. Others were caſt down upon the pavement, where they had ſo many torments inflicted upon them, that their ſufferings cannot be imagined what they were: In the midſt of which torments ſome died, their enemies being confounded with their ſingular patience.

Some half dead were thruſt into priſons, where, with their wounds and pain they ended their lives: Others being cured of their wounds, were again put to their choice, whether they would ſacrifice to the idols, and have their liberty, or have the ſentence of death paſt upon them, who did willingly chuſe death for Chriſt's ſake, rather than to ſin againſt him.

In Nicomedia, a Chriſtian pulling down, and tearing the emperor's edict, was ſtript and beaten till the bones appeared, and then waſhed in ſalt and vinegar, under which torments he died. Yet notwithſtanding the horribleneſs of theſe tortures, the Chriſtian martyrs were ſo far from being diſmayed, that they were confirmed and ſtrengthned thereby, merrily and joyfully undergoing whatſoever was inflicted upon them.

Euſebius ſaith, That himſelf ſaw the cruel perſecution in Thebaid, where the ſwords of the perſecutors were blunted with the great ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and they ſat down with wearineſs to reſt them, whilſt others took their places. Yet ſtill the Chriſtians ſhewed their willingneſs, and with courage, joy and ſmiling, received their ſentence of death from the judge, and to the laſt gaſp, ſung pſalms and hymns of praiſe to God.

In Alexandria the holy martyrs, led with the love of better rewards, did not only bear the menaces of the cruel ſoldiers, wherewith they threatned them, but alſo whatſoever torments they could deviſe for their deſtruction: Yea, ſaith Sulpitius, then the Chriſtians with more greedy deſire preſſed and ſought for martyrdom, than now they do for biſhoprics. Yet ſome thro' infirmity in this perſecution fell back, for which they were excommunicated by the church.

Damaſus and others witneſs, that there were ſlain in thirty days, ſeventeen thouſand perſons, beſides a great number that were condemned to the metal mines and quarries, with the like cruelty.

In Alexandria were ſlain with axes three hundred; at Collen three hundred. Mauritius with his Chriſtian legion, being ſix thouſand, ſix hundred and ſixty ſix, whoſe ſtory, deſerving perpetually to be remembred, is this:

Maximinian ſent for this Mauritius with his legion of Theban ſoldiers, under a pretence of employing them againſt his enemies: When they came to Rome, Marcellus the bleſſed biſhop laboured to confirm them in the truth, to whom they promiſed perſeverance in the faith unto the death. Then they followed the imperial army into France, and when they were come thither, Maximinian offered ſacrifice to the devils, and called all his ſoldiers to the ſame, ſtrictly charging them to fight againſt his enemies, and againſt the Chriſtians which were enemies to his gods. Theſe Chriſtian Thebans reſolved rather to die than to ſacrifice, or to bear arms againſt the Chriſtians, wherewith the tyrant being enraged, commanded every tenth man of the legion to be put to the ſword; hereupon they ſtrove who ſhould ſubmit their necks to the ſtroke. Mauritius encourageth them greatly hereunto, and being called before the emperor, he ſaid, 'We, O emperor, your ſoldiers, and 'yet the ſervants of God, owe thee ſervice of war, but to 'him innocency; of thee we receive wages, but of him 'life; therefore we cannot obey thee to deny God our 'Lord and yours alſo, will ye nil ye: We are ready to o'bey you, if you enforce not us to diſobey him: Other'wiſe we will rather obey him than you; We offer here 'our hands againſt any other enemies, but to defile our 'hands with the blood of innocents, we may not: Theſe 'hands of ours have ſkill to fight againſt wicked enemies, 'but not to murder godly friends, &c. We have engaged 'our faith to God, we cannot be true to you if we break 'covenant with him, &c. We ſee our brethren and fellows 'in arms, cruelly put to the ſword, which we rejoice in, 'that they have been counted worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt's 'ſake, &c. Behold here we caſt down our weapons, and 'had rather be killed than to kill, and to die guiltleſs than 'to live guilty: We are ready to ſuffer what more you 'ſhall appoint, yea, both fire, ſword, or any other tor'ments. We confeſs ourſelves to be Chriſtians, we can'not perſecute Chriſtians, nor ſacrifice to your deviliſh i'dols.' The emperor being highly incenſed with this anſwer, commanded the ſecond time the tenth man to be ſlain, which being accompliſhed, when the Chriſtian ſoldiers would not yet condeſcend to his mind, he ſet upon them with his whole hoſt, both of foot and horſe, charging them to kill them all; the Chriſtians made no reſiſtance, but throwing down their arms, offered their naked necks to the perſecutors, and ſo were all ſlain.

At that time one Victor, an old ſoldier, that for his age was diſmiſſed coming to the army as they were banqueting and making merry with the ſpoil of the martyrs, was bidden to ſit down with them, but he aſked them what was the cauſe of their mirth, and underſtanding the truth, he deteſted them, and refuſed to eat with them, and being thereupon demanded whether he was a Chriſtian, he anſwered, That he was, and ever ſhould be. Then they ruſhed upon him, and made him partaker of the like martyrdom and honour.

When Dioceſian and Maximinian, notwithſtanding all the ſlaughter which they made, ſaw the number of Chriſtians rather increaſed than diminiſhed, ſo that they were out of all hope of utter rooting them out, and having now even their ſill of blood, they ceaſed at laſt of their own accord from putting any more Chriſtians to death: Yet of a great multitude, they thruſt out their right eyes, and maimed their right legs at the ham with a ſcaring iron,

condemning

condemning them to the metal mines, not ſo much for their labour, as deſirous to afflict them thereby. And ſo having reigned together about one and twenty years, Dioclesian diveſted himſelf of the imperial dignity, and lived a private life, and the like did Maximinian alſo, reſigning the empire to Galerius Maximinus and Conſtantius.

Maximinus was of a cruel nature, a great inchanter, vicious in his life, and a great enemy to the Chriſtians, and therefore continued the perſecution of them, yet at length was revoked from his cruelty by the juſt judgment of God upon him; for he was ſuddenly taken with an horrible and filthy diſeaſe, which firſt began outwardly in his fleſh, and then proceeded more inwardly; his privy members putrified with a botchy corrupt boil, and a fiſtula, conſuming and eating up his entrails, whence ſwarmed forth an innumerable company of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtink, that no man could abide him; he being alſo very groſs, his fat putrified and ſtunk intolerably; and becauſe his phyſicians could not abide the ſtink, he commanded them to be ſlain; others of them, becauſe they could not cure his incurable diſeaſe, he put to cruel deaths.

At laſt being told that his diſeaſe came from God, he began to bethink himſelf of all the cruelty which he had ſhewed to the ſaints, confeſſed his offences to God, and gave command that the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians ſhould ceaſe; requiring his officers likewiſe to re-edify their temples, and requeſted them to pray to their God for him.

This edict much comforted and refreſhed the Chriſtians, who thereupon gathered together in every city, called their ſynods and councils; yea, the infidels themſelves extolled and magnified the true God of the Chriſtians.

But this tyrant Maximinus ſcarce ſuffered this peace to continue ſix months together, but again he forbade the Chriſtians to meet, and privately ſtirred up the Athenians to petition him, that none of them might be ſuffered to live in their city: Alſo a conjurer in Athens made an image of Jupiter, which uttered theſe words, *Jupiter commandeth the Chriſtians to be baniſhed out of this city and ſuburbs, becauſe they are enemies to him.* Alſo certain harlots were ſuborned to ſay that they formerly were Chriſtians, and privy to the wicked and laſcivous acts which they exerciſed amongſt themſelves upon Sabbath days, &c. and thereupon the emperor commanded that they ſhould put them to death by all means poſſible. Then did the perſecution grow as great as ever it was, and the governors of every province fell upon the Chriſtians, baniſhing ſome, and putting others to death.

Sylvanus biſhop of Emiſſa, a very old man, and three others with him, were condemned to death. So was Lucianus, an elder at Antioch; at Alexandria, Peter the biſhop was beheaded; Quirinus biſhop of Sceſcanus had an hand mill tied about his neck, and was thrown headlong into a river, where yet he floated a great while, exhorting the lookers on not to be diſmaid with his puniſhment, and ſo with much a-do was at laſt drowned.

At Rome many biſhops, miniſters and elders were put to death. In ſundry other places very many others ſuffered martyrdom with fire, wild beaſts, drowning in the ſea, &c. Some were crucified, ſome were ſlain with the ſword, ſome endured the burning and cutting of their members, ſome had their eyes thruſt out, ſome were ſtarved in priſons, and whatſoever cruelty the magiſtrates could deviſe; all which the people of God endured, rather than they would offer ſacrifice to the idols. The like miſeries did the women alſo endure, for being enticed to the filthy uſe of their bodies, ſome rather choſe baniſhment; and others to prevent it, killed themſelves.

Neither could Chriſtians live ſafely in the wilderneſs, but even from thence they were drawn to torments and death.

And whereas the tyrant in his edict had boaſted of the plenty and proſperity of all things in the time of his perſecuting of the ſaints, God to confute him preſently ſent great drought, famine and peſtilence, beſides the wars with the Armenians, by which calamities the people were miſerably waſted; corn was ſold at an unreaſonable rate, ſo that exceeding great multitudes died of hunger in the cities, but far more in the villages, moſt part of the huſbandmen dying of famine and the peſtilence. Divers brought out their beſt treaſure and gave it for any kind of ſuſtenance, tho' never ſo little. Others having ſold their poſſeſſions for food, fell into extreme miſery. Some did eat graſs, others fed upon unwholſome herbs, whereby they hurt and poiſoned their bodies. Many women were driven to leave the cities, and beg up and down thro' the country. Some thro' faintneſs fell down in the ſtreets, and holding up their hands cried miſerably for ſome ſcraps or fragments of bread, being ready to give up the ghoſt, and being able to ſay no more, they cried, Hungry, hungry.

Some of the richer ſort being tired with ſerving ſuch multitudes of beggars, began to grow hard-hearted, fearing leſt themſelves ſhould fall into the like miſery: By reaſon whereof, the market-places, ſtreets, and lanes, lay full of dead corpſes, and naked bodies were caſt out unburied, many of which were devoured by dogs, whereupon they which lived, fell to killing of the dogs, leſt running mad, they ſhould fall upon and kill them.

The peſtilence alſo ſcattering thro' all houſes, killed very many, eſpecially thoſe of the richer ſort, which eſcaped the famine, whereby innumerable magiſtrates, princes and preſidents were quickly diſpatched, ſo that all places were filled with mourning, and nothing was ſeen or heard but weeping and wailing every where. Death ſo reigned in every family, that two or three dead bodies were carried out of one houſe together. But notwithſtanding that theſe miſcreants had been ſo cruel to them, yet the Chriſtians were very diligent and charitable to them in all their extremities, travelling every day, ſome in curing the ſick; ſome in burying of their dead; others called the multitude together which were ready to famiſh, and diſtributed bread unto them, whereby they occaſioned them to glorify the God of the Chriſtians, and confeſſed them to be the true worſhippers of God, as appeared by their works; and hereby the Lord wrought wonderfully for the peace of his church, for after he had corrected them, he again ſhewed them mercy.

Conſtantine ſucceeding his father, overcame Maxentius the tyrant in Rome, and he together with Lucinius ſet forth edicts in favour of the Chriſtians. [*See Conſtantin's life in my ſecond part of lives.*] Yet Maximinus continued his perſecution in the eaſt, whereupon Conſtantine and Lucinius wrote to him to favour the Chriſtians, and he finding that he was too weak to encounter with them, ſent forth his edicts to ſtop the perſecution: Yet afterwards he picked new quarrels with them, and began to perſecute them again; whereupon Licinius went againſt him, and overthrew him in a battle: Then did Maximinus kill many of his inchanters and conjurers that had encouraged him, and promiſed him victory.

Shortly after the Lord ſtriking him with a grievous diſeaſe, he glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a law for the ſafety and preſervation of them; yet not long after, by the vehemency of his diſeaſe, he ended his life.

Licinius that for a long time had pretended to the Chriſtian religion, and lived in great familiarity with Conſtantine, who had given him his ſiſter Conſtantia to be his wife, began afterwards to diſcover his hypocriſy, and the wickedneſs of his nature ſecretly conſpiring the death of Conſtantine: But the Lord diſcovering and preventing his conſpiracies, he then fell out with him, and manifeſted his hatred of the Chriſtian religion, being puffed up with the victory that he had got againſt Maximinus.

He quarrelled with the Chriſtians, becauſe, as he ſaid, they prayed not for him, but for Conſtantine; and thereupon he firſt baniſhed them all from his court; then he deprived all the knights of their honourable order, except they would ſacrifice to devils: Then he commanded that the biſhops ſhould have no meetings to conſult about their eccleſiaſtical affairs, nor that any Chriſtians ſhould come to the churches, or hold any aſſemblies; then that men and women ſhould not meet together to pray, that women ſhould not hear the biſhops, but chooſe out women to inſtruct them; that none ſhould help or ſuccour thoſe that were in priſon, nor beſtow any alms upon them, tho' they ſhould die for hunger, and that they which ſhewed any compaſſion to thoſe which were condemned to death,

ſhould

ſhould ſuffer the like puniſhment themſelves; then he perſecuted the biſhops, and ſlew thoſe which were the moſt eminent of them: The flattering officers alſo which were about him, thinking to pleaſe him thereby, ſlew many biſhops without any cauſe; yea, many of their bodies they cut into gobbets and threw into the ſea to feed fiſhes: Some were baniſhed, others had their goods confiſcated; many noblemen and gentlemen were privily made away, and Licinius gave their unmarried daughters to wicked varlets to be deſloured, himſelf alſo violated many women, both wives and maidens.

This cruelty made many godly perſons voluntarily to forſake their houſes, and to live in woods, mountains and deſarts: He cauſed Theodorus to be hanged upon a croſs, to have nails thruſt into his arm pits, and afterwards to be beheaded: Divers other biſhops had their hands cut off with a ſearing iron. In Sebaſtia forty Chriſtian ſoldiers in the vehement cold of winter were caſt into an horſe pond, where they ended their lives; the wives of theſe forty men were carried to Heraclea, where, together with a deacon of that place, after they had ſuffered innumerable torments, they were ſlain with the ſword.

Conſtantine being informed of all this wickedneſs, raiſed an army, went againſt him, overcame him twice, and at laſt cauſed him to be put to death, as you may ſee in Conſtantine's life, in my ſecond part; whereby the church obtained a general peace.

Yet in this tenth perſecution many other eminent Chriſtians ſuffered martyrdom, beſides thoſe before named.

Galerius in his time invaded Antioch, intending to force all Chriſtians to renounce Chriſt, at what time they were aſſembled together: Whereupon one Romanus ran to them, declaring, That the wolves were at hand, which would devour them; yet he exhorted them not to fear, by reaſon of the peril: And thro' God's grace the Chriſtians were greatly encouraged by him, ſo that old men and matrons, fathers, mothers, young men and maidens were all of one mind, being willing to ſhed their blood in defence of their profeſſion. A band of armed men were ſent againſt them, which were not able to wreſt the ſtaff of faith out of their hands. Whereupon they ſent word to their captain, that they could not enforce the Chriſtians to deny their faith, by reaſon of Romanus, who did ſo mightily encourage them. The captain commanded that he ſhould be brought before him, which was done accordingly. 'What, ſaith 'the captain, art thou the author of this ſedition? Art 'thou the cauſe that ſo many loſe their lives? By the gods 'I ſwear, thou ſhalt anſwer for them all, and ſhall ſuffer 'thoſe torments that thou encourageſt them to undergo.' Romanus anſwered, 'Thy ſentence, O emperor, I willingly embrace; I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren, 'and that by as cruel torments as thou canſt invent,' &c. The captain being much inraged with this his ſtout anſwer, commanded him to be troſſed up, and his bowels drawn out; whereupon the executioners ſaid, 'Not ſo, 'Sir, this man is of noble parentage, and therefore he may 'not be put to ſo ignoble a death. Scourge him then, 'quoth the captain, with whips, having knobs of lead at 'the ends.' But Romanus ſung pſalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility's ſake. 'Not the blood of my progenitors, ſaith he, but the 'Chriſtian profeſſion makes me noble.' Then did he earneſtly inveigh againſt the captain, and derided their idol gods, &c. But this further inraged the tyrant, ſo that he cauſed his ſides to be lanced with knives, till the bones were laid open: Yet ſtill did the holy martyr preach the living God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt to him. Upon which the tyrant commanded them to ſtrike out his teeth, that his ſpeech might be hindred: Alſo his face was buffetted, his eye lids torn with their nails, his cheeks gaſhed with knives, the ſkin of his beard pulled off by little and little, &c. yet the meek martyr ſaid, 'I thank thee, O 'captain, that thou haſt opened to me ſo many mouths 'as wounds, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour 'Jeſus Chriſt: Look how many wounds I have, ſo many 'mouths I have lauding and praiſing God.' The captain aſtoniſhed at his conſtancy, bade them give over tormenting him; yet he threatned to burn him, reviled him, and blaſphemed God, ſaying, 'Thy crucified Chriſt is but a 'yeſterday's God, the gods of the Gentiles are of greateſt 'antiquity.' But Romanus taking occaſion from hence, declared to him the eternity of Chriſt, &c. withal ſaying, 'Give me a Chriſtian child of ſeven years old, and thou 'ſhalt hear what he will ſay.' Hereupon a pretty boy was called out of the multitude, to whom Romanus ſaid, 'Tell 'me, my pretty babe, whether thou think it reaſon that 'we worſhip Chriſt, and in Chriſt one Father; or elſe, 'that we worſhip infinite gods?' The child anſwered, 'That 'certainly what we affirm to be God, muſt needs be one; 'which with one, is one and the ſame; and in as much as 'this one is Chriſt, of neceſſity Chriſt muſt be the true 'God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot 'believe.' The captain amazed at this, ſaid, 'Thou 'young villain and traitor, where, and of whom learnedſt 'thou this leſſon?' Of my mother, ſaid he, with whoſe milk 'I ſucked in this leſſon, That I muſt believe in Chriſt.' The mother was called, and ſhe gladly appeared; the tyrant commanded the child to be horſed up and ſcourged; the ſtanders-by beholding this mercileſs act, could not refrain from tears: The joyful and glad mother alone, ſtood by with dry cheeks, yea, ſhe rebuked her ſweet babe, for deſiring a cup of cold water, charging him to thirſt after the cup that the babes of Bethlehem once drunk of. She willed him to remember little Iſaac, who willingly proffered his neck to the dint of his father's ſword, &c. Then did the cruel tormentor pull off the ſkin, hair and all, from the crown of the child's head. The mother crying, 'Suffer my child, anon thou ſhalt paſs to him that will a'dorn thy head with a crown of eternal glory.' Thus the mother counſelleth and encourageth, the child is encouraged, and receiveth the ſtripes with a ſmiling countenance. The captain ſeeing the child invincible, and himſelf vanquiſhed, commands him to be caſt into the ſtinking priſon, whilſt the torments of Romanus were renewed and increaſed. Then was Romanus brought forth again, to receive new ſtripes upon his old ſores, the fleſh being torn, and the bare bones appearing; yet the cruel tyrant raging like a mad man, quarrelled with the tormentors for dealing ſo mildly with him, commanding them to cut, prick and pounce him; and then he paſſed ſentence upon him, together with the child, to be burned to death. To whom Romanus ſaid, 'I appeal from this unjuſt ſentence of thine, 'to the righteous throne of Chriſt, that upright Judge; 'not becauſe I fear thy cruel torments and mercileſs handling, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel 'and bloody.'

When they came to the place of execution, the tormentors required the child of his mother, for ſhe had carried it in her arms from the priſon. She kiſſing it, delivered it to them; and as the executioner was ſtriking off his head, ſhe ſaid, Farewel my ſweet child.

All laud and praiſe, with heart and voice,
O Lord, we yield to thee:
To whom the death of all thy ſaints,
We know moſt dear to be.

The child's head being cut off, the mother wrapt it in her garment, laid it to her breaſt, and ſo departed. Then was Romanus caſt into a mighty fire, which being quenched with a great ſtorm of rain, the tyrant commanded his tongue to be cut out, and afterwards cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the priſon.

Gordius, a centurion in Cæſarea, in the heat of this perſecution, left his charge, living a ſolitary life in a wilderneſs for a long time; at laſt, when a ſolemn feaſt was celebrated to Mars in that city, and multitudes of people were aſſembled in the theatre to ſee the games, he came and gat up into a conſpicuous place, and with a loud voice ſaid, *Behold, I am found of thoſe which ſought me not*, &c. The multitude hereupon looked about to ſee who it was that ſpake this, and Gordius being known, he was immediately brought before the ſheriff, and being aſked who, and what he was, and why he came thither? he told him the whole truth, profeſſing, That he believed in Chriſt, valued not their threatnings, and choſe this as a fit time to manifeſt his profeſſion in. Then did the ſheriff call for ſcourges, gibbets, and all manner of torments. To whom Gordius anſwered, That it would be a loſs and damage to him, if he did not ſuffer divers torments and puniſhments

for Chriſt and his cauſe. The ſheriff more incenſed hereby, commanded all thoſe torments to be inflicted on him, with which Gordius could not be overcome, but ſung, 'The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do 'unto me; and I will fear no evil, becauſe thou Lord art 'with me,' &c. Then did he blame the tormentors for favouring him, provoking them to do their utmoſt. The ſheriff not prevailing that way, ſought by flattery to ſeduce him, promiſing him preferment, riches, treaſures, honour, &c. if he would deny Chriſt. But Gordius derided his fooliſh madneſs, ſaying. 'That he looked for greater pre-'ferment in heaven, than he could give him here upon 'earth.' Then was he condemned, and had out of the city to be burnt; multitudes followed him, and ſome kiſſing him, with tears intreated him to pity himſelf; to whom he anſwered, 'Weep not, I pray you for me, but for the enemies of God, which fight againſt the Chriſtians: 'Weep, I ſay, for them which prepare a fire for us, pur-'chaſing heli fire thereby for themſelves in the day of ven-'geance: And ceaſe, I pray you, thus to moleſt my quiet 'and ſettled mind. For truly, for the name of Chriſt I 'am ready to ſuffer a thouſand deaths,' &c. Others perſuaded him to deny Chriſt with his mouth, and to keep his conſcience to himſelf. 'My tongue, ſaith he, which 'by God's goodneſs I have, cannot be brought to deny 'the author and giver of the ſame: For with the heart we 'believe unto righteouſneſs, and with the tongue we con-'feſs unto ſalvation.' And thus perſuading and encouraging the people to be willing to die in the like cauſe, with an unparalelled countenance he willingly gave himſelf to be burnt.

Alſo Menas an Egyptian, and a ſoldier by profeſſion, in this perſecution forſook all and went into a deſart, where he gave himſelf to faſting, prayer, meditation and reading of the ſcriptures. At laſt returning into the city of Cotis, when the people were at their paſtimes, he with a loud voice proclaimed himſelf to be a Chriſtian; and thereupon was carried before the preſident, and being demanded of his faith, he ſaid, 'Convenient it is that I confeſs God, 'in whom is light, and no darkneſs; for with the heart 'we believe to righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſ-'ſion is made to ſalvation.' Then was he pinched and excruciated with ſundry torments: 'But, ſaid he, there is 'nothing in my mind that can be compared to the kingdom 'of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in 'a balance, comparable to the price of one ſoul.' And further ſaid, 'Who can ſeparate us from the love of 'Chriſt? Can tribulation, or anguiſh?' &c. And again, 'I have learned of my Lord Chriſt, not to fear them that 'can kill the body, and have no power to kill the ſoul,' &c. Having endured manifold torments, he received the ſentence of death, and at the place of execution he ſaid, 'I 'give thee thanks, my Lord God, which haſt accepted me 'to be a partaker of thy precious death, and haſt not ſuf-'fered me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but haſt 'made me conſtant in thy true faith unto the end.' And ſo he loſt his head, but found a crown.

Baſil relates a ſtory, That the emperor's officer brought the edict againſt the Chriſtians to a place to be publiſhed, and privily ſuborned ſome to deteſt and accuſe the Chriſtians: He alſo cauſed the ſword, gibbet, wheel and whips to be brought forth; at the ſight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did ſhake and tremble: Some for fear fled, others ſtood in doubt what to do; ſome again for fear denied their faith; others ſuffered cruel torments, but at laſt vanquiſhed by the intolerable pain; they made ſhipwreck of their conſciences, and loſt the glory of their confeſſion.

Amongſt others, forty young gentlemen that were ſoldiers, freely and boldly confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, declaring to the marſhal their names, who amazed at this their boldneſs, ſtood in doubt what to do. He eſſayed with fair words and flatteries to win them, perſuading them to conſider their youth, and not to change a pleaſant life for a painful and untimely death; promiſing them honour, money, &c. but they boldly anſwered, 'That they 'neither deſired money, honour, nor life, but only the ce-'leſtial kingdom of Chriſt; for the love of which they 'were ready to endure the wheel, croſs, fire,' &c. The marſhal being much offended herewith, deviſed a new torment; for ſpying a pond in the ſtreet that did lie open to the northern wind, it being in the cold winter time, he cauſed them to be put into it all night; but they being merry, comforted one another as they put off their cloaths, ſaying, 'We put not off now our cloaths, but our old 'man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiſcence; for 'which we bleſs and praiſe God. For by means of the 'ſerpent we once put on the old man, but by the means 'of Jeſus Chriſt we now put him off.' And being brought naked to the place where they felt the vehement cold, they were put into the pond, ſo that all their members were ſtark and ſtiff with it: And as ſoon as it was day, they having breath yet remaining in them, were brought to the fire, wherein they were conſumed into aſhes, which aſhes were thrown into the flood.

It happened that one of the company being more lively, and not ſo near death as the reſt, the executioners pitied him, and delivered him to his mother, who ſtood by, to ſave his life; but ſhe led him to the piles of wood, where the other ſtarved creatures lay ready to be burnt, admoniſhing him to accompliſh the bleſſed journey he had taken in hand, which accordingly he did, and was burnt with his companions.

Cyrus, a phyſician of Alexandria, in this perſecution fled into Syria, where he lived a private life, unto whom one John, a ſoldier, adjoined himſelf: But not long after, one Athanaſia, with her three daughters, being virgins, were caſt into priſon at Canope in Egypt, for the profeſſion of their faith: Cyrus being of their acquaintance, fearing, leſt thro' infirmity they ſhould fall, he together with his partner John, went thither to the priſon to comfort and confirm them; for which he was accuſed to the preſident, who thereupon condemned them all, and ſo they were beheaded.

Sebaſtian alſo, born in France, and captain of the Avantguard of the emperor, encouraged many martyrs by his exhortations unto conſtancy, and kept them in the faith; for which being accuſed to the emperor, he cauſed him to be brought forth into the open field, where by his own ſoldiers he was thruſt thro' with arrows.

Baſil alſo maketh mention of one Barlaam, who having endured all ſorts of tortures to the point of death, was then by the tormentors laid upon the altar, and they put fire and frankincenſe in his right hand, hoping that the burning of fire would have forced him to ſcatter the incenſe upon the altar, and ſo to have ſacrificed. But his hand enduring the fire remained ſteady; the martyr in the mean time ſinging, *Bleſſed be the Lord my God which teacheth my hands to fight*, &c.

Ambroſe mentioneth one Agricola, and Vitalis his ſervant, who agreed betwixt themſelves to give their lives with other martyrs for the name of Chriſt. Vitalis firſt offering himſelf to martyrdom, the perſecutors laboured by all means to draw him to deny Chriſt; but not prevailing, they exerciſed upon him all ſorts of torments, ſo that he had no whole ſkin left on all his body. Vitalis in the midſt of his ſufferings, having by prayer commended himſelf to God, gave up the ghoſt. Then was Agricola ſet upon by the tormentors, whoſe virtuous life and gentle conditions had won him ſuch reſpect, that they delayed tormenting of him; but he provoking them to make quicker ſpeed, they faſtned him to the croſs, where he finiſhed his martyrdom.

Auguſtine writes of one Vincentius, a Spaniard, who, by Dacianus the preſident, was firſt laid upon the rack till all the joints of his body cracked; then were all his members ſlaſhed and indented with deadly wounds; then they miſerably ſcratched all his body with iron combs filed very ſharp; then they laid his body being all out of joint upon an iron grate, opened it with iron hooks, ſeared it with fiery plates, and then beſprinkled it with hot burning ſalt. Laſtly they drew him and caſt him into a vile dungeon, the floor whereof was thick ſpread with the ſharpeſt ſhells, his feet were faſt locked in the ſtocks, and ſo left him without all worldly comfort. But the Lord his God was with him, the holy Spirit of God, whoſe office it is to comfort the afflicted, filled his heart with joy unſpeakable; ſo that he there ended his life with much comfort.

Alſo Procopius in Paleſtine, after his converſion, brake his images of gold and ſilver, and diſtributed them amongſt the

the poor; whereupon he had all ſorts of torments inflicted on him, racking, cording, tearing of his fleſh, firing, goring, ſtabbing, and laſtly had his head cut off.

George, a young man of Cappadocia, ſtoutly inveighing againſt the impious idolatry of the emperor, was apprehended, torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, ſtretched out with cords, after had his hands and feet cut off, and laſtly was beheaded.

Hermogenes the preſident of Athens, being converted by beholding the patience and conſtancy of two martyrs in their torments, ſuffered himſelf for the ſame faith.

In Portugal, a noble virgin named Eulalia, not much above twelve years, had proffers of great marriages made unto her; but ſhe ſeeing the furious rage of the perſecution, had a great mind to join herſelf to the number of the martyrs; for which end ſhe poured out her heart in prayer to God for ſtrength and faith to enable her thereunto: But her godly parents fearing that her ready mind to die for Chriſt's cauſe, might make her guilty of her own death, they kept her cloſe at their country houſe a great way from the city. There ſhe lived quietly for a while, but at laſt deteſting to make ſuch delay, ſhe ſtole out of her father's houſe in the night, and travelled all alone thro' by-ways with much difficulty and wearineſs towards the city, whither ſhe came in the morning, and going before the judge, ſhe with a loud voice ſaid, 'I pray you, what a ſhame is it 'for you thus wickedly to kill men's ſouls, and to break 'their bodies in pieces, to compel them to deny the omni-'potent God? Would you know what I am? I am a 'Chriſtian and an enemy to your deviliſh ſacrifices; I ſpurn 'your idols under my feet, I confeſs God omnipotent with 'my heart and mouth, &c. Go to therefore thou hang-'man, burn, cut and mangle theſe my earthly members; 'thou mayſt eaſily break a brittle ſubſtance, but thou canſt 'not hurt my inward mind by any thing thou canſt do.' The judge enraged herewith, ſaid to the hangman, 'Take 'her and pull her out by the hair of her head to torments, 'let her feel the power of our gods, and know what we 'can do. But yet, O ſturdy girl, I would fain have thee 'before thou dieſt to revoke thy wickedneſs; remember 'the honourable houſe of which thou art come, and thy 'friends tears; wilt thou kill thyſelf in the flower of thy 'youth, ſo near honourable marriages? doth not the gliſ-'tering pomp of the bridal-bed move thee,' &c. Behold 'here the engines prepared for thy death; either thou ſhalt 'be beheaded with the ſword, or torn with wild beaſts, 'or conſumed with fire to aſhes, &c. yet this thou mayſt 'eſcape if thou wilt: What great matter is it for thee with 'thy fingers to put a little incenſe into the cenſers? yet 'hereby thou ſhalt be delivered.'

To this Eulalia anſwered not, being in a great paſſion, but ſpit in the tyrant's face, and ſpurned abroad the heap of incenſe. Whereupon without further delay, the hangman with both their ſtrengths pulled out her joints, ſcratched her with the talons of wild beaſts to the very bones, ſhe ſinging and praiſing God in the mean time, ſaying, 'Behold, O Lord I will not forget thee. What 'a pleaſure is it for them, O Chriſt, that remember thy tri-'umphant victories, to attain to theſe high dignities!' &c. Yea, when as out of a warm fountain her fair and white ſkin was diſcoloured with the purple blood that flowed from her torn members, ſhe wept not, but chearfully ſung praiſes unto God; thereupon they gored her mangled body with the iron grate, terribly harrowed her fleſh, and burned her breaſts with flaming torches; then ſetting fire to her long hair, which covered her naked body, when it came to her face ſhe opened her mouth and ſucked in the flame, and ſo peaceably ſlept in the Lord.

Alſo Agnes a young virgin, being accuſed for a Chriſtian, was brought before the judge, who firſt laboured by flatteries, then by threatning her with cruel torments to draw her to the denial of her faith; but ſhe being ſtrengthned by Chriſt, told him, 'That ſhe feared not his torments, 'which ſhe was willing to undergo, yea, and death itſelf 'for Chriſt's ſake.' Then ſaid the judge, 'If it be ſo eaſy 'with thee to undergo torments, yet I know that thou 'prizeſt thy virginity; therefore it is fully determined, 'that except thou ſacrificeſt to the gods, thou ſhalt be put 'into the common ſtews.' Hereupon many youths did flock together, craving that Agnes might be expoſed as a prey to their filthy luſts; to whom ſhe ſaid, 'Chriſt is not 'forgetful of thoſe that are his, neither will he leave me 'deſtitute of his help, nor ſuffer my unſpotted chaſtity to 'be defiled by you, &c. You ſhall willingly bathe your 'ſwords in my blood, but you ſhall not defile my body 'with filthy luſt, for any thing that you can do.' Then the judge commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of a ſtreet; whereupon the multitude ſorrowed, and were aſhamed to ſee ſo ſhameleſs a fight, turning away their faces, and ſo departed: But one amongſt the reſt looking upon her in a ſhameleſs manner, behold a flame of fire, like a flaſh of lightning, ſtruck out both his eyes, and he, falling down, wallowed in the kennel dirt, whereupon Agnes ſung praiſes unto God. The cruel tyrant enraged hereby, commanded the executioner to draw out his ſword and diſpatch her: She ſeeing a ſturdy ſoldier coming towards her with a naked ſword rejoiced, ſaying, 'This, O 'this is he that I love, I will make haſte to meet him, 'and no longer protract my longing deſires; I will wil-'lingly receive the length of his ſword into my breaſt. O 'eternal Father, vouchſafe to open the gates of heaven to 'my ſoul that ſeeketh thee.' And ſo kneeling down and praying unto Chriſt, the executioner with his bloody hand finiſhed her hope.

Baſil in one of his orations relates a ſtory of one Julitta, from whom one of the emperor's officers took all her goods, lands and ſervants, contrary to all equity, whereupon ſhe complained to the judges, and a day of hearing was appointed, where the ſpoiled woman lamentably declared her cauſe. But the wicked villain that had robbed her ſaid, 'That her action was of no force, for ſhe was an out-law 'for not obſerving the emperor's gods, and that ſhe was a 'Chriſtian.' His allegation was allowed, incenſe was prepared for her to offer to the gods, which if ſhe refuſed, ſhe ſhould neither have protection nor benefit of the emperor's laws, nor continue her life. She hearing this, in the mighty ſtrength of God ſaid, 'Farewel riches, wel-'come poverty; farewel life, welcome death; all that I 'have, were it a thouſand times more, would I loſe rather 'than ſpeak one wicked word againſt God my Creator. 'I yield thee moſt hearty thanks, O my God, for this gift 'of grace; that I can contemn and deſpiſe this frail and 'tranſitory world, eſteeming the profeſſion of Chriſt above 'all treaſures.' And thenceforth when any queſtion was propoſed to her, her anſwer was, I am the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt. Her kindred and friends earneſtly ſolicited her to change her mind; but ſhe conſtantly refuſed, with deteſtation of their idolatry. Then did the cruel judge condemn her to be burnt, which ſentence ſhe embraced joyfully, as a thing moſt ſweet and delectable; and ſo ſhe addreſſed herſelf to the flames, in countenance, geſture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with ſingular conſtancy; and ſo embracing the fire, ſhe ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

Barbara, a noble woman in Thuſcia, after miſerable impriſonment, ſharp cords, and burning flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded, together with many others.

CHAP. XVII.

The Perſecution of the Chriſtians in Perſia under Sapores, about the ſame Time.

THE idolatrous magicians in Perſia taking counſel together againſt the Chriſtians, accuſed them to Sapores for keeping correſpondence with, and favouring the Roman emperor, which was Conſtantine the Great.

The king being much moved herewith, took occaſion to oppreſs them with taxes and tributes to their utter undoing, and killed three miniſters with the ſword. He alſo called before him Simeon their biſhop, who remaining conſtant and valiant, he commanded him to be led forth to torment; yet did he neither ſhrink for fear, nor make any humble ſuit for pardon, which the king being offended at, required him either to worſhip him after the manner of the country, or elſe he would deſtroy him and all other Chriſtians in his land. But Simeon neither allured with promiſes, nor terrified by threatnings, could by neither be in-

duced

duced to the idolatrous worſhip: For which cauſe he was ſent away to priſon, and as he was going, there was ſitting at the court gate an eunuch, an old tutor of the kings, named Uſthazares, once a Chriſtian, but now fallen from his profeſſion, who ſeeing Simeon led by, roſe up and did him reverence. Simeon on the contrary rebuked him, crying out againſt him for revolting from his profeſſion. Whereupon the eunuch burſt forth into tears, laid aſide his coſtly apparel, and put on black mourning weeds; and ſitting at the court gate weeping, he ſaid to himſelf, 'Woe 'is me, with what face hereafter ſhall I look upon God, 'ſeeing Simeon diſdaineth with one gentle word to ſalute 'me?' This being carried to the king's ears, he was exceeding angry, and ſending for him, he firſt with gentle words and fair promiſes ſpoke him fair, and aſked him, Why he mourned? Whether there was any thing in his houſe that was denied him? &c. Whereunto Uſthazares anſwered, 'That there was nothing in that earthly houſe 'that was detained from him. Yea, ſaid he, O king, 'would God any other grief or calamity in the world had 'happened to me rather than this, for which I juſtly ſor-'row. For this is my grief, That I am alive this day, 'who ſhould have died long ſince, and that I ſee this ſun, 'which diſſemblingly, to pleaſure you, I have ſeemed to 'worſhip; for which I have deſerved a double death. 'Firſt, for diſſembling with you; ſecondly, for that there-'by I have denied Chriſt.' Withal vowing, That he would never hereafter forſake the Creator to worſhip the creature, &c.

Sapores was much aſtoniſhed hereat, and doubted whether to uſe him gently or with rigour; but at laſt in his mood, he commanded him to be beheaded. But as he was going to execution, he requeſted an eunuch that attended on the king, to deſire him for all the old and faithful ſervice that he had done to his father and him, that he would cauſe it to be proclaimed openly at his death, That he was beheaded, not for any treachery againſt the king or realm, but for that he was a Chriſtian and would not deny his God. This the king yielded to, and ſo it was performed; and this he deſired, becauſe by his former apoſtacy he had diſcouraged many Chriſtians; and therefore he ſought by his profeſſion and example to encourage them to the like ſufferings.

Simeon in priſon hearing of his death, much rejoiced and praiſed God for it; and the very next day he with above an hundred more Chriſtians were beheaded likewiſe. There was preſent at their martyrdom one Puſices, an officer to the king, who beholding an aged miniſter to tremble when he ſaw the others beheaded before him, ſaid unto him, 'O Father! ſhut thine eyes for a little moment 'and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſee God in glory.' Hereupon Puſices was apprehended and carried before the king, in whoſe preſence he made a bold confeſſion of his faith; for which cauſe they made a hole in his neck and pulled out his tongue backward, and ſo he was put to death, together with one of his daughters that was a virgin.

The year after, when the Chriſtians were met together to celebrate the memorial of Chriſt's paſſion, Sapores ſent forth a cruel edict, That all they ſhould be put to death that profeſſed the name of Chriſt; and this he did at the inſtigation of the wicked magicians. Whereupon an innumerable company of Chriſtians, both in cities and towns were ſlain by the ſword; ſome being ſought for, others offering themſelves willingly, leſt they ſhould ſeem to deny Chriſt. In this perſecution many of the king's own court and houſhold ſervants ſuffered martyrdom; amongſt whom was Azades an eunuch, whom the king entirely loved. Inſomuch as hearing that he was ſlain, he was ſo offended and grieved at it, that he commanded that thenceforth no more Chriſtians ſhould be ſlain, but only the doctors and teachers of the church.

About this time the queen fell very ſick, upon which occaſion the wicked Jews and magicians accuſed two of Simeon's ſiſters, which were godly virgins, that by charms and inchantments they had procured her ſickneſs to revenge the death of Simeon. This accuſation being believed, they were both condemned, and with a ſaw cut in ſunder by the middle, whoſe quarters were hung upon ſtakes, the queen going betwixt them, thinking thereby to be freed of her ſickneſs.

Then enſued a great perſecution againſt the biſhops and miniſters, who were daily dragged forth to the ſlaughter: But firſt they cruelly ſcourged them and put them to other great torments, becauſe they would not worſhip the ſun.

Miſerable and almoſt innumerable were the ſlaughters under this Sapores of biſhops, miniſters, deacons, and other religious men and holy virgins, ſo that the Perſians themſelves reckon up above ſixteen thouſand men and women that ſuffered martyrdom.

The report of the miſerable condition of the Chriſtians coming to the ears of Conſtantine the Great, put the good emperor into great heavineſs, who ſtudying how to relieve them, it ſo fell out, that about that time there came ambaſſadors to him to Rome from Sapores, whom he entertained courteouſly and granted all their requeſts; and then by them wrote his letters to Sapores in behalf of the Chriſtians, whereby he did ſomething mitigate the heat of the Perſian perſecution; yet afterwards it was renewed again. At which time ſuffered Andas the biſhop, and Hormiſda a nobleman's ſon of great reputation amongſt the Perſians, whom, when the king underſtood to be a Chriſtian, and reſolute in his profeſſion, he condemned him to keep his elephants naked. Afterwards the king looking out, and ſeeing him all ſwart and tanned with the ſun, he commanded that a ſhirt ſhould be put upon him, and that he ſhould be brought before him: Then did the king aſk him, If he would yet deny Chriſt? Hormiſda hearing this, tore off his ſhirt and caſt it from him, ſaying, 'If you think that 'I will deny my faith for a ſhirt, have here your gift a-'gain,' &c. whereupon he was baniſhed the country.

Alſo Suenes, a nobleman that had under him one hundred ſervants, becauſe he would not deny his Chriſtian profeſſion, was ſo hated by the king, that he made the worſt of his ſervants lord over him, and over all that he had, and coupled his wife to him, and made Suenes himſelf to ſerve him.

Alſo Benjamin, a deacon, was thruſt into priſon, where he was kept two years; but at length, at the requeſt of the Roman ambaſſadors, he was releaſed; yet afterwards, when contrary to the king's commandment he preached and taught every where the goſpel of Chriſt, he was again apprehended and miſerably tormented, having twenty ſharp reeds thruſt under the nails of his fingers and toes; but he laughing at it, had a ſharper reed thruſt into his yard with horrible pain; and laſtly had a long ragged thorny ſtalk thruſt thro' his fundament into his bowels, whereof he died.

[*Theſe Primitive Perſecutions are collected out of Euſebius, Socrates Scholaſt. Evagrius, Nicephorus, Theodorus, the Imperial Hiſtory, and the Magd. Hiſtory.*]

CHAP. XVIII.

The Perſecution of the Church under Julian the Apoſtate, anno Chriſti 365.

JULIAN was nephew to Conſtantius the ſon of Conſtantine, and was by him made Cæſar and ſent againſt the Germans; where after ſome ſmaller victories, having overcome his enemies in a great and bloody battle, he was by his army made Auguſtus, and after the death of Conſtantius, ſucceeded in the whole empire both of the eaſt and weſt. He was brought up in the Chriſtian religion, and was endowed with excellent parts; but when he came to be emperor, he apoſtatized from his former profeſſion and turned heathen, and became a deadly enemy to the church of Chriſt, and a great perſecutor of it.

The firſt thing that he did was to open the idol temples ſhut up his predeceſſors, and to ſuffer the Gentiles to commit their ſuperſtitious idolatries, and publicly to adore their idols. His next deſign was to ſupplant the Chriſtian religion, being induced thereto by the devil and his own wickedneſs; and the better to effect the ſame, he practiſed a means never before uſed by any, which was to ſhew himſelf pitiful and not cruel; perceiving that by means of the torments inflicted on the martyrs, the holy Chriſtian faith was greatly increaſed; and therefore he took a contrary courſe, and ſought by gifts, favours, flatteries, and beſtowing

beſtowing offices and dignities, to draw them to renounce the Chriſtian faith, and to ſacrifice to falſe gods; and by this means there were not a few, who being covetous and ambitious, deſiring to be rich and honoured, fell from their Chriſtian profeſſion.

Then did he make laws and general decrees, That no Chriſtian ſhould be maſter of any arts or ſciences, neither ſhould ſtudy in any ſchools, that ſo thro' the deſire of learning they might turn idolaters, or elſe they ſhould remain ignorant and illiterate, and ſo be inſufficient to preach the Chriſtian faith.

He alſo ordained, That no Chriſtian ſhould have any charge, or hold any office of juſtice, neither ſhould be a captain in the wars, nor enjoy any other dignity.

Thus he uſed all the inventions that poſſibly he could deviſe, to make war againſt Jeſus Chriſt, without ſhedding any Chriſtian blood, that ſo he might take the crown from the holy martyrs, which they formerly obtained by the perſecution of the ſword. And indeed this was the greateſt and moſt dangerous perſecution that ever the church endured.

Amongſt other of his ſubtile devices to bring Chriſtianity into contempt, this was one; He entertained about him many witty, but wicked perſons, who made it their buſineſs to ſcoff at and deride the Chriſtians with all manner of baſe jeers; and thoſe which excelled moſt in this wicked practice, he moſt loved and honoured, advancing them to offices both in his court and army.

During his ſhort reign, tho' himſelf put none to death, (as is before ſpecified) yet the heathen idolaters in ſundry places proceeded far otherwiſe, eſpecially in Paleſtine, where they burnt many Chriſtians alive, others they ſtripped naked, and tying cords to their feet, dragged them up and down the paved ſtreets till their fleſh was torn off their bones: upon others they poured ſcalding water; ſome they ſtoned or beat out their brains with clubs; and having thus murdered them they burnt their bodies, and then took their bones and mingled them with the bones of camels and aſſes, that they might not be known for men's bones.

The Chriſtians in Alexandria were moſt cruelly uſed by the Ethnics or Pagans; ſome were ſlain with the ſword, ſome were faſtned to the croſs, ſome brained, ſome ſtoned; and ſuch was their rage againſt Chriſtianity, that one brother ſpared not another, nor parents their children, nor children their parents.

Emilianus was burned in Thracia; Domitius was ſlain in his cave; Theodorus for ſinging a pſalm at the removing of the body of Babilas being apprehended, was examined with exquiſite torments, and ſo cruelly excruciated from morning till almoſt noon, that hardly he eſcaped with life, and being afterwards aſked by his friends how he could endure ſuch extreme torments, he ſaid, That at firſt he felt ſome pain, but afterwards there ſtood by him a young man, who, as he was ſweating with the pain, wiped away his ſweat, and oftentimes refreſhed him with cold water, wherewith he was ſo delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more than before.

Artemius alſo, a captain of the Egyptian ſoldiers, was beheaded for his religion, tho' other cauſes were pretended. Two Chriſtian brethren were dragged through the ſtreets, and murdered by the idolatrous people of Gaza.

But the cruelty of the wicked Arethuſians exceeded againſt the Chriſtian miniſters and virgins, whom they ſet forth naked before the multitude to be ſcorned by them; then did they cover them with hog's meat, and ripping up their bellies, put barley into them, and ſo cauſed their bowels and fleſh to be devoured by their hungry ſwine.

Their cruelty moſt raged againſt Marcus Arethuſius, the Chriſtian biſhop of that city, who formerly by the command of Conſtantine, had pulled down their idol temple, and ſet up a church for the Chriſtians in the room thereof; the Arethuſians knowing how Julian hated him, accuſed him as a traitor and enemy to the emperor: Whereupon at firſt he prepared himſelf to fly, but when he perceived that ſome of his friends were apprehended in his ſtead, he returned, and of his own accord offered himſelf to thoſe that thirſted for his blood: Whom when they had gotten, neither pitying his old age, nor reverencing his holy and blameleſs converſation, they ſtrip'd him naked and pitifully beat him, then they caſt him into a foul, filthy ſtinking priſon; they alſo cauſed boys to thruſt him in with ſharp ſticks to augment his pain; laſtly they put him into a baſket, anointed him with honey and broth, and ſo hung him abroad in the heat of the ſun to be meat for waſps and flies to feed upon; and this they did to enforce him either to build up their idol temple again, or to give them money to pay for the doing of it, but he ſtoutly refuſed both; they proffered to forgive one half if he would pay the other, which he ſtill refuſing, and contemning all their torments, they at laſt demanded of him but a ſmall ſum of money, but he anſwered, 'It is as great wickedneſs to 'confer one half-penny in caſe of impiety, as if a man ſhould 'give the whole.' Whereupon deſpairing to prevail, they left him and went their ways.

Alſo Cyrillus, a deacon in Hierapolis, who in Conſtantine's time had broken in pieces the images of the Gentiles, they took him and ripp'd up his belly, drew the liver out of his body, which with barbarous inhumanity they chewed with their teeth: But the Lord ſuffered not this brutiſhneſs to go unpuniſhed, for their teeth ſhortly after fell out of their jaw bones, and their tongues rooted to their mouths, and they fell ſtark blind.

Julian, when he came to Conſtantinople, offered ſacrifice in the cathedral church to the goddeſs Fortune; about which time Maris, biſhop of Chalcedon in Bithynia being blind, cauſed himſelf to be led to the emperor, whom he rebuked ſharply, calling him an impious perſon, an apoſtate, and an atheiſt; he on the contrary called the biſhop, Blind fool, ſaying further, 'Thy God of Galilee will not 'reſtore thee thy ſight again;' Maris replied, 'I thank 'God which made me blind, leſt that ever I ſhould ſee 'mine eyes upon ſo ungracious a face as thine is.'

In the market places of the cities Julian ſet up his own image amongſt the images of the heathen gods, to the end that whoſoever ſhould do civil reverence to his image, might alſo ſeem to worſhip the gods of the Gentiles; and that they who would not bow to the idols, might ſeem to refuſe due reverence to the emperor. When he diſtributed gold to his captains and ſoldiers, he erected an altar near to his throne, with coals burning upon it, and incenſe on a table hard by, and none might receive the gold before he had caſt incenſe on the coals before the altar, by which ſubtilty he circumvented many who diſcerned not his purpoſe to intangle them with the rites of idolatrous ſervices.

All about Antioch he dedicated all the fountains to the goddeſſes of the Gentiles, and cauſed all the victuals that were ſold in the market to be ſprinkled with heatheniſh holy water; yet did the Chriſtians without ſcruple drink of the water and eat of the meat according to that rule, *Whatſoever is ſold in the ſhambles, that eat, and aſk no queſtion for conſcience ſake*, &c.

Juventius and Maxentius, two brave captains, uſed much boldneſs and liberty in reproving him for his heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, which ſo enraged him, that he cauſed them to be put to death.

In Cæſarea the inhabitants being moſt Chriſtians, had formerly overthrown the temples of Jupiter and Apollo; and now in Julian's time they overthrew the temple of Fortune, which ſo enraged him, that he diſfranchiſed them, exacted of them three hundred pounds weight of gold, and compelled their clergy to ſerve in his wars, threatning further to put to death all the inhabitants thereof at his return, but it pleaſed God that his own death prevented it.

About this time, Julian going to enquire of the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, there came down fire from heaven and deſtroyed the temple, and beat the image of Apollo into pieces like to the ſmalleſt powder or duſt.

When he came to Antioch, there was a noble-woman called Publia, who had the education and government of divers young virgins, theſe ſhe cauſed as Julian paſſed by her houſe to ſing with a loud voice, *The idols of the heathen are ſilver and gold, the works of men's hands*, &c. This ſo enraged the emperor, that he ſent them a command to ſing no more as he went that way; but Publia was ſo far from fearing him, that the next time he came ſhe made them ſing the ſame verſe, and to add to it, *Let God ariſe, and*

his enemies ſhall be ſcattered, &c. This ſo incenſed Julian, that he ſent for her to him, ſcoff'd at her, and cauſed her to be clapt on the cheeks in a diſgraceful manner; but ſhe looked upon it as a great honour thus to ſuffer reproach for Chriſt's ſake; and coming home, ſhe cauſed her maids ſtill to ſing pſalms of the emperor's fury and madneſs.

Afterwards the emperor intending to war againſt the Perſians, ſet a great fine upon every one's head that would not ſacrifice to the idols, whereby he much enriched himſelf by the ſpoil of the Chriſtians.

Then were falſe accuſations forged againſt Athanaſius, ſo that he was forced to fly; yet he thus comforted himſelf and friends, *Nubecula eſt, cito pertranſibit*, This perſecution is but a little cloud, and will ſoon paſs away.

In his flight he took a ſhip upon the river Nilus to fly to Thebais, but Julian ſent an earl after him to bring him back again, who purſuing him with ſails and oars, had almoſt overtaken his ſhip, whereupon the mariners would have run her aſhore, and fled into a wilderneſs that was hard by, to whom Athanaſius ſaid, *Quid turbamini filii? quin in occurſum eamus perſecutori noſtro, ut intelligat, quod longe major eſt qui nos defendit, quam qui perſequitur:* My ſons, why are you thus affrighted? let us rather turn and meet our purſuer, that he may know that he is greater which defends us, than he that follows to apprehend us. Hereupon the mariners turned back again, and the earl ſuppoſing nothing leſs than that Athanaſius was in the ſhip that came towards him, he only called to them, and enquired whether they had not heard of Athanaſius. They anſwered, That they had ſeen Athanaſius a little before; whereupon he haſtned forward to overtake him, and Athanaſius in his ſhip returned back privately into Alexandria, where he lay hid till that perſecution was over.

Julian's officers in exacting the fines off the Chriſtians, demanded more than they were aſſeſſed at, and ſometimes tormented their bodies alſo, of which wrongs when they complained to the emperor, he ſcoffingly anſwered them, 'Its your part, when you are injured, to take it patiently, 'for ſo your God commandeth you.'

At Meris in Phrygia, the governor commanded the idol temple to be ſet open and cleanſed, and began himſelf to worſhip the idols: Whereupon ſome Chriſtians inflamed with zeal, in the night time brake into the temple, threw down the idols, and ſtamped them to powder. The governor being wonderfully incenſed herewith, purpoſed to execute ſome Chriſtian citizens which were innocent and guiltleſs; whereupon the authors of their own accord preſented themſelves before him, chuſing rather to die for the truth, than that others ſhould ſuffer for their ſakes: Thereupon the governor commanded them to ſacrifice to the idols, or elſe he would ſeverely puniſh them; but they ſetting at nought his threats, prepared themſelves to ſuffer what he could inflict; then did he aſſay them with all kinds of torments, and at laſt laid them on the gridiron, and broiled them to death, to whom they ſaid, 'If thou 'long, O tyrant, for broiled meat, turn up the other ſide, 'leſt in eating the blood run about thy teeth.'

When Julian went againſt the Perſians, of very malice and hatred againſt the Chriſtians, whom ſcornfully he called Galileans, he made a vow, That if he obtained the victory, he would ſacrifice to his gods the blood of thoſe Chriſtians which would not ſacrifice to the idols. But what the iſſue of that expedition was, ſee in my ſecond part, in the life of Jovianus.

[*Collected out of the Imperial Hiſtory, and Socrates Scholaſticus, Theodorus, and the Magd. Hiſt. cent.* 4.]

CHAP. XIX.

The Perſecution of the Church under the Arrian Heretics, which began anno Chriſti 339.

CONSTANTINE the Great dying, divided his empire amongſt his three ſons, Conſtantius, Conſtans, and Conſtantine. Conſtantius that governed the eaſt, was ſeduced by an Arrian preſbyter, who had been in his father's court, with his aunt Conſtantia. *So pernicious a thing it is to have deceitful heretics lurking in princes courts and ladies chambers.*

This preſbyter complained to Conſtantius that the return of Athanaſius from baniſhment was very dangerous to the peace of the commonwealth; yea, he ſo far incenſed the emperor againſt him, that he ſent a captain with five thouſand armed men to ſlay him; but the Lord delivered him miraculouſly out of their hands; for the armed ſoldiers being placed round about the church where he was, he went ſafely thro' the midſt of them undiſcerned, tho' many Arrians were preſent on purpoſe to point him out to the ſoldiers, as a ſheep ordained for the ſlaughter.

But neither in baniſhment could he enjoy peace and ſafety, for this Arrian emperor ſent to all the officers in his army to ſearch him out, whereſoever he was, propoſing a great reward to thoſe that could bring Athanaſius to him either alive or dead; whereupon he was forced to hide himſelf in a deep pit, where he lay ſix years never ſo much as ſeeing the light of the ſun, till at laſt a maid that uſed to carry him his food was corrupted by thoſe which ſought for him to betray him to them: But it pleaſed God by his Spirit to reveal to him his danger, whereby he eſcaped a little before they came to apprehend him.

Afterwards Conſtans forced his brother Conſtantius, tho' much againſt his will, to reſtore Athanaſius to his church at Alexandria: But after the death of that good emperor Conſtans, Conſtantius drove him into baniſhment again; yet the Lord ſtirred up a godly woman to hide him in her houſe till the death of Conſtantius.

In Alexandria in the room of Athanaſius, was George an Arrian biſhop placed, who alſo was furniſhed with armed ſoldiers to aſſiſt him in his deviliſh devices. Thereupon he cauſed a great fire to be made, took many Chriſtian virgins, cauſed them to be ſtripped naked, requiring them to renounce their faith, or elſe they ſhould be burned; but when the ſight of the fire could not terrify them, he cauſed their faces to be ſo daſhed with ſtrokes, that their countenances were diſfigured; yet like patient ſoldiers of Chriſt they endured all kind of rebuke for his name's ſake.

Thirty biſhops of Egypt and Lybia were ſlain in the fury of this Arrian perſecution. Fourteen biſhops were baniſhed, whereof ſome of them died in the way, the reſt in exile. Forty orthodox Chriſtians in Alexandria were ſcourged with rods, becauſe they would not communicate with the Arrian biſhop George, and ſo piteouſly handled, that ſome pieces of the rods were ſo deeply fixed in their fleſh, that they could not be drawn out, and many thro' exceſſive pain of their wounded bodies died.

The like cruelty did the Arrians exerciſe in Conſtantinople. Paul the good biſhop was baniſhed to Caucuſus, where he was ſtrangled by the Arrians. Macedonius a notable heretic was placed in his room, who uſed no leſs cruelty in forcing men to communicate with him, than was uſed formerly to force them to ſacrifice to idols.

Theſe heretics uſed alſo great diligence in procuring councils to eſtabliſh their errors. But not long after the emperor died, ſorrowing much that he had changed the form of the Nicene faith.

After the death of Jovian, Valentinian ſucceeded in the empire, who aſſociated to himſelf his brother Valens, and made him emperor of the eaſt. This Valens was an Arrian, and raiſed up a cruel perſecution againſt the orthodox: Concerning which Gregory Nazianzen in his oration of the praiſe of Baſil, thus writeth, *Inſurrexit repente nebula grandine plena, et pernicioſe ſtridens, quæ omnes eccleſias in quas incidit, contrivit, et proſtravit, Chriſti cultor, pariter et oſor, qui poſt perſecutorem perſecutor fuit, et poſt apoſtatam, non quidem apoſtata, ſed nihilo tamen meliorem ſe Chriſtianis præbens: Chriſti nomen præ ſe ferens Chriſtum mentiebatur.* Meletius biſhop of Antioch he baniſhed to Armenia. Euſebius biſhop of Samoſata to Thrace. Pelagius biſhop of Laodicea to Arabia.

He was exceedingly filled with wrath againſt the biſhops aſſembled in the council of Lampſacum, becauſe they adhered to the Nicene faith. In Conſtantinople he baniſhed all the orthodox. In Ediſſa he commanded them all to be ſlain as they were aſſembled together in the church. The lieutenant that had received this charge from him, being more merciful than his maſter, gave private notice to the Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, that they ſhould not aſſemble at that time; but they neither regarding his advice, nor fearing his threats, flocked to the church in great companies; and whilſt the lieutenant with many armed ſoldiers haſted thitherward to fulfil the emperor's command, a woman leading a child in her hand, all in haſte brake the ranks, and thruſt into the armed troops; the lieutenant being moved therewith, called the woman before him, ſaying, 'Thou fond and 'unfortunate woman, whither runneſt thou ſo raſhly?' 'Thither, ſaid ſhe, whither others haſten:' Haſt thou not 'heard, ſaid he, that the lieutenant will ſlay as many as he 'finds there?' I heard it, ſaid ſhe, and therefore I make 'the more haſte to the place.' But whether, ſaid he, lead-'eſt thou this child?' That he alſo, ſaid ſhe, may be ac-'counted in the number of the martyrs.' Hereupon the lieutenant returned back to the emperor, and told him that all the Chriſtians from the higheſt to the loweſt prepared themſelves to die in the defence of their faith, and withal he ſhewed him what a raſh thing it was to murder ſo great a multitude, *&c.* and ſo with his reaſons perſuaded the emperor, that he appeaſed his wrath, and prevented the miſchief at that time.

In Conſtantinople the Arrians, favoured by the emperor, crowed inſolently over the Chriſtians, they ſcourged, reviled, impriſoned, amerced, and laid upon them all the intolerable burdens they could deviſe. Hereupon eighty godly miniſters, in the name of all the reſt, addreſſed themſelves to the emperor, complaining of the outrages that were done to them, craving ſome relief: But this cruel tyrant commanded Modeſtus the general of his army, to embark them all in a ſhip, as if he would have ſent them into baniſhment, but ſecretly he gave direction to the mariners to ſet the ſhip on fire, and to retire themſelves into a boat, and ſo theſe holy martyrs glorified the name of Chriſt by patient ſuffering of a double death, burning and drowning.

In all the eaſtern parts he tormented many with ſundry ſorts of grievous torments, put many to death, drowned many in the ſea and in rivers.

About this time he conſulted with necromancers, to know who ſhould ſucceed him in the empire; the devil anſwered ambiguouſly, that his name ſhould begin with Th. whereupon he put to death as many as were called Theodorus, Theodotus, Theodoſius or Theodulus.

Athanaſius being dead at Alexandria, there ſucceeded him a godly and holy man, named Peter, but the emperor preſently ſent ſoldiers, which clapp'd him in priſon, and the reſt of the miniſters were baniſhed, ſome to one place, ſome to another.

After this he ſent forth an edict for the perſecuting of all the orthodox in Egypt; whereupon many were ſtript of their raiment, ſcourged, fettered in priſons, cruſhed in pieces with ſtones, beheaded, driven into deſarts, where they wandred in ſheeps ſkins and goats ſkins, deſtitute of aid and ſuccour; many hid themſelves in mountains, in dens, caves and hollow rocks.

Terentius and Trajan, two worthy captains, uſed ſome liberty in admoniſhing the emperor to abſtain from perſecuting of the innocent; but the Lord was minded to deſtroy him, and therefore he could receive no wholſom admonition; for many of the Goths, whom he entertained as ſoldiers to aſſiſt him againſt his enemies, turned againſt himſelf, ſo that he fled and was overtaken in a village, which the Goths ſet on fire, whereby he died miſerably, leaving none to ſucceed him, and his name a curſe and execration to all ages.

[*Collected out of Magd. Hiſt. Socrates and Theodorus.*]

CHAP. XX.

The Perſecution by the Donatiſts.

ABOUT the year of our Lord 410, there ſprang up in Africe the Donatiſts and Circumcellions, who firſt made a great ſchiſm in the church, and afterwards raiſed up a great perſecution againſt the orthodox: Concerning which St. Auſtin complains in ſundry places; and in his fifty epiſtle to earl Boniface, he thus writes of it, *In hoc labore multi catholici, et maxime epiſcopi, et clerici horrenda, et dura perpeſſi ſunt, quæ commemorare longum eſt, &c.* In this diſturbance the orthodox, eſpecially the biſhops and miniſters, ſuffered hard and horrible things, the particulars whereof are long to recite; for ſome of them had their eyes put out: ſome biſhops had their hands and tongues cut off, and ſome were ſlain outright. To ſpeak nothing of the cruel ſlaughter of others that were ſound and ſincere; of the plundering of their houſes, of the outrageous burning not only of their private habitations, but of their churches alſo; yea, ſo vile and violent were they, that they ſticked not to burn the ſacred ſcriptures.

Optatus in his ſecond book tells us, That when Julian the apoſtate came to the empire, the Donatiſts preferred a petition to him, wherein they deſired leave to return to their places in Africe, from whence formerly they had been baniſhed. Julian knowing what furious and turbulent ſpirits they were of, and how prejudicial their return would be to the catholic church, eaſily aſſented to their petition, and ſo they returned full fraught with malice and revenge, and preſently employed all their abilities, partly by ſubtilty to ſeduce the common people, partly by violence to oppreſs the orthodox biſhops and miniſters, of whom ſome they thruſt out of their churches, others they ſlew.

Some of their chief biſhops taking armed ſoldiers with them, went to the caſtle of Lemella, where finding the church ſhut againſt them, they commanded their attendants to get upon it to uncover the roof, and ſo having broken into it, they ſet upon ſome deacons whom they found there, wounded ſome, and ſlew two of them outright. In all places where they came they profaned all holy things; the ſacramental bread they threw to their dogs; but behold the juſt judgment of God againſt theſe profane ſchiſmatics; thoſe very dogs ſhortly after running mad, fell upon their own maſters and tore them in pieces.

Virgins they deſloured, and wives they defiled. So uſual a thing it is for thoſe which adulterate the holy truths of God, to be given over to corporal uncleanneſs.

Theſe furious perſons diſperſed themſelves all over Africe, and would not ſuffer the orthodox to preach the truth againſt their errors: By their violent aſſaults, thieveries, rapines, burnings and murders, they deſtroyed many and affrighted all, *&c.*

CHAP. XXI.

The Perſecution of the Church in Africe by the Arrian Vandals, which began anno Chriſti 427.

THE cruel Vandals paſſing out of Spain into Africe under Genſeric their captain, finding the province peaceable and quiet, ſet upon the flouriſhing part of the land, waſting and deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword, not ſparing ſo much as the ſhrubs and buſhes which bare fruit, leſt they ſhould miniſter relief to thoſe poor Chriſtians which hid themſelves in dens, in mountains and ſteep cliffs: But eſpecially they raged againſt the churches and temples of the ſaints, burning them all to the ground, and where they found any of them ſhut, they broke them open with their maces. The biſhops and miniſters they deſtroyed eſpecially with many kinds of torments, ſeeking by tortures to force them to deliver up whatſoever gold and ſilver they had of their own or belonging to the church, and where they got any, they ſtill tormented them afreſh, to force them to confeſs more.

The mouths of ſome they wreſted open with iron, thruſting into them ſtinking mire and dirt; ſome they tormented by wreſting their foreheads and legs with bow ſtrings, till they crack'd again; into the mouths of others they poured ſea water, vinegar, with the dregs of oil and greaſe; and neither weakneſs of ſex, nor reſpect of nobility, nor reverence of their miniſtry mitigated their cruel minds; yea, their fury moſt abounded where there appeared any dignity or worthineſs.

Many of the miniſters and nobles they loaded with mighty burdens, as if they had been camels or horſes, and made them carry them after them; and if they went ſlowly, they haſted them with iron pricks and goads, ſo that ſome of them under their burdens gave up the ghoſt. Reve-

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reud grey hairs found no privilege of mercy; guiltleſs infants felt their barbarous rage, whom they daſhed againſt the ground, violently pulling little ones from their mother's breaſts to brain them; of others, by wide ſtretching of their tender legs, they tore them in pieces from the fundament; the ſtately buildings they burnt down and levelled with the earth; the chief churches in Carthage they employed to their own heretical worſhip: Where any ſtrong caſtles were held againſt them, they brought multitudes of Chriſtians, ſlew them, and left their bodies lying about the caſtles, that by the ſtench thereof they might force them to ſurrender.

Who can expreſs the number of miniſters that were by them tortured! Pampinian the biſhop of Manſuetus was tortured with burning plates of iron all over his body; the biſhop of Urice was burnt to death.

Then did they alſo beſiege the city of Hippo, where St. Auguſtine was, who before that time had compiled two hundred and thirty two books, epiſtles innumerable, beſides his expoſitions on the pſalms and goſpels, and his homilies to the people. See more of this in my firſt part of lives in the life of St. Auſtin.

When they had taken the regal city of Carthage, they enſlaved the citizens and ſenators, publiſhing a decree that they ſhould preſently bring forth whatſoever gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, or rich apparel they poſſeſſed, and thereby deſpoiled them of all in one day; then did they take the biſhop and all the miniſters of that city, and thruſt them naked into weather-broken ſhips, and ſo baniſhed them, whom yet the Lord of his great mercy directed and brought in ſafety to the city of Naples. The ſenators and nobles they firſt baniſhed from the city, and then drove them beyond ſea. The dead bodies of the Chriſtians they would not ſuffer to be buried but in the night, and without any ſolemnity.

The biſhops and miniſters thro' all the province being deſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, and turned out of their churches, aſſembled together and preſented a petition to Genſeric, that they might at leaſt in private be ſuffered to inſtruct their people; to whom he proudly anſwered, 'I 'have decreed that none of your profeſſion ſhould remain 'in the country, how then dare you prefer ſuch a re-'queſt?' and withal, he would at that inſtant have drowned them all in the ſea, but that the importunity of ſome about him ſtopt him.

There was alſo a noble earl called Sebaſtian, a man of great wiſdom and conrage, whom Genſeric much feared, and therefore ſought occaſion to put him to death; which that he might the better effect, he moved him to be re-baptized by one of his prieſts, and to turn Arrian: The earl therefore requeſted him to call for a fine manchet, which being done, he ſaid, 'This loaf, that it might be 'fine and white, hath been boulted from the bran, and 'moiſtned with liquor, and baked; but if you now cauſe 'it to be broken in pieces, ſteeped in water, kneaded and 'baked again, if it come out better, I will do as you would 'have me.' Genſeric underſtanding his meaning, could not tell what to anſwer for the preſent, yet afterwards he cauſed him to be put to death.

If any miniſter in his ſermon occaſionally did but mention Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar. Herod, &c. preſently it was laid to his charge, that he meant it by the king, and thereupon he was baniſhed.

Yet notwithſtanding all this cruelty, the people of God ſtood faſt in their holy profeſſion, and rather increaſed than otherwiſe.

Afterwards, at the requeſt of Valentinian the emperor, Genſeric ſuffered the orthodox in Carthage to chuſe them a biſhop, which they did; and not long after, Genſeric with his Vandals took the famous city of Rome, carrying away with him not only all the treaſure that of a long time had been ſtored up there, but many of the people alſo; who, when they were brought into Afric, were ſhared between the Vandals and the Moors; ſo that huſbands were ſeparated from their wives, parents from their children. Which this godly biſhop hearing of, he cauſed all the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the church, to be ſold for their redemption, that ſo married perſons, and parents, and children might enjoy the comfort of their relations. Then alſo did he provide food and lodging for them, and night and day went amongſt them himſelf, to ſee how they did, to miniſter to their wants and comfort them. But this procured him ſuch hatred amongſt the Arrians, that they ſought to ſlay him; but the Lord about this time took him to himſelf, whereby he eſcaped their malice.

One of Genſeric's colonels having ſome Chriſtian ſlaves, and a beautiful godly virgin amongſt them, he took occaſion to vex them with fetters and torments, thereby to force them to re-baptization; which they conſtantly refuſing, he cauſed them to be ſtripped and beaten with ragged cudgels till their fleſh was torn in pieces, &c. at laſt they were baniſhed to Capſur, an heathen kingdom of the Moors, where it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs their labours, that many of them were converted, and ſending for an orthodox miniſter, were baptized.

This coming to Genſeric's ears, he commanded theſe ſervants of God to be drawn at a chariot's tail thro' thickets of thorns, till they were torn in pieces; and theſe newly converted Moors, he cauſed their naked bodies to be haled backwards and forwards, thro' buſhes and brambles, and others of them to be tied to wild beaſts, and ſo to be rent in ſunder; the poor Chriſtians ſaying thus each to other, 'O brother pray for me, God hath fulfilled our de-'ſire! O this is the way to the kingdom of heaven.'

Genſeric further raging againſt the orthodox, ſent one Proculus into the Zeugian province, to deſpoil all the churches of their ornaments, and the miniſters of their books, that thereby they might be diſabled to holy ſervices, which command was executed with all rigour. And whereas the biſhop of Habenſa refuſed to deliver them up, he was expelled the city, and all men at great penalty were forbidden to harbour him; ſo that being above eighty years old, he lay naked for a long time under the open ſky.

About Eaſter, when the Chriſtians were met together in a church, to celebrate the remembrance of Chriſt's reſurrection, the Arrians with a great power of armed men ſet upon this innocent company, who with their naked ſwords ſlew many. The miniſter that was preaching they ſhot thro' the throat with an arrow; and ſuch of them as eſcaped death, were by the command of the king executed by ſundry kinds of torments.

In other places, when the Chriſtians were adminiſtring the ſacrament, the heretics ruſhed in amongſt them, taking the bread and wine and trampling them under their profane feet.

Then did Genſeric command, That none but Arrians ſhould bear any office either about himſelf or his children. And a biſhop called Armogaſtes they took and firſt nipped his forehead and legs with bow ſtrings, then did they hang him up by one foot with his head downward, yet did he ſeem to all men as if he ſlept in a feather bed, which ſo enraged Theoderic the king's ſon, that he commanded him to be beheaded; but ſome about him diſſuaded him from it, becauſe, ſaid they, He will be accounted a martyr. Then was he baniſhed to dig in mines, yet afterwards he was ſent for again and made a cow-herd near to Carthage, that he might be a continual object of ſcorn.

There was alſo one Saturus a nobleman, eminent for holineſs, whom the tyrant much laboured to draw to the Arrian profeſſion; but he refuſing, the king told him, 'That if he preſently conſented not, he ſhould forfeit his 'houſe and goods; that his children and ſlaves ſhould be 'ſold, and his wife given to the camel-driver;' yet no menaces could ſhake his faith. His wife hearing of her doom, went to her huſband as he was praying with her garments rent, her hair diſhevelled, her children at her heels, and a ſucking infant in her arms, whom ſhe caſt at her huſband's feet, and took him about the knees, ſaying, 'Have com-'paſſion, O my ſweeteſt! of me thy poor wife, and of 'theſe thy children; look upon them, let them not be 'made ſlaves; let not me be yoaked to a baſe marriage, &c. 'That which thou art required to do, thou doſt it not 'willingly, but by conſtraint, and therefore it will not be 'laid to thy charge.' He gave her an anſwer in the words of Job, 'Thou ſpeakeſt like a fooliſh woman, thou acteſt 'the devil's part; if thou loveſt thy huſband, thou wouldſt 'never ſeek to draw him to ſin, which will procure the 'ſecond death. I am reſolved therefore, as my Lord commands

'commands me, to forſake wife, children, lands, houſe, '&c. that I may be his diſciple:' And accordingly he was deſpoiled of all and turned out a begging, yet all were forbidden to harbour him

Genſeric having reigned thirty ſeven years and three months died.

Genſeric being dead, his ſon Hunric ſucceeded him, who at firſt was more moderate to the Chriſtians, inſomuch as they began to hold their meetings as before time. The Manichean heretics he ſought out, and tho' moſt of them were of his own religion, yet he burnt ſome and baniſhed others.

At the requeſt of the emperor Zeno, and Placidia his wife, he ſuffered the church of Carthage to chuſe their own biſhop, having been deſtitute of one for twenty four years. Then they choſe Eugenius, an humble, holy and charitable man, whoſe fame increaſing, the Arrian biſhops much envied him, and put into the king's head to forbid him to preach, and not to ſuffer any to enter into the church that were attired after the manner of the Vandals. To which command Eugenius thus anſwered, 'The houſe of 'God is free for all; thoſe which enter, no man may drive 'forth.' The king being incenſed with this anſwer, placed torturers at the church door, who when they ſpied any man or woman in a Vandal's habit about to go into the church, clapping fleſh-hooks on their heads, and twiſting them in their hair, with a ſtrong twitch they pulled off hair, ſcalp and all, whereby ſome loſt their eyes, and ſome their lives.

The women, beſides theſe torments, they carried thro' the ſtreets to be made a public laughing ſtock, yet could they not force them to alter their religion.

Then did Hunric ordain, That none of his courtiers which diſſented from his religion, ſhould receive their ordinary penſions and ſalaries. He alſo did ſend many of them which had been delicately brought up, to Utica, in the parching heat of the ſun, to dig the land for corn; yet they went chearfully and comforted themſelves in the Lord.

He commanded that no man ſhould be a knight, or bear any public office, except he turned Arrian: Whereupon very many with invincible courage forſook their honours and offices rather than their faith.

Many virgins he cauſed to be proved by the midwives in a moſt ſhameful manner; hanging them up from the ground with mighty weights at their feet, and putting to their ſides, breaſts, backs and bellies, red hot plates of iron, to compel them to confeſs that their biſhops and miniſters lay with them, that ſo he might from thence have an occaſion to perſecute them. Many of theſe died under the pain, and others remained lame and crooked all their lives after, yet would they not confeſs any ſuch thing.

Then did he baniſh into the wilderneſs of biſhops, miniſters, deacons and other members of Chriſt, four thouſand nine hundred ſeventy and ſix; ſome of them being lame with the gout, others blind with age: Amongſt whom alſo was Felix. biſhop of Abiris, poſſeſſed with a dead palſy, and therefore unable either to go or ride; which the cruel king being informed of, and requeſted that he might be ſuffered to ſtay, he anſwered, 'If he be 'not able to ride, let wild bulls be coupled to drag him 'to the place appointed.' So that they were fain to carry him on a mule's back acroſs, as if he had been a ſack.

So were all theſe holy confeſſors brought to the city of Sicca, where the Moors were to receive them, and tranſport them thence to the wilderneſs. Thither came two *Arrian* earls, and with great ſubtilty ſought to withdraw them from their ſtedfaſtneſs, ſaying, 'What mean you to 'be ſo obſtinate, as not to obey the king's laws, whereas 'by complying with him, you may be preferred to honour?' But they all cried out, 'We be Chriſtians, we be Catholics, 'we believe and confeſs the Trinity in unity.' Hereupon were they ſhut up in a grievous priſon.

Many mothers alſo voluntarily followed their little children, much rejoicing that they had born martyrs. Others ſought to draw them to re-baptization by the heretics; but thro' God's grace they could not prevail.

As they paſſed on the way, travelling more by night than by day, becauſe of the exceſſive heat, a woman haſted after them, leading in her hand a little child, encouraging him, ſaying, *Run ſirrah, ſeeſt thou all the ſaints how merrily they go forward and haſten to their crown?* One of the company rebuked her, and aſked her whither ſhe went? to whom ſhe anſwered, *Pray for me, I go with this little boy my nephew, to the place of baniſhment, leſt the enemies finding him alone, ſhould ſeduce him from the way of truth into the way of error.*

The enemies being more enraged, becauſe of their conſtancy, when they came to their lodgings, penned them up in narrow places; and there was denied to them all the comfort of acceſs of their friends, for permitting whereof, formerly their keepers had been beaten with ſtaves. Theſe bleſſed ſaints were tumbled one upon another, as grains of corn; neither could they have means of ſtepping aſide to eaſe nature, ſo that the ſtink of their excrements exceeded their other pain.

They were brought forth, their garments, heads and faces beſmeared with dirt in a pitiful manner; and by the clamorous Moors they were haſtned forward in their journey; yet they went ſinging with great joy unto the Lord, *Lo, this honour have all his ſaints* Then came to them the bleſſed biſhop Cyprian, who to their ſingular conſolation comforted every one of them with fatherly affections, and with ſtreams of tears was ready to lay down his life for the brethren, and would fain have accompanied them, if he might have been ſuffered. He beſtowed all that he had amongſt them, for which he afterwards ſuffered impriſonment and much hardſhip, and at laſt had his heart's deſire in being baniſhed.

There came great multitudes from ſundry countries and cities to behold theſe ſervants of God, and many caſting their children at their feet, crying thus, *To whom will you leave us wretches, whilſt you go forward to your crown? Who ſhall baptize our infants? inſtruct and adminiſter the ſacraments to us? Our hearts ſerve us well to go with you if we might* But now none were ſuffered any more to go with them for their comfort; but they were preſſed forward and made to run.

When any of the aged folks or tender children fainted, they were punched forward with ſtaves, and the Moors were commanded to tie ropes to the feet of ſuch as were unable to go, and to hale them thro' the rough places; ſo that firſt their garments were rent, then their fleſh and their heads were daſhed againſt the ſharp edges of rocks, whereby very many of them died.

The reſt that were ſtronger came at laſt to the wilderneſs, where like beaſts they had barley given them for their food: There were alſo abundance of venomous ſerpents and ſcorpions in that place, whoſe ſting was deadly; yet thro' God's great providence none of theſe ſervants of Chriſt got any hurt thereby.

Hunric in the ſeventh year of his reign directed his mandate to Eugenius biſhop of Carthage, and told all other biſhops in *Afric*, that they ſhould by ſuch a day meet at Carthage, to defend by diſputation their faith againſt the *Arrian* biſhops; but withal, by the tenor of the decree they perceived that he would not ſuffer any of them to live within his dominions, which cauſed great heavineſs amongſt them. Eugenius returned anſwer, That ſince it was the common cauſe of all the Chriſtian churches, it was but equal that biſhops out of other countries ſhould be requeſted to be there preſent alſo. And this he did, not becauſe they ſuſpected their own abilities to defend the truth, but becauſe he knew that ſtrangers might uſe more liberty of ſpeech than they could, and that other biſhops might be witneſſes of their ſufferings. But this requeſt did but more enrage this unreaſonable tyrant.

The appointed day approaching, many biſhops reſorted to Carthage, worn out with afflictions and ſorrows; yet for many days after their coming, there was no mention of diſputing, till in the mean time, the king had ſingled out the learneſt and ſkilfulleſt of them, that by ſundry calumniations he might make them away; amongſt whom was Lætus, a ſtout and learned man, whom he firſt impriſoned, and then burnt him in the fire, that ſo he might ſtrike a fear into the reſt.

At laſt the diſputation began, and the orthodox, to avoid tumult, choſe out ſome to anſwer for all the reſt. The *Arrians* placed themſelves upon lofty thrones, whilſt

the orthodox ſtood below upon their feet; whereupon they ſaid, 'Conference is to be taken in hand, not where 'proud ſuperiority of power bears ſway, but where, by 'common conſent, the diſputants upon equal terms de-'bate the controverſies, that truth may come to light,' &c. Hereupon all the catholics were commanded to have an hundred ſtrokes a-piece with a cudgel, given them for this ſpeech. Whereupon Eugenius ſaid, 'The Lord from 'heaven behold the violence which we ſuffer, and conſi-'der the tribulation which we ſuſtain from our perſecu-'tors.' Then did the orthodox biſhops deſire the Arrians to propound what they intended: But the Arrian biſhops ſeeing them ready to diſpute with them, ſought out tergiverſations, and declined the diſpute. Hereupon the orthodox drew forth a declaration of their faith, excellently well penned, and exhibited it with this proteſtation, 'If you be deſirous to know our belief, the faith which 'we hold is herein compriſed.' The Arrians ſtormed exceedingly at this, giving them outrageous language, and preſently by falſe calumnies they accuſed them to the king, and ſo incenſed him, that by an edict, in one day he cauſed all the Chriſtian churches thro' Afric to be ſhut up, giving to the Arrians all the goods and churches of the orthodox.

Then did he command, that all thoſe godly biſhops that were met together at Carthage, ſhould be ſpoiled of all that they had in their lodgings, and ſo driven out of the city gates; having neither ſervant, nor beaſt, nor garment to ſhift them in, left unto them: And all men were forbidden either to harbour them, or give them any ſuſtenance, the king threatning to burn him and all his family that ſhould relieve them.

The biſhops being thus turned out, lay in the open fields, round about the walls: And when the tyrant went forth to the fiſh ponds, they met him, ſaying, 'Why are 'we ſo afflicted? What evil have we done? If we be cal-'led to diſpute, why are we ſpoiled of all we have? Why 'are we ſlandered? Why are we forced to remain here a-'mongſt the dunghills, afflicted with hunger and naked-'neſs, far from our churches and houſes?' Herewith the tyrant was ſo enraged, that he commanded his horſemen to ride over them, whereby many of them were ſore bruiſed and wounded, eſpecially the aged and weak men. Then did he command them to meet him at the temple of Memory; and when they came thither, they had this writing delivered to them, 'Our lord king Hunric, lament-'ing your obſtinacy in refuſing to obey his will, and to 'embrace his religion, yet intends to deal graciouſly with 'you; and if you will take this oath, he will ſend you 'back to your churches and houſes.' They all ſaid with one conſent, 'We are all Chriſtians and biſhops, and hold 'the apoſtolical and only true faith;' and thereupon they made a brief confeſſion of their faith. But the king's commiſſioners urged them, without any further delay, to take the oath contained in that paper. Whereupon they anſwered, 'Do you think us brute beaſts, that we ſhould 'ſo eaſily ſwear to a writing, wherein we know not what 'is contained?' Then was the oath read unto them, which was this, *You ſhall ſwear that after the death of the lord our king, his ſon Hilderic ſhall ſucceed him in the kingdom; and that none of you ſhall ſend letters beyond the ſeas.* If you take this oath, he will reſtore you to your churches.

They that were plain-meaning men amongſt them, were willing to take it; but others that ſaw further into the ſubtilty of it, refuſed it. Then were thoſe which would take it, commanded to ſeparate themſelves from the other; which being done, a notary preſently took their names, and of what cities they were; he did the like alſo by the refuſers. And ſo both parties were committed to ward, and ſhortly after the king ſent them word, firſt to thoſe that would have taken the oath, *Becauſe that you, contrary to the rule of the goſpel, which ſaith,* Thou ſhalt not ſwear at all, *would have ſworn: The king's will is, That you ſhall never ſee your churches more, but ſhall be baniſhed into the wilderneſs, and never perform any miniſterial office again, and there you ſhall till the ground.* But to the refuſers of the oath he ſaid, *Becauſe you deſire not the reign of our lord's ſon, you ſhall therefore be immediately ſent away to the Iſle of Corſe, there to hew timber for the ſhips.*

He alſo ſent abroad thro' all Afric his cruel tormentors, ſo that no place, no houſe remained free from lamentation, ſcreeching and outcries; they ſpared neither age nor ſex, but only ſuch as yielded to their will; ſome they cudgelled with ſtaves, ſome they hung up, others they burned. Women, and eſpecially gentlewomen, they openly tortured ſtark naked without all ſhame; amongſt whom was Dionyſia, whom they ſaw bolder and more beautiful than the reſt; they firſt commanded her to be ſtripped naked, and made ready for the cudgels, who ſpake boldly to them, ſaying, 'I am aſſured of the love of my God, vex me how 'you will, only my womanhood diſcloſe you not.' But they, with greater rage, ſet her naked upon an high place for a public ſpectacle; then did they whip her till the ſtreams of blood flowed all over her body; whereupon ſhe boldly ſaid, 'Ye miniſters of Satan, that which you do 'for my reproach, is to me an honour.' And beholding her only ſon, that was young and tender, and ſeemed fearful of torments, cheering him with a motherly authority, ſhe ſo encouraged him, that he became much more conſtant than before. To whom in the midſt of his terrible torments ſhe ſaid, 'Remember, O my child, that we were 'baptized in the name of the holy Trinity: Let us not 'loſe the garment of our ſalvation, leaſt it be ſaid, Caſt 'them into utter darkneſs, where is weeping, and wail-'ing, and gnaſhing of teeth; for that pain is to be dread-'ed that never endeth, and that life to be deſired that al-'ways laſteth.' The youth was ſo encouraged hereby, that he perſevered patient in all his ſufferings, till in the midſt of his torments he gave up the ghoſt. Many by her exhortations and examples were gained to God, and animated in their ſufferings.

Not long after Cyrillus, the Arrian biſhop at Carthage, ſtirred up the tyrant againſt the Chriſtians, telling him, 'That he could never expect to enjoy his kingdom in 'peace, ſo long as he ſuffered any of them to live.' Hereupon he ſent for ſeven eminent Chriſtians from Capſa to Carthage, whom he firſt aſſaulted with flattery and large promiſes of honour, riches, &c. if ſo be they would embrace his faith. But theſe ſervants of Chriſt rejected all thoſe proffers, crying out, *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm;* ſaying alſo, 'Do with our bodies what you pleaſe, 'torment them at your will, it is better for us to ſuffer 'theſe momentary pains, than to endure everlaſting tor-'ments.'

Hereupon they were ſent to priſon, loaded with great iron chains, and thruſt into a ſtinking dungeon: But God ſtirred up the hearts of many godly perſons (by great bribes to the jailor) to procure daily acceſs to them; and by their exhortations they were ſo corroborated in the faith, that they much deſired to ſuffer the like things for Chriſt with theſe men, and would willingly have laid down their necks to the perſecutor's ſwords.

The tyrant hearing of it, was exceedingly enraged, cauſed them to be kept cloſer, loaden with more chains, and to be put to great torments. He cauſes alſo a ſhip to be filled with combuſtible matter, commanding, That theſe holy martyrs ſhould be put into it, and faſt bound in the ſame, and fire to be ſet to the ſhip in the ſea, that they might be burned to death.

When they were brought out of the priſon, the multitude of God's people accompanied them to the ſhip, who as innocent lambs were led to be ſacrificed, looking upon their weighty irons as rare jewels and ornaments. With chearfulneſs and alacrity they went towards the place of execution, as if they had gone to a banquet, ſinging with one voice unto the Lord, as they went along the ſtreet, ſaying, 'This is our deſired day, more feſtival 'than any feſtivity:-Behold, now is the accepted time, 'behold now is the day of ſalvation! When for the faith 'of our Lord God, we endure death, that we may not 'loſe the garment of obtained faith.' The people alſo with one voice cried, 'Fear not, O ſervants of God, nei-'ther dread the threats of your enemies. Die for Chriſt, 'who died for us, that he might redeem us with the price 'of his ſaving blood.'

Among theſe was a pretty boy, to whom a ſubtile ſeducer ſaid, 'Why haſteſt thou, my pretty boy, unto 'death; let them go, they are mad. Take my counſel, 'and thou ſhalt not only have life, but great advancement 'in the king's court.' To whom the lad anſwered, 'You

'ſhall

'ſhall not get me from the fellowſhip of theſe holy men 'who bred me up; with whom I lived in the fear of God, 'and with whom I deſire to die; and with whom I truſt 'I ſhall obtain the glory to come.' And ſo being all put into the ſhip, they were burned together.

After the death of Hunric, Gundabund ſucceeded in the kingdom, who continuing in the ſteps of his cruel predeceſſors, afflicted the Chriſtians grievouſly by ſundry kinds of perſecution, during the ſpace of twelve years; at the end whereof he died, and Thraſamund ſucceeded him; a man that excelled all his predeceſſors in magnanimity and courage.

His manner was by perſuaſions, flatteries, promiſes and rewards to ſeek to draw the Chriſtians to his Arrian hereſy; but they which would not be prevailed with hereby, he no way puniſhed or moleſted them.

In his time there were great wars between the Moors and Vandals; the Moors had one Cabaon for their general, who commanded all his ſoldiers to uſe abſtinence in their diet, and to abſtain from women, and from all injury and wrong-doing. The women he incloſed within trenches by themſelves, commanding, That under pain of death, no man ſhould have acceſs to them. Then did he ſend forth a certain company of Moors, commanding them privately to follow the camp of the Vandals, and that whereſoever the Vandals profaned any church of the Chriſtians, preſently after their departure, they ſhould follow and purge the ſame. 'For, ſaith he, if the Chriſtian's 'God be a good God, then will he aſſiſt them that are 'devoted to him, and puniſh the blaſphemers.' Theſe men in counterfeit baſe attire followed the Vandal's camp; and whereas the Vandals, wherever they came, took up the Chriſtian's churches for their horſes and beaſts of burden, carrying themſelves very inſolently againſt God and his houſe; beating and abuſing the miniſters and church officers, making them to attend upon them as ſlaves. After their departure, the Moors, on the contrary, cleanſed the churches, carried out the dung, kneeled down to, and reverenced the miniſters, and diſtributed money to the poor; and thus they did continually.

Then did Cabaon prepare to give his enemies battle; and whereas the Vandals were all horſemen, and very well mounted, their horſes were ſo affrighted at the ſight of the Moor's camels, that they were preſently put into diſorder, and the Moors with darts and arrows did ſo pelt them, that they put them to flight, and ſlew many of them; whereof Thraſamund ſhortly after died of grief.

Then did Ilderic the ſon of Hunric ſucceed in the kingdom, who was equally mild and gentle both to the Vandals and Chriſtians, and one that kept very fair correſpondence with the emperor Juſtinian. But Gilimer, a cunning and ambitious man, depoſed him, and uſurped the kingdom to himſelf. Whereupon Juſtinian ſent againſt him that brave and gallant general Beliſarius, who overcame him in ſeveral battles, took him priſoner, freed the Chriſtians from perſecution, and ſubverted the empire of the Vandals in Africk, after they had reigned there for the ſpace of ninety years, wherein, for the moſt part, they had been cruel perſecutors of the true church of God.

Salvian, who was biſhop of Maſilia, and lived at the ſame ſeaſon, complaineth, That before theſe brutiſh Vandals came into Africk, the church of God there was much degenerated from its antient purity, and the power of godlineſs was much decayed; inſomuch, as they which lived exactly according to the rule of God's word, were hiſſed at as they went in the ſtreets, as if they had been monſters. "Whereupon, ſaith he, the paſſage of the Vandals into "Africk, was not to be imputed to God's rigour, but to "the African's wickedneſs," &c.

[*Collected out of a book written by Victor biſhop of Utica, who lived at the ſame time, and was himſelf a ſufferer under this perſecution.*]

THE

PERSECUTION

OF

The CHURCH under the PAPACY.

CHAP. XXII.

The Perſecution of the Waldenſes, which began anno Chriſti 1160.

WHEN the darkneſs of Popery had overſpread the Chriſtian world, ſo that kings and princes employed their authority to eſtabliſh the Romiſh idolatry, appointing to ſlaughter ſuch as denied tranſubſtantiation, adoration of the hoſt, bowing the knees before it, &c. This occaſioned many Chriſtians to deteſt this ſuperſtition, as unknown to the apoſtles and primitive church. And firſt of all, God raiſed up Berengarius preſently after the year one thouſand, who boldly and faithfully preached the truth, and againſt the Romiſh errors, continuing his miniſtry till about the time that William the Conqueror came into England; whereupon the goſpellers were called Berengarians, till about the year one hundred and ten. At which time, common notice being taken of their ſeparation from the church of Rome, and their diſagreeing from ſo many of their tenets, they were branded with the odious name of heretics. And twenty years after, when they were grown into a very great multitude, they had one Peter Bruis for their moſt famous preacher, who taught long and publicly at Tholouſe, under the protection and favour of a noble earl called Hildephonſus; whereupon in thoſe parts they were called Petro-Bruſians. For Peter Bruis, *anno Chriſti* 1120, publiſhed their tenets in a book called Antichriſt, wherein he declared both the ground of their doctrine,

doctrine, and the cauſes of their ſeparation from the Romiſh church.

Twenty years after this, they were grown into a mighty multitude about *anno Chriſti* 1140, whereupon the popes of Rome now began to lay about them for their extirpation: For which end he ſtirred up his moſt learned followers to write againſt them, and warned princes to take heed of them, and to baniſh them out of their territories.

Anno Chriſti 1147, they had Henry of Tholouſe for their moſt eminent preacher, whereupon they began to be called Henericians; and becauſe they were well read in the ſcriptures, eſpecially in the epiſtles of St. Paul, whom by way of eminency, they called *The Apoſtle*, alledging texts out of him, and would admit of no teſtimonies for the proof of religion, but only out of ſcripture; they were called Apoſtolics. And ſhortly after God raiſed up Peter Valdo, a citizen of Lyons in France, who ſhewed himſelf moſt courageous in oppoſing the Popiſh inventions; withal taxing divers other innovations which were crept into the church of Rome; and he was the more eagerly hearkned unto, becauſe he was in high eſteem for his learning and piety, and his liberality to the poor: For beſides the nouriſhing of their bodies, he did alſo feed their ſouls, by exhorting them to ſeek Jeſus Chriſt and ſalvation by him. The archbiſhop of Lyons being informed that Valdo uſed thus to inſtruct the people, boldly taxing the vices, luxury and pride of the pope and his clergy, forbade him the ſame upon pain of excommunication, and proceeded againſt him as an heretic. Valdo replied, 'That he could 'not be ſilent in a cauſe of ſo great importance, as the ſal'vation of men's ſouls; wherein he muſt obey God rather 'than man.' Then did the archbiſhop ſeek to have him apprehended, but could not effect it, Valdo having many great friends, and being generally beloved, whereby he continued (tho' cloſely) in Lyons three years.

Pope Alexander the third being informed that divers perſons in Lyons queſtioned his ſovereign authority over the whole church, curſed Valdo and his adherents; commanding the archbiſhop to proceed againſt them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to their utter extirpation; whereupon they were wholly chaſed out of Lyons. Valdo and his followers were called Waldenſes, which afterwards ſpread themſelves into divers countries and companies.

The opinions of theſe Waldenſes, for which they were ſo declaimed againſt, and cruelly perſecuted by the Romaniſts, were theſe:

I. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptiſm:

II. That all ſuch prayers are ſuperſtitious and vain, which are made over the oil, ſalt, wax, incenſe, boughs of olives and palms, eccleſiaſtical garments, chalices, churchyards, and ſuch like things:

III. That time is ſpent in vain in eccleſiaſtical ſingings, and ſaying the canonical hours:

IV. That fleſh and eggs may be eaten in Lent; and that there is no merit in abſtinence at ſuch times:

V. That when neceſſity requires, all ſorts of perſons may marry, miniſters as well as others:

VI. That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary:

VII. That confirmation is not a ſacrament:

VIII. That obedience is not to be performed to the Pope:

IX. That miniſters ſhould live upon tithes and offerings:

X. That there is no difference between a biſhop and a miniſter:

XI. That it is not the dignity, but deſerts of a preſbyter, that makes him a better man:

XII. That they adminiſter the ſacrament without the accuſtomed form of the Roman church:

XIII. They ſay that images are to be taken out of churches, and that to adore them was idolatry:

XIV. They contemn the Pope's indulgences, and ſay, That they are of no virtue:

XV. They refuſed to take any oath whereby they ſhould be forced to accuſe themſelves or their friends:

XVI. They maintained their miniſters out of their own purſes, thinking it unreaſonable that ſuch ſhould be diverted from their ſtudies, whilſt they were forced to get their living with their own hands:

XVII. They held, That the miracles done in the church of Rome were falſe miracles:

XVIII. That the religion of the Friar Mendicants was invented by the devil:

XIX. That the Pope of Rome was not to be obeyed:

XX. That whoredom and ſtews were not to be permitted under pretence of avoiding adultery and rapes:

XXI. That there is no purgatory, wherein the ſouls of the deceaſed are to be purged before they be admitted into heaven:

XXII. That a preſbyter, falling into ſcandalous ſin, ought to be ſuſpended from his office, till he had ſufficiently teſtified his repentance:

XXIII. That the ſaints deceaſed are not to be worſhipped and prayed unto:

XXIV. That it matters not for the place of their burial, whether it were holy or not:

XXV. They admitted no extreme unction amongſt the ſacraments of the church:

XXVI. They ſay that maſſes, indulgences and prayers do not profit the dead:

XXVII. They admitted no prayer but ſuch as did correſpond with the Lord's prayer, which they made the rule of all their prayers:

XXVIII. Laſtly, Tho' their adverſaries charged them with holding, That every layman might freely preach to the people, yet they had biſhops and orders amongſt themſelves, as the order of Bulgary, the order of Druguria; and they who were their miniſters were ordained thereunto, tho' they were not of the Romiſh inſtitution, as Nicolus Vigueirius, and others report of them.

Valdo himſelf went into Dauphiney, converſing in the mountains of the ſame province with certain rude perſons, yet capable of receiving his belief: His diſciples alſo ſpread into Piccardy, whence they were called Piccards. Againſt whom afterwards king Philip (enforced by the eccleſiaſtical perſons) took arms, and overthrew three hundred gentlemen's houſes that followed their party, and deſtroyed ſome walled towns, purſuing them into Flanders, whether they fled, and cauſing many of them to be burnt to death.

This perſecution cauſed many of them to fly into Germany and Alſatia, where they ſpread their doctrine; and ſhortly after, the biſhops of Mayence and Stratburgh raiſed up a great perſecution againſt them, cauſing five and thirty burgeſſes of Mayence to be burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great conſtancy ſuffered death.

At Straſburgh eighty were burnt at the inſtance of the biſhop; yet multitudes of people received ſuch edification by the exhortations, conſtancy and patience of the martyrs, that *anno* 1315, in the county of Paſſau, and about Bohemia, there were above eighty thouſand perſons that made profeſſion of the ſame faith.

Anno Chriſti 1160, ſome of them came into England, and at Oxford were puniſhed in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner, as ever were any Chriſtians for religion's ſake before that time, as you may ſee in my *Engliſh Martyrology*. And three years after in the council of Turon, or Towers in France, *viz.* one thouſand one hundred and ſixty three, Pope Alexander the third made a decree, That theſe goſpellers and all their favourers ſhould be excommunicated, and that none ſhould ſell them any thing, or buy any thing of them, according as it was propheſied Rev. xiii. 17.

But notwithſtanding all theſe devices, they had goodly churches in Bulgary, Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary. The Popiſh monks to make them odious, and to have the better

better occaſion to perſecute them, raiſed up many foul ſlanders of them, as, That they were ſorcerers, buggerers, &c. that they aſſembled themſelves in the night time; and that the paſtors commanded the lights to be put out, ſaying, *Qui poteſt capere, capiat*, Catch who, catch can, whereupon they committed abominable inceſt, the ſon with the mother, the brother with the ſiſter, the father with his daughter, &c. They charged them alſo with many foul and falſe opinions. From which accuſations, they by a public apology and vindication cleared themſelves; which they publiſhed both in French and their own language.

Rainerus the monk ſaith of them, That amongſt all thoſe which have riſen up againſt the church of Rome, the Waldenſes were the moſt dangerous, in regard of their long continuance: For ſome ſay that it hath continued from the time of Pope Sylveſter, and ſome ſay from the apoſtle's time. And becauſe this ſect, ſaith he, is more general, and there is ſcarce any country in which it hath not taken footing: And becauſe it hath a great appearance of piety; for they carry themſelves uprightly before men, and believe rightly touching God in all things, holding all the articles of the Creed, only they hate and revile the church of Rome; and therein, ſaith he, they are eaſily believed of the people.

Ceſarius ſaith, "That this hereſy ſo increaſed, that in a "ſhort time it infected *uſque ad mille civitates*, a thouſand "cities." Parſons ſaith, "That they had an army of ſe- "venty thouſand men to fight for them; yea, they were ſo "ſpread in Germany, that they could travel from Collen "to Milan in Italy, and every night lodge with hoſts of "their own profeſſion."

Hereupon the Pope hath always uſed all his art for their utter extirpation, by his thunderbolts, curſes, canons, conſtitutions, decrees, and whatſoever elſe might make them odious to kings, princes and people, giving them over to Satan, interdicting them all communion and ſociety with others; making them incapable of any charges, honours profits, to inherit lands, to make wills, to be buried in church yards, yea, confiſcating their goods, diſinheriting their heirs; and where they could apprehend any of them, they condemned them to be delivered to the ſecular power, their houſes to be razed, their lands and goods to be confiſcated; commanding kings, princes, magiſtrates, conſuls and people to make an exact inquiſition, to ſhut the city-gates, to ring the toll-bell; to arm themſelves, to apprehend, kill, or uſe any other violence to them, giving to their accuſers a third part of their eſtates, condemning all favourers of them to the ſame puniſhment.

Anno Chriſti 1163, came ſome of theſe godly perſons to Collen in Germany, out of the parts of Flanders, where they ſecretly remained for ſome time in a barn near the city: but the diligence of the Popiſh clergy found them out by their not coming to their church, and ſo cauſed them to be apprehended and brought before them; and after examination, becauſe they conſtantly adhered to the truth, and would by no means be brought to recant the ſame, they condemned them, and delivered them to the ſecular power; who carrying them out of the city, (being four men, and one young woman) they firſt bound the four men to a ſtake, and ſet fire to them. The people much pitied the young woman, and would fain have ſaved her, hoping that the burning of her companions would have brought her to a recantation; but ſhe perceiving their drift, ſtruggled out of the hands of thoſe that held her, and voluntarily leaped into the fire, whereby ſhe was burned with them. *Gofridus Monachus.*

Anno Chriſti 1194, Alphonſus king of Arragon (probably by the inſtigation of Pope Celeſtine, and miſ information of his clergy) publiſhed this evil edict againſt them.

"ALPHONSUS, by the grace of God, king of Arra- "gon, &c. to all archbiſhops, biſhops, and the reſt of "the Prelates of the church in this kingdom; to earls, "viſcounts, knights, and all the people of his kingdom; "and to all that are in authority, health, &c. Becauſe "God would have us to be over his people, it is a wor- "thy and juſt thing, That we take continual care, as "far as in us lies, of the ſalvation and defence of them: "Wherefore being imitators of our predeceſſors, and in "obedience to the canons, we judge, That all heretics, "caſt out of the ſight of God, and of all catholics, are "to be condemned and perſecuted every where, name- "ly, the Waldenſes, or poor men of Lyons, whereof "there is no ſmall number, who being curſed by his "holy church, We alſo command to depart, and fly "from all our kingdoms and places within our power, "as enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, ourſelves, and this "kingdom. Therefore, whoſoever from this day for- "ward ſhall preſume to receive the foreſaid Waldenſes "into their houſes, or to hear their doleful preaching, "or to give them meat, or any other relief; let him "know, that he hath incurred the indignation of God, "and of us, and that he ſhall be puniſhed as a traitor, "and all his goods ſhall be confiſcated without remedy "or appeal. And this our edict we command to be "publiſhed upon Sundays, by biſhops, and all rectors "of churches, &c. thro' all our dominions. And we "command that the foreſaid puniſhments be inflicted "upon all tranſgreſſors of it, by our bailiffs, juſtices, "&c. And if any of the foreſaid naughty people, whe- "ther noble or ignoble, ſhall preſume to ſtay three days "after the publication hereof, and not haſte their re- "moval; we will, and command all men to bring upon "them all miſchief, diſgrace, and aggrievance (except "death, or cutting off their members) which ſhall be "grateful and acceptable to us; neither ſhall they fear "any puniſhment for the ſame," &c.

But this ſame Alphonſus that made this cruel edict, by the juſt retribution of God, the very next year loſt part of his kingdom to the Moors, and his ſon, alſo fifty thouſand of his men ſlain in one battle. *Hoveden.*

The Popelings exerciſing ſuch cruelty againſt the Goſpellers, they began to defend themſelves by arms, repelling force with force: And when, being overpowered by multitude, they could defend themſelves no longer, they left their places, and became ſoldiers abroad; and many of them became very helpful to our king Henry the II. in his wars, when he was moleſted about archbiſhop Becket's death: Alſo our king Richard the I. at his return out of the Holy Land, (as they called it) made good uſe of them (who tho' they were curſed by the Pope, yet were they bleſſed by God) for the recovery of his right, and for the defence of his people.

Valdo, notwithſtanding all the curſes of the Pope, continued to publiſh, That the Pope was Antichriſt, the maſs an abomination, the hoſt an idol, and purgatory a fable. Whereupon Pope Innocent the III. *anno* 1198, ſeeing that the other remedies were not ſufficient to ſuppreſs theſe heretics, as he called them, authorized certain monks inquiſitors, who by proceſs ſhould apprehend and deliver them to the ſecular power; by a far ſhorter, but much more cruel way than was uſed formerly. For by this means the people were delivered by thouſands into the magiſtrates hands, and by them to the executioners; whereby, in a few years, all Chriſtendom was moved with compaſſion, to ſee all thoſe burnt and hanged that did truſt only in Chriſt for ſalvation.

The Pope ſeeing that this ſuppreſſed not, but rather increaſed the number of his enemies, ſent certain biſhops and monks to preach in thoſe places of the Waldenſes; but their preaching converted not any of them from their former opinions.

Amongſt thoſe monks was Dominic, who was a zealous perſecutor of theſe ſaints of God, both in word and deed; who ſeeing himſelf to be in authority, inſtituted an order of begging monks, called after his name Dominicans; which order was confirmed by the Pope, for their zealous aſſiſting of him againſt the Waldenſes; and this Dominic laboured in the inquiſition with ſuch contentment to the Popes, that from that time forward, the monks of his order have always been employed in the inquiſition.

The power of theſe inquiſitors was without limitation, they could aſſemble the people by the ſound of a bell when they pleaſed, proceed againſt the biſhops themſelves, they could impriſon and releaſe without controul; any accuſation was ſufficient with them; a ſorcerer, a whore, was a ſufficient witneſs in the caſe of pretended hereſy: It mat-

tered not who accuſed, or whether by word of mouth, or ticket thrown in before the inquiſitor; for proceſs was thereby framed without party, without witneſs, or without other law, than the pleaſure of the inquiſitors.

To be rich was a crime near to hereſy, and he that had any thing to loſe, was in the way to be undone, either as an eretic, or as a favourer of them: yea, bare ſuſpicion ſtopped the mouths of parents, kinsfolk, and friends, that they durſt not intereeed each for other. If any did but convey a cup of cold water, or a pad of ſtraw to the poor ſaints that lay in ſtinking dungeons, he was condemned as a favourer of the heretics, and brought to the ſame or worſe extremities.

No advocate durſt undertake the defence of his neareſt kinſman, or friends: no notary durſt receive any act in his favour; yea, death itſelf made not an end of their puniſhment, for ſometimes they paſſed ſentence againſt the bones of the dead, to diſ-inter and burn them, it may be thirty years after the death of the party accuſed.

Such as were heirs had nothing certain, for if their fathers or kindred were accuſed, they durſt not undertake the defence of their own right, poſſeſs their own inheritance, without the crime or ſuſpicion of hereſy. The greateſt and richeſt amongſt the people were conſtrained even to adore theſe monks inquiſitors, and to give them great ſums for the building of their convents and houſes, for fear to be accuſed of hereſy.

And the better to keep the people in aw, theſe iniquſitors would ſometimes lead in triumph their priſoners in their proceſſions, enjoyning ſome of them to whip themſelves, others to go in their ſhirts bare-foot and bare-headed, having a withe about their necks; and a torch in their hands for the greater terror to the beholders, ſeeing perſons of all eſtates and ſexes in ſo miſerable a condition.

Some of theſe accuſed perſons were ſent into the holy land, or enrolled for ſome other expedition againſt the Turks and Infidels, where they were to ſerve for a certain time at their own charge: in the mean time time theſe fathers inquiſitors took poſſeſſion of their houſes and goods, and when they returned home, they muſt not ſo much as enquire whether theſe Monks had in their abſence lain with their wives, leſt they ſhould be condemned as back ſliders, and unworthy of favour.

Anno Chriſti, 1201. A gallant Knight that was one of theſe Waldenſes, called Enraudus, whom Henry, earl of Nivers had made governor of his land, was accuſed of hereſy, and brought before the Pope's legat, who called a common council at Paris againſt him, conſiſting of the arch-bithops, biſhops, and miniſters of Paris, who after examination of witneſſes, condemned him for an Heretic, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power, by whom he was burned in the flames. Chron. Rol. Altiſſidorenſis.

In Octo. *anno Chriſti* 1207. in the town of Mont-royal near Carcaſſon in the earldom of Tholouſe, there was held a famous diſputation between Didacus biſhop of Oxon, a Spaniard: Frier Dominic; Peter of the New Caſtle, the Pope's legat, and Ralph his colleague on the one party, and Arnold Hot, paſtor of the Albingenſes, with ſome other of his fellow labourers on the other party: The arbitrators were two noble men, *viz.* Bernard *de villa nova*, and Pernail of Arras; and two Plebeians, *viz.* Raimond Godius, and Arnold Riberia. The queſtions diſputed upon were theſe: Firſt, that the church of Rome is not the ſpouſe of Chriſt, nor an holy church, but an impure one, and inſtructed by the doctrine of Satan. Secondly, That their eccleſiaſtical polity is not good, nor holy, nor eſtabliſhed by Jeſus Chriſt. Thirdly, That maſs, as it is celebrated therein, was not inſtituted by Chriſt, or his apoſtles. The biſhop undertook to prove the contrary: But after three days diſputation, he deſired fifteen days to commit his arguments to writing; and Arnold Hot required eight days to put in his anſwer.

At the day appointed the biſhop brought in a very long writing; and Hot deſired to anſwer by word of mouth, intreating his auditors that he might not ſeem troubleſome to them, if he were long in anſwering ſo long a diſcourſe; and it was granted that he ſhould be heard with patience without interruption, and ſo he diſcourſed for divers hours four days together, to the great admiration of all that heard him, and ſo ready was he therein, that all the biſhops, abbots, monks, and prieſts, wiſhed themſelves elſewhere; For he framed his anſwer to each point in order, as it was ſet down in the writing, and that with ſuch plainneſs and perſpicuity, that he gave all that were preſent to underſtand, that this biſhop, though he had written much, yet had he concluded nothing that might truly turn to the advantage of the church of Rome againſt his aſſertions: Then did Arnold requeſt, that foraſmuch as the biſhops, and himſelf in the beginning of the conference, were bound to prove whatſoever they affirmed by the word of God only, it might now be impoſed upon the biſhops, and prieſts to make good their maſs as they ſing it, part by part, to have been inſtituted by the Son of God, and ſo uſed by the apoſtles, *&c.* But the biſhops were not able to prove that the maſs, or any part of it was ſo ordained or uſed, whereupon they were much diſcontented, and aſhamed. Arnold proceeded to prove that it was not inſtituted by Chriſt or his apoſtles. 'For, ſaid he, 'if the maſs were the holy ſupper inſtituted by our Savi-'our, there would remain after the conſecration, that 'which was in the ſupper of our Lord, viz. bread: But 'in the maſs there is no bread; For by tranſubſtantiation 'the bread is vaniſhed, therefore the maſs is not the holy 'ſupper of the Lord.' *&c.* The biſhops, legats, monks, and prieſts having nothing to anſwer to theſe things, retired themſelves, not being willing to hear any more: and fearing leſt theſe goſpellers ſhould work ſuch an impreſſion on the hearts of thoſe that were preſent, as might ſhake their belief touching the maſs, they diſſolved the aſſembly. Nich. Vignerius.

Between the years 1176. which was the time when this inquiſition was firſt erected, to the year 1228. there was ſo great a havoc made of poor Chriſtians, that the archbiſhops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being aſſembled at the requeſt of the ſaid inquiſitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compaſſion of the great number that were accuſed and caſt into priſon, ſaying, 'We hear that you have appre-'hended ſuch a multitude of the Waldenſes, that it is not 'only impoſſible to defray the charge of their food, but to 'provide lime and ſtone to build priſons for them, we 'therefore adviſe you to forbear this rigour till the pope 'be advertiſed, and direct what he will have done in this 'caſe,' *&c.* Yet notwithſtanding all this cruelty, there was in tho year 1260. according to the report of George Morel in his memorials, p. 54. above eight hundred thouſand perſons that made profeſſion of the faith of the Waldenſes.

Beſides the churches that they had in Valentinois, where their faith was propagated from the father to the ſon, their religion ſpread alſo beyond the Alps into the valley of Pragela, within the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Turin, from whence were peopled the Waldenſian valleys of Piedmont, La Perouſe, St. Martain, Angrogne, &c. This valley of Pragela was one of the ſafeſt retiring places that the Waldenſes had, being environed on all ſides with mountains almoſt inacceſſible, into the caves whereof they retired themſelves in the times of perſecution: and though they were weakned on all ſides, environed with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended if they looked but forth of their doors; yet was there never any worldly reſpect that had power to alter their holy reſolution from the father to the ſon, to ſerve God, taking his word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience: yea, no ſooner were the infants weaned from their mothers breaſts, but their parents took a ſingular delight to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian faith.

There paſtors alſo did not only preach to them on the Sabbath days, but went in the week days to inſtruct them in the villages and hamlets, not ſparing themſelves for the roughneſs of the rocks, the coldneſs of the air, and the craggineſs of the country, where they were fain to climb up high mountains to viſit their flocks.

There was alſo holy diſcipline exerciſed among them: The people prayed with fervency at night when they went to their reſt, and in the morning before they went about their labour, they had ſchools wherein their children were taught and nurtured.

But

But whileſt they thus buſily ſought the advancement of God's glory, and their own ſalvation, the devil raiſed up a perſecution againſt them. *Anno* 1380. by a monk inquiſitor, called Francis Boralli, who had a commiſſion to enquire after the Waldenſes in Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienne, Geneva, Savoy, the Venetian county, the principality of Orenge, the city of Avignion, &c. which commiſſion he received from pope Clement the ſeventh.

This monk cited to appear before him at Ambrun, all the inhabitants of Fraſſiniere, Argentire, and of the valley Pute upon pain of excommunication: But they appeared not, whereupon they were condemned of contumacy, and excommunicated: and for the ſpace of thirteen years, as he caught any of them, he delivered them up to the ſecular power to be burnt at Grenoble, the number of whom was an hundred and fifty men, divers women, with many of their ſons and daughters, beſides about eighty perſons of Argentire.

The inquiſitors alſo adjudged to themſelves two parts of all their goods, and the third part to the temporal powers: They forbad all their bordering neighbours alſo to aſſiſt, receive, viſit, or defend them or to converſe with them in any ſort upon pain of being attainted, and puniſhed as favourers of Heretics, *&c.*

The Waldenſes of the valley of Pragela, *anno* 1400. were aſſaulted by their enemies on the ſide of Suſa in Piedmont: But moſt of their aſſaults proved in vain, becauſe theſe Waldenſes retired unto the high mountains, hiding themſelves in the caves and hollow places thereof, from whence they much endamaged thoſe that came to aſſail them. Their enemies ſeeing this, came upon them in the depth of winter, when thoſe poor people never ſuſpected it, all the mountains being covered over with ſnow: and thereupon they retired into the higheſt mountain of all the Alps, together with their wives and children, the mothers carrying ſome in their cradles, and leading others by the hand: yet the enemy followed them till night, and ſlew many before they could recover the mountain; and they which were ſo ſlain had the better bargain: For night coming on, theſe poor people being in the ſnow, without any means to make a fire for their infants, many of them were benummed, and in the morning above eighty of them were frozen to death in their cradles, and moſt of their mothers died alſo, and divers others were giving up the laſt gaſp: The enemies lay all night in theſe peoples houſes, which they ranſacked and pillaged, and ſo returned to Suſa, but by the way, meeting with a poor Waldenſian woman, they hanged her upon a tree, and ſo departed,

The Waldenſes of the valley of Fraſſiniere, were greatly perſecuted by the arch-biſhop of Ambrun, *anno* 1460. who made a monk called John Vayleti his commiſſioner againſt them, which monk proceeded with ſuch diligence and violence, that ſcarce any perſon could eſcape his hands, but that he was either apprehended for an heretic, or a favourer of them, whereby many Papiſts ſuffered amongſt the reſt, which cauſed them to petition king Lewis the eleventh of France, by his authority to ſtay the courſe of that perſecution: and thereupon the king wrote his letter to the governor of Dauphine, ſignifying, that whereas the inquiſitors had daily ſent forth their proceſs againſt many poor people in thoſe parts without reaſonable cauſe, putting ſome to the rack, and condemning them for matters whereof they were never guilty, and which they could not prove by any witneſs: and of others they had exacted great ſums of money, and divers ways had unjuſtly vexed and moleſted them: He therefore decreed that for the time to come all ſuch proceſs ſhould be void, and of none effect, nor any wrong done to them in body, goods, or good name, except there were any that obſtinately maintained and affirmed any thing againſt the holy catholic faith.

But the arch biſhop was ſo far from ceaſing the perſecution upon this edict, that he grew more violent by reaſon of the laſt clauſe, pretending that he did not any thing contrary to the king's precept, ſeeing they which were cited, appeared not to juſtifie themſelves, &c. He alſo ſuborned many prieſts, which were his own officers, to depoſe, that all they which had petitioned the king were Waldenſes: He alſo hired one John Pelegrin to accuſe them for aſſembling themſelves in dark places to commit whoredom, *&c.* and then he ſent to the court to juſtifie himſelf from the complaint made to the king againſt him, that he had perſecuted the Waldenſes rather out of covetouſneſs to get their goods, than out of zeal to the catholic faith: But this ſingle witneſs prevailed but little, ſeeing there were many others who depoſed, that they had never ſeen any ſuch villany amongſt the Waldenſes, nor any the leaſt appearance of the ſame.

Yet did not the arch-biſhop ceaſe to proſecute them to the uttermoſt of his power, ſo that he cauſed moſt of them to flie away, only one James Pateneri ſtood to it, averring before the court that he was unjuſtly vexed, contrary to the king's letters, demanding a copy of the proceedings, that he might right himſelf by law: Therenpon the arch-biſhop left him, and fell upon thoſe that wanted the like courage citing the conſuls of Fraſſiniere to anſwer for themſelves, and all the inhabitants of their valley: But they refuſed, ſaying, that they had nothing to ſay before the arch-biſhop, ſeeing their cauſe was now depending before the king and his council, proteſting againſt the arch-biſhop's power, and demanding a copy of the king's letter: But the archbiſhop, notwithſtanding this proteſtation, ſent them to the fire, without any other indictment.

Yet the Lord left not this cruelty long unrevenged, for ſhortly after the archbiſhop died by the ſtroak of God's juſtice, and ſo ended his perſecution, *anno Chriſti* 1487.

One villany of the inquiſitor Valeti may not be forgotten, which was this: When he examined any of the Waldenſes, *Whether he believed that the bread on the ſacrament, after the conſecration, was changed into the real and natural body of Chriſt which hung upon the croſs?* If the Waldenſes anſwered, no; He ſet down his anſwer thus, *That he believed not in God.* When he aſked, *Whether we ought not to pray to ſaints?* If they anſwered, no; He ſet down, *That they railed upon, and ſpake evil of the ſaints.* When he enquired, *Whether we ought not to pray to the virgin Mary in our neceſſities?* If they anſwered, no; He ſet down, *That they ſpake blaſphemy againſt the virgin Mary,* &c. And by God's providence theſe records were kept in the archbiſhop of Ambrun's houſe, till the city and their records fell into the hands of the Proteſtants an hundred years after, and ſo God brought all their knavery to light.

Anno 1488. Pope Innocent the eight ſent Albert de Capitaneis, arch deacon of Cremona againſt theſe Waldenſes, who craved aid of the king's lieutenant of Dauphine againſt them. This lieutenant for his ſervice levied troops of men, and at the arch-deacon's requeſt, led them againſt the Waldenſes in the valley of Loyſe, and to colour his proceedings with a pretence of juſtice, he took a counſellor of the court along with him. But when they came to the valley, they found no inhabitants, for they were all retired into their caves in the high mountains, having carried their little children, and all their proviſion of food with them. Then did this cruel lieutenant cauſe much wood to be laid to the mouths of the caves, and ſet it on fire, ſo that ſome were choaked with ſmoak, others burnt with the fire, others caſt themſelves headlong from the rocks, and were broken in pieces; and if any ſtirred out they were preſently ſlain by the ſoldiers.

In this perſecution, there were found within the caves four hundred infants ſtifled in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers: and in all, there periſhed above three thouſand men and women at that time, ſo that there were no inhabitants left in all that valley: And to prevent the coming of any more of them thither, the lieutenant gave all their goods and poſſeſſions to whom he pleated.

Then did he march againſt the Waldenſes of Pragela, and Fraſſaniere, but they, providing for their own ſafety, attended him at the paſſages and narrow ſtraits of their vallies, ſo that he was forced to retire.

After a while, Albert de Capitaneis, being called to another place, he ſubſtituted a Franciſcan named Francis Ploieri, who *anno* 1489. began anew to inform againſt the Waldenſes of Fraſſaniere, citing them to appear before him at Ambrun, and for non appearing, he excommunicated them, and condemned them for hereſies, to be de-

livered

livered to the ſecular power, and their goods to be confiſcated; and in this judgment there aſſiſted one Ponce, a certain counſellor in Dauphine. Theſe men afterwards caught two of their paſtors, Francis Gerondin and Peter James, who being aſked why the Waldenſes increaſed ſo faſt, and ſpread ſo far, they anſwered, 'Becauſe the Po-'piſh prieſts live ſo diſſolutely, and becauſe the cardinals 'are ſo covetous, proud and luxurious, it being common-'ly known that there is neither pope, cardinal, nor biſhop 'but keeps his whore; and few or none but had their 'youths for Sodomy beſides: And therefore it is eaſy for 'the Waldenſian paſtors to perſuade the people, that their 'religion could not be good whoſe fruits were ſo bad,' &c.

This perſecution grew exceeding hot, the inquiſitor and councellor ſending as many as they could catch to the fire without admitting any appeal; and if any interceded for them, tho' the father for the child, or the child for the father, he was preſently committed to priſon, and indicted as a favourer of heretics.

Anno 1594. Anthony Fabri and Chriſtopher de Salience had commiſſions ſent them from the Pope, to commence ſuit againſt the Waldenſes in Dauphine, who apprehending the widow of one Peter Berand, they impriſoned, and often examined her, and thereby drew from her whatever ſhe knew of the aſſemblies of the Waldenſes, of the perſons that frequented them, and of the places and times of their meeting, which afterwards brought great trouble to the ſaid churches of Chriſt, and of gain to the inquiſitors.

King Lewis the XII. ſucceeding king Francis, *anno* 1598, the inhabitants of Fraſſaniere petitioned him to take ſome order for the reſtitution of their goods, which by the inquiſitors were detained from them. The king referred it to his chancellor, who procured a commiſſary from the Pope, and commiſſioner from the king, to be ſent down to examine the buſineſs; theſe accordingly having examined divers witneſſes againſt the Waldenſes, and finding their innocency, did at laſt abſolve them; the king's commiſſioner publicly profeſſing, that he deſired to be but as good a Chriſtian as the worſt of thoſe of Fraſſaniere were: And returning to the king, they made report to him of that which they had done; the king thereupon ordered that the goods of the Waldenſes ſhould be reſtored.

When the king's order came to Ambrun, it was the opinion of moſt men, that ſeeing moſt of theſe goods were in the poſſeſſion of the archbiſhop, that therefore he ſhould give a good example in the beginning to reſtore them, but the archbiſhop anſwered, 'That the goods which he held 'were annexed to his archbiſhopric, and incorporated to 'his church, and therefore it was out of the king's juriſ-'diction, and he did not believe that the king would med-'dle therein:' Yet being willing to pleaſe the king, he proffered to reſtore them their vineyards, provided that the lords of Dauphine would reſtore the goods which they had; but there was not one that would reſtore what they had ſo unjuſtly gotten, ſo that the poor people were wholly fruſtrated of their expectation.

Then did they ſummon the archbiſhop and thoſe refuſers before the king, but theſe great ones having more friends and favour at court, than the poor people had, their excuſe was admitted, which was, that they could not reſtore the goods, before the Pope had abſolved thoſe of Fraſſaniere from the ſentence of excommunication.

Anno 1560, the preſident of Provence made a ſpeech to the aſſembly of eſtates to root out theſe Waldenſes; whereupon they raiſed an army for the effecting of it; but as ſoon as the men were in arms, it pleaſed God by the death of king Francis, to put an end to that deſign, whereby the Waldenſian churches in Dauphine enjoyed peace, and were well furniſhed with godly paſtors, who held them in the exerciſe of religion, tho' they were in continual danger of being perſecuted to death for the time.

The Waldenſes in Dauphine, many years before this being multiplied, ſo that the country could not feed them, diſperſed themſelves abroad into divers parts, whereof ſome went into Piedmont, who lived in great love with thoſe of Dauphine, and tho' they were always oppreſſed with troubles, yet with hearty love and charity, they ever ſuccoured one another, not ſparing their lives and goods for their mutual converſation.

The firſt perſecution in Piedmont was occaſioned by the prieſts, who complained to the archbiſhop of Turin, That theſe people lived not according to the manner and belief of the church of Rome, That they offered not for the dead, cared not for maſſes, abſolutions, or to get any of theirs out of the pains of purgatory, *&c.* Hereupon the archbiſhop perſecuted them, complaining of them to their princes to make them odious: But the prince enquiring of their neighbours, heard that they were of a good converſation, fearing God without deceit or malice, loving plain dealing, always ready to ſerve their prince with alacrity, *&c.* he therefore purpoſed not to moleſt them: But the prieſts and monks gaining nothing by their belief, charged them with an infinite number of calumnies, and ever and anon catching one or other of them, they delivered them to the inquiſitors, and the inquiſitors to the executioners, ſo that there was ſcarce a town or city in Piedmont, where ſome of them had not been put to death.

At Turin one of them had his bowels torn out of his belly and put into a baſon before his face, and then was he cruelly martyred.

At Revel in the marquiſat of Saluces, one Cateline Girard being on the block whereon he ſhould be burnt, requeſted his executioner to give him two ſtones, which he refuſed to do, fearing leſt he ſhould throw them at ſome body, but he proteſting the contrary, at laſt they gave him two ſtones, which he held in his hands, and ſaid, 'When 'I ſhall have eaten theſe ſtones, then ſhall you ſee an end 'of our religion, for which you now put me to death;' and ſo he threw them on the ground and died chearfully.

Thus they burnt many of them in the fire, till *anno* 1488, and then they reſolved to attack them by open force, becauſe they ſaw that otherwiſe they ſhould never be able to extirpate them; beſides, their conſtant ſufferings converted many to the faith. Hereupon they levied an army of eighteen thouſand men, beſides many inhabitants of Piedmont, who ran to the pillage from all parts. Theſe marched all at once to Angrogne, Lucerne, la Perouſe, *&c.* They raiſed alſo forces in Dauphine, wherewith they overan the valley of Pragela, ſo that they, being put to defend themſelves, could not aſſiſt their friends in Piedmont. But the enemy by this diviſion of his forces being weakned, was every where beaten, eſpecially in the valley of Angrogne, where the Waldenſians having been informed of the levies of their enemies againſt them, prepared themſelves to receive and reſiſt them, keeping the ſtrait paſſages, where few men might defend themſelves againſt many.

They defended themſelves with long targets of wood, whereby they covered themſelves from the hurt of their enemy's arrows. Whilſt they were thus bickering with their enemies, the women and children upon their knees cried out, O God help us! The enemies made themſelves merry with this ſight, and amongſt them one captain Saquet, who as he was imitating the women, was ſlain, and tumbled down in a very deep valley.

Another captain crying out to the women in deriſion, was killed with the ſhot of an arrow in the throat. Hereupon the ſoldiers betook themſelves all to their heels, and the greateſt part ſlew themſelves by tumbling down from the rocks.

Another providence of God was this, That the enemies approaching to the ſtrongeſt entrance by nature, might there have fortified themſelves, and ſo made themſelves maſters of that valley: But God ſent ſo thick a cloud, and dark a fog, that they could ſcarce ſee one another, whereby they wanted opportunity to diſcover their advantage, and therefore departed; which the Waldenſes ſeeing, courageouſly purſued them, and by that means the enemy being diſperſed, and not ſeeing which way they went, the greateſt part fell headlong down the mountains, quitting their arms and booty which they had gotten at their firſt entrance into the valley, by which means the Waldenſes recovered it again.

Then it pleaſed God to move the prince's heart (which was Philip the VII. duke of Savoy, and lord of Piedmont) with

with pity towards theſe poor people, ſaying, 'That he 'would not have that people which had been always true, 'faithful and obedient to him, to be unjuſtly deſtroyed by 'arms;' being content that twelve of the principal ſhould come to him to Pignerol to crave pardon for all the reſt, for taking arms in their own defence without his authority; theſe he entertained lovingly, forgiving all that was paſt during the war. And having been informed that all their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and all hairy, he cauſed ſome of them to be brought to him, and ſeeing them fair and perfect creatures, he was much diſpleaſed with himſelf for believing ſo eaſily the reports which were brought to him againſt them, giving command that none ſhould hereafter moleſt them, but that they ſhould enjoy all the privileges which the reſt of his ſubjects in Piedmont did.

Notwithſtanding which, the monk inquiſitors daily ſent out proceſſes againſt them, lay in wait for them, and as they could apprehend any of them, delivered them over to the ſecular power. This perſecution laſted to *anno* 1532, at which time the Waldenſes ordered, that their exerciſes of religion ſhould be performed no more in covert, as formerly they had been, but in public, that every one might know them, and that their paſtors ſhould preach the goſpel openly, not fearing any perſecution that might happen unto them.

The prince being advertiſed hereof, was highly offended with them, and thereupon cauſed one of his commanders to haſte with his troops in the ſaid vallies, which was performed with ſuch diligence, that he was entred with five hundred horſe and foot before they were aware, ranſacking, plundering and waſting all before them. Then did the Waldenſes leave their ploughs, putting themſelves into paſſes, and with their ſlings charged their enemies with ſuch multitudes of ſtones, that they were conſtrained to fly, and to abandon their prey, many remaining dead upon the ground.

This news was preſently carried to the prince, and withal he was told, that theſe people were not to be ſubdued with arms, they knowing better the ſtraits of their country, than the aſſailants, and that the ſkin of one of the Waldenſes would coſt him the lives of a dozen of his other ſubjects; whereupon he uſed arms no more againſt them, but as many of them as was caught in Piedmont he put to death, if they changed not their belief.

Notwithſtanding which rigour, they perſiſted in their reſolution, and that things might be carried on in the better order, they aſſembled out of all their vallies to Angrogne, *anno* 1535, *viz.* the heads of all their families, with their paſtors, where they heard that their brethren of Provence and Dauphine had ſent two of their paſtors, George Morrel and Peter Maſſon into Germany, to confer with Oecolampadius, Bucer, and others about their belief, which they had held from father to ſon time out of mind. Where alſo the German divines acknowleged, That God had been very merciful and gracious to them, in preſerving them undefiled in the midſt of ſo many ſuperſtitions which had defiled all Chriſtendom under the tyranny of Antichriſt; encouraging and exhorting them not to bury thoſe talents which God had given them; only they blamed them for delaying ſo long to make a public profeſſion of their adhering to the goſpel, and cauſing it to be preached publicly, leaving the ſucceſs to God, *&c.* Then were the letters of Oecolampadius and Bucer, which they ſent to them, openly read, together with the propoſitions and articles of religion which they had agreed upon, which were all approved, ſigned and ſworn to by the aſſiſtants with one conſent, to perform, obſerve, believe and retain amongſt them inviolably, as being conformable to the doctrine which they had been taught from their forefathers for many hundred years, and all taken out of the word of God.

When this agreement came abroad to the ears of the prieſts, they were much aſtoniſhed, deſpairing to ſee theſe people reclaimed and brought back to the church of Rome, whereupon they retired from amongſt them without ſpeaking a word.

The Waldenſes, becauſe they had only the New Teſtament, and ſome books of the Old, amongſt them in the Waldenſian tongue, reſolved ſpeedily to ſend the whole Bible to the preſs, all their books hitherto being but manuſcripts, and thoſe but a few. They ſent therefore ſome to Newcaſtle in Switzerland, where they gave fifteen hundred crowns in gold to a printer, who brought to light the firſt impreſſion of the French Bible that was ſeen in France. They ſent alſo to Geneva to make a large ſupply of books fit for the inſtruction of the people; but their meſſenger, as he paſſed over the hill *de Gap*, was apprehended for a ſpy by the lord of Champelion, and as ſoon as they knew him to be a Waldenſian, they ſent him to Grenople, where he was firſt impriſoned, and then in the night drowned in the river, leſt he ſhould ſpeak of his belief before the people.

Shortly after there happened wars between king Francis the I. and the princes of Piedmont, which, thro' God's grace, turned to the great peace and quiet of thoſe poor people; which peace continued till Pope Paul the III. ſolicited the parliament of Turin to perſecute them as pernicious heretics; whereupon the parliament cauſed a great number of them to be burnt at Turin. Then theſe Waldenſes petitioned the king that they might not be perſecuted for their religion, in which they and their anceſtors had lived for many hundred years. But the king rejected their petition, commanding them to live according to the laws of the Roman church, upon pain of being puniſhed as heretics; adding, that he did not burn the Lutherans thro' his whole kingdom of France to let them amongſt the Alps eſcape.

Hereupon the parliament of Turin commanded them preſently to ſend away all their miniſters, and receive the prieſts to ſing maſs, *&c.* to which they anſwered, That they could not receive any ſuch commandment, it being contrary to God's word, whom they would rather obey than men. But thro' God's mercy the king had other employment elſewhere, whereby they wanted leiſure to proſecute thoſe ſervants of Chriſt, and therefore they only proceeded by the inquiſition, receiving ſuch as the monks condemned to the fire.

Anno 1555, they increaſed the perſecution, condemning to the fire Bartholomew Hector a ſtationer, to be executed at Turin, who died with admirable conſtancy, and ſo edifying the ſpectators, that they wept and compaſſionated him, juſtifying him in their ſpeeches, and praying for him. Hereupon the parliament reſolved wholly to extirpate them, and for that end ſent two men with authority either to reform or root them out.

Theſe perſons went firſt to Perouſe, where, by proclamation in the king's name, they command all to go to maſs upon pain of loſing their lives. Then they went to Pignerol, where they cited many to appear before them; and amongſt others, a poor ſimple labouring man appeared, whom the preſident commanded to have his child rebaptized by a prieſt. The man requeſted reſpite to pray to God before he anſwered him, which, with great laughter was granted. Then falling down on his knees, he prayed unto God; and when he had done he ſaid to the preſident, 'I will cauſe my child to be re baptized upon 'condition that you will give me a bill, ſigned with your 'own hand, that you will diſcharge me of the ſin which 'I ſhall commit hereby, and bear one day before God the 'puniſhment and condemnation which ſhould befal me for 'the ſame, taking this iniquity upon you and yours.' The preſident hearing this, commanded him out of his preſence, and preſſed him no further.

The preſident framed divers indictments againſt ſundry perſons in the vallies, and collected whatſoever he thought might hurt them; and going to one of their churches, he cauſed a monk that he brought along with him to preach in the preſence of the people: And when he had ended, the people deſired that ſome one of their paſtors there preſent might anſwer his diſcourſe, but that was denied by the preſident, whereupon there was ſuch a murmur amongſt the people, that the preſident, without any more ſpeech, got him away to Turin, where he reported all to the parliament; and withal told them) 'That if they fought by 'violence to reclaim this people, they were reſolved to de'fend themſelves; and that the places of their abode were 'of ſuch ſtrength, that it was a work for a king of France 'to root them out.' Thereupon this report and the indictments were ſent to the king, who having other buſineſs, returned no anſwer that year; only the inquiſitors

proceeded as they could catch any, to deliver them to the ſecular power.

At the years end, the king commanded the parliament to cauſe them to do that by force, which they would not by words be brought to. Then did the parliament ſend the preſident again to Angrongne, where he commanded them in the name of the king, to go to maſs, upon pain of forfeiting their lives and goods: But they anſwered, 'That they could not obey ſuch commands againſt the 'command of God. Then he commanded, that twelve of the principal of them, together with all their miniſters and ſchool-maſters, ſhould preſently yield up their bodies to the priſon of Turin, *&c.* They anſwered, 'That they 'could not obey that command, or appear at Turin, be-'cauſe they ſhould thereby indanger their lives.' The parliament was ſo incenſed at this anſwer, that as many as they could apprehend, they burnt; amongſt whom was Jeffery Varnegle, miniſter of Angrogne, *anno* 1557. By whoſe death, the people that were preſent, were much edified, ſeeing his conſtancy of invocating God to the laſt.

The Proteſtant princes of Germany hearing of this great perſecution, interceeded in their behalf to king Henry the ſecond of France; who promiſed to have regard to this requeſt of theirs, and indeed they enjoyed peace afterwards. till the peace was concluded betwixt the kings of France and Spain; and that the duke of Savoy was reſtored to his eſtate, which was *anno* 1559. The year after, the Pope's Nuntio reproved the duke, for that, with all his power, he had not perſecuted the Waldenſes, and that if he did not now endeavour to reduce them to the Romiſh church, or to root them out, his holineſs ſhould have cauſe to ſuſpect that he was a favourer of them. Hereupon the duke preſently commanded them to go to maſs, upon the pain of their lives: But they not obeying him, he ſet upon them by open force, and yet at the ſame time, he cauſed them to be purſued by the monks inquiſitors alſo; ſo that a great perſecution was raiſed againſt the poor Chriſtians: Some were taken and burnt, who ſhewed invincible conſtancy in all their torments and death.

To recite all the outrages, cruelties and villanies practiſed againſt them, would be too tedious: Many fled, and their houſes and goods were ranſacked and ſpoiled. One of their miniſters was apprehended, and put to a ſhameful and cruel death, but he ſhewed ſuch admirable patience therein, as aſtoniſhed his very adverſaries: Some alſo were taken and ſent to be gally ſlaves; yet ſome, through weakneſs, yielded to the adverſaries, and were more cruelly handled than thoſe that remained conſtant in the truth.

Three of the moſt cruel perſecutors of theſe faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, were, Firſt, Thomas Jacomel, a monk, an apoſtate, that had renounced the known truth, and perſecuted mortally and maliciouſly the poor Chriſtians againſt his own conſcience: He was a whoremonger, and given over to all villanies, and filthy living, a Sodomite, *&c.* His delight was to ſpoil, rob, and torment the captives of theſe Waldenſes. The ſecond was a collateral, called Corbis, who in the examination of the priſoners was very rigorous, and burnt many of them: But in the end, feeling a remorſe in his conſcience, he proteſted, that he would meddle with them no more. The third was the provoſt of juſtice, who lay in wait in the high-ways to apprehend them, when they went abroad in the morning, or as they went to the market.

The monks alſo of Pignerol vexed the churches near about them, grievouſly, ſome they took priſoners, and kept them in their abbeys: Then they aſſembled a company of ruffians, ſending them to ſpoil the churches, and to take priſoners, men, women, and children; of whom, ſome by torments they forced to abjure; others they ſent to the galleys, others they burnt.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin vexed their tennants grievouſly; ſpoiling ſome of their goods, impriſoning others, and vexing them by all means. Two of thoſe gentlemen, getting ſome ruffians to them in the night time, ſet upon a village called Renclaret, which the inhabitants perceiving, fled into the mountains covered with ſnow, naked, and without victuals. In the morning theſe villains took a miniſter of that valley, who was coming to viſit theſe people of Renclaret, and burnt him: But three nights after, they of Pragela, pitying their friends of Renclaret, ſent four hundred men againſt the ruffians, who fought with them, and without the loſs of one man, put them to flight, and reſtored their friends to their houſes.

A year after, one of theſe gentlemen called Truchet, with a company of ruffians, arreſted the miniſter of Renclaret, as he was at his ſermon; but the people were ſo moved at his outragious dealing, eſpecially the women, that they had almoſt ſtrangled Truchet, and ſo canvaſed the reſt of his company, that they had no mind to come any more.

Shortly after they took another miniſter, as he was going to preach in a pariſh, a mile from his houſe; but the people hearing of it, ſpeedily purſued them, and recovered their miniſter again: But when the villains ſaw that they were like to loſe their prey, they ſo wounded him, that they left him for dead.

The monks of Pignerol ſent ſome ruffians by night to the miniſter's houſe of St. Germain, who were conducted by a traitor that knew the houſe, and formerly had frequented it. This fellow knocking at the door, and the miniſter knowing his voice, opened the door, but perceiving himſelf to be betrayed, he fled at a back door, yet was quickly taken, and ſorely wounded; notwithſtanding which, they pricked him with halberts to haſten his pace, as they carried him away: They alſo ſlew and hurt many others. The miniſter, after ſore impriſonment, endured a cruel death with much conſtancy: At his death the inquiſitors cauſed two poor women, that they kept in priſon, to carry faggots to burn him, and to ſay to him their paſtor, 'Take this thou wicked heretic, in recompence 'of that naughty doctrine that thou haſt taught us.' To whom he replied, 'Ah good women, I have taught you 'well, but you have learned ill.'

In brief, they ſo perſecuted theſe poor people, that they forced them to forſake their houſes, and to flie into the mountains, loſing all their eſtates; ſo that many that had lived well, and relieved others, were now fain to crave relief and ſuccour from others.

The monks with their troops of ruffians, continued thus to moleſt and perſecute theſe poor people; whereupon they aſked their miniſters, 'Whether it were lawful for 'them to defend themſelves againſt ſuch violence?' The miniſters anſwered, *That it was*, only they adviſed them to avoid bloodſhed as much as might be. This queſtion being reſolved, they of Luſerne and Angrongne ſent ſome to aid their friends of S. Germain, againſt the monks.

In June, divers of theſe Waldenſes went out into the country to reap their harveſt, and in ſundry places were all taken priſoners, not knowing of each others calamity; but God ſo wrought, that miraculouſly they all eſcaped out of priſon, to the great aſtoniſhment of their adverſaries. At the ſame time alſo, others who had been long in priſon, and longed for nothing but death, through God's providence, were delivered after a wonderful ſort.

In July, they of Angrogne, being at their harveſt on the hill ſide of St. Germain, perceived a company of ſoldiers that were ſpoiling the inhabitants of St. Germain: Whereupon they made an out-cry, upon which, the people of Angrogne ran preſently thither ward; ſome by the valley, others over the mountain: They which went by the valley, being above fifty men, met with the ſpoilers, who were a hundred and twenty men well appointed, with whom they fought, and gave them a great overthrow. Some were hurt others drowned, and but few hardly eſcaped; not one of Angrogne being hurt in the fight.

The monks were ſo affrighted with this defeat, that they ran away from their abbey to Pignerol, to ſave their relics, and images, which they carried thither: And if the miniſters would have ſuffered their people to have attempted it, they might eaſily have freed their brethren which were impriſoned in the abbey.

After this theſe monks, being aſſiſted by a captain, took many of the inhabitants of the valley of Luſerne priſoners, ſpoiling their goods, driving away their cattle; and in the end, ranſomed them for great ſums of money.

About this time, a gentleman of Campillan promiſed his neighbours, that if they would give him thirty crowns, he would

would ſecure them againſt trouble; but when he had got the money, he cauſed ſome ſoldiers to come to his houſe, and in the night, ſending for the poor men, which ſuſpected no danger, he traiterouſly endeavoured to deliver them into the hands of their mortal enemies: But God, who ſuccours his in their greateſt neceſſity, diſcovered to one of them the danger they were in, whereby they all fled, and eſcaped.

Then were ſtrict commands ſent through all the country, to baniſh all the Waldenſes, together with the goſpel, out of the mountains and vallies of Piedmont: But the people ſtill deſired, that they might have leave to ſerve God purely, according to the rules of the word.

In the end of October, a rumour was ſpread abroad, That an army was raiſing wholly to deſtroy them; yea, and ſuch malefactors as were in priſons, or baniſhed, were pardoned, upon condition; that they ſhould take arms to deſtroy the Waldenſes. Hereupon the miniſters met together to conſult what was to be done in ſo great an extremity. And firſt they enjoined a general and public faſt to ſeek God for direction; and in the end concluded, that they ſhould not defend themſelves by arms, but that forſaking their houſes, and taking their beſt movables with them, they ſhould retire unto the high mountains; but if their enemies purſued them thither, that then they ſhould take ſuch advice as God ſhould pleaſe to give them.

This council all the people ſubmitted to, and for eight days ſpace, were as buſy as ants in ſummer, to remove their goods and proviſions; which though they did in great danger, yet with great courage and alacrity, praiſing God and ſinging pſalms, every one chearing up another. But other miniſters hearing of this reſolution, wrote to them, that they thought it ſtrange that in ſuch an extream neceſſity, they ſhould not rather reſolve to defend themſelves againſt violence, proving, That it was lawful for them ſo to do, to defend the true religion, and the lives of themſelves, wives and children, knowing that it was not the duke, but the Pope that thus ſtirred him up againſt them.

During this time, their adverſaries cried nothing, but, *To the fire with them, to the fire with them;* and preſently by proclamations ſet up every where, Angrogne was expoſed to the fire and ſword. The army alſo approached to their borders, and the people retired into the mountains. But when they ſaw ſome horſemen not only ſpoiling their goods, but taking ſome of their brethren priſoners, they came back, and ſet upon them; in which bickering ſome of the enemies were ſlain, and the reſt retired to their camp: Not one of the Waldenſes was ſlain or hurt. But two of their horſemen that fled, galloping away before the reſt, when they came near to the army, cried out, *They come, they come.* Whereupon the whole army was ſo aſtoniſhed, that every man fled away, none purſuing, and the captain could not all that day get them into order again.

The next day the army under the Lord of Trinity, was muſtered in a meadow, near to Angrogne; they of the town had ſent ſome to ſtop the paſſages, that the army ſhould not enter; and in the mean time, they retired into the meadow of Pour, not expecting the army ſo ſoon; ſo that there were but few that kept the paſſages: But when thoſe few perceived their enemies preparing themſelves to fight, they all fell down upon their knees, praying earneſtly unto God to pity them, and not to look on their ſins, but on the cauſe that they maintained, to turn the hearts of their enemies, and ſo to work that there might be no effuſion of blood: but if it were his will to take them, their wives and infants out of this world, that it would pleaſe him mercifully to receive them into his kingdom. Their prayers being ended, they perceived their enemies to come through the vines to win the top of the mountain; whereupon the combat began in divers places, and continued until night: The poor Waldenſes being but few, and only armed with ſlings and croſs bows, were much oppreſſed by the multitudes of their enemies; ſo that at laſt they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themſelves till night. But having found a place where they might withſtand their enemies, they turned again and ſlew divers of them:

At even the enemies began to encamp themſelves, which the Waldenſes perceiving, they fell to prayer, deſiring God to aſſiſt and ſuccour them; for which, the enemies flouted and laughed them to ſcorn. The poor people deviſed to ſend a drum into a valley hard by, and as they were at prayer, the drum beat up in the valley: Whereupon, the lord of Trinity cauſed his ſoldiers to retreat, which was a great advantage to the Waldenſes, who were weary, thirſty, and in great peril, if God, by this means, had not given them ſome reſt. Of the Waldenſes there were but three ſlain, but many of their enemies, and more hurt, of whom few recovered.

This combat much encouraged the Waldenſes, and as much terrified their enemies, who in their retreat, burnt many houſes, and deſtroyed the wines that were in the preſs?

Then did the lord of Trinity encamp in the valley of Luſerne, by a village, the people whereof had always hated the Waldenſes, and much rejoiced at this hurt that was now done to them; but they were paid back in their own coin, being all deſtroyed by the army.

Then did the lord of Trinity place four garriſons in four ſeveral fortreſſes, ſo that the poor Waldenſes found themſelves in a ſea of troubles; whereupon they firſt betook themſelves to prayer, then ſent to their friends for aid, who ſent them all that they could make. Then did the lord of Trinity ſend his army to Villars and Tailleret; the leſſer part went towards Villars. The people ſeeing their enemies, ſlew ſome, hurt others, and the reſt fled. The other company going towards Tailleret, they of that place were but few in number; yet making their prayers to God, and commending their cauſe to him, they ſet valiantly upon their enemies. During which bickering, they of Villars, encouraged by their late ſucceſs, came to help their friends, and ſet ſo luſtily upon their enemies, that they put them to flight: But in the purſuit of them, they fell into an ambuſh, and were environed by their enemies; yet, through God's mercy, they all eſcaped without the loſs of one man: On the enemies ſide there were ſo many ſlain, that they were laid together by whole cart loads.

Another party of the enemies going to ſpoil a rich man's houſe, ſome of his neighbours, not being above ſeventy, ſet upon them, put them to flight, took away their drum, and recovered their booty from them.

Now did the lord of Trinity ſend to them, telling them how much the duke and his dutcheſs favoured them, and promiſed himſelf to mediate for them, that they might live in peace: But whileſt by theſe pretences, he ſought to make them ſecure, he ſent part of his army to get the hill of Tailleret; and another part had already gotten the way that led to the meadow of Toure, whereby the Angrognians might have been eaſily encloſed: But they perceiving it, immediately ſent ſome to encounter with their enemies, who got the victory, purſued them to their camp, and ſlew very many of them, without the loſs of one man.

The lord of Trinity cunningly excuſed this attempt, and ſent to them to draw up a ſupplication to the duke, which was accordingly done, wherein they promiſed to render all honour and reverence unto God, according to his word, and all due obedience to the duke, *&c.* But in the mean time Trinity grievouſly vexed them of Tailleret, upon pretence, That they had not preſented themſelves to treat of this agreement, taking their arms from them, and cauſing them to aſk pardon on their knees.

But preſently after news were brought them, that the enemies had gotten to the top of the mountain, and had taken all the paſſages; whereat they were ſore amazed, and ran with all ſpeed to defend their wives and children: Some they ſaved, but the moſt of their goods were already in the enemies hands, who, at this time, did them much miſchief.

Yet after this, the lord of Trinity ſent word again to them that were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people, moſt of them truſting to his promiſe, returned; but the next morning the enemies came to apprehend them and their miniſters, beſetting the place on every ſide; then they that were ſwift of foot, eſcaped, all the reſt were taken; yet God miraculouſly delivered them. For an old man

that

that could not run ſo faſt as the other, was ſpied by a ſoldier, who ran with a naked ſword to have ſlain him; the old man ſeeing the imminent danger, caught him by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill: The ſoldier cried, *Help, help, this villain will kill me.* Hereupon his fellow ran to his reſcue; but in the mean time the old man eſcaped; and the reſt ſeeing what the old man had done, tho' they had loſt their weapons, yet took heart and with ſtones and ſlings drove away their enemies, and thereby they all eſcaped.

The next day the ſoldiers went again to Tailleret, robbing, ſpoiling, and carrying away all that they could find, but moſt of the people were retired towards Villars: Then did the ſoldiers range all about, and took divers priſoners, whom they uſed cruelly; and one ſoldier bit off one of their ears, ſaying, 'I will carry the fleſh of this 'wicked heretic with me into my country.' They found alſo two women, the mother and the daughter in a cave, whom they wounded to death: And in another cave an old man of an hundred years old, with his grand daughter of eighteen years old that fed him; the man they ſlew, the maid they would have raviſhed, who flying from them, tumbled down the mountains and died.

About the ſame time there was one John Martin that made his boaſts every where, That if he could meet with the miniſter of Angrogne, he would ſlit his noſe: But ſhortly after a wolf met him, and ſetting upon him, bit off his noſe, whereupon he ran mad and died miſerably.

A certain ſoldier promiſed the lord of Trinity, to bring to him the miniſter of Tailleret, and accordingly never ceaſed till he found him: But as he was purſuing of him, ſome out of the mountains reſcued the miniſter, and ſlew the ſoldier with ſtones.

Theſe ſoldiers were ſo extreme abuſive to women, that many Papiſts that lived by, ſent their daughters into the mountains to the Waldenſes to preſerve their chaſtity.

Then did the lord of Trinity promiſe, That if they would pay him eight thouſand crowns, he would withdraw his army and be gone. They being deſirous of peace, ſold their cattle to raiſe the money; but when he had recieved it, he continued his army there ſtill.

The lord of Trinity required them to ſend away their miniſters till the matter were determined before the duke, or elſe by his army he would force them to it: Whereupon by mutual conſent they agreed that the miniſters ſhould withdraw for the preſent, till the army was retired, which was not done without great ſighs, lamentations and tears. At that time there fell an extraordinary ſnow, ſo that the people with great difficulty were fain to make way for their miniſters to paſs: But the army hearing that the miniſters were gathered together, they ſent out a company of harquebuſhers to apprehend them, who came but one hour too late to have taken them: Then did they ſearch every cave, houſe and cheſt to ſeek them, whereby they robbed the poor people of all their beſt things. They alſo beſet the miniſter's houſe of Angrogne, to whom the lord of Trinity had promiſed ſafety, but it pleaſed God that he eſcaped; the ſoldiers purſued him into the mountains, but could not overtake him; whereupon they plundered his houſe, burnt his books and writings, and ſo returned.

The next morning command was given to the rulers of Angrogne within twenty four hours to deliver up their miniſter, or elſe Angrogne ſhould be put to fire and ſword. They anſwered, *That they knew not where he was, for the ſoldiers had driven him over the mountains.* Then did the ſoldiers burn houſes, break the mills, ſpoil the people, and do all the miſchief they could, and ſo departed.

The lord of Trinity left garriſons in the fortreſſes, and cauſed the poor Waldenſes to maintain them, who not content with their wages, pillaged and robbed all about them; and having taken fourteen men, they bound them, and were leading them away priſoners; but their wives and children purſued them ſo fiercely with ſtones, that they were glad to let their priſoners go, and had much a-do to ſave themſelves. The others that they caught, they hung up by the heels and hands, and having tormented them almoſt to death, at leaſt releaſed them for a great ſum of money. Another garriſon in the night went to Tailleret, broke in at the windows and tops of houſes, ſpoiling all, and took alſo fourteen priſoners, whom they bound two and two together, and were carrying them to the fortreſs; but two of them getting looſe, ſo valiantly aſſaulted the ſoldiers, and beat them with ſtones, that they forced them to let go their other priſoners. Yet two others they took, and carried them to the fort; one was but a child, whom the captain ſtrangled with his own hands; the other was ſixty years old, whom they bound, and took a creature that lives in horſe dung, and put into his navel, covering them with a diſh, which in a ſhort ſpace did eat into his belly and killed him.

The Waldenſes were in great perplexity, by reaſon of theſe garriſons, but eſpecially for the want of their miniſters: Whereupon they reſolved to call them back, yet to have preaching only in private, becauſe they would not imbitter the ſoldiers, till their meſſengers returned from the duke. Theſe meſſengers were cruelly handled at the court, and at laſt ſent back with a command, *That they ſhould entertain prieſts to ſay maſs*, &c. When this report was made to their brethren that ſent them, there was wonderful lamentation, weeping and mourning. Then did they ſend two of their miniſters to the church of Pragela, to ſhew them of the pitiful condition of the churches in Piedmont, and to aſk their advice how to prevent danger: And in the next place they all fell to prayer, and having long called upon God for counſel and direction in ſo great a ſtrait, they reſolved upon debate, That the people in Piedmont and Dauphine ſhould join in a league together, wherein they promiſed, thro' God's grace and aſſiſtance, to maintain the pure preaching of the goſpel, and adminiſtring the holy ſacraments, to yield obedience to their ſuperior, ſo far as they were commanded by the word of God, and one to be aiding and aſſiſting to the other. That none ſhould conclude any thing touching the eſtate of religion, without the conſent of the reſt of the valleys.

During this treaty, all the houſholders were required to be preſent at maſs, and ſuch as would do it ſhould live in peace; but ſuch as refuſed ſhould be condemned to be burnt, or ſent to the gallies; ſo that the people were conſtrained to fly, die, or renounce the goſpel. The firſt they would have choſen, but could not do it by reaſon of the great ſnow; whereupon they exhorted one another, ſaying, 'We ſhall be all called for to morrow to renounce 'God, and to return to idolatry; let us now therefore make 'a ſolemn proteſtation, that we will live and die in the con-'feſſion of God's holy word; let us in the morning hear 'a ſermon, and then caſt down to the ground all the idols 'and altars.' And to this all agreed.

In the morning they put their reſolutions into execution, beating down the images, and caſting down the altars. Then they went to Villars to do the like there, but by the way they encountred with a band of ſoldiers, who were going to ſpoil a village, and to fetch away the inhabitants priſoners. Theſe ſoldiers ſeeing them ſo ill provided, mocked them, and diſcharged their guns at them; but they taking courage, with ſtones beat the ſoldiers, purſuing them to the fortreſs. Then did they go to Villars, and having deſtroyed the idols and altars there, they returned to beſiege the fortreſs, demanding the priſoners that were therein.

The judge, with many gentlemen, came that day to inrol their names that would go to maſs; but ſeeing the reſolution of the people, they fled into the caſtle, where they were beſieged for ten days: Then did the captain of Tour go with a company of ſoldiers, thinking to raiſe the ſiege; but by thoſe which kept the paſſages, ſome of them were ſlain, the reſt were driven back again. Then came they back with three bands, which cauſed a furious fight, wherein many of the ſoldiers were ſlain and hurt, and not one of the beſiegers was hurt.

The Waldenſes attempted often to have taken the fortreſs, but without ordnance it was impoſſible; alſo the lord of Trinity was come back with his army, and the next day would have raiſed the ſiege. But it pleaſed God that very night, that the ſoldiers in the caſtle deſired leave to depart with bag and baggage, which was eaſily granted to them; and the ſoldiers which before had ſo cruelly perſecuted the miniſters, were now fain to requeſt them to proteſt their lives, and to conduct them to a place of ſafety; which the miniſters did willingly, and the ſoldiers were very

very thankful for it. That night the fort was razed to the ground.

The next day the lord of Trinity cunningly ſent to them of Angrogne, that if they would not aid the other, they ſhould be gently dealt with; but they knowing his fraud, agreed with the reſt to defend their religion with their lives, and that no one ſhould make an agreement without the conſent of the reſt. Then did the lord of Trinity eſſay with his army to enter into the borders of Angrogne by certain ſtreights, but the people having raiſed up ſome breaſt-works, valiantly defended themſelves and offended their enemies. Trinity's ſoldiers being weary, freſh ones were brought in their ſtead; ſo that the fight endured until night, wherein many of the enemy were ſlain, more hurt, and but two of the Waldenſes; and ſo the battle ceaſed for the preſent.

The next day the army marched towards Angrogne five ſeveral ways, and there were none to reſiſt but only a few that kept the watch, who valiantly fought for a ſpace; but ſeeing themſelves in danger to be incloſed, they retreated to an high place, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceneſs than before. The lord of Trinity ſeeing the loſs of many of his men, ſounded a retreat, and went to Angrogne, but the people were fled into the meadow of Tour; therefore he burned and ſpoiled all before him. He alſo often ſet fire upon the two churches, where the word uſed to be preached, but could not burn them; and ſo he did to the miniſter's houſe, and yet it remained whole.

Amongſt them of Angrogne, there were but two that were enemies to the word of God, and they were both ſlain that day.

Then did the lord of Trinity ſend ſome to burn Roſa, but the ſoldiers were driven back four days together, by them that kept the paſſages; whereupon he ſent his whole army, yet they valiantly withſtood them from morning till night; at laſt a party got behind them over a mountain, ſo that the poor people ſeeing themſelves environed, ſaved themſelves by running thro' the midſt of their enemies, and others of them got into the rocks. The enemies being entred Roſa, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword; the people fled by ſecret ways toward Luſerne, wandring all night upon the mountains full of ſnow, loaden with their ſtuff, carrying their infants in their arms, and leading others by the hand with great pain and travel. They of Luſerne ſeeing them, ran to them, praiſing God for their deliverance, and they all were very chearful notwithſtanding their extremities.

Shortly after, the lord of Trinity went to Luſerne by three ways; they which kept the paſſages reſiſted their enemies valiantly, but when they ſaw themſelves aſſaulted on every ſide, they fled into the mountains. Then did the ſoldiers ſack and burn the houſes, ſlaying all they could find: When they which were fled to the mountains ſaw their houſes on fire, they praiſed God and gave him thanks, that thus accounted them worthy to ſuffer for his name. Then did the ſoldiers purſue them to the mountains, but after they had called upon God, a few of them beat back their enemies; whereupon the army retired.

They in the meadow of Tour perceiving a company of ſoldiers burning the reſt of the houſes in Angrogne, they ſent ſix harquebuſhers againſt them, who from the higher ground diſcharging all their guns together, the ſoldiers ran all away when none purſued them.

Shortly after, as the watch was hearing a ſermon, they ſpied a company of ſoldiers marching up the hill, whereupon they ran to encounter them, and eaſily diſcomfited them. But whilſt they purſued the chaſe, ſome cried to them that another company was entred into the meadow; whereupon they left the chaſe, or elſe not one of their enemies had eſcaped.

Preſently other companies came other ways, which the miniſters and people ſeeing, were much diſcouraged, and therefore they fell to prayer, and ardently called upon God with ſighs and tears until night. And whereas ſeven ſpies were ſent before the ſoldiers, there went out five of the Waldenſes againſt them, and took ſome and chaſed the reſt: Then went out eight more againſt the whole company, and purſued them with an undaunted courage from rock to rock, and hill to hill, and then went out twelve more, who joining with the other, made a great ſlaughter of their enemies.

Another company from Luſerne having a miniſter with them, as they uſed always to have; after they had made their prayers to God, ſet upon another company of ſoldiers, whoſe hearts were ſo taken from them, that they preſently fled: One of the Waldenſes, a very young man, carried a great ſtaff in his hand, with which he laid ſo luſtily at his enemies, that he brake his ſtaff, and ſlew many of them, he alſo brake four of their own ſwords, in purſuing of them: Alſo a boy of eighteen years old ſlew the lord of Monteil, maſter of the camp, which much diſmaid the enemies: Another threw down Charles Truchet, and then leaped upon him and ſlew him with his own ſword; upon which all the reſt fled, and were purſued till night hindred.

The miniſter ſeeing the great effuſion of blood, and the enemies flying, cried to the people that it was enough, and ſo exhorted them to praiſe God: They that heard him obeyed, and fell to prayer. In this battle they got much armour, which was a great advantage to them afterwards. Thanks were returned unto God in every place, every one ſaying, *Who ſees not evidently that God fighteth for us.*

Preſently after the lord of Trinity returned to burn the villages, but eſpecially to purſue the poor people in the mountains. And one company with many horſemen aſcended the mountain of Comb by an unſuſpected way, where were no warders; but they which were next ſeeing them, called upon God for aid, and tho' they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice; many of the enemies were ſlain, and not one of the Waldenſes. Trinity ſeeing his men thus beaten back, ſent out moſt of his army to aſſiſt them, which were about one thouſand five hundred men: And there came about a hundred to help the warders: The combat was very cruel; at laſt the poor men were fain to retreat with the loſs of two of their men; at this the enemies exceedingly rejoiced, blowing their trumpets and triumphing: But the people crying all together to the Lord, returned again with greater violence, aſſaulting them with their ſlings; ſo that the enemies being weary, reſted themſelves, and the while the Waldenſes betook themſelves to prayer, which more affrighted their enemies than any thing elſe.

Then did the ſoldiers charge again furiouſly, but by the hands of a few they were driven back; yea, little children fervently calling upon God, threw ſtones at their enemies, as alſo did the women: Such as were unfit for war kneeled on the ground with their faces towards heaven, crying, Lord help us. Then came one running that brought word that the Angrognians were coming to help them, which the enemies hearing preſently retreated.

Another party of the army of an hundred and forty went another way, but by ſeven men they were ſtrongly reſiſted and driven back; a third party was met by the Angrognians and driven back.

The lord of Trinity intending to be revenged upon them in the meadow of Tour, aſſembled all the gentlemen of the country, and an army of about ſeven thouſand; and when the poor people ſaw them coming, glittering in their harneſs, and ſo many in number, they were at firſt aſtoniſhed, but pouring out their prayers unto God to ſuccour them, and to have regard to the glory of his name, &c. they marched to encounter with their enemies, and ſeaſonably by the way they met with ſome aid that was coming to them from Luſerne, ſo that uniting themſelves, they ſoon diſcomfited their enemies.

The captain of the enemy had in the morning promiſed to do great matters that day, but in the evening he was carried back weak and wounded, and not like to live; whereupon a Papiſt ſaid to him, *Monſieur, their religion is better than ours.*

Another part of the army ſet upon a houſe in a paſs, wherein were but five men, yet they luſtily defended it, drove out their enemies that had entred, and kept the place till ſome of their friends came to relieve them.

Another half of the army aſſaulted another bulwark on the ſide of the mountain; and they within ſuffered them to come very near, but then with ſlings and guns they ſlew many of them, others rolled down great ſtones, which killed

killed divers, ſo that when they had attempted all ways to take it, they were forced to retire: The lord of Trinity weeping to ſee his men ſlain ſo faſt, and at laſt having loſt very many of his men, he was forced to retreat; many of the army crying out, *God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.*

In all that conflict there were but two of the Waldenſes ſlain, and two hurt; whereas they never ſhot at their enemies but they killed ſome, and ſometimes two at one ſhot: The ſoldiers confeſſed that they were ſo aſtoniſhed that they could not fight; others ſaid, that the miniſters by their prayers conjured and bewitched them. It was a wonderful work of God, that ſhepherds and cow-herds ſhould encounter with ſo mighty a power of ſtrong and brave ſoldiers, well furniſhed with ammunition, and themſelves having nothing but ſlings, ſtones, and a few harquebuſhes, and yet ſhould beat them, and in all thoſe fights they loſt not above fourteen men.

Shortly after a company of ſoldiers went to Angrogne to deſtroy the vines, &c. and mocking the Waldenſes, they ſaid, *That they were valiant men behind their bulwarks, but if they came into the plain, how they would beat them:* Then came thirty of the Waldenſes, and ſet upon them in the plain, and fought with them a long time hand to hand, ſlew many of them, and at laſt forced them to run away, and that with the loſs of one man only of their own.

The night after, ſome thought that it would have been an eaſy matter to take the lord of Trinity, and to have ſpoiled his whole army, but the Waldenſes would not do it, leſt they ſhould offend God, and paſs the bounds of their vocation, intending only to defend themſelves.

Then did Trinity betake himſelf to his old ſhifts of entertaining a treaty for agreement; but in the *interim* he ſent a company of Spaniards one way, and other companies other ways, to ſurpriſe the meadow of Tour. The Spaniards were entred the meadow before they were perceived; but when the people ſpied them, they betook themſelves to prayer, then winded their horns, and ſo prepared themſelves for reſiſtance: The firſt that oppoſed themſelves were but twelve men, who yet ſtopped them in a paſs, and others rolled down ſtones from the mountains upon them, whereby many of the Spaniards were ſlain, the reſt were forced to retreat.

Shortly after the miniſters and chief rulers of the Waldenſes requeſted the lord of Raconis to deliver a petition, which they had drawn up to the ducheſs of Savoy, wherein they declared the equity of their cauſe, proteſting all due obedience, &c. and at laſt, thro' God's mercy, they came to a good agreement, and according to the promiſe of God, *All things turned to the beſt to thoſe that feared him, that were called according to his purpoſe.*

After the death of the duke and ducheſs of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel their ſon ſucceeded, who maintained them in peace according to the treaty formerly made: Yet the inquiſitors were always watchful to apprehend one or other of them; and amongſt others of them, one Bartholomew Copin of Luſerne, being at Aſt in Piedmont with his merchandize, and at evening ſupping with ſome other company, one began to ſpeak much to the diſgrace of the Waldenſes for their religion. Copin thought that he was not bound to be ſilent when he heard ſuch blaſphemies; whereupon he began to argue in their defence. Are you then a Waldenſian? ſaid the other to him, he anſwered, Yea. And do you not believe that God is in the hoſt? No, ſaid Copin. Fie upon you, ſaid the other, what a falſe religion is yours? My religion, ſaid Copin, is as true as 'tis true that God is God, &c. The next morning Copin was called before the biſhop of Aſt, who told him, that he muſt either recant the opinions he held over night, or be puniſhed. Copin ſaid, he had been provoked to that diſcourſe; yet he ſaid nothing but what he would maintain with his life; adding, that he had ſome goods, and a wife and children, yet he had loſt the affections that he bare unto thoſe things, neither were they dear to him, to the prejudice of his conſcience. Yet he ſaid, *That behaving himſelf honeſtly, he ought not to be moleſted, when he came about his merchandize, the Turks and Jews being permitted to come to fairs without moleſtation.* Notwithſtanding which, the biſhop preſently ſent him to priſon. The next day the biſhop's ſecretary went to him, profeſſing great love, and telling him, that except he acknowleged his fault, he was in great danger of his life. Copin anſwered, *That his life was in the hands of God, and he deſired not to preſerve it to the prejudice of his glory: and having but a few paces to walk in his journey to heaven, his hearty prayer to God was, to give him grace not to turn back.*

Some few days after he was examined by an inquiſitor in the preſence of the biſhop, who exceedingly tormented him with ſweet and gentle perſuaſions, by fair words ſeeking to draw him to an abjuration: But Copin always convinced him by the word of God; alledging that if he ſhould be aſhamed of, or deny Chriſt before men, Chriſt would be aſhamed of, and deny him before his heavenly Father. Then ſaid the monk, 'Go thy ways thou curſed heretic 'to all the devils in hell, and when thou ſhalt be there 'tormented by them, thou wilt remember this good and 'holy counſel that we have given thee,' &c.

After many violent encounters, they cauſed his wife and ſon to come to him, promiſing if he would confeſs his fault, he ſhould have liberty to depart with them; they ſuffered them alſo to ſup together, which time he ſpent in exhorting them to patience, telling them that God would be more than a huſband and father to them; that for his own part he was not bound to love wife or child more than Chriſt; and that they ſhould eſteem it their happineſs, that God was pleaſed to do him the honour to be a witneſs to his truth, with the loſs of his life, &c. He enjoined his wife to bring up his children in the fear of God: His ſon he commanded to obey his mother: He deſired them to pray for him, that God would ſtrengthen him againſt all temptations, and ſo taking leave of his wife, and bleſſing his ſon, he diſmiſſed them, his wife and ſon ſhedding fountains of tears, and crying out in ſo lamentable a manner as would have moved the hardeſt heart to compaſſion.

The biſhop knew not well what to do with him: If he let him go, he feared a ſcandal, and that many would be encouraged by his impunity: If he puniſhed him, he offended againſt the agreement betwixt the duke and the Waldenſes. And thereupon he ſent his indictment to the Pope, to know his pleaſure. Shortly after Copin was found dead in priſon, it appearing manifeſtly that he was ſtrangled; and after his death he was condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Perſecution of the Waldenſes in Calabria.

ANNO *Chriſti* 1370, the Waldenſes of Pragela and Dauphine grew ſo numerous, that they ſent their younger people to ſeek ſome other country to inhabit. In their travel, they found in Calabria, ſome waſte and untilled lands; yet ſeeming very fertile, fit for corn, wine, oil and cheſnuts, and that the hills were fit for cattle, and to furniſh them with fuel and timber; they came therefore to the lords of thoſe places to treat with them touching their abode there.

The lords received them willingly, agreed to orders much for the advantage of theſe new inhabitants; agreed about rents, tenths, tolls, penalties, &c. and ſo aſſigned to them certain places of the country. Then did they return to their parents, ſhewing how it fared with them, and ſo received what they pleaſed to beſtow upon them, and many of them marrying, they returned into Calabria, where they built ſome towns and cities, as St. Xiſt, la Garde, &c.

The lords of thoſe countries thought themſelves happy in that they had met with ſuch good ſubjects as peopled their waſte lands, and made them to abound with all manner of fruits: but principally becauſe they were honeſt men, and of good conſcience, yielding all thoſe duties and honours which they could expect from good ſubjects. Only the prieſts complained of them, that they lived not after their religion, made not their children prieſts and nuns, loved not tapers, maſſes, &c. that they adorned not their churches with images, went not on pilgrimage, &c.

Hereupon

Hereupon the lords feared, that if the Pope ſhould take notice, that ſo near his ſeat, there were people that contemned his laws, they might chance to loſe their ſubjects: They therefore perſuaded the prieſts to be ſilent, ſince in other things they ſhewed themſelves honeſt men, enriched the country, yea and the prieſts themſelves, by their tithes. Theſe lords alſo ſtopped the mouths of their neighbours, who exceedingly murmured, becauſe by no means they could draw them into alliance with them, and becauſe all that they had, proſpered exceedingly: They were wiſe and temperate, not given to drinking, dancing, ſwearing, *&c.* and living in a country, where the inhabitants were given to all manner of wickedneſs, they were as precious ſtones in a common ſink.

Thus they were preſerved in peace by their lords, till *anno* 1560. At which time theſe Waldenſes reſolving to make a public profeſſion of their religion; ſent for two miniſters from Geneva, who did much eſtabliſh the exerciſe of religion amongſt them.

Pope Pius the IV. hearing of this, preſently concluded their utter ruin and extirpation, giving the ſame in charge to cardinal Alexandrino, a violent man, who choſe two monks inquiſitors of his own humour, and ſent them, firſt to begin with the inhabitants of St. Xiſt; There they aſſembled the people, gave them good words, promiſing that they ſhould receive no violence, if they would accept of ſuch teachers as the biſhops ſhould appoint, which if they refuſed, they would loſe their lives, goods and honours, and would be condemned for heretics: And further to prove them, they appointed a maſs to be ſung: But the people with their wives and children, preſently quit their houſes, and fled into the woods.

From thence the monks went to *la Garde*, where they cauſed the town gates to be locked, and the people to be aſſembled, telling them that they of St. Xiſt had abjured their religion, and went to maſs, *&c.* promiſing that if they would do the like, no man ſhould injure them. Theſe poor people, believing what was told them, were content to do what they would have them; but when they heard that their friends of St. Xiſt refuſed to go to maſs, and were fled into the woods, they were exceedingly grieved at their own revolt, and reſolved with their wives and children to go to their brethren.

In the mean time the monks ſent two companies of ſoldiers after them of St. Xiſt, who ran after them as after wild beaſts, crying, *kill, kill,* and ſo ſlew divers: But ſuch as could get to the top of the mountain, called to the ſoldiers, beſeeched them to have pity on them, their wives and children, telling them that they had been inoffenſive in their converſations, *&c.* yet if they would not ſuffer them to continue in their habitations, that at leaſt they would licenſe them to depart, either by ſea or land, that they might retire themſelves whither the Lord ſhould be pleaſed to conduct them, beſeeching them alſo, for God's ſake, not to force them to defend themſelves.

But this more enraged the ſoldiers, who preſently violently aſſaulted them: Then did they ſo defend themſelves, that by God's aſſiſtance, they ſlew the greateſt part of the ſoldiers, and put the reſt to flight. Hereupon the inquiſitors wrote to the viceroy of Naples, ſpeedily to ſend ſome companies of ſoldiers to apprehend the heretics of St. Xiſt and *la Garde*, whereby he ſhould do a work very pleaſing to the Pope, and meritorious for himſelf.

Then did the viceroy come himſelf with his troops, in the mean time the Waldenſian women came home to ſeek for food for their huſbands and children that were in the woods.

The viceroy proclaimed through all Naples, that all ſuch baniſhed perſons as would come to fight againſt the heretics of St. Xiſt, ſhould be pardoned all their offences: Whereupon great numbers reſorted to him, and were conducted to the woods, where they chaſed theſe poor people, ſlaying ſome, wounding others, the reſt fled into caves, where moſt of them died of famine.

Then were they of *la Garde* cited before the inquiſitor, and many fair promiſes were made unto them if they would appear; but contrary thereunto, thirty of them were apprehended, and put to the rack.

One Charlin was racked with ſuch violence, that his bowels brake out of his belly, and all to extort from him a confeſſion, that in the night, the candles being put out, they committed whoredom, and abominable inceſt, yet would he never confeſs any ſuch wickedneſs.

Another, with extream pain upon the rack, promiſed to go to maſs, the inquiſitor ſeeing that he had ſhewed ſuch weakneſs, urged him to confeſs the forementioned wickedneſs, which, becauſe he refuſed, he left him eight hours together upon the rack, yet could he not get from his mouth ſo foul a ſlander.

Another was ſtripped ſtark naked, whipt with rods of iron, drawn through the ſtreets, and burnt with firebrands: One of his ſons was killed with knives: Another thrown down from an high tower, becauſe he would not kiſs a Crucifix: Another was condemned to be burnt alive, and as he went to the fire, he threw to the ground a Crucifix, which the executioner had faſtened to his hands, whereupon they covered him all over with pitch, and ſo burnt him.

The inquiſitor Panza cut the throats of eighty, as butchers do their ſheep; then cauſing them to be divided into four quarters, he ſet up ſtakes for the ſpace of thirty miles, and appointed a quarter to be faſtned to every ſtake. Four of the principal men of *la Garde* he cauſed to be hanged. Another young man, becauſe he would not confeſs himſelf to be a prieſt, was thrown from an high tower.

The viceroy paſſing by him before he was dead, and hearing him implore God's mercy, kick'd him on the head ſaying, *Is this dog yet living? Take him and caſt him to the hogs.* Sixty women were racked ſo violently, that the cords pierced into their arms and legs; and being then caſt into priſon, they died there, only nine of the handſomeſt, being delivered to the fathers of the inquiſition, were never heard of after.

Many others were delivered to the ſecular power to be burnt, and if any interceeded for them, he was preſently put on the rack as a favourer of heretics.

Pope Pius the IV. ſent the marquis of Butlane, promiſing that if he would wholly clear Calabria of theſe Waldenſes, he would make his ſon a cardinal: But he was put to no great pains to do it, for the inquiſitors and the viceroy of Naples had by ſundry deaths killed all the men, women and children that they could light of.

One of their miniſters was famiſhed in priſon: Another was carried to Rome, where he was condemned to be burnt; The Pope and his cardinals would needs ſee that pleaſing ſpectacle: But the miniſter ſpake ſo many things out of God's word, againſt the Pope, that the Pope gnaſhed his teeth for anger, wiſhing that he had been ſome where elſe. And thus were theſe godly people wholly rooted out of Calabria.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Perſecutions of the Waldenſes in Provence.

THESE came from Piedmont, when their vallies were over peopled. The country of Provence, at their firſt arrival, was a deſert, but within few years, by God's bleſſing upon their labours, it abounded with corn, wine, oil, cheſnuts, and other fruits.

Their habitations being near to Avignion (many times the Pope's ſeat) they were expoſed to ſundry perſecutions, as *anno* 1380. and at other times: But the greateſt of all began about the year 1360. in the time of king Lewis the XII. who being informed that in Provence was a certain kind of people that lived not according to the laws of the church of Rome, but were an accurſed people, committing all kinds of wickedneſs and villanies; he gave commiſſion to his parliament in Provence to take cognizance of it, and to puniſh them according to their demerits.

The court proſecuting this order with rigour; and the king hearing that divers innocent perſons were put to death, he ſent his maſter of requeſts, and confeſſor into Provence, to find out what kind of perſons theſe were, who at their return, certified him, that all the former ſuggeſtions were untrue, that they were neither ſorcerers, nor whoremongers, but lived honeſtly, did hurt to none; cauſed their children to be baptized, taught them their belief, and the ten commandments, and that they

carefully

carefully kept the Lord's day, and had the word of God purely expounded to them: Whereupon the king ſwore an oath, *That they were honeſter than himſelf, and his catholic ſubjects.* Upon this information he ſent and ſtayed the perſecution.

Some time after the Waldenſes did ſend two of their miniſters [George Morrell and Peter Maſſon] to Oecolampadius, Capito, Bucer and Haller, to confer with them about matters of religion, and to have their advice in many things.

In their return, Maſſon ws apprehended at Dijon; where he was condemned and put to death for a Lutheran, Morrell eſcaped with his letters and papers, and came ſafe to Provence, where he much comforted and confirmed the churches. Yet all this while did the parliament of Aix apprehend one or other of them, condemning ſome to the fire, others to the gibbet; they which ſcaped beſt, returned with marks in their foreheads.

Anno Chriſti 1540. The inhabitants of Merindol were ſummoned, and ſome of the chief appearing for the reſt, they were all condemned to be burned alive, their children and families to be out-lawed, and that the place of their habitation ſhould be laid waſte, the woods cut down two hundred paces round about, and ſo left deſolate.

The king being informed of the rigour of this edict, and of the innocency of the people, countermanded the execution of it: But his letters were ſuppreſſed, and the cardinal of Tournon obtained for a great ſum of money, the revocation of them.

Anno 1545. The preſident of Opede proclaimed war againſt them both at Aix and Marſeilles: Divers companies of ſoldiers were liſted, and five bands of the old ſoldiers of Piedmont were joined with them, and preſently they began to ſet fire on the villages of Cabrieres, Pepin, &c. The poor people without any reſiſtance were ſlain, women and their daughters raviſhed, ſome great with child murdered: The breaſts of many women were cut off, after whoſe death their poor infants died of famine.

Opede alſo proclaimed, that on pain of death no man ſhould give any relief or ſuſtenance to them. All their habitations were pillaged, ſacked and burnt, and none of their perſons ſpared, but ſuch as were reſerved for the gallies.

Opede coming to Merindol, found none there but one ſimple lad, who had yielded himſelf priſoner to a ſoldier, and promiſed two crowns for his ranſom; but Opede paid the money to the ſoldier, and cauſed the lad to be ſhot to death: Then he utterly razed the town, and laid it level with the ground.

Then did he march againſt Cabrieres, and with the cannon battered the walls: There was within only about ſixty poor ſick peaſants, who ſent him word that he needed not to ſpend powder to batter the walls, for they were ready to open the gates, and quit the country, if they might but have leave with their wives and children to go to Geneva, or Germany, and to leave all their goods behind them.

Opede entring the town, cauſed all the men to be brought into a field, and to be cut in pieces, the ſoldiers ſtriving who ſhould ſhew the beſt manhood in cutting off heads, arms and legs: The women he cauſed to be locked in a barn with much ſtraw, and ſo put fire to it, where many women great with child were burnt: One ſoldier moved with pity, opened a hole in the wall, that ſome of them might come out: but Opede made them to be beaten back again into the fire with pikes and halberts. Some of them that came forth he ſlew with his own hands, ripping open their bellies, ſo that their children came forth, whom he trod under his feet: Many were fled into cellars and caves, whom he cauſed to be dragged out, had into the field, ſtripped ſtark naked, and then ſlain. Others were bound by two and two together, and ſlain by the captains, who rejoiced in their bloody butchery.

Then did this tyrant (worſe than Herod) command one of his captains to go into the church, into which many women, children and infants were fled; and to kill them all, which the captain at firſt refuſed, ſaying, *That it was a cruelty unbeſeeming men of war:* Whereat Miniers being diſpleaſed, charged him upon pain of rebellion againſt the king to do it. The captain fearing what might be the iſſue, entred with his ſoldiers and deſtroyed them all, ſparing neither young nor old. Other ſoldiers that ranſacked the houſes, found many poor perſons who had hid themſelves in ſecret places, whom they ſlew upon, crying, *Kill, kill,* the ſoldiers without the town killed all they could meet with, ſo that above a thouſand men, women and children were ſlain in this place.

Many perſons which were eſcaped in the mountains, ſent by ſome that had moſt intreſt in Miniers, to deſire him to give them leave to go whither the Lord ſhould pleaſe to lead them, with their wives and children, though they had nothing but the ſhirts on their backs: to whom he anſwered, *That he knew what he had to do, he would ſend them to dwell in hell amongſt the devils.*

Then did he ſend part of his army unto Coſta, which they overcame, and committed their great ſlaughters: Many of the inhabitants fled into an orchard, where the ſoldiers raviſhed many women and maidens, and having kept them there a day and a night, they uſed them ſo beaſtly, that the women with child, and younger maidens died preſently after.

Many of theſe Merindolians hid themſelves in rocks and dark caves, where ſome were famiſhed, others were choaked with fire and ſmoak ſet to their caves mouths. Many more were the outrages and cruelties which this wicked Opede committed: But the Lord found him out at laſt, ſtriking him with a ſtrange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, neither was he able to void any urine, ſo that by degrees his guts rotted within him: No remedy could be found for this terrible diſeaſe, worms bred in his bowels, which continually gnawed him. Then did he ſend to Arles for a famous ſurgeon, who cured him of his difficulty to make water, after which, deſiring all to depart the room, the ſurgeon in private exhorted him to repent of his former cruelty and blood-ſhed, telling him that this his ſtrange bleeding was God's juſt hand upon him for ſhedding ſo much innocent blood: But theſe words pierced the impure conſcience of this wicked wretch, and more troubled him than the torments of his diſeaſe, ſo that he cried out to lay hands on the ſurgeon as an heretic: Whereupon he conveyed himſelf away, and returned to Arles.

Yet not long after he was ſent for again, and great promiſes were made for his ſecurity: But when he came back, he found Miniers paſt cure, raging and caſting out moſt horrible and moſt blaſphemous words, feeling a fire within him, which burnt him from the navel upwards, which was accompanied with extream ſtink of his lower parts, and ſo he ended his wretched life.

In the beginning of this perſecution, there was one John de Roma, a monk, who gat a commiſſion to examine thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be heretics; whereupon he afflicted the faithful with all kinds of cruelty: Amongſt other horrible torments that he uſed, this was one; he filled boots with boiling greaſe, and put them upon their legs, tying them backwards over a form, and their legs hanging down over a ſoft fire: Thus he tormented very many, and in the end moſt cruelly put them to death.

Francis the French king being informed of the helliſh cruelty of this wicked monk, ſent to his parliament at Provence that they ſhould apprehend and condemn him: But he being informed of it, fled to Avignion, where he hoped to enjoy all that wealth which ſo mercileſly and unjuſtly he had extorted from the poor Chriſtians: But ſhortly after, he was robbed of all that he had, by his own ſervants; and then he fell ſick of a moſt horrible and ſtrange diſeaſe unknown to the phyſicians: He was intolerably tormented with pains all over his body, ſo that no means could give him eaſe for one minute of an hour; neither was there any man that could tarry near him, no not of his neareſt friends; ſo great was the ſtink that came from him: Hereupon he was removed to an hoſpital; but the ſtink and infection ſo encreaſed, that no man durſt come near him; no, nor he himſelf was able to abide the horrible ſtink of his own body, full of ulcers and ſores, and ſwarming with vermine, and ſo rotten, that the fleſh fell from the bones by piece-meal. In theſe torments he often cried out in a great rage. *O who will deliver me? Who will kill and rid me out of theſe intolerable pains, which I know I ſuffer for the oppreſſions which I did to the poor men?* Oft-times he himſelf endeavoured to deſtroy himſelf; but he had not the power. In this horrible anguiſh,

guiſh, and fearful deſpair he miſerably ended his accurſed life.

When he was dead no man would come near to bury him; till at laſt a young novice caught hold of his ſtinking carcaſe with an iron hook, and ſo dragged him into an hole that was made for him.

In the time of this perſecution the biſhop of Aix, with ſome other biſhops and their courtezans, walking along the ſtreets of Avignion, ſaw a man ſelling baudy images and pictures, with filthy rimes and ballads annexed to them: All theſe goodly pictures the biſhops bought up. When they had gone a little further, there was a bookſeller that had ſet to ſale certain Bibles in French, which the Prelates were greatly moved at, ſaying to him, *Dareſt thou be ſo bold as to ſell ſuch merchandiſe in this town?* The bookſeller replied, *Is not the holy Bible as good as theſe goodly pictures that you have bought for theſe gentlewomen?* Then ſaid the biſhop of Aix, *I renounce my part in paradiſe, if this fellow be not a Lutheran, take him away to priſon.* Then did his attendants cry out, a Lutheran, a Lutheran, *To the fire with him, to the fire with him.* And one gave him a blow with his fiſt, another pulled him by the hair, another by the beard; ſo that the poor man was all imbrued in blood, before he came to priſon. The next day he was brought before the judge, where, by the inſtigation of the biſhops, he was condemned to be burned the ſame day; and ſo was carried to the fire with two Bibles about his neck, one before, and another behind, where he made a moſt Chriſtian end.

The Waldenſes were diſperſed alſo into ſeveral other countries, as, Bohemia, Auſtria, Germany, Flanders England, Poland, Italy, Spain, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Grecia, Philadelphia, Livonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria, *&c.* In all which places, at one time or other, they ſuffered perſecutions: Concerning which, there is not much left upon record, and ſomething will be ſpoken again of it in other places of this Book; and therefore this may ſuffice for the preſent.

CHAP. XXV.

The Perſecution of Albingenſes.

THESE were the ſame with the Waldenſes, differing only in name from their habitation in the country of Albi. Divers of Waldoe's diſciples going into this country, and amongſt them one Arnold (from whom they were called Arnoldiſts) laboured with ſo great ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time there was ſcarce any found that would go to maſs.

Pope Alexander the III. was much moved to anger, when he ſaw many great provinces to ſhake off his Antichriſtian yoke; and therefore he condemned them for heretics in the council of Lateran: Yet did they ſo multiply, that *anno* 1200, they poſſeſſed many and great cities; yea, they had many great lords that took part with them, as earl Remund of Thoulouſe, Remund earl of Foix, the vicount of Beziers, *&c.* Pope Innocent the III. pretended a great deſire to reclaim them by preaching and conference; and thereupon there was a famous diſputation at Montreal, wherein the Popiſh doctors were ſhamefully baffled by Arnold. But the Pope's policy was thus to rock them aſleep, whilſt he raiſed armies againſt them to deſtroy them: The pretended occaſion whereof was this, There was one Fryer Peter that was ſlain in the dominions of the earl of Tholouſe; whereupon the Pope ſent preachers abroad, through all Europe, to aſſemble men together, to take vengeance on the heretics, for the innocent blood of Fryer Peter, ſlain amongſt them; promiſing paradiſe to all that would come to this war, and bear arms for forty days. This he called *The holy war*, and gave the ſame pardons and indulgences to thoſe that came to this war, as to thoſe which went into the *holy land* againſt the Saracens.

Then did he thunder againſt earl Remund, charging all archbiſhops and biſhops through their dioceſs, to pronounce him accurſed and excommunicated; and that with the ſound of a bell, and extinction of candles every Sabbath and feſtival day, for murdering of a good ſervant of God. He alſo abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance to him; commanding every good catholic to purſue his perſon, and to take and poſſeſs his land, *&c.* He alſo wrote to all Chriſtian princes to ſtir them up to get this pardon, rather by fighting againſt theſe Albingenſes, than by going againſt the Turks. Earl Remund hearing of all theſe preparations againſt him, ſent to the Pope, humbly beſeeching him not to condemn him before he was heard, aſſuring him, That he was no way guilty of the death of Fryer Peter, but that he was ſlain by a gentleman, who immediately fled out of his country, otherwiſe he would have ſeverely puniſhed him for it. But all was in vain; for preſently came armies of croſſed ſoldiers to pour down their vengeance on him and his lands.

Amongſt theſe were many noblemen, and eccleſiaſtical perſons, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, *&c.* To all which, the Pope promiſed paradiſe, but gave them not a penny.

The earl of Tholouſe perceived that he muſt either prepare for defence, or ſubmit; the latter he thought the ſafer, and therefore he went preſently to the Pope's legate at Valence, to whom he began to ſay, That he thought it ſtrange, that ſo many armed men ſhould be brought againſt him, who uſed no other arms for his defence, but his own innocency. And that concerning the death of the Fryer, they ſhould firſt have enquired the truth of the fact, before they thus moved heaven and earth againſt him; yea, if he had been guilty, yet there was an ordinary courſe of juſtice to be uſed againſt him, and not to wreak their anger on his innocent ſubjects. And therefore Sir (ſaid he) 'ſince I come voluntarily to you, armed only with the teſtimony of a good conſcience; what further uſe is there of theſe armed pilgrims? Pray you 'therefore countermand theſe ſoldiers before they go to 'make any further ſpoil in my territories: For my own 'perſon may ſerve for a ſufficient pledge,' *&c.*

The Legate anſwered, 'That he had done well in coming to him, yet could he not ſend back the ſoldiers, except he would put ſeven of his beſt caſtles into his hands, 'which ſhould ſerve for a hoſtage.' Now did the earl, when it was too late, ſee his own folly in putting himſelf into the legate's hands, and thereby making himſelf a priſoner: But there was no remedy, now he muſt take laws from him that had him in his power; and therefore he told him, 'That both his perſon and poſſeſſions were at 'his diſpoſal, beſeeching him, that his ſubjects might receive no more damage by the ſoldiers.'

The Legate preſently ſent to put garriſons in thoſe ſeven caſtles, commanding all the councils of every city, preſently to appear before him; and when they were come, he told them. 'That earl Remund had delivered up his 'caſtles to the Pope; and therefore they were to take notice of it, that ſo they might acknowlege themſelves lawful ſubjects to his holineſs, in caſe the earl ſhould falſify his oath to the Pope.'

The councils were much aſtoniſhed, thus to ſee their lord diveſted of all his poſſeſſions: But that which moſt afflicted them, was, to ſee him led to St. Giles to be reconciled to the church, where the Legate commanded the earl to ſtrip himſelf ſtark naked, all but his linnen drawers: Then did he put a cord about his neck, whereby he led him nine times about the grave of Fryer Peter, ſcourging him with rods all this while. The earl demanded ſatisfaction for ſo ſharp a penance, ſeeing he was not guilty of the fact. The Legate anſwered, 'That he muſt ſubmit, 'if he would be reconciled to the Pope; yea, he muſt be 'thus ſcourged before the earls, barons, marqueſſes, Prelates, and all the people.' He made him alſo to ſwear to be obedient all his life to the Pope and church of Rome; and to make irreconcileable war againſt the Albingenſes, *&c.*

Then did the Legate make him general of the croſſed ſoldiers for the ſiege of Beziers. The earl knew not what to do; for to conduct an army to fight againſt the Albingenſes, was to ſin againſt his conſcience; and if he ſhould flie away, it would furniſh them with new matter of perſecution, againſt him and his ſubjects.

In this extremity he ſtayed in the army a few days, and then went towards Rome, to reconcile himſelf to the Pope.

Then did the army come before the city of Beziers, and provided all manner of engines for battery, reared up ladders for a general Eſcalado. This the earl of Beziers beholding, and judging it impoſſible to defend the city, he went out, and caſt himſelf down at the Legate's feet, beſeeching him not to puniſh the innocent with the nocent, which muſt needs be, if the town were taken by ſtorm. He told him, That there were in the city great numbers of good Catholics, which would be ſubject to the ſame ruin with the Albingenſes. He deſired him alſo to commiſerate him now in his minority that was a moſt obedient ſervant to the Pope, and had been brought up in the Romiſh church, in which he would live and die. The Legate told him, That all his excuſes prevailed nothing, and that he muſt do as he may. The earl returned into the city, aſſembled the people, and told them, That he could obtain no mercy from the Legate, except all the Albingenſes would come and abjure their religion, and promiſe to live according to the laws of the church of Rome. The Popiſh party requeſted the Albingenſes to yield to this, but the Albingenſes anſwered, That they would not forſake their religion for the baſe price of their frail life; that God was able, if he pleaſed, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confeſſion of their faith, it ſhould be a great honour to them to die for his ſake: That they had rather diſpleaſe the Pope, who could but kill their bodies, then God, who could caſt both body and ſoul into hell, *&c.*

Then did the Popiſh party ſend their biſhop to the Legate, beſeeching him not to include them in the chaſtiſement of the Albingenſes; and that the beſt way to win the others, was by gentle means, not by rigour: The Legate grew into great choler at this, ſwearing; *That if all the city, did not acknowlege their fault, they ſhould all taſte of one cup, without diſtinction of religion, ſex, or age.* And accordingly he ſummoned the city preſently to yield to his diſcretion, which they refuſing, He cauſed that his engines ſhould play, and that a general aſſault ſhould be given.

It was impoſſible for them within the city to reſiſt ſo great violence, being aſſaulted by above an hundred thouſand pilgrims: So that the enemies entred, and ſlew a great multitude, and ſet the city on fire, and burnt it to aſhes. When the city was firſt taken, the prieſts and monks came forth of the great church, with banners and croſſes, ſinging, *Te deum laudamus:* but the ſoldiers, who were commanded by the legate to kill all, ran upon them, made their heads and arms to flie about the ſtreets; ſo that they were all cut in pieces.

In this city of Beziers the ſlew ſixty thouſand perſons, the Pope's legate ſaying to the captains and ſoldiers, *Cedite eos omnes, novit enim Dominus qui ſunt ejus. Kill them all* [*Catholics and heretics*] *for the Lord knoweth who are his.*

Then were theſe pilgrims preſently conducted to Carcaſſon before the forty days of ſervice, which they had vowed to the church of Rome, were expired.

The earl of Beziers when he ſaw that he could obtain no favour of the legate, before the city was taken, left his charge to the biſhop, and went to Carcaſſon, endeavouring to prepare and furniſh it for a long ſiege: But the legate's army followed him preſently, unto which there came a new ſupply of croſſed ſoldiers out of ſundry countries; ſo that his army now conſiſted of three hundred thouſand fighting men.

Near to the city of Carcaſſon, was a town of the ſame name: The city was ſeated on an hill, and fenced with a double wall, yet the pilgrims thought to take it at the firſt ſight; and therefore ran with great violence upon the firſt rampier, filling the ditch with faggots; but they were beaten back with ſuch courage, that the ground was covered with their dead bodies. The young earl of Beziers won much honour in this firſt encounter, encouraging his men, and telling them, *That it was better to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of ſuch cruel and mercileſs enemies,* &c. The Albingenſes much encouraged hereby, ſwore to him, *That they would ſpend their lives for the preſervation of the city.*

The next morning the legate commanded a general aſſault to be made upon the town of Carcaſſon, which was two miles from the city; and the people valiantly defended themſelves, but being oppreſſed with multitudes, the ſoldiers entred the town, putting all to the ſword and fire, as they had done at Beziers.

Then came the king of Arragon to the camp, and told the legate, 'That he underſtood that his kinſman, the 'earl of Beziers, was in the city; and that with his leave, 'he would go to him:' Not doubting, but that he ſhould prevail with him to do his duty to the Pope and church. The legate gave him leave, and the king approaching to the rampier, called for the earl, who came to him. To whom the king ſaid, 'That he deſired to know of him 'what moved him to ſhut up himſelf in that city, againſt 'ſo great an army of pilgrims?' The earl anſwered, 'That 'it was to defend his life, goods, and ſubjects: That he 'knew well, that the Pope under the pretence of religion, 'reſolved to deſtroy his uncle Remund and himſelf: That 'he ſaw the cruelty which they had uſed at Beziers, even 'againſt the prieſts themſelves.' Adding alſo what they had done to the town of Carcaſſon, and 'that they muſt 'look for no mercy from the legate or his army; and that 'therefore he rather choſe to die, defending himſelf with 'his ſubjects, than to fall into the hands of ſo inexorable 'an enemy as the legate was. That though he had in his 'city ſome that were of another religion, yet they were 'ſuch as had wronged none, and were come to his ſuc-'cour in his greateſt extremity; and for their good ſer-'vice he was reſolved not to abandon them, and that his 'truſt was in God, the defender of the oppreſſed: That 'he would aſſiſt them, againſt that world of ill adviſed 'men, who forſook their own houſes, to burn, ſack, and 'ranſack, and kill in their houſes other men, without rea-'ſon, judgment, or mercy.'

The king returning to the legate, told him, 'That his 'couſin was much diſcontented with his former dealings a-'gainſt his ſubjects of Beziers and Carcaſſon; that he be-'lieved, ſeeing they ſpared not the Romiſh prieſts, their 'war was not for religion, but a kind of thievery; that 'he would not yield himſelf to the diſcretion of ſuch mer-'cileſs men,' *&c.*

The legate, after ſome debate, told the king, 'That for 'his ſake he would receive the earl of Beziers to mercy; 'and that with him, twelve more might come out with 'bag and baggage: But for the reſt, he would have them 'wholly at his diſcretion; and, that they ſhould all come 'forth ſtark naked, men, women, maids, and children, 'without ſhirts, ſmocks, or other covering; and that then 'they might hope well of his mercy, he being the Pope's 'legate,' *&c.*

The king much diſlaſted this propoſition, yet reported it to the earl of Beziers, who returned anſwer, 'That he 'would not come forth upon ſuch unreaſonable and un-'juſt propoſitions, but would defend himſelf and his ſub-'jects, as God ſhould enable him.'

Then did the legate cauſe all his engines to play, commanding, *That they ſhould take the city by ſtorm;* but he was little pleaſed, when he ſaw the loſs of a great number of his pilgrims: For they in the city threw down ſtones, fire, pitch, brimſtone, and boiling water, wherewith they ſo galled the aſſailants, that the earth was covered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies, which cauſed a wondrous noiſome ſtink both in the city and camp.

This overthrow cauſed divers of the croſſed ſoldiers, having accompliſhed their forty days ſervice, and thereby gained paradiſe, to refuſe to conquer more after ſo fair a purchaſe; and therefore they returned home.

The legate being much troubled to ſee his army ſo decreaſed, thought of this ſtratagem, He ſent for a gentleman, telling him, that he might do a piece of ſervice, whereby he might not only merit heaven, but gain a great reward here. Which was, by going to the earl of Beziers, endeavouring to put him into great fears, and then to perſuade him to have recourſe to the legate's mercy; and withal, that he ſhould perſuade him with great oaths and execrations (whereof he could abſolve him at his pleaſure) to come with him to the legate, with aſſurance, that he ſhould be diſmiſſed ſafe and ſound.

This gentleman played his part ſo well, that he brought the young earl with him. The legate preſently told him,

That

That he was now his priſoner till Carcaſſon was taken: and till his ſubjects had better learned their duty. The earl aſtoniſhed hereat, cried out, *That he was betrayed, and that faith was violated by him,* &c. But this nothing prevailed; for he was preſently committed to the guard, and cuſtody of the duke of Burgonne.

The inhabitants of Carcaſſon underſtanding this, brake forth into tears, and were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they now thought of nothing, but how, by flight, to eſcape the danger; but that ſeemed impoſſible, being environed with ſuch an army. At laſt one told them, *That they heard ſome old men ſay, that there was a certain vault under ground, great and large, which went to the caſtle of Cameret, three leagues off.* Then were all the citizens employed to ſearch for this vault; and having at laſt found it, they began their flight in the evening, with their wives and children, carrying with them only ſome victuals for a few days. This departure was accompanied with much ſorrow, thus to leave all their worldly enjoyments. The next morning they came to the caſtle, and from thence diſperſed themſelves, ſome to Arragon, others to Catalonia, and others to Tholouſe, whither it pleaſed God to conduct them.

In the morning the pilgrims were ſtrangely aſtoniſhed, hearing no noiſe, no ſeeing any man ſtirring in the city, yet they approached the walls with much fear, leſt it ſhould be but a ſtratagem to endanger them; but finding no oppoſition, they mounted the walls, crying out, *That the Albingenſes were fled:* And thus was the city with all the ſpoils taken, and the earl of Beziers committed to priſon in one of the ſtrongeſt towers of Carcaſſon.

Then did the legate call all the Prelates, and great lords of his army together, telling them, *That though it was requiſite that there ſhould be always a legate in the army, yet it was likewiſe neceſſary that there ſhould be a ſecular general, wiſe and valiant, to command in all their affairs,* &c. This charge was firſt proffered to the duke of Burgonne, then to the earl of Ennevers, and to the earl of St. Paul; but they all refuſed it. Laſtly, it was proffered to earl Simon of Montfort, who after ſome excuſes, accepted of it.

The earl being made general, ſettled himſelf at Carcaſſon with four thouſand pilgrims, all the remainders of that huge army.

After this earl Remund of Tholouſe, went to the French king for his letters of commendation to the Pope, to be by him fully cleared from the death of Fryer Peter; and the Pope thereupon received him courteouſly, gave him full remiſſion and abſolution, and thereby declared him ſufficiently juſtified.

Shortly after, the earl of Beziers died in priſon, and earl Simon was put into poſſeſſion of his lands; whereupon, all that bordered upon him, began to fear him; for, that he gave it out, that the ſpring following he would have a great army of pilgrims, wherewith he would chaſtiſe thoſe that had not acknowleged his authority, given him by the church. Upon this occaſion, Caſtris ſent unto him the keys of their city; the caſtle of Pinies yielded to him, and ſo did all round about Carcaſſon. But the king of Arragon ſecretly encouraged the gentlemen of the vicounty of Beziers, telling them, *That his pilgrims would be uncertain, and would not ſtay long with him; and that if, in the mean time, they would but keep themſelves in their garriſons, when he was weak by the departure of his pilgrims, they might then ſet upon him, and reduce him to reaſon.*

Theſe meſſages gave ſuch encouragement to the gentry, that the earl Simon being gone to Montpellier, they took arms to ſhake off his yoke, beſieging ſome of his ſoldiers in a tower near to Carcaſſon; the earl hearing of it, preſently returned to ſuccour them, but the tower was taken before he came: Which affront brought him into ſome contempt. Then captain Boucard, belonging to earl Simon, attempted to ſurpriſe the ſtrong caſtle of Caberet, making his approach thereto as ſecretly as he could. Captain Roger commanding therein for earl Remund, was come forth with eighty horſe to forrage. Boucard on the ſudden charged him: But Roger doubled the charge in ſo furious a manner, that he overcame Boucard's party, and brought him priſoner into that caſtle that he came to ſurpriſe.

Gerard of Pepios took part with the Albingenſes, ſo that the war grew hot: And all the men that earl Simon took, he cauſed a great fire to be made, and caſt them into it; neither did his men eſcape ſcot-free, when they fell into their enemies hands.

The city of Carcaſſon was hereupon ſtricken with great fear, having little hope to defend themſelves, but by flight, being environed on all ſides by their enemies. About this time earl Simon wrote to all the Prelates through Europe, that if in the ſpring following, they did not ſend him good ſtore of pilgrims, he could hold out no longer againſt his enemies, having ſince the laſt departure of his pilgrims, loſt above forty towns and caſtles. And whilſt that he waited for theſe new ſuccours, he ſurpriſed the caſtle of Beron, where he pulled out the eyes of above an hundred Albingenſes, and cut off their noſes, leaving only one with one eye to guide the reſt to Cabaret.

Anno 1210. Earl Simon being ſhut up in Carcaſſon for want of ſoldiers, heard that his wife was coming from France with many pilgrims; whereupon he went out to meet her. Theſe pilgrims he employed againſt the caſtle Menebre, which at laſt was yielded up to him for want of water. This caſtle was defended by Remund, lord of Termes, and was ſituated in Narbonne: One argument which earl Simon uſed to ſtir up his croſſed ſoldiers to fight manfully againſt it, was, 'for that, ſaith he, there 'hath been no maſs ſung in it, ſince the year one thouſand one hundred and eighty, which is now thirty years.' Upon the ſurrender of the caſtle, they laboured to draw this noble lord to recant his religion, and turn Papiſt; but finding him immoveable, they ſhut him up in a ſtrait priſon, where ſhortly after he died: They alſo took his wife, ſiſter, and daughter, who was a maid, and other noble women, with whom they laboured to withdraw them from the truth, both by flattery and frowns, by fair ſpeeches, and cruel threats; but when they ſaw that nothing would prevail, they made an huge fire, caſting them into the ſame, and burning them. *Godfridy Annales.* Alſo after his taking of the ſaid caſtle, he cauſed a Fryer to preach to the people, and to exhort them to acknowlege the Pope and church of Rome: But they not ſtaying till he had done cried out, 'We will not forſake 'our faith; you labour but in vain, for neither life nor 'death ſhall make us abandon our belief.' Then did the earl and legate cauſe a great fire to be made, and caſt into it a hundred and fourſcore men and women, who went in with joy, giving God thanks, for that he was pleaſed ſo to honour them, as to die for his name's ſake. They alſo told earl Simon, 'That he would one day pay dear for his 'cruelties.' All that ſaw their valour and conſtancy were much amazed at it.

After this, the earl beſieged the caſtle Termes, which alſo at laſt was taken for want of water; yet they within the caſtle, when they perceived that they could hold out no longer, one night quit the place, and paſſed away undiſcovered. The caſtle de la Vaur, was alſo beſieged, in which there were many godly people. Thither came many pilgrims to the legate, from all countries; and amongſt others, ſix thouſand Germans; of whoſe coming the earl of Foix hearing, he laid an ambuſh for them, overthrew and ſlew them all, not one eſcaping but an earl that carried the news to earl Simon. After ſix months ſiege, the caſtle of Vaur was taken by aſſault, where all the ſoldiers were put to the ſword, ſave eighty gentlemen, whom earl Simon cauſed to be hanged, and the lord Aimeri, on a gibbet higher than all the reſt: The lady his ſiſter, called Giranda, was caſt into a ditch, and there covered with ſtones.

And for the reſt of the people, a very great fire was made, and they were put to their choice, Whether they would forſake their opinions, or periſh by the flames? There were ſcarce any of them found that would do the firſt, but exhorting one another, they went into the kindled fire of their own accord. ſaith Altiſiodore, but more probably they were forced into the ſame; where joyfully they reſigned up their ſpirits unto God. Some ſay, that they were about four hundred perſons that thus periſhed by fire.

After the return of the earl Remund from the Pope, the legate ſtill ſought to intrap him, but the earl would not

not come again within his reach. Then did the legate ſend the biſhop of Tholouſe to him, who pretended a great deal of love and friendſhip to the earl, and by his ſubtilty, at laſt, prevailed with him, to proffer his ſtrong caſtle of Narbonnes to them to lodge in as they paſſed that that way. But as ſoon as the legate and his company were entred, they ſeized upon it, and put into it a garriſon; which was a continual vexation to all his ſubjects.

The legate reſolves upon the utter extirpation of earl Remund, and all his houſe, as the head of the Albingenſes; but preſently after this legate dying, earl Simon was fruſtrated of this hope.

About this time, the Engliſh who now poſſeſſed Guienne, which bordereth upon the earldom of Tholouſe, began to help the Albingenſes, being ſtirred up thereto by Reynard Lollard, a godly, and learned man; who by his powerful preaching converted many to the truth, and defended the faith of the Albingenſes: For which, they were ſo eagerly purſued, and conſtantly ſuffered martyrdom. And this they did the rather, not only for their neighbour-hoods ſake, or for that Simon earl of Leiceſter was a rebel, and traitor to their king, but becauſe this Remund earl of Tholouſe, whom they ſo cruelly whipped, and otherwiſe abuſed, and had now alſo excommunicated, was brother in law to king John: For his former wife was Joane, ſometimes queen of Sicily; which Joane was king John's ſiſter, and bare to the earl of Tholouſe, Remund; who ſucceeded his father, both in the earldom, and in his trouble. John le Mayer much commendeth this Lollard, ſaying, *That he foretold many things by divine revelation, which* (ſaith he) *came to paſs in my time*; and therefore he putteth him into the rank of holy prophets. And for his learning, it is evident by his comment upon the Revelation, where he ſetteth forth many things that are ſpoken of the Roman Antichriſt. This worthy man was afterwards apprehended in Germany; and being delivered to the ſecular power, was burnt at Collen.

Anno 1211. A new legate called Theodoſius was appointed to ſucceed, who excommunicated earl Remund, and the biſhop of Tholouſe, thereupon ſent the earl word that he muſt depart out of the city; for, that he could not ſay maſs whilſt an excommunicated perſon was in the city. The earl returned this anſwer, being nettled at his inſolency, *That he* (the biſhop) *ſhould preſently depart out of his territories, and that upon pain of his life.* Accordingly the biſhop departed, and took with him the canons of the cathedral church, with the croſs, banner, and hoſt, and all of them bare-footed in proceſſion. Coming thus to the legate's army, they were received as perſecuted martyrs, with the tears of the pilgrims, and general applauſe of all.

Hereupon the legate thought that he had ſufficient cauſe to proſecute earl Remund, as a relapſed and impenitent man: But firſt he ſought by craft to get him into his power, and with his fair flattering letters, he at laſt drew him once again to Arles: The earl had requeſted the king of Arragon to meet him there. When they were both come, the legate commanded them upon the pain of his high indignation, that they ſhould not depart, but with his leave. Whilſt they were there, the earl was privately ſhewed by a friend, the articles of the legate, to which he would enforce him to ſubſcribe; which were theſe.

I. THAT the earl of Tholouſe ſhould preſently diſmiſs, and caſhier all his men at arms, not reſtraining one:

II. That he ſhall be obedient, and ſubject to the church; and repair all the coſts and damages which the church hath been at:

III. That in his lands, no man ſhould eat of more than two ſorts of fleſh:

IV. That he ſhall expel out of his territories, all the heretics and their allies:

V. That he ſhall deliver into the hands of the legate, and of earl Simon, all thoſe perſons that ſhall be named unto him:

VI. That no man in his lands, whether noble or ignoble, ſhall wear any coſtly apparel, but black courſe cloaks:

VII. That all his caſtles of defence ſhall be razed to the ground:

VIII. hat no gentlemen of his ſhall live in any city or caſtle, but in country houſes, or villages only:

IX. That he ſhall not levy in his land any taxes or tolls, but ſuch as in old time were accuſtomed:

X. That every maſter of a family, ſhall pay yearly four Tholouſian pence to the legate:

XI. That when earl Simon ſhall paſs through his countries, he ſhall bear their charges:

XII. That after his performances of theſe things, he ſhall go into the Holy Land to fight againſt the Turk, and never return again into his own country, but by the leave of the Pope, or his legate.

Remund having read over theſe articles, ſhewed them to the king, who adviſed him preſently to mount on horſeback, leaſt ſeizing upon him, they might the better become maſters of all his eſtate, which accordingly he did. The legate was much troubled that he had thus loſt his prey, and deſpairing to do any more by ſubtilty, he reſolved to ſet upon him by force; and thereupon he beſieged the caſtle of Montferrand, where Baldwin, the brother of the earl of Tholouſe was governor. Baldwin, at leaſt, pretending inability, to defend the place, yielded it up, and abjuring his opinions turned Papiſt.

The earl of Tholouſe ſeeing himſelf thus betrayed by his brother, lamented exceedingly; but a greater miſchief ſoon after befel him: For the legate, and earl Simon won from him by their ſubtilty, the king of Arragon, his only prop under God: And that by this means, they agreed, That the king of Arragon's daughter ſhould be married to earl Simon's eldeſt ſon, in conſideration whereof, the king of Arragon inveſted Simon in the earldom of Beziers; and now they intend jointly to beſiege Tholouſe. For which end, the biſhop of Tholouſe was ſent to levy ſoldiers in France, and at his return he haſted to Tholouſe: Which earl Remund hearing of, ſallied out of the city with five hundred horſe, and ſome foot, marching to the bridge which goeth over the river of Garonne, not far from Tholouſe, hoping either to gain it, or to break it down: But being over-powered by multitude, he was forced to retreat, and the enemy purſued him to the very gates of Tholouſe. But earl Remund ſeeing their inſolency, ſallied out again with a greater ſtrength, and charged them ſo gallantly, that he beat them back to the bridge, which being but narrow, he ſlew almoſt all of them there; and took priſoner, amongſt them, Aimery, the ſon of earl Simon. Earl Simon hearing of this loſs, haſted with all his army to the city, and gave a furious aſſault to it; but the ditches were ſoon filled with the dead bodies of the enemy, beaten from their ſcaling ladders; and the earl himſelf was beaten from his horſe. In the midſt of this aſſault, came the earl of Campeigne ſoon enough to be well beaten for his welcome. Earl Simon finding ſuch ſtout reſiſtance from the citizens, cauſed his pilgrims to ſpoil the orchards, gardens, and vineyards about the city, which being perceived, the preſident of Argeves iſſued out of the city ſuddenly, and ſlew a number of the pilgrims, and on another part, the earl of Foix ſlew as many as he could meet with.

The earl of Bar ſeeing the diſorder of the Popiſh army, cried out, a *bar*, a *bar*, but the citizens of Tholouſe charged him ſo bravely, that being diſcomfited, he was fain to fly amongſt the reſt. After this victory, earl Remund returning to Tholouſe, cauſed public and ſolemn thanks to be returned unto God, for the ſame.

Earl Simon after this, led his army into the country of the earl of Foix, who was now ſick, where he took ſome towns: Alſo the legate with another part of the army went to Roquemaur, and in his way, took the tower of Caſſas; and cauſed above an hundred men that were found therein moſt cruelly to be burned alive, and levelled the tower to the earth.

Earl Remund being much afflicted for the loſs, and alienation

lienation of his ancient friend the king of Arragon, ſtudied how he might regain him, and for that end propounded a match between his only ſon, and heir, and the king of Arragon's daughter, which motion the king readily embraced, and ſo their amity was again revived.

Not long after the king of Arragon ſent a letter of defiance to earl Simon, who ſent the ſame all over Chriſtendom to ſtir up pilgrims to aſſiſt him for the deſtruction of the king, who (as he ſaid) was now become the captain of the Albingenſes: And in the mean time the Pope's legate, raiſing an army in France, went ſpeedily into the earldom of Foix, and took ſome towns, putting all to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age, and taking alſo St. Anthonies, he cauſed thirty of the principal men to be hanged in cold blood, after he had granted them their lives.

Anno Chriſti 1213. Peter king of Arragon with a great army of Arragonois, and Tholouſians beſieged Muret, a ſtrong town ſituated upon the river Garonne near unto Tholouſe: There was in his army the earls of Tholouſe, Comminges; and of Foix; But the night following, the Popiſh biſhops ſent two friers to him, deſiring him to take pity on the church, and not to undertake the defence of the heretics; but they laboured in vain, for the king would not deſert them, whereupon they prepared the next day to give him battle, and whilſt Simon Monfort was encouraging his ſoldiers, the biſhop of Tholouſe carried a crucifix in his hand, whereupon the captains alighting, adored it with an humble kiſs. Then the biſhop of Comminges, getting upon an high place, took the croſs in his hand, and bleſſed the army with it, promiſing forgiveneſs of all ſins to all that died in that quarrel: Hereupon Simon divided his army into three Battalia's in the name of the Trinity, and ſo joining battle, they fought very gallantly on both ſides, till at length the king of Arragon was ſlain, and ſo God who doth not always proſper the beſt cauſe) gave the victory to the popelings, and there were ſlain in the fight and purſuit, about two millions of the Albingenſes, as their enemies reported. The Albingenſes attributed this loſs to God's judgment upon the human confidence of the king, who truſted too much in his great numbers, and was feaſting whilſt his enemies were plotting.

After this victory the Pope's agents ſent abroad their letters into divers countries for a new ſupply of pilgrims utterly to root out the heretics.

With this victory earl Simon was ſo puffed up, that he ſummoned the earls of Tholouſe, Foix and Comminges, and the prince of Bearn, to deliver to him the keys of thoſe cities and caſtles which they poſſeſſed: They returned no anſwer, but each of them betook himſelf to his own territories, to provide the beſt they could for their affairs.

Earl Remund retired to Montallon, wrote to them at Tholouſe, that underſtanding that the biſhop of Arras was coming with a great army of pilgrims againſt them, and that he was altogether diſabled to defend their city, he did therefore adviſe them that they ſhould make the beſt terms they could for themſelves with earl Simon, yet deſired them to reſerve their hearts for him, till God ſhould give him means to free them from thoſe miſeries. In the *interim*, the earls of Foix, Comminges, and the prince of Bearn did what they could to infeſt the enemies armies.

Upon the former advice the citizens of Tholouſe ſent ſome deputies to earl Simon, to proffer him the keys of their city, whom he received honourably, and preſently wrote to Lewis ſon of king Philip, that the city of Tholouſe was offered to him, but his deſire was that he ſhould come and have the honour of taking it: The prince went thither immediately, and had Tholouſe delivered to him: Yet the legate reſolved that the pillage of it ſhould be given to his pilgrims, and the city diſmantled, which was preſently executed, though contrary to the promiſe made to the citizens, that no wrong ſhould be done to the city.

Then came there a new legate of the Pope's called Bonaventure with thoſe that had taken on them the croſs. *viz.* The earl of St. Paul, the earl of Savoy, the earl of Alenzon, the vicount of Melun, Matthew de Montmorency, and other great lords. The legate ſeeing ſo many pilgrims, feared leaſt prince Lewis ſhould take upon him to diſpoſe of divers places held by the Albingenſes, to the prejudice of the church: Whereupon he preſently ſent to all thoſe places abſolution and protection, ſo that when the prince came againſt them, they ſhewed that they were under the protection of the church: Yea the legate told the prince, that ſince he had taken upon him the croſs, he was to be ſubject to his commands; becauſe he repreſented the perſon of the Pope, whoſe pardons (ſaith he) you come to obtain by obeying the church, and not by commanding as the ſon of a king. The prince diſſembled his diſpleaſure at this audaciouſneſs; and the poor Albingenſes were ſo oppreſſed by new armies of pilgrims, that they ſunk under the burden of it.

The prince, when his forty days ſervice were expired, retired himſelf, being much diſcontented to ſee ſo much tyranny exerciſed againſt the Albingenſes.

Then did earl Simon beſiege the caſtle of Foix, but having lain ten days before it, he found to his coſt that the place was not to be won by him: For where as earl Simon's brother quartered at Varilles, the earl of Foix diſlodged him, and ſlew him with his launce, putting to flight all his men. News hereof being brought to earl Simon, he ſwore that he would drive the earl of Foix behind the Pyrenæan mountains: But preſently he had intelligence that a great army of the Arragonois, and Catalunians were come into the earldom of Beziers, threatening to be revenged on him for the death of their good king, whereupon he levied his ſiege in haſte, and marched thitherwards: But the earl of Foix, who knew the paſſages better than he, lay in ambuſh for him in a place fit for his turn, and ſuddenly ſetting upon his pilgrims, ſlew a great number of them, only earl Simon with a few others eſcaped, and went to Carcaſſon; but before he came thither, the Arragonois were gone, elſe might they eaſily have diſcomfited him; yet ſhortly after they returned again, and earl Simon was ſoundly beaten by them, ſo that he was forced to ſhut himſelf up in Carcaſſon, till he had a new ſupply of pilgrims.

Shortly after came Remund the ſon of earl Remund out of England, where he had been bred under his uncle king John, with an army, and quickly made himſelf maſter of the city of Beaucaire, and almoſt famiſhed them that held the caſtle, ſo that they yielded it up to depart with their baggage. There earl Simon loſt a hundred gentlemen that he had laid in ambuſh near unto the city, whom young Remund in a ſally cut in pieces.

Anno 1214. The legate called a council at Montpelier, for renewing of the army of the church, and to confirm the authority of earl Simon; where they declared him to be prince of all the countries conquered from the Albingenſes, which title was confirmed to him by the Pope alſo, who ſtiled him, *The active and dexterous ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, and the invincible defender of the catholic faith.* But whilſt earl Simon was in the council receiving this his new honour, a great rumour was heard in the city, and a meſſenger brought word that the people, hearing that earl Simon was there, betook themſelves to their arms, purpoſing to kill him; whereupon he ſtole away by the walls of the city on foot, without any company, and ſo eſcaped; ſo that in one hour he ſaw himſelf honoured as a god, and flying diſguiſed, hiding himſelf like a baſe ſcoundrel, for fear of the raſcal multitude.

Anno Chriſti 1215. There was a council held by the Pope at Lateran, where they gave the inquiſitors ſuch power againſt the goſpellers, that poor people were every where horribly tortured that were but ſuſpected for hereſy, and (as Tritemius ſaith) Frier Conradus of Marpurg, the Pope's inquiſitor, if he but ſuſpected any as guilty of hereſy, uſed to try them by the judgment of red hot irons, and ſuch as were burned by the irons he delivered as heretics, to the ſecular power, to be burned in the flames; whereupon moſt of thoſe that were accuſed, were by him condemned to be burnt, few eſcaping the hot irons: Inſomuch as noble, ignoble, clerks, monks, nuns, burgeſſes, citizens, and country-men were under the name of hereſy (by too head long a ſentence of the inquiſitor on the ſame day whereon they were accuſed) caſt into the cruel flames, no refuge of appeal or defence doing them any good.

By the ſame Lateran council, earl Simon had the forementioned lands of the Albingenſes confirmed to him, and thereupon he haſtened to the king of France to receive inveſtiture,

veſtiture, and as he went (ſaith the monk of Sernay) in every city and town the Popiſh clergy, and people met him, crying, *Bleſſed is he that cometh to us in the name of the Lord*, and every man thought himſelf happy that could but touch the hem of his garment.

When he had received his inveſtiture from the king of France, being attended with an hundred biſhops that had preached the croſs in their dioceſs, and with an exceeding great army of pilgrims he haſted to make himſelf lord of all thoſe countries, which the Pope had given him. So that all men trembled at his approach, and with this great army of pilgrims he took in divers places, uſing great cruelty, putting men, women and children to the ſword. Then was he marching to Tholouſe, purpoſing to pillage and raze it to the ground: But by the way, his wife ſent him word that he muſt ſpeedily come to her relief, being beſieged in the caſtle of Narbonnes, by the earl of Tholouſe; but by this time many of his pilgrims were returned into France.

Yet Earl Simon haſted to the relief of his wife, and being come before Tholouſe, the people by their frequent ſallies made that place too hot for his abode. The legate perceiving that he was much aſtoniſhed at it, ſaid to him, 'Fear nothing, we ſhall quickly recover the city, and then 'will deſtroy all the inhabitants; and if any of our pil 'grims are ſlain in the fight, they ſhall, as martyrs, im 'mediately paſs to paradiſe.' Hereupon one of earl Simon's great captains ſaid, 'Monſieur cardinal, you talk 'with great aſſurance, but if the earl believe you, it will 'be little for his profit, for you, and other Prelates have 'been the cauſers of all this evil, and will be of more, if 'he believe you.' Then was it reſolved that the city ſhould be beſieged on the ſide of Gaſcon, but the citizens made ſuch a blunt ſalley, that they put their enemies to flight; and preſently the earl of Foix coming with new ſupplies, fell upon earl Simon, chaſed him to the river Garonne, where many of his pilgrims were drowned, and the earl with his horſe fell into the river, and hardly eſcaped.

The earl Remund cauſed public thankſgiving to God for this happy victory.

Earl Simon being in great perplexity, a biſhop bid him be of good comfort, for that the cardinal had ſent meſſengers throughout the world to raiſe him ſuccours, and ſo he was inforced to wait, with much impatiency, the coming of theſe new ſupplies.

Anno 1218. There came to him a hundred thouſand pilgrims, and he was reſolved that they ſhould earn their pardons, knowing that at the end of forty days they would vaniſh: Whereupon the next morning they were ordered to give a general aſſault to Tholouſe: But earl Remund perceiving in the night that they were very ſecure, becauſe of their great multitude, he ſallied out upon them, and that with ſo good ſucceſs, that ere morning all the field was covered with their dead bodies, and the earl with his men being weary with killing, returned into the city to give thanks unto God for his aſſiſtance.

Then did earl Simon enter into the caſtle of Narbonnes to ſee if he could diſcern any way to enter into the city, but finding none, it much troubled him, whereupon two lords gave him counſel to come to ſome honourable agreement: yet the cardinal Bertrand told him that there was no need for him ſo to do; to whom one of them anſwered, 'Monſieur cardinal, pray you where find you, that you 'ſhould take from earl Remund, and his ſon that which 'belongs unto them: If I had known as much as I know 'now, I had never taken upon me this buſineſs.'

After nine months ſiege the citizens of Tholouſe made another ſally, killing as many of the croſſed ſoldiers as they encountered with; and earl Simon coming in to the relief of his men, had his horſe ſhot in the head with an arrow, which cauſed him to run away with him, which one of the Albingenſes ſeeing, with his croſs bow he ſhot him thorow the thigh; Simon perceiving that he loſt much blood, was labouring to get out of the preſs, but juſt at that preſent, a woman diſcharging an engine from the walls of Tholouſe, a ſtone parted his head from his ſhoulders; and thus by God's juſt judgment, he that had been the deflourer and murderer of many women, was himſelf ſlain by a woman.

Upon his death, the legate and all the biſhops fled, never ſtaying till they came to Carcaſſon, the pilgrims diſbanded and returned to their homes, and earl Remund cauſed a public thankſgiving to be returned to almighty God for this ſo ſignal a deliverance.

Afterwards, at the inſtigation of the Pope, prince Lewis of France went, and beſieged Tholouſe; but finding the buſineſs too hot for him, he returned without doing any thing of note: yet in this journey he took the town of Miromand, wher in he cruelly put to the ſword, men, women, and children to the number of five thouſand.

Upon his return the legate Bertrand being weary of theſe wars, wrote to Pope Honorius the III. deſiring to be recalled becauſe of his age: yet withal, he ſignified a neceſſity of continuing theſe wars. Otherwiſe (ſaith he) not only the land of the Albingenſes will be loſt, but the church of Rome itſelf will be ruined, the doctrine of the Albingenſes ſhaking the authority of the Popes themſelves: And (ſaith he) this war hath coſt us very dear, for within leſs than fifteen years there hath died above three hundred thouſand croſſed ſoldiers: and therefore all will be loſt, except theſe heretics be utterly deſtroyed.

This occaſioned the Pope to ſend a new legate [Conradus biſhop of Portua] alſo he granted to all croſſed ſoldiers that fought againſt the Albingenſes the ſame indulgences as to thoſe that went to fight againſt the Saracens in the Holy Land: Moreover he took king Philip of France into his protection, and made peace betwixt him and young king Henry the III. of England: ſo that Philip wholly bent himſelf to root out the goſpellers.

Anno Chriſti 1220. Earl Guido of Montfort, ſon and heir to earl Simon went againſt the Albingenſes, but was ſoon after ſlain by the earl of ſaint Giles as he beſieged a caſtle in Tholouſe: Then did his brother Almeric beſiege the ſame caſtle, and ſwore that he would never depart from it till he had taken it: But after a while, his hoped-for aids failed him, he was fain to leave the ſiege and depart. After whoſe departure the Albingenſes recovered many places.

Anno Chriſti 1221. The young emperor Frederic, by the inſtigation of the Pope, publiſhed a cruel, and bloody edict againſt the goſpellers within his dominions, wherein he damned them with perpetual ignominy, and declared them public enemies: Commanding their goods to be confiſcated, without redemption; and their ſons to be diſinherited. As alſo that all of them that were apprehended by the inquiſitors or others, ſhould be kept in priſon, till they were killed with an abominable death: The like puniſhment he commanded to be inflicted on all ſuch as ſhould aid, or aſſiſt them. Alſo he took away all benefit of appeal from ſuch as were receivers, or favourers of them. And further, he commanded that their houſes, and the houſes of ſuch as ſhould receive, defend, or favour them, either where they have taught, or where they have laid on hands, ſhould be plucked down, and never more repaired.

Alſo the ſame year ſome of theſe Albingenſes going into Boſina and Dalmatia drew many of the people to embrace their faith, whereupon the biſhop of Collen was ſent thither by Pope Honorius as his legate, and required to force them to return to the catholic faith (as they called it) either by perſuaſion, or by the arms of the croſſed ſoldiers, but when neither prevailed, he being weary of the work, left it to the Frier predicants to ſee if by arguments they could convince and convert them, Columminus the king aſſiſting them: and (ſaith mine author) when they had got footing, they burnt with fires thoſe that were obſtinate in their hereſies, and purged the churches which were defiled by them: *Leander de viris illuſt. ordinis prædicatorum.*

Anno Chriſti 1223. Bartholomew, the biſhop of the Albingenſes of Tholouſe, ordained a biſhop for Bulgary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, where their faith ſpread ſo faſt, that biſhops themſelves were drawn to be of their opinion, whereupon Conradius biſhop of Portua, the Pope's legate wrote to the archbiſhop of Roan, and his ſuffragan biſhops, to meet, with other biſhops at a council to be held at Sens againſt the ſaid Bartholomew: who (ſaith the legate) in his letters, ſtiles himſelf *ſervant of the ſervants of God*: and runs about, creating biſhops, and endeavouring perfidiouſly to gather churches. Matthew Paris.

Anno

Anno Chriſti 1226. (Saith the ſame author,) The croſs was preached all over France by Romanus the Pope's legate, againſt the Albingenſes, wherein he commanded all that were able to bear arms to ſign themſelves with the ſign of the croſs againſt the earl of Tholouſe, and his people: And at his preaching, a great multitude of Prelates, and lay-men took upon them the ſign of the croſs, yet more for fear of the king of France, and for favour of the legate, than induced by the juſtneſs of the cauſe. But the king of France being ſigned with the croſs, would not take upon him the expedition, unleſs the Pope would forbid the king of England under pain of excommunication to move war againſt him for any land that he poſſeſſed at that preſent, either juſtly or unjuſtly: which accordingly the Pope did, and our king Henry the III. upon receipt of the Pope's letters aſſembled his nobles to conſult with them what he ſhould do upon this inhibition, at which time there was preſent one Mr. William Perepund, ſkilful in aſtronomy, who conſtantly affirmed before the king; 'That if the king of France took upon him this expedi-'tion, he ſhould either never return alive, or elſe ſhould 'meet with as great confuſion as might be, both of his 'perſon, eſtate, and followers.'

The king of France having thus ſettled his affairs at home, he, together with the legate, appointed a peremptory day for the croſſed ſoldiers to come to a rendezvous with their horſes, and arms at Lions, from which at the time appointed he began his expedition with an huge army which was accounted invincible, whom the legate followed with archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. In the army there were reckoned to be fifty thouſand knights, and men at arms on horſe-back, beſides an innumerable company of footmen; and then did the legate publicly excommunicate the earl of Tholouſe, putting all his favourers, and lands under Interdict.

The king thus marching with his glittering and terrible arms, on Whitſun Eve came to Avignion, the firſt city in Tholouſe, purpoſing to deſtroy the whole land of the earl, from one end to the other, and utterly to root out the inhabitants thereof: yet very cunningly the king and the legate ſent to the citizens, only deſiring paſſage through the city, that they might follow their journey the neareſt way; the citizens conſulting together, returned anſwer, that they ſuſpected fraud, neither would they admit them into the city, whereupon the king in a great rage, ſwore that he would not depart thence till he had taken the city.

The citizens valiantly defended themſelves ſo that the ſiege laſted long, and the earl of Tholouſe being a ſkilful warriour, before the coming of the French army, had withdrawn all kinds of victuals together with the women, children, and cattle into places of ſafety: Hereupon the king's army fell into great wants, ſo that multitudes periſhed by famine: Their horſes and beaſts alſo were ſtarved: for the earl had cauſed all the meadows to be plowed up in the whole country, ſo that they had no fodder but what was brought out of France: And their wants daily increaſing, many legions went out of the king's camp to ſeek for food, and fodder; but the earl of Tholouſe with a living army, many times lay in ambuſh for them, and cut off multitudes of them. They alſo that lay in the ſiege before the city were miſerably waſted by darts, and ſtones ſhot in engines from the walls by the citizens, who valiantly defended themſelves; and a general famine overſpread all, but it raged moſt amongſt the poorer ſort, who had neither food nor money: Alſo out of the dead carcaſſes of men and beaſts, there bred certain great and black flies, which coming into their tents by ſwarms with an horrible humming, infected their meat, and drink; and when they were not able to drive them from their cups, and diſhes, many of the pilgrims periſhed ſuddenly by their means. But the king and legate were eſpecially troubled, and confounded to think what reproach it would be to them, and to the church of Rome, that ſo gallant, and numerous an army ſhould undertake ſuch an expedition, and be able to effect nothing. Then the chief princes, and captains being weary of the long ſiege amongſt ſo many deaths, ſollicit that a general ſtorm might be given to the city, hoping by their multitudes to oppreſs the citizens, which being reſolved upon, ſuch a great multitude of armed men thronged upon the bridge that goes over the river of Rhodanus, that the bridge breaking under them, three thouſand of them were drowned in that ſwift river.

Preſently after as the French were one day at dinner, the citizens diſcovering their careleſneſs, ſuddenly ſallied forth, and violently ſetting upon them, ſuddenly ſlew twenty thouſand of them without any loſs to themſelves, and ſo retired: And the king of France commanded the dead bodies to be thrown into the river affording them no other burial: Then did he alſo remove his ſiege to a farther diſtance, and to prevent the like attempts, cauſed a great ditch to be caſt up between the city and his camp: and the legate with his Prelates not knowing how otherwiſe to revenge themſelves, Anathematized the earl of Tholouſe, and all the ſubjects: But, *whom they curſed, the Lord bleſſed:* For ſhortly after he ſent a very great plague in the French camp, ſo that king Lewis, to eſcape the ſame, retired himſelf into the neighbouring abbey of Monpenſier, where he reſolved to remain till the city ſhould be taken unto whom came Henry, earl of Compaigne, deſiring to be diſmiſſed, having now ſerved his forty days: But the king denied his requeſt. To whom the earl ſaid, *That having performed what was enjoined, he neither might nor would be ſtayed any longer:* The king being very angry hereat, ſwore that if he departed, he would waſte his whole land with fire and ſword; yet the earl, according to his former reſolution, went his ways; and ſhortly after the Lord ſtruck the king with ſickneſs whereof he died: The legate, and great captains concealed his death for a month together, and in the *interim* ſent meſſengers labouring to draw the citizens to a compoſition, and commiſſioners being ſent to the camp, the legate perſuaded them to reſign up their city to him upon promiſe, that they ſhould enjoy their lives, eſtates, and liberties in a better manner than they had formerly: But they anſwered, that they would not live under the power of the French-men, whoſe pride, and inſolency they had often tried.

After a long parley, the legate deſired that himſelf and the Prelates might be admitted into the city, ſwearing with a great oath that he had continued the ſiege ſo long only that he might ſeek the ſalvation of their ſouls. The citizens giving credit to his promiſe, not ſuſpecting his treachery, after mutual oaths given on either ſide, admitted him with the Prelates, and their followers into the city: But contrary to their oaths the French-men followed, violently ruſhing into the city when the gates were open, and ſeizing upon the citizens they bound them, plundering their houſes, and ſlew many; and having thus by treachery made themſelves maſters of the city, they brake down the walls, and the ſtrong towers of that noble city.

During this ſiege their periſhed more than two and twenty thouſand of the pilgrims, by famine, ſword, peſtilence, and otherwiſe; and ſo the reſt returned to their own homes.

Anno Chriſti 1228. The Pope (now Gregory) being implacably bent to root out the Albingenſes, ſtirred up the young king of France againſt them, who ſent a great army into Provence utterly to deſtroy them, which army, hearing that the earl of Tholouſe was in the caſtle called Saracen, they purpoſed to beſiege him as being there ſhut up: But the earl having notice of their intent, with ſtrong troops he lay in ambuſh in a wood through which they were to paſs; and when they were come to the place, he gallantly aſſaulted them, and after a bloody fight, ſlew many, took two hundred knights, and about two thouſand men at arms: The knights he impriſoned; but of the other he cauſed ſome of their eyes to be pulled out, and to have their noſes cut off, and ſo diſmiſſed them. That ſummer the king of France ſent three armies againſt them, all which were either put to flight, or taken and impriſoned by the ſaid earl. Matthew Paris.

Yet the ſame year, Imbert of Beavim went againſt them with a great army of croſſed ſoldiers, amongſt whom were three archbiſhops, every one with the pilgrims of his juriſdiction: And the earl of Tholouſe (being as it ſeems unprovided) was fain to ſhut up himſelf within the walls of Tholouſe, where he was ſtrongly beſieged by the pilgrims,

grims, who alſo waſted, and ſpoiled his country, and harveſt, far and near on every ſide: And the ſiege continuing, the citizens ſuffered great famine, and when they were brought to this extremity, the abbat of Grandſylue went from the Pope's legate to offer peace to earl Remund, and the Tholouſians: Some of the earl's captains diſſuaded him from it, knowing the perfidiouſneſs of the Papiſts, but the cries of the hungry ſtarved multitude prevailed, ſo that a truce was agreed upon for certain days, and earl Remund upon the day appointed went to the place where the peace ſhould be concluded. But when he came thither, the abbat perſuaded him that it was neceſſary that the agreement ſhould be perfected in the preſence of the queen mother, who was regent of France, and pawned his faith to him, that if he would go to her, he ſhould go, and return in ſafety. The earl overcame by theſe promiſes, aſſented, and Meaux was the place choſen by the queen for their meeting. But as ſoon as earl Remund came thither, contrary to all oaths, and engagements, he was made a priſoner, and had a guard ſet upon him that he might not ſtart aſide; and inſtead of a treaty, he muſt ſubmit to whatſoever ſhould be enjoined.

It was a lamentable thing (ſaith the hiſtoriographer of Languedock) to ſee ſo brave a man, that for ſo long a time was able to reſiſt the whole power of France, to come in his ſhirt, and linen breeches bare-foot, and bare-legged to the altar in the preſence of the cardinals, and there to accept of ſuch hard, and unreaſonable conditions as they were pleaſed to impoſe upon him: Amongſt which theſe were ſome; 'That he ſhould abjure the hereſy 'which hitherto he had defended. That for the future 'he ſhould be ſubject to the church of Rome. That he 'ſhould caſt all the heretics out of his dominions. That 'he ſhould give his only daughter Joane in marriage to 'one of the king of France brethren. That he ſhould 'pay a yearly ſtipend to ſix Popiſh profeſſors of the libe-'ral arts, and to two grammarians at Tholouſe. That he 'ſhould take upon him the croſs, and for five years wage 'war againſt the Saracens, and other enemies of the faith, 'and church. And laſtly, That he ſhould level with the 'ground the walls of the city of Tholouſe, and the walls 'of thirty other cities, and caſtles at the appointment of 'the legate, and fill up their ditches, and ſo remain a pri-'ſoner in the Louvre at Paris, till his daughter Joane was 'delivered to the king's meſſengers at Carcaſſon.'

Anno Chriſti 1229. Divers councils were held againſt the Albingenſes: One at Tholouſe, the acts whereof were proclaimed in that city by Romanus, the Pope's legate: Another at Narbonne, where more, and more cruel decrees were made againſt them: A third at Beziers exceeding in rigour both the former; and amongſt the reſt an oath of abjuration, whereby all perſons, males at fourteen years old, females at twelve years old, were to abjure all hereſy as they called it, and to ſwear that they would keep the faith, and defend the catholic church, and perſecute all the oppoſers of the ſame; and that all that took not this oath within fifteen days, ſhould be held ſuſpected of hereſy, and proceeded againſt accordingly: Alſo another article was in theſe words, item, *We forbid the uſe of the Old and New Teſtament to the lay-people*: Forbidding expreſly that they have not the ſaid books turned into the vulgar tongue. Alſo the ſame year on Munday Thurſday, Pope Gregory proclaimed eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt them; and ſent the prime inquiſitors of Dominics order into France to put the ſame in execution: He wrote alſo to Lewis king of France to caſt all thoſe heretics out of France, and to cauſe the earl of Tholouſe to do the like in his dominions, and to place new counſellors about him that might inſtruct him in the catholic faith, and manners, and to caſt all ſuch from about him as might corrupt him.

And whereas the kingdom of Arragon was infected with hereſy, Pope Gregory gave the archbiſhop thereof, and his ſuffragans power to erect an inquiſition againſt them.

Anno Chriſti 1232. Died Fulco archbiſhop of Tholouſe who had laboured twenty ſix years in extinguiſhing the goſpellers, whom Remund of Fulgaerio ſucceeded, and ſo manfully behaved himſelf, that in his firſt year he cauſed nineteen of the Albingenſes to be apprehended and put to cruel deaths within his Dioceſs.

Anno Chriſti 1233. Queen Blanch, and the Pope's legate, ſo over awed the earl of Tholouſe, that they cauſed him to make cruel edicts againſt his own ſubjects of the Albingenſian religion: 'That they ſhould be perſecuted, 'ſearched out, and taken. That whoſoever could appre-'hend any one of them, ſhould have a mark for each of 'them ſo taken. That all that were ſuſpected to be of 'their religion ſhould be excluded from office bearing, 'that all houſes ſhould be pulled down, wherein any of 'them ſhould be found. That all their goods and inheri-'tances ſhould be confiſcated. That the like ſhould be 'done to all that ſhould aid or abet them, or that ſhould 'hinder, or not aſſiſt the inquiſitors in the execution of 'their office. That whoſoever ſhould be ſuſpected of 'their hereſy, ſhould have an oath given him to keep the 'peace, and the catholic faith. That the houſes of ſuch 'as ſhould be detected of hereſy after their death, ſhould 'be pulled down: That whoſoever ſhould refuſe to wear 'the croſs, ſhould have his goods ſeized on,' &c.

The ſame year the inquiſitors were informed, that in the territories of Brixia, there had lately lived one Guido de Lacha, who was much honoured for his auſterity, and integrity of life; but that he died out of the communion of the church of Rome, having been infected with hereſy: Whereupon they ordered his bones to be digged up and burned.

The earl of Foix and Comminges, and the prince of Bearne, yet remained to be conquered; and the Pope's legate thought that the earl of Tholouſe was the fitteſt perſon to deal with them, whereupon he cauſed him to write to them to perſuade them to embrace the catholic faith, &c. But the earl of Foix returned anſwer, 'That he 'could not forſake his faith in ſuch a time, wherein men 'might think that he did it rather out of fear, than from 'any good grounds; and that it was fitter for them to 'convince him of the truth of their way, than to allure 'him by promiſes, or force him thereto by arms: And, 'that if they brought that world of pilgrims againſt him, 'which they threatned, he truſted in God that he ſhould 'make them know the juſtneſs of his cauſe, and repent of 'the raſhneſs of their vow.' But the earl's ſubjects, fearing that their lord, being aged, and without wife and children, ſhould leave them to the mercy of the firſt conqueror, intreated him to come to a compoſition with the legate; whereupon he began to treat, and at laſt yielded up divers caſtles into the hands of the king of France, upon promiſe, *That he would rule with juſtice and equity*.

Anno Chriſti 1234. The opinions of the Albingenſes were much ſpread abroad in the parts of Spain, and other adjacent countries; and they had biſhops among them, who boldly preached againſt the Romiſh errors, and eſpecially againſt tranſubſtantiation: Whereupon a Croiſado was preached againſt them, and a very great army of pilgrims being aſſembled together, were by Pope Gregory ſent againſt them, who ſlew them all with their biſhops, ſeized on their cities, and plundered them; whereby (ſaith Matthew Paris) they returned rich and joyful into their own countries.

Alſo about the ſame time, another army of theſe pilgrims went againſt others of them on the borders of Germany, who retiring into a fenny place for their ſecurity, were there all ſlain.

But the ſame year the Lord raiſed up Trancavel, the natural ſon of the earl of Beziers deceaſed, who was encouraged and aſſiſted by a number of valiant captains, as Oliver de Fumes, Bertrand, Hugon de Serrelong, Bertrand de Villenenſe, and Jordaine de Satiat; who told him, That they would aſſiſt him to revenge the outrages done to his father, who was deprived of his land, betrayed, impriſoned, and poiſoned; whereupon he reſolved to recover by the ſword what was ſo unjuſtly taken from him; and before the enemies had notice of his deſign, he took in divers ſtrong caſtles: So that the Pope's legate, and biſhop of Tholouſe, were much aſtoniſhed to ſee theſe men ſtand up for the Albingenſes, whom they ſuppoſed to have been utterly ſuppreſſed.

Then did the Pope's agents cauſe the croſs to be preached, and the biſhop of Narbonne animated the people

ple of his dioceſs to go againſt them, and to make an end of the poor remainder of the Albingenſes.

An army being raiſed, the Popes Legate led it to Tholouſe, and when the citizens appeared upon their Ramparts, he told them, *That he was come thither for their preſervation:* They thanked him, but withal told him, *That if he did not inſtantly retire himſelf, they would give him the chaſe.* And preſently came Trancavel, who ſo bravely, and valiantly ſet upon the legate's troops, that he quickly overthrew them, and chaſed them to the very gates of Carcaſſon, and the legate had much ado to ſave himſelf; but that which moſt angred the legate, was, That Trancavel found entertainment in ſome part of Carcaſſon: So that the pilgrims durſt hardly peep out of the city gates. And when he heard of any more pilgrims coming to the legate, he uſed to meet them, to lay ambuſhes for them; ſo that uſually overthrowing them, their deſigns were marred.

This man kept the field till the year one thouſand two hundred and forty two, and ſtill prevailed againſt all the croſſed ſoldiers that came againſt him; whereupon, Ameline, the Popes legate wrote to the Pope, That if he cauſed not the croſs to be preached in many parts of Europe, the church was like to ſuſtain much damage by this enemy. *For* (ſaith he) *he is more cruel and ſubtle, then any before him.*

But a little before, the biſhop of Tholouſe was informed of a certain matron, who having her children, brethren, and friends about her, was dying an heretic; whereupon he ran to her, and found it even ſo by the confeſſion of the woman her ſelf, who deſired to die in the faith of the Albingenſes, and doubted not to be ſaved. Then did the biſhop condemn her, and delivered her to the ſecular power, who preſently carried her forth in the bed, wherein ſhe lay ſick, and burned her.

Anno Chriſti 1235. earl Remund getting from Paris, returned into his own country, and forbad the citizens of Tholouſe to company with the fryers predicant, and ſhortly after expelled them the city; and the monaſtery of Narbonne, belonging to the ſame order of fryers, was pulled down by the Albingenſes. And in June following, Pope Gregory the ninth made new inquiſitors againſt the Albingenſes in Arragon and France.

Anno Chriſti 1236. King Lewis of France wrote to the Pope, That earl Remund had violated the covenants which he had made with the church; and had caſt the biſhops clergy and fryers out of Tholouſe, and brought heretics into their rooms; whereupon he deſired that he might be reduced into order, *&c.* And indeed, by the power of the Pope, and king, he was forced to recal the Popiſh clergy, and to baniſh the Albingenſes, and to take upon him the ſign of the croſs for the aid of the Holy Land, by way of penance for his former deeds.

The ſame year many imbracing the faith of the Albingenſes beyond the Alps, inquiſitors were ſent againſt them, eſpecially one fryer Robert, who cauſed many of both ſexes to be apprehended; and when they continued conſtant in the true faith, and would not renounce the ſame, in the ſpace of two or three months, he cauſed fifty of them (ſaith Matthew Paris) either to be burnt or buried alive.

Anno Chriſti 1239. the king of France having garriſoned divers caſtles within the country of the Albingenſes, who greatly oppreſſed them, they betook themſelves to arms, beſieging thoſe garriſons; whereupon they ſent to the king of France, craving that preſent aid might be ſent to them. Then did the king of France ſend the lord John of Bellemont, with a great army to aid them; who, coming into that country, beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of Montreal, and at laſt took it, together with divers others belonging to the Albingenſes; whereby they were ſuppreſſed for that time. But the year after, the earl of Tholouſe took arms again, and aſſaulted the earl of Provence, who preſently ſent to the French king for aid; and the French that were about Avignion, haſted to the relief of the earl of Provence; Which the earl of Tholouſe hearing of, he lay in ambuſh in their way; and ſuddenly ſetting upon them, ſlew many, and diſperſed the reſt; and the war ſo proſpered in his hand, that in a ſhort ſpace he recovered to his former dominion above twenty caſtles from the French, and the earl of Provence; and ſharply puniſhed his Rebels.

About the ſame time the citizens of Millan, being provoked thereunto by the Pope and emperor, burnt many of the Albingenſes, who were their fellow citizens.

Anno Chriſti. 1241. The earl of Tholouſe continuing his wars againſt the earl of Provence, almoſt beat him out of his country; ſo that the earl of Provence was feign to ſend to the kings of England and France (who had married his ſecond daughters) to mediate for him; and they writing to the earl of Tholouſe, obtained peace for their father in law.

Anno Chriſti 1242. The biſhops of Narbonne and Albium, and the ſeneſchal of Carcaſſon, apprehended two hundred of the Albingenſes in a certain caſtle of Tholouſe, who had Bernard Martin of Cathavel, and Raymund Agulbuerus, for their paſtors and miniſters. All theſe upon examination, adhering conſtantly to the true faith without wavering, were cruelly burnt in the flames. Vignier, Hiſt. Eccleſ. And the year following there were two hundred twenty four more of them burnt likewiſe.

Shortly after, it pleaſed God, that great contention aroſe between the Pope and emperor, whereby the goſpellers injoyed ſome breathing time from their former miſeries; yet *Anno Chriſti* 1262. Pope Urban hearing that, thro' that peace, their doctrine was ſpread exceedingly, he made a decree in this tenor.

"ALBEIT we be bound by our office, always to endeavour the rooting out the deadly poiſon of heretical pravity from all parts in the Chriſtian world; yet now in a ſpecial manner this duty is incumbent upon us, when we perceive this plague to be grown up in our neighbourhood, through the iniquity of the times, to the detriment of the catholic faith. That therefore the office of the inquiſition may be the more effectually executed againſt the heretics in the province of Lombardy, and parts adjacent; we enjoin you, upon remiſſion of your ſins, that you do your uttermoſt endeavours for the extirpation of it; and that you ſee, that all papal and imperial laws be executed againſt them: And for my own part, I will implore the aid of Chriſtian kings and princes, that heaven and earth may be moved againſt them."

Anno Chriſti 1270. Petrus Cadarita and Gulielmus Calonicus, were ſent as inquiſitors from the Pope, into the Kingdom of Arragon, ſeverely to puniſh thoſe that had imbraced the faith of the Albingenſes; and amongſt others, they condemned Arnaldus Caſſlebonius; the Viſcount, and his daughter Ermeſenda, counteſs of Foix. They alſo decreed their memory to be deteſtable, commanding their bones to be digged out of their Graves, and to be burned: They alſo called Roger, the Nephew of Ermeſenda, into judgment for the ſame crime.

Anno Chriſti 1281. There was a great perſecution raiſed againſt the goſpellers in the country of Albi, by one William de Gourdon, captain and preſident of Carcaſſon, under Philip the French king; who by a proclamation commanded all the Albingenſes to be extirpated, and ſearched out of their dens and lurking holes; and all ſuch as favored them to be utterly rooted out: Alſo, that the innumerable company of their children, which would not be reduced to the Catholic Faith, and unity of the church of Rome, ſhould not be admitted unto the city of Realmont, or the territory thereof, nor to the place of any honour or office. That ſuch likewiſe as favored or concealed any of them, ſhould be baniſhed for ever from the city of Realmont, and their goods wholly confiſcated, and their children be excluded from all honors and dignities. Yet not withſtand the ſeverity of this edict, God hid and preſerved many of them even in Realmont itſelf, as diamonds in dunghills, though many of them fled into Arragon and Sicily, where they might enjoy more freedom of conſcience.

Anno Chriſti 1285. Gareldus and Segarellus of Parma, and Dulcinus of Noudria, preached and ſpread the doctrine of the Albingenſes in Parma, and in many cities of Lombardy: Whereupon Pope Honorius by a public edict condemned their doctrine, and commanded them to be rooted out. Bzorius.

Anno Chriſti 1300. Pope Boniface commanded Guido

the inquiſitor, to dig up the body of Hermannus (one of the Albingenſes) and to condemn and burn it in Ferrara, twenty years after his death.

Anno Chriſti 1315. The fryers inquiſitors raiſed a great perſecution againſt the Goſpellers in Paſſawin Auſtria, and burned many of them; who continued very conſtant in the faith, and took their death very chearfully. Amongſt the reſt, one of them that was burnt at Vienna, confeſſed, That there were eighty thouſand of them in Bohemia and Auſtria at that time: Their chiefeſt miniſters were Bartholomew Fauſtus, James Juſtus, Bononatus, William, and Gilbert; of whom, James was murthered between two walls by the mercileſs inquiſitors: Bononatus was burned alive, and William, Gilbert, and Bartholomew, were condemned after their death. The houſe where they uſed to preach, was pulled to the ground, and all that adhered to them were Anathematized.

Anno Chriſti 1322. Lollard Walterus (from whom our Engliſh profeſſors were called Lollards) was taken at Colen, where he had privately preached, and through God's bleſſing, drawn many from ignorance and errors, to imbrace the truth, and perſiſting conſtantly in his opinions: He was condemned and burned alive.

Yet notwithſtanding all cruelties uſed againſt them, their enemies could never prevail to a total extirpation of them, but they ſtill lay hid like ſparkles under the aſhes, deſiring and longing to ſee that, which now through God's grace, their poſterity do enjoy, *viz.* The liberty to call upon God in purity of conſcience, without being inforced to any Superſtition and idolatry: And ſo inſtructing their children in the ſervice of God, the Lord was pleaſed to preſerve a church amongſt them, in the midſt of the Romiſh corruptions, as a Diamond in a dunghil, as wheat amongſt chaff, as gold in the fire; till it pleaſed God to diſperſe the goſpel, in a more general and public way, by the miniſtry of Luther, and his aſſociates and fellow-laborers in the Lord: At which time theſe Albingenſes received, with greedineſs, the doctrine of the goſpel, and ſo became more eminent in their profeſſion of piety, then they were formerly.

[Collected out of a Book called Luther's Forerunners, and out of Cade's Juſtification of the Church of England, and divers other Authors.]

CHAP. XXVI.

The Perſecution of the Church of God in Bohemia, which began Anno Chriſti 894.

THE Bohemians were heathens and idolaters, till their Duke or Captain Borivoius going into Moravia, *Anno Chriſti* 894. by a ſtrange providence of God was converted to the knowlege and faith of Chriſt; whereupon, he together with thirty other Palatines, was baptized: At his return into Bohemia, he took along with him Methudius, biſhop of Moravia, by whoſe miniſtry, Ludomilla, the duke's wife, was converted and baptized.

Borivoius buſying himſelf in erecting divers ſchools and churches, it pleaſed God, that, in a ſhort time, a great Harveſt was gathered, many of the nobility and commons being daily converted and baptized; but Satan envying the progreſs of the goſpel, preſently raiſed up perſecution againſt the profeſſors of it. For firſt of all, Borivoius was baniſhed by the wicked faction of the idolaters, and then compelled to reſign his dominion to his eldeſt ſon, who being dead, his younger Son Boliſlaus ſucceeded, who was a very holy man, yet was drawn to marry Drahomira, famous for nobility and beauty, but a heathen; yet ſhe promiſed, after inſtruction, to be baptized: And during her huſband's life, ſhe cunningly concealed her hatred againſt Chriſtians, but he being dead, the grand mother (Ludomilla) educated the elder ſon (Wenceſlaus) and Drahomira took the younger (Boliſlaus) and uſurped the government, commanding the Chriſtian churches to be ſhut up, the exerciſes of their worſhip to ceaſe, prohibiting miniſters from inſtructing the people, and ſchool-maſters from teaching youth; ſuch as diſobeyed were impriſoned, baniſhed, and put to death.

At Prague the magiſtrates were changed, and cruel idolaters ſubſtituted in the room of Chriſtians, by whoſe incitements the poor Chriſtians were ſecretly, openly, and unworthily murdered and abuſed, whilſt the murderers went away with impunity: But if any Chriſtian killed a heathen, tho' in his own defence, ten Chriſtians were maſſacred for that one. Yet the inſatiable cruelty of Drahomira was not ſatisfied herewith, but that ſhe might deſtroy all the Chriſtians, ſhe dealt with one Balloius, a cruel wretch, whom ſhe had ſet over the city of Prague, earneſtly intreating him by fraud or force to effect it, promiſing him a great reward if he did it. He thereupon arms ſix hundred conſpirators at his own houſe, with whom he haſtens to thoſe that were deſigned for ſlaughter: But the plot, thro' Gods mercy, being diſcovered to the Chriſtians, four hundred of them met to defend their own lives. The iſſue of the fight was victory to the Chriſtians, the ſtreets being polluted with the blood of eight hundred that were ſlain. Then did Drahomira pretend that ſhe was much diſpleaſed with the tumult, commanding, that arms of both parties ſhould be brought into the city magazine, ſeverely forbidding any man to walk with dart or ſword. The Chriſtians, though ſuſpecting her fraud, yet, that they might not ſeem diſobedient, brought their arms to the magazine, the enemies pretending alſo to do the like. This being done, Drahomira employs her cut throats, in the night, to ſet upon the unarmed Chriſtians, whereby above three hundred of them were ſlain in one night. This Drahomira much rejoiceth at, but yet not ſatisfied, ſhe commands the major of Prague to deſtroy all the Chriſtians. Whereupon he beſets all the ſtreets and paſſages, and ſlays all that he meets with; till the Chriſtians gathering themſelves together, encounter with him, put him to flight, and in the purſuit ſlew this wicked perſon. This ſo enraged Drahomira, that ſhe commanded the two churches to be burnt down, in one of which, her huſband was interred. Whilſt ſhe was thus raged againſt the Chriſtians, Wenceſlaus, now grown to years, by the advice of his grand-mother, and the Chriſtian nobility, took upon him the government, and the better to eſtabliſh peace, he aſſigned the city of Boliſlavia, and adjacent parts to his mother, and younger brother.

Drahomira yet laid not aſide her hatred and bloody deſigns againſt the Chriſtians, which ſhe firſt ſhewed againſt holy Ludomilla, ſubſtituting two wicked villains, in the night, to murder her: Theſe fellows finding her at her prayers in her oratory, ſtrangled her. Some there were that much provoked Wenceſlaus to revenge that wicked act, which he refuſed, becauſe he judged it contrary to that duty which he owed to a mother; and to the modeſty and patience of a Chriſtian. But he was ſhortly after ill requited by this unnatural monſter, who affecting domination, began to defame Wenceſlaus, as ſluggiſh and unfit for government; but when ſhe perceived that his ſubjects loved him exceedingly, ſhe waited a fitter opportunity, which thus fell out.

Boliſlaus having a ſon, ſhe invited Wenceſlaus to the baptiſing of this his nephew at Boliſlavia; he going thither, ſhe entertained him with much diſſembled love: but, in the night, as he was making his prayers to God, his brother Boliſlaus aſſaults him; and being aſſiſted with ſome other cut-throats, ſlew him *anno* 929. Boliſlaus having by this fratricide, obtained the government, threatned impriſonment and death, to all miniſters and Chriſtians, if they did not preſently depart Bohemia: His mother added, *That their dead bodies ſhould not be buried* Hereupon many fled, others were ſeized on, and tormented to death divers ways; but God ſuffered not Drahomira to eſcape his revenging hand, for in that place, where the miniſter's bones lay unburied, the earth opened of itſelf, and ſwallowed her up alive with her chariot, and all that were in it; which place is to be ſeen before the caſtle of Prague, to this day.

Others alſo, who were her inſtruments in maſſacring the innocent Chriſtians; ſome of them ran mad, and threw themſelves down from high places; others ſlew themſelves with their own ſwords, wherewith they had murdered the innocent men; and the place where Wenceſlaus blood was ſhed, could never be waſhed off, but remained as a perpetual witneſs of that villany.

Thef,

Theſe things ſo affrighted Boliſlaus, that he became more mild to the Chriſtians.

Anno 970. Woytich, the ſecond biſhop of Prague, labouring ſeriouſly in converting the reliſts of the Gentiles, and reforming their wicked lives, they raiſed ſo great a ſedition againſt him, as enforced Woytich to a voluntary baniſhment. Then did the Pagans riſe up againſt his brethren, and murdered five of them, and then conſpired againſt their prince, but were overcome in battle, *&c.*

Not long after, the Pope having uſurped domination over other churches, ſought to obtrude his ſuperſtitions upon the Bohemians alſo: But eſpecially he commanded, that all their ſacred ſervice ſhould be in the Latin tongue, and that they ſhould not have the cup in the ſacrament. The Bohemians ſent two miniſters, and four others to Rome, *Anno* 977. to the Pope, deſiring to be eaſed of theſe grievances, and at laſt obtained their requeſt.

Yet afterwards they were again inhibited the uſe of their own language in holy ſervices; whereupon Urateſlaus, duke of Bohemia (who ſhortly after, for his valiant ſervice to the Roman empire, was created king) ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, requeſting a confirmation of the liberties formerly granted to them. But the Pope (Hildebrand) abſolutely refuſed it.

Anno 1197. Pope Celeſtine ſent a cardinal into Bohemia, to inhibit miniſters marriage, and to divorce ſuch as were married; but the biſhops and miniſters almoſt ſtoned him to death.

Alſo, when afterwards the cup was taken away in the ſacrament, there were many that oppoſed that ſacrilege, and amongſt the reſt, John Melicius, of a noble family and fervent ſpirit, much honoured for his rare learning and holineſs of life. In his miniſtry he earneſtly exhorted his auditors to a frequent communicating in both kinds; at laſt he was much moved in ſpirit to go to Rome, and there to teſtify, that the great antichriſt was come, and did then reign.

He prayed unto God, with faſting and tears, deſiring, that unleſs theſe thoughts came from God's Spirit, he might be delivered from them: But when yet he could find no inward quiet, he went to Rome, and wrote upon the cardinal's doors, *Antichriſt is come, and ſitteth in the church.* He alſo in his conferences with many, aſſerted the ſame. For this, the Pope impriſoned him, and excommunicated both him, and his auditors.

Mr. Matthias of Prague alſo, was a zealous defender of the communion in both kinds. *Anno* 1375. he with ſome other learned men went to king Charles that then reigned, requeſted him to call an œcumenical council, for the reformation of the church. Charles ſending to the Pope about it, he was ſo incenſed at the meſſage, that he commanded the king to puniſh thoſe raſh and heretical men. Whereupon Matthias was baniſhed the kingdom, and then was the uſe of the ſacrament in both kinds prohibited through all Bohemia: So that the godly could not adminiſter, and receive it, but in private houſes, in woods and caves; and yet neither ſo, but with the hazard of their lives: For they were ſet upon in the highways, plundered, beaten, and drowned in rivers; ſo that at laſt they were neceſſitated to go together in companies and armed. And this continued to the days of John Hus. Concerning the perſecution of John Hus, and Jerome of Prague; ſee in my firſt part their lives. But when theſe holy men of God were ſo unjuſtly burned at Conſtance, the adverſaries were not ſatisfied with their blood, but took farther counſel for the deſtruction of the whole nation: For when fifty eight of the chief nobles of Bohemia, in the name of all the commons, *anno* 1416. had ſent letters from Prague to the council, complaining, that their paſtor, an innocent and holy man, and faithful teacher of the truth, was unjuſtly condemned. The council, inſtead of anſwering them, wrote their letters to ſome violent Papiſts, who were in authority, to aſſiſt their legate in oppreſſing the heretics.

Thus the Bohemians were incited more and more to mutual contentions; the prieſts daily from the pulpits divulged their excommunications and execrations againſt the Huſſites, and to ſtir up the greater hatred againſt them, they uſed lying ſigns; for, putting dirt about the wicks of their tapers, when the flame had burned the wax to the dirt, the taper went out. Then cried they out, *That God by miracles declared his hatred of theſe wicked heretics, who were unworthy to enjoy the light:* And thereupon they perſecuted them all manner of ways, and they uſed ſuch violence, as raiſed a tumult at Prague, *anno* 1419. wherein the enraged multitude threw twelve ſenators of Prague, with the major, out of the windows of the ſenate houſe, who fell upon the points of ſpears.

After this, the Pope publicly excommunicated the Bohemians at Florence, exciting the emperor, kings, princes, dukes, *&c.* to take up arms againſt them, intreating them by the wounds of Chriſt, and their own ſalvation, unanimouſly to fall upon them, utterly to extirpate that curſed generation, promiſing univerſal remiſſion of ſins to the moſt wicked perſon, if he did but kill one Bohemian. Hereupon great wars were raiſed againſt them; but it pleaſed God ſtill to give them the victory under that brave captain Ziſca. Whereof ſee more in my ſecond part in Ziſca's life.

Yet ſtill as the Popiſh party prevailed at any time, they exerciſed all manner of cruelty upon the poor ſervants of Chriſt, inſomuch, that at Cuttenburgh, where were deep mettal mines, *anno* 1420. they threw into one of them a thouſand and ſeven hundred perſons, and into another a thouſand thirty eight, and into a third a thouſand three hundred thirty four perſons.

Alſo a merchant of Prague coming to Preſlaw in Sileſia the emperor and Pope's legate being there, was in his inn drawn into diſcourſe, where pleading for Hus, and the ſacrament in both kinds, he was caſt into priſon; the next day a ſtudent of Prague was caſt into the ſame priſon. The merchant exceedingly encouraged him, ſaying, 'O 'my brother! What an honour is it, that we are called 'thus to bear witneſs to the Lord Jeſus? Let us undergo 'the trouble with chearfulneſs; the fight is but ſhort, 'the reward is eternal. Let us remember the Lord, what 'a cruel death he underwent for us, and with what guilt-'leſs blood we are redeemed, and what torments the 'martyrs have patiently endured,' *&c.* But when they were brought to execution, and the ropes by which the horſes were to drag them through the ſtreets, were faſtned to their feet: The ſtudent affrighted with the terrors of death, and allured by the fair promiſes of the legate, recanted. But the merchant, like an unſhaken rock, told them, that their hopes of any recantation from him were but vain. *I am ready to die,* ſaith he, *for the goſpel of the Lord Jeſus.* And ſo being drawn ſlowly through the ſtreets, he was brought to the place of execution, and there burnt, *anno* 1420.

Pichel, the chief magiſtrate of the city of Litomeritia, having taken twenty four of the chief citizens, and amongſt them his ſon in law, put them in an high tower, and at laſt he brought them out half dead with hunger and cold, and adjudged them to be drowned. When they came to the river Albis, their wives, children, and friends greatly mourning; the major's own daughter came wringing her hands, and falling at her father's feet, beſeeched him to ſave her huſband's life: But he, harder than a rock, bade her give over, ſaying, *What? Can you not have a worthier huſband than this?* To whom ſhe anſwered, ſeeing his inexorableneſs, *You ſhall never any more eſpouſe me to any:* And ſo beating her breaſt, and tearing her hair, ſhe followed amongſt the reſt. When the martyrs came to the river, whilſt ferries were preparing, they with loud voices call heaven and earth to witneſs their innocency; and ſo taking their leave of their wives, children and friends, exhorting them to conſtancy and zeal for the truth, they were carried and caſt into the midſt of the river, with their hands and feet bound together, and ſo drowned; and if any were driven to the banks, they were ſtabbed with iron-forks and pikes. The major's daughter ſeeing her huſband thrown into the river, leaped in to him, caught him about the middle, but being unable to draw him forth, they were both drowned; the next day they were found embracing one another, and were both buried in one grave, *anno* 1421.

About the ſame time, a company of ſoldiers going towards Prague, ſeized upon a godly miniſter, four other men, and four boys, the eldeſt not being above eleven years old, for adminiſtring, and receiving the ſacrament in both

both kinds, and carried them to their colonel, the colonel ſent them to the biſhop, who required them to abjure, or elſe he would burn them: The miniſter ſtoutly anſwered, *But the goſpel teacheth otherwiſe, ſo that you muſt either approve what we do, or blot it out of your Bible.* Hereupon one of the troopers ſmote him ſo violently on the face with his gantlet, that the blood ran out of his mouth and noſe. The biſhop made this miniſter the ſubject of his mirth and ſcorn all that night, and the next day, being the Sabbath, he burned them all in one fire; and when the biſhop would have perſuaded them to abjure the cup in the ſacrament, the miniſter anſwered, *That he would rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths, than deny a truth ſo clearly revealed in the goſpel.*

Another captain violently entring into a church where many godly people were met together, he killed ſome, and took others priſoners; and going to the communion table he took the cup, being full of wine, and drunk to his horſe, who having pledged him, he ſaid, *His horſe was now one of the communicants in both kinds.*

About the ſame time alſo a godly taylor was burned at Prague.

Alſo one Martin Loquis ſhould have ſuffered the like death, but his life was begged by the Thaborites. Afterwards, taking another aſſociate with him, he was travelling towards Moravia, but by the way, they were taken by a captain, who manacling them with irons, examined them about the ſacrament; Martin anſwered, *The body of Chriſt is in heaven, and he hath but one, not many bodies:* Hereupon the captain gave him a box on the ear, as not enduring ſuch blaſphemy, and would have had him preſently burned. Then did a prieſt beg him, to ſee if he could convert him; but when that ſucceeded not, he thruſt them into a dark ſtinking dungeon for two months: Then did he torment them with fire, till their bowels came forth, to extort from them who were their companions. Afterwards they were both ſhut up in a tub, and ſo burned. *Anno* 1421.

A godly and eloquent preacher in Prague, was, together with twelve more apprehended by a captain, carried into the common hall, and there privately beheaded, but their blood running out, cauſed a great tumult in the city, wherein ſome of the ſenators were ſlain, and others ſaved themſelves by flight.

Not long after there ſprung up a ſchiſm amongſt thoſe that were called Huſſites, for ſome of them began in other things to comply with the Pope, only they inſiſted upon the cup in the ſacrament, whence they were called Calixtines: Others of them ſtuck cloſe to Hus his doctrine, and cried down all ſuperſtition. And this contention was cunningly fomented and increaſed by ſome that ſought thereby the advancement by the Pope and emperor: And to make the profeſſors of the pure doctrine odious, they branded them with the hateful name of Piccards, by which name the Waldenſes in Piccardy were called. Yet both theſe parties, when they were aſſaulted by the emperor, joined together in oppoſing him, and obtained many great victories againſt him: Yet *anno* 1444. the Thaborites were utterly oppreſſed by fraud and force.

Anno 1459. There were divers godly people in Bohemia, miniſters, nobles and commons, who being much preſſed in conſcience about the ſuperſtitions in the church of Rome, obtained of their king [George Pogiebracius,] a place in the hilly country near to Sileſia to inhabit, where throwing off all ſuperſtitious practices, they applied themſelves to the form of the primitive ſimplicity, calling themſelves brethren and ſiſters.

The beginning of this church diſpleaſed the devil, and therefore he raiſed a ſudden and violent tempeſt to overthrow it: For the fame of it being ſpread abroad, the prieſts in every pulpit ſtirred up the hatred of the people againſt them, crying out, *Blow out theſe ſparks, Blow them out before they grow into a flame.*

Anno 1461. One of their miniſters with ſome others of them coming to Prague, to viſit their friends, were betrayed, and ſome officers coming to apprehend them, ſaid to them all, *All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution*, therefore come forth, and follow us to priſon, which they did. The king believing the ſlanders that were raiſed againſt them, as that they were attempting ſome ſedition, &c. he commanded the aged miniſter to be tortured, but he falling into an extaſy, felt no pain at all: The tormentors ſuppoſing him to be dead, took him down from the rack, but after ſome hours, he came to himſelf, and by the interceſſion of a friend, was diſmiſſed.

Preſently after there came forth from the king an edict, forbidding all paſtors to adminiſter holy ſervices without ceremonies; and withal, threatning death to thoſe that ſhould adminiſter to the brethren, called now by the hateful name of Piccards. The brethren hereupon were brought into great extremity, being like ſheep deſtitute of ſhepherds. Yet preſently came forth a new edict, that none of them ſhould be ſuffered to live either in Bohemia, or Moravia. Hereupon they were diſperſed amongſt the woods and mountains, dwelling in caves; where yet they were ſcarce ſafe, ſo that they were forced to make no fire, nor dreſs any meat, but in the night time, leſt the ſmoak ſhould betray them. In the cold winter nights, ſitting by the fire, they applied themſelves to the reading of the Bible, and holy diſcourſes. When in the ſnow they went abroad to provide them neceſſaries, they went cloſe together, and leſt their foot ſteps ſhould betray them, the hindermoſt of them did draw after him a great bough, to cover the prints which their feet had made.

Theſe brethren choſe by ſuffiage, certain elders, to whom they promiſed obedience; and by the advice of theſe elders, the chiefeſt of the brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, were called together in a ſynod, in the mountains to ordain eccleſiaſtical laws, whereby they ſhould be governed: They appointed alſo ſundry days of faſting and prayer for themſelves, and their diſperſed friends; taking counſel from God's word, concerning thoſe things which were required to the fuller reformation, both of life and doctrine. That which moſt afflicted them was for want of paſtors, not knowing where they ſhould have new ones, after thoſe were dead, who then lived with them: But after debate, they reſolved, that Chriſt had given this authority to his church, that ſuch as were ordained themſelves, might ordain others: Yet ſome ſcruple aroſe, whether ſuch as were but preſbyters, might ordain without a biſhop: For which cauſe they met together, and with faſting, prayers and tears, they ſought unto God to reveal his will unto them in this difficulty; and afterwards making a ſcrutiny by lot, the lord anſwered them, that it was lawful for preſbyters to ordain preſbyters, which occaſioned great joy unto them.

Then did theſe brethren deliberate among themſelves, whether they ſhould join with the Waldenſes in Moravia and Auſtria; and ſo be one people with them, and one church: The purity of their doctrine and Chriſtian converſation did much pleaſe; but again, it much diſpleaſed them, that they concealed the truth, not openly profeſſing it as they ought; but to avoid perſecution, they frequented the churches of the Papiſts, and ſo communicated with idolaters. Therefore they concluded to admoniſh them of this evil, and for this end they ſent ſome able men to them, to acquaint them with it: The Waldenſes anſwered, that to be in unity with them was very grateful, and for the evils objected againſt them, they were not ignorant of them, nor would defend them, but rather would labour to amend them: Concluding that they deſired to have a fix'd day of meeting with the brethren, in which they would take ſome further order about this buſineſs.

But before the time came, the Papiſts having ſome intelligence of it, raged ſo violently againſt the Waldenſes, that they burnt one of the chiefeſt of them at Vienna, and ſo perſecuted the reſt, that they were fain to provide for their own ſafety by flight.

Anno 1468. There came out a new decree againſt theſe brethren, requiring all the nobles of Bohemia, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, to apprehend as many as they could, and to proceed againſt them.

Many therefore were apprehended and put into priſon, where they were kept for a long time: But through the wonderful working of God, the more the enemies labour'd to put out this ſpark, the more it brake forth into a great flame: For many of their peers ſubmitted to the diſcipline of the brethren, building churches for them in their

their towns and villages, ſo that *anno* 1150. they had in Bohemia and Moravia, about two hundred churches.

After the death of Pogiebracius, Uladiſlaus, a Polonian ſucceeded in the kingdom, to whom the brethren wrote an apology, by reaſon of many foul accuſations that were carried to him againſt them: This ſo exaſperated their enemies, that they endeavoured by a moſt impudent invention, to ſtir up the hatred of all men againſt them. The way they uſed was this: They ſuborned a wicked villain, to ſay that he came from amongſt them, and that he had been an elder, but had therefore forſaken them, becauſe in their meetings they uſed to blaſpheme God, the virgin Mary, and the ſaints, to traduce the ſacraments, to mingle themſelves inceſtuouſly, after the manner of the Adamites, to commit murder, and practice witchcraft, &c. This man they led through the towns and cities as a ſpectacle: They brought him to their church, where he muſt abjure his errors, and beſeech the people to pray for him, a moſt miſerable ſinner; and to take heed, by his example, of the wicked Piccards. They alſo publiſhed his confeſſion in writing, being confirmed with the ſeals and ſubſcriptions of ſome deans and prieſts, cauſing them to be read in the churches to the people.

But the devil was befooled herein, for the brethren, by public writings did confute theſe lies; and the villain, trembling ſo often to forſwear himſelf in the ſight of the people, confeſſed at laſt that he was ſuborned to do what he did, and that he knew not any of the Piccards: Yet thus far it made for good, that ſome to make experience of ſo great villanies, began privately and diſguiſed, to frequent the aſſemblies of the brethren, and finding it to be far otherwiſe than it was reported, did aſſociate themſelves with them, as with true Chriſtians.

Anno 1488. Mathias king of hungary, baniſhed the brethren from Moravia, which cauſed ſome hundreds of them, taking a miniſter along with them, to go into Moldavia: Whereupon the brethren in Bohemia ſent one of their elders to them, to exhort them unto patience under this perſecution, which was for the truth.

Shortly after the reſtleſs enemies of God and his church, raiſed another perſecution againſt the brethren in Bohemia: For ſome biſhops conſulting together, ſuborned the queen, great with child, (ſo that they conceived that the king would deny her nothing in that ſtate,) to requeſt of him, that he would ſeverely puniſh the Piccards: The king diſpleaſed at her requeſt, only nodded his head, but gave no anſwer at all; Yet the biſhops, in his preſence, began to draw up the edict. The king going into his chamber, fell down on his knees, and with tears beſought God to forgive the guilt of thoſe bloody counſels, and to grant no ſucceſs to them; and God heard his prayers, and ſhewed ſome examples of his ſevere judgments on the authors of this conſpiracy.

The queen who propoſed to her fancy, what grateful ſpectacles ſhe ſhould have in ſeeing the Piccards brought to Prague, and there, ſome burnt, ſome beheaded, and others drowned in the water, preſently fell in travel, and when ſhe was not able to bring forth the phyſicians adviſed that the child ſhould be cut out of the mother's womb, which was accordingly done, whereby the child lived, but the mother died.

Two years after, the biſhops by their importunity prevailed with the king that ſharp remedies ſhould be uſed againſt thoſe growing evils, as they were pleaſed to call them; whereupon an edict was ſent forth that all the Piccards, without diſtinction of ſex, age or quality, ſhould be ſlain. This mandate was brought to the aſſembly of ſtates at Prague, by two biſhops, but diverſ of the chiefeſt nobles oppoſed it, ſo that eighteen months were ſpent in debate, before any thing was done; but at laſt, by the cunning artifice of the chancellor, and his bloody aſſociates, it was confirmed by the greateſt part of the nobility, in the preſence of the king; and a mutual confederacy was entred into, that it ſhould be proſecuted with an armed power: But God following ſome of the chief contrivers of it with ſundry judgments, it almoſt came to nothing.

Yet in theſe troubles moſt of the miniſters were turned out of their places, ſo that they durſt not preach nor pray, but in private. And a certain noble man, having apprehended ſix of the brethren, caſt them into priſon, and when they were brought forth to be burnt, they went chearfully to the fire; and when the chief officer, taking affection to one of them, offered him his life, if he would recant his error, profering him withal to give him a year's time to conſider of it; he pauſed a while, but by and by anſwered, *It is too much by ſuch a delay, to loſe my brethrens company*, and ſo going along with them, they were burned together.

Shortly after the chancellor that had procured the paſſing of the edict againſt the brethren, as he returned from the parliament, viſiting a certain nobleman by the way, he with great pleaſure reported to him what was agreed upon againſt the brethren: The nobleman having a ſervant by, that was much addicted to the diſcipline of the brethren, aſked him how he liked it; the ſervant anſwered, that all were not agreed: The chancellor ſuſpecting ſome new conſpiracy, aſked him who durſt oppoſe the ſtates of the kingdom, &c. The ſervant ſaid, *In heaven there is one, who if he were not preſent at your counſels, you have conſulted in vain*. The chancellor replied *Thou knave, thou ſhalt find that as well as the reſt* And riſing up in fury, immediately a carbuncle roſe upon his foot, which turned to a diſeaſe, called *ignis ſacer*, whereof he died miſerably.

Another of the great ſticklers in this buſineſs, returning homewards, as he was alighting out of his chariot to make water, he ſtruck his member on a ſharp nail that was in the boot, whereby he drew out his entrails with him, and not long after he gave up the ghoſt.

Alſo Dr. Auguſtine, who by ſlanderous libels had endeavoured to ſtir up the king againſt the brethren, died ſuddenly as he was at ſupper.

Another nobleman of theſe perſecutors, as he was hunting, his horſe threw him, and his arrow ran into his thigh, and came out at his loins, whereby he died a moſt painful death

Many others of them felt the like judgments of God; ſo that it grew into a proverb amongſt them: If you be weary of your life, attempt ſomething againſt the Piccards, and you ſhall not eſcape a year to an end.

About this time God ſtirred up in Germany, undaunted Luther, the thunderbolt againſt the Pope, which occaſioned many of the Calixtines to reſolve to embrace the purer doctrine of the goſpel, and to ſeek for the ordination of their miniſters from Wittenburg, rather than from Rome. But among theſe, there was one Zahere, an apoſtate, who to ingratiate himſelf with the king and Pope, would enforce the paſtors and citizens of Prague, to ſubſcribe to ſundry articles, or elſe they muſt be proſcribed. And firſt of all ſix paſtors were baniſhed, then ſixty five of the chiefeſt citizens: Then to colour greater cruelty, a rumour was ſpread abroad of a conſpiracy made by the brethren againſt the Calixtines; and to extort a confeſſion hereof, three citizens were brought to the rack, who rather choſe to ſuffer all torments, than falſly to accuſe the innocent: Yet divers were perſecuted; amongſt others, a cutler that had found an orthodox book about the ſacraments, was whipped only in the market-place, and baniſhed: Another was branded in the forehead; a third was thruſt into priſon, and there murdered.

Then in the aſſembly of eſtates it was decreed, that the mandate of the king ſhould be put in execution againſt the Piccards: Whereupon a new perſecution was raiſed againſt the brethren, their churches being ſhut up, and their exerciſes forbidden.

Anno 1526. A godly and learned man, together with his hoſteſs with whom he lodged, a widow of ſixty years old, were both burnt in the fire for Piccardiſm together with the books that were found about them.

Another godly woman being brought before the magiſtrate, made a bold profeſſion of her faith, and then being required to prepare her garments to be burnt in, ſhe anſwered, *They are ready, lead me away when you pleaſe.* The crier declaring openly that ſhe had blaſphemed, ſhe with a loud voice denied it, ſaying, 'It is falſe, I am condemned becauſe I deny the real preſence of Chriſt in the 'ſacrament; give no credit to theſe prieſts, they are diſſembling hypocrites, adulterers, Sodomites, Epicures.' &c. Being commanded to pray to the crucifix, ſhe turned her back to it, and lifting up her eyes to heaven, ſhe ſaid,

There is our God, thither we muſt look, and ſo chearfully mounting the pile, ſhe was burned. *Anno Chriſti* 1527.

The year after two German tradeſmen were caught at Prague, accuſed by the monks of Lutheraniſm, and condemned to be burnt: As they went to execution, ſuch gracious words proceeded out of their mouths, as drew tears from the ſpectators eyes: When they came to the pile, they exceedingly encouraged one another; one of them ſaying, 'Since our Lord Chriſt hath ſuffered ſuch 'grievous things for us, let us chearfully ſuffer for him, 'and rejoice that we have found ſo much favour with him, 'that we are counted worthy to die for the law of God:' The other ſaid, 'I in the day of my marriage found not 'ſo much inward joy as I do now.' When fire was put to them, with a loud voice they ſaid, 'Lord Jeſus, thou 'in thy ſufferings prayedſt for thine enemies, therefore we 'alſo do the like. Forgive the king, the men of Prague, 'and the clergy, for they know not what they do, and their 'hands are full of blood;' and ſo they ſlept in the Lord But one of their chief perſecutors, who wiſhed that all the Piccards were hanged beheaded or burnt by his own hands, had all theſe befal himſelf by God's juſt judgment: For being much in debt, he hanged himſelf, and when his friends had privately buried him; the common people hearing of it, digged up his carcaſs, and caſt it away, which by the magiſtrates command was ordered to be burnt; but when the woodſtack was conſumed, and the carcaſs only ſcorched, his head was ſtricken off.

Zahere the apoſtate, when under colour of an inquiſition againſt the Piccards, he raiſed up civil commotions, was by the king baniſhed, where he died miſerably; The like befel another of thoſe cruel perſecutors.

Anno 1535. Ferdinand the I. ſucceeding in the kingdom, the Popiſh party cunningly ſtirred up the Calixtines to perſecute the brethren: Whereupon, they ſuffering many grievous things, ſent a petition, together with a confeſſion of their faith to Ferdinand at Vienna, ſubſcribed by twelve barons and thirty three knights, complaining how unjuſtly they were accuſed by their enemies, and that the prieſts ordinarily cried out that the Piccards might be ſlain without controul, and that a leſs ſin was thereby committed, than if one killed a dog; Ferdinand returned anſwer, that he had not leiſure to conſider of their papers, yet promiſed that nothing ſhould be done either againſt law or equity, till he had further knowlege of the cauſe.

In the mean time the brethren being much encouraged by letters from Luther, Bucer and Capito, went on conſtantly; and through God's mercy, a great number was added to the church, till that fatal year 1547. At which time Charles the V. putting in execution the decrees of the council of Trent, raiſed wars againſt the Proteſtant princes in Germany: At which time his brother Ferdinand ſollicited the Bohemians for aid, but they refuſed it in regard of their ancient league with the houſe of Saxony. But the German Proteſtants being overcome in war, Ferdinand entred Bohemia with an army, ſeizeth on Prague, impriſoneth the principal nobles, barons and citizens, ſome he ſcourged, ſome he beheaded, and upon others he laid grievous fines, and of others he ſequeſtred all their eſtates: Alſo he diſarmed the city of Prague, took away their privileges, baniſhed ſome, whilſt others went into voluntary exile.

Then did the devil raiſe up ſome to lay all the blame upon the brethren, to which malicious ſuggeſtions the king giving heed, firſt by open proclamation commanded all their churches to be ſhut up, and then he took away their peers, and baniſhed them all out of his realms. When this thunderbolt came abroad, the brethren agreed amongſt themſelves, that they would be more faithful to God and their conſciences than they had been; and ſo by common conſent, dividing themſelves into three companies, they went into Poland; and all of them had experience of an admirable divine protection in their journey, eſcaping ſome that might, and would have robbed them, but that they were reſtrained by God: As alſo in moſt places, where they came, they found Chriſtian commiſeration and liberality of men towards them, and courteous entertainment in Poland, though moſt of them were Papiſts: Yet not long after the biſhop of that part where they were, got a mandate from the king to drive them away: Then were they forced to go into the fartheſt parts of Pruſia, where, by duke Albert of Brandenburg, they had a place of habitation allotted them; and one Paul Speratus, a Proteſtant biſhop, having conferred with them about their faith, was very courteous and charitable to them.

The next edict that Ferdinand ſet forth againſt the brethren, was for the apprehending of all their miniſters, whereupon ſome of them retired into Moravia; others, that they might be near their flocks, hid themſelves in private places, and in the night time they viſited the faithful, which continued for ſome years, but at laſt three of them fell into their enemies hands; yet one of them, through the admirable providence of God, eſcaped out of a deep dungeon in the caſtle of Prague, and fled to his brethren in Boruſſia, and he ſometimes paſſing through Polonia, and preaching the goſpel, through God's mercy, many of the nobility, and others were converted by his miniſtry, ſo that in a few years he erected twenty churches in Poland.

The enemies having impriſoned John Auguſta, they much rejoiced at it, becauſe he was a chief miniſter amongſt the brethren, and as Luther in Germany againſt the Pope, ſo he, both by his miniſtry and writings had mightily confuted the Calixtines, and thereupon they laid to his charge his refuſal to raiſe forces for the aſſiſtance of Ferdinand, and intentions of bringing in John Frederick, elector of Saxony to be king in Bohemia, and for the diſcovery of this pretended conſpiracy, he was cruely racked three times, but when they could draw nothing from him, they kept him in priſon ſeventeen years.

Anno 1549. Ferdinand publiſhed another decree for the extirpating both of the brethren, and Lutherans; and the miniſters that had received ordination in Germany, or that were married, were baniſhed out of the kingdom to the number of about two hundred.

Alſo the baron of Schanow, a man of much experience and learning, being apprehended under the pretence of ſome conſpiracy againſt Ferdinand, was impriſoned, examined, and then laid on the rack: He with an heroical indignation cut out his tongue, and caſt it away, and being aſked why he did it, he wrote on the wall, 'I did it 'becauſe I would not by any torturers be brought to ſay 'any thing falſly againſt myſelf or others.' He alſo in writing taxed the tyrannical proceedings againſt himſelf and other innocents, citing the king and his counſellors to appear and anſwer it before the tribunal of God, and ſo ſhortly after died.

About that time Ferdinand brought Jeſuites into Prague, and built a ſtately college for them, who ſought by all means to overthrow the church of Chriſt, and added fuel to the fire of perſecution.

After the death of Ferdinand, Maxmilian ſucceeded, *anno* 1562. who being of a peaceable diſpoſition could by no means be induced that any ſhould ſuffer for their faith.

After him Rodolphus ſucceeded, *anno* 1607. who treading in his father's ſteps, the church of Chriſt enjoyed peace under him, yea, pure religion ſo flouriſhed through the whole kingdom, that there was ſcarce one amongſt an hundred that did not profeſs the reformed religion: But alas! with liberty of religion, by little and little men began to be licentious in their lives, and carnal ſecurity ſo encreaſed, that ſome began to preſage that an horrible tempeſt ſhould again overwhelm them.

After the death of Rodolphus ſucceeded Mathias, who coming into Bohemia, *anno* 1617. he called an aſſembly of the ſtates, but it being harveſt time, few appeared: To them that did appear, Mathias complained, that ſince he had no iſſue he would adopt Ferdinand for his ſon, commendeth his vertues, and deſires that he may be crowned: The orders aſſembled, affirmed, that a matter of that conſequence could not be done in the abſence of the united provinces: Cæſar urged, that what Bohemia ſhould do would be confirmed by all the reſt, that he grew faint, and that it could not be deferred till another time. In brief, the orders proteſted, that the term of *receiving him king*, was new; that he ought firſt to be choſen, and then received: And ſome perceiving that there was no place for a free voice, departed; others, partly allured by promiſes,

promiſes, and partly deterred by threats, ſtaid, and were preſent at the coronation of Ferdinand, after which he preſently went into Moravia, Sileſia, and Luſatia, requeſting to be received for their king.

The Perſecution of the Church in Bohemia, which began Anno Chriſti 1617.

FErdinand the II. emperor of Germany, being thus obtruded upon the Bohemians for their king, contrary to the ancient conſtitutions and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and not lawfully elected thereunto, as he ought to have been, retired preſently into Germany: And thereupon the enemies of the truth began to crow, and openly to threaten the Proteſtants; and it appeared ſufficiently that Ferdinand ſware to the orders with his mouth, but in his heart to the Pope; and preſently after his departure, the Popiſh biſhops, clergy, and nobles, began to vex his ſubjects for religion, contrary to that aſſurance which the king had given to them: They attempted alſo the like in Prague, the Jeſuits daily threatning that their liberty in religion ſhould not laſt long. Then did they ſtrictly prohibit the Proteſtants from printing any thing unleſs licenſed by the chancellor of the kingdom, themſelves in the mean time divulging their own ſlanderous pamphlets and dangerous writings againſt the Proteſtants.

Alſo inſtructions were given to the captains and judges that they ſhould ſuffer no meetings in churches except themſelves were preſent, and except they had a Popiſh prieſt to adminiſter only in one kind.

The Burgrave alſo, who had the cuſtody of the crown, and privileges of the kingdom, was apprehended; becauſe in the late parliament he had ſtood for the free election of a king, and delivered priſoner to one of the bittereſt enemies of the Proteſtants.

In other places they deſtroyed the churches of the Proteſtants.

In the beginning of the year 1618. The governors of the univerſity and conſiſtory met together, having formerly had power given them ſo to do, and chooſing ſix perſons, two barons, two knights, and two citizens, to conſult what was beſt to be done in this time of their enemies inſolency; there preſently came an injunction in Cæſar's name to inhibit them to call any together, and that if any man was called, he ſhould not dare to appear upon the pain of high treaſon.

Notwithſtanding which, the major part of the ſtates met, and when as new prohibitions and threats were ſpread abroad, and the ſtates were informed that thoſe thunderbolts came not from the king, but from the caſtle of Prague, their abuſed patience was turned into ſeverity, and being guarded with a great troop, they went to the caſtle, and apprehended two of the chief authors of theſe troubles, and threw them head-long out of the caſtle windows, together with their ſecretary that was privy to all their deſigns: But God intending to preſerve them to be the Bohemians ſcourges, they caught no hurt in the fall, falling upon the graſs, and great ſtore of papers.

Hereupon a great tumult was raiſed in Prague, but the ſtates appeaſed it; and the firſt thing they did was to baniſh the Jeſuits out of Bohemia, as the chief contrivers of theſe miſchiefs: Then did they write to Cæſar, that they had no intention againſt his royal majeſty, but only to bring to puniſhment the diſturbers of the public peace, being authorized thereto by his majeſty's letter, and bound by their proteſtation; yet he reſolved to revenge this treaſon (as he called it) by force of arms, and the Bohemians on the other ſide reſolved to defend themſelves, and for that end they choſe thirty directors, and the Moravians and Sileſians reſolved to join with them, when they perceived religion to be the cauſe of the quarrel. And indeed this was that which the enemies aimed at, and therefore they provoked the Bohemians by all ways, that ſo they might make a conqueſt of Bohemia, and for this end an imperial army preſently entred the kingdom under Dampier, and a Spaniſh army under Bucquoy.

In the mean time the ſtates reſolved not to admit Ferdinand to be their king, who was ſo open an enemy both to their religion and liberties, and who was obtruded upon them without a due election: They ſent alſo embaſſadors to Francford, where the electors were met together to chooſe a new emperor, deſiring that Ferdinand might not be admitted amongſt them as king of Bohemia, notwithſtanding which, he was admitted and choſen emperor: The Bohemians in the mean time chooſing Frederic elector palatine, for their king; this more enraged their enemies, ſo that they ſent another army under Maximilian of Bavaria, which took two Proteſtant towns by ſtorm, and put all to the ſword, and every where made great ſlaughter of the Proteſtants: Then the imperial armies came to Prague, which being ſtruck with a panic fear, the Proteſtant army being overthrown in a ſet battel under the walls, and their new king fled, they delivered up the city to them, the conqueror promiſing to keep articles agreed upon, but performing nothing leſs. For they did more miſchief to the church of Chriſt by their ſubtil and ſlow proceedings, than lately by their outragious fury; when the ſword, fire, and wheel were the inſtruments of their rage againſt the faithful.

For a little before, when it was debated at Rome how they ſhould deal with the Bohemians, and Germans after the conqueſt; it was agreed, that ſeeing their former ſtrong purges which they had uſed to expel heretical humours, had not proved effectual; they therefore reſolved not to put them to death, wherein they did glory as in martyrdom, but rather to weary them and to change the hateful name of inquiſition, into the milder name of reformation.

And whereas there was a debate amongſt the imperialiſts at Prague, whether all the Proteſtants ſhould be preſently baniſhed, the negative was reſolved on, becauſe they would then carry much away with them, and ſo ſpoil the province, and endure their baniſhment with greater eaſe, and therefore they concluded that they muſt firſt be ſqueezed, and deprived of their goods: and for this end the ſoldiers at Prague were authorized to plunder the houſes of noblemen and citizens: yet this was done at ſeveral ſeaſons, and moſtly in the night; by which means, as the enemies boaſted, they took from the Proteſtants ſome millions of gold: For indeed hither were all their riches brought in the time of war, as to a place of the greateſt ſecurity. But as this fell to the commanders ſhares, ſo the neighbouring places were expoſed to the fury of the reſt, the common ſoldiers robbing and ſpoiling villages, towns, and churches, burning and killing without any reſtraint: The ſoldiers that were placed in garriſons would not only have free-quarter, but extorted money from their landlords every day.

Then were commiſſions ſent abroad, promiſſing ſecurity to thoſe noblemen, knights, corporations, and miniſters, that would bring in a good ſum of money to pay the army, which yet they would not receive as a free gift, but only deſired to borrow it. Cæſar's protection was alſo promiſed to thoſe that were liberal, the reſt were threatned to be plundred by the ſoldiers.

They ſet down alſo what ſums they expected from every one within ſuch a time; they promiſed alſo, That when that was paid, the ſoldiers ſhould be removed; which made every one to bring in their plate, money, and jewels, the more willingly.

Then were commiſſioners ſent to require certain cities, that belonged to the Proteſtant noblemen, to maintain the ſtanding forces of the kingdom, and to contribute corn for their public granaries. But whileſt they were fed with a vain hope of leſſening and removing the ſoldiers, there were more liſted, which raiſed the taxes ſo high as was impoſſible for the people to pay; and whereas ſome were allured to deny the truth, that they might be eaſed of taxes, and quartering of ſoldiers. This was not performed, whereupon they complained that promiſe was broken with them; but the Jeſuites anſwered them. *That they had no cauſe to complain, for they had provided for their ſouls: and therefore they ought chearfully to help the king by contributions, and quarterings of ſoldiers: and that heretics muſt be dealt with, as mad men and children: From whom if you deſire to get a knife, you muſt ſhew them ſomething elſe, tho' you never intend to give it them*

Thus the kingdom being emptied of gold and ſilver, counterfeit and adulterate money was coined in great abundance, that ſo the common people might rejoice in their plenty.

plenty. But in the mean time, the ſoldiers would receive none but good money.

Gold and ſilver alſo was raiſed to ten times the price of it, and on a ſudden the emperor diminiſhed the value, making every piece of money to be worth but the tenth part; whereby the Bohemians were more impoveriſhed ſuddenly then if they had lain under the burden of an army ten years.

Then was it ordered, that the creditor ſhould loſe all the money that he had lent in the time of the rebellion, as they called it. And thus they were firſt impoveriſhed, after which the enemies inſulted over them by infamous books, inſolent pictures, and proud words.

Then did they ſend abroad their commiſſioners of reformation, who in every town and village endeavoured to bring Proteſtantiſm into diſgrace, and highly to magnifie and ſet abroad their own cauſe: The moſt eminent men for honour and eſtates are invited to apoſtacy, the inferior ſort are either fooled by their examples, or compelled by threatnings.

Then was there an high court of reformers ſet up, from which there was no appeal.

In the next place, the ſoldiers exerciſed barbarous tyranny againſt the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt. One aged miniſter lying ſick in his bed, they ſhot him to death as he lay; the next day they robbed and murdered another; another, as he was preaching to his people, they came into the church, and ſhot him to death. A nobleman, and a miniſter hearing of ſoldiers that were coming that way, conveyed themſelves away into a place of ſafety: The ſoldiers when they came, caught a ſchool maſter, and binding him in cords, examined him where the lord of that place, and the miniſter were, and where they had hid their treaſure; he profeſſed, that he knew neither the one nor the other: Whereupon they beat him, firſt with their fiſts, then with cudgels, then ſtripping him naked, they ſo extremly ſinged him with fire that at laſt he promiſed to bring them where the treaſure was, ſhewing them a ditch full of ſtones; wich for greedineſs of gold, they empited, but finding nothing, they beat him afreſh: And when he profeſſed that he knew of no treaſure, tho' thro' pain he had ſaid ſo much, they cudgelled him, and with clods beat him into the ditch, and buried him under the ſtones.

Preſently after they lighted on another godly miniſter, whom they ſo miſerably tortured, that he died within five days, ſhamefully abuſing his daughters alſo, whom they led away with them.

Another godly miniſter, for a month together, they excruciated with new invented mockeries: They ſpit in his face, buffeted him with their fiſts, expoſed him to be beaten by every vile raſcal; they with a knotty cord, twiſten about his forehead, with a ſtick ſo ſtrained his head, that his very eyes were ready to ſtart out: Then they let looſe a wild horſe upon him, which yet leaped quite over him, and did him no harm. At laſt, with much ado, he redeemed himſelf with five hundred florences.

Another paſtor they lighted on, and becauſe he had a better eſtate than the former, they tormented him more; ſometimes covering him over with hot burning coals, ſometimes with ice, till they had forced him to pay a thouſand five hundred florences for his ranſom, tho' ſhortly after, thro' extremity of the pain, he died.

Another miniſter they fetched from his houſe, and miſerably tortured him by twiſting a cord about his head; then tied they his hands behind him, and his legs with a ſmall cord, intending the next morning to torture him with fire; but in the night time, as he was earneſt at his prayers, repeating theſe words *In thee, O Lord, is my truſt*, he perceived his hands and feet miraculouſly to be looſned: Whereupon getting up, he went to the gate, where were three watchmen, one of them ſtanding with his hand on his ſword, yet he paſſed by them undiſcovered. When he came to the town gate, he was known by the ſoldier that ſtood ſentinel, but he, being a Bohemian, was overcome by intreaty, and let him paſs over the bridge, whereby he eſcaped.

Another miniſter, together with his wife they cruelly burnt.

Another was hanged upon a croſs-beam, and making a fire under him, they broiled him to death.

Another they cut into ſmall pieces.

Another miniſter they ſought for, but he being eſcaped, they took a young man in his houſe, laid him on his back, filled his mouth with gun-powder, which ſetting fire to, they miſerably tore his jaws in pieces, and then killed him.

When ſome ſoldiers came to the houſe of another, he entertained them courteouſly, and made good proviſion for them; but when they knew he was a miniſter, they firſt beat him cruelly, then killed him, ſtripped, and plundred his houſe; they alſo burnt his library, and would not ſuffer his body to be buried for ſeven weeks, during their abode there.

Another aged miniſter and his wife, were ſo ſorely burned by a ſoldier that demanded money of them, that preſently after they died.

Another was hung up by the privy members, being ſeventy years old, and his own books burnt under him, and at laſt was ſhot thro' and ſlain.

Another was firſt aſſeſſed at ſeven hundred florences, and then had his houſe plundered; and laſtly, himſelf was murdered.

Another they caught and wounded, cutting his neck half thro'; but being afterwards carried by ſome friends to a chirurgion, he lived about two years, but in much pain and torment.

Another being above ſeventy years old, they carried into the market-place, where laying him upon a fire, they burnt him to death.

Another was beaten ſo, that he died three days after.

The Jeſuits laid wait for one Peſcinus, a man eminent for learning and piety, at laſt they ſuborned an apoſtate to betray him; who diſcovering him as he rode in a coach with a nobleman, forty horſemen came ſuddenly and took him away: But by the importunity of ſome noblemen, he was ranſomed for four thouſand florences, and ended his life in baniſhment. Another being bound to a tree, was made a mark for the muſquetiers to ſhoot at; and though they did not hit him, yet by reaſon of the affrightment, he died within three days.

Another being met by a notable Papiſt, was ran thorow with a ſpear; but all this was done through military licentiouſneſs: Now we come to what was acted by proceſs of law.

Anno 1621. Six articles were exhibited to the Proteſtant congregations in Prague.

I. That they ſhould lend ſome thouſands of pounds to Cæſar, for the payment of his army.

II. That they ſhould publicly renounce the coming in of Frederic.

III. That they ſhould bring into the church the Popiſh rites and ceremonies.

IV. That their miniſters ſhould be ordained anew.

V That the miniſters ſhould leave their wives, or get a diſpenſation from the archbiſhop.

VI. That ſuch as would renounce their eccleſiaſtical functions, ſhould have public promotions, and the favour of Cæſar.

But they anſwered unanimouſly, That they would do nothing againſt their conſciences.

Then came forth an edict, wherein the blame of all the former rebellion (as they called it) was laid upon the miniſters of Prague, becauſe they had ſtirred up, by their ſeditious and lying ſermons (as they pleaſed to ſtile them) and by their writings; not only the common people, but the nobles alſo againſt Cæſar, and that they were authors of the choice of Frederic; and that they ſtill laboured to ſtir up in the Popiſh an hatred againſt Cæſar. Thereupon all the miniſters within Prague, were required within three days to depart out of Prague, and within eight days to depart out of all the kingdom, and the provinces belonging thereto, and never to return again: And if any, under what pretence ſoever, ſhould ſtay or return again, or if any ſhould preſume to harbour or conceal any of them, that both the one and the other, ſhould ſuffer death. This was *anno* 1621.

Then were there churches in Prague given to the Jeſuits. It cannot be expreſſed what lamentations and mournings there were amongſt the people, when thus they muſt leave their paſtors, and that for ever. Yet the German miniſters

miniſters, whereof there were two, were ſuffered to continue in favour to the duke of Saxony. Then did as many as underſtood Dutch, flock to their congregations, which ſo vexed the Jeſuites, that they obtained not a baniſhment, but a gracious diſmiſſion of them as they would have it called. Multitudes of people followed them, with great lamentations and tears, and in the field they heard their farewel ſermon.

The next deſign was, to remove the miniſters out of other free cities, and the commiſſioners of reformation were employed herein. One of them with a troop of horſe coming to Slana, and going to church, the miniſter (a godly and learned man) was reading the goſpel; the commiſſioner ſent a ſoldier to him to bid him give over, but the miniſter ſtill going on, himſelf went to him with his ſword drawn, crying out, *Thou fooliſh preacher, leave off thy balbing;* and withal, he daſhed the Bible out of his hand with his ſword. The miniſter with eyes, hands, and voice lift up to heaven, repeated often, *wo, wo unto you, you enter not into heaven your ſelves, and forbid them that would. Wo, wo, wo unto you.* But they mocking at theſe words, preſently laid hands on him, juſtling him to and fro; whereupon he ſaid, *I for the name of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt am ready to ſuffer all this, and what elſe you ſhall impoſe.* The people were much affrighted, but the chief magiſtrates, and many good women interceding for him, he was at laſt diſmiſſed, provided, that he ſhould depart the city within three days. And thus was this faithful ſhepherd, not without the great lamentations of his people, baniſhed; where, about three years after, he died.

In a neighbouring city, the miniſter for fear of theſe barbarous proceedings, went away of himſelf, yet the commiſſioners extorted a great ſum of money from his church, and baniſhed him in his abſence. In another place, they commanded the miniſter to depart from his pariſh within three days, and from the city within eight days. He modeſtly aſking the reaſon of his baniſhment, they told him, *Cæſar by conqueſt was maſter of all the churches, and that therefore he would put into them whom he pleaſed.*

But, into the rooms of theſe godly preachers, were put in unclean men, wicked blaſphemers, and men illiterate, and of no worth; and yet they could not provide for all places: So that one of their hirelings ſupplied divers churches, and inſtead of the wholeſome food of God's word, he fed them with poiſon. Then brought they ignorant monks out of Poland, unprofitable burdens to the earth, yet fit enough to be ſcourges to unprofitable and common goſpellers.

Alſo a commiſſioner, with ſome troops of horſe, entring into Cuttenburgh, a place famous for maintaining the orthodox faith, calls before him the miniſters, caſts them out of their places, and puts Jeſuits into their churches: And theſe Jeſuits urging it, the miniſters were commanded to depart out of the city gates before break of day, and out of the kingdom within eight days: Hereby were twenty one miniſters driven away, many citizens accompanying them; one of them at the parting, preached upon that text, *They ſhall caſt you out of the ſynagogues*, exhorting them to perſeverance. All the multitude much bewailed their loſs, and with great lamentations, wailing and kiſſing each other, they recommended themſelves to the bleſſing and protection of the almighty.

In every place the miniſters were caſt out of their livings, ſome impriſoned, and after a while diſmiſſed; and all commanded to depart the kingdom, upon pain of death. Some were ſtifled with ſtink, whilſt they lay in priſon.

At laſt, *anno* 1624. another decree came forth from the king, whereby all the miniſters of the goſpel were commanded to depart the kingdom by a peremptory day prefixed, becauſe, as was alledged, they were ſeditious men, and ſeducers of the people: Yet herein they uſed this artifice, that in moſt places this edict was concealed, till the time was almoſt or altogether elapſed; ſo that by this means, the miniſters not having time to communicate their counſels together, went into ſeveral provinces; and ſome were fain to hide themſelves in caves and dens, and thoſe either returned privately, and viſited their auditors, or comforted ſuch as came to them in the mountains and woods, preaching and adminiſtring the ſacraments to them.

But as ſoon as the enemies underſtood it, they preſently publiſhed a new decree, wherein a puniſhment was propoſed to thoſe that ſhould conceal the miniſters, and a reward to ſuch as ſhould betray them. Whereupon ſome of the miniſters, were taken and caſt into priſon; then by the Jeſuites were they by all ways ſollicited to apoſtacy: And fear of death, hunger, cold, the ſtink of the priſon, *&c.* prevailed with ſome to renounce their miniſtry. But moſt bore up couragiouſly againſt all ſtorms; and at laſt, ſome by paying great fines, others by giving it under their hands, that they would never return into Bohemia, were diſmiſſed.

One godly miniſter was examined by tortures, when, where, and to whom he had adminiſtred the ſacraments of baptiſm, or the Lord's ſupper, *&c.* He anſwered, 'That 'he had neither laid down, nor ſlacked his miniſtry, which 'he received from Chriſt, and not from Cæſar.' Being proffered life if he would change his religion, he anſwered, 'This body of mine is ſubject to corruption, and now 'it begins to decay already; why would you have me 'hinder it?' Being brought forth to execution, the cryer with a loud voice proclaimed, *That he was guilty of ſedition:* But he with a loud voice ſaid, *I ſuffer for the truth of Chriſt.* None of the citizens were ſuffered to accompany him, yea, they were threatned to be ſhot, if they did but look out at their windows; and that his voice might not be heard, the drums and trumpets ſounded continually. As he was paſſing on, he chearfully ſaid, *This day ſhall my ſoul be with Chriſt:* the captain ſaid, *with the devil in hell.* The martyr replied, *But you with your impious crew will run headlong thither, except ye repent.* Then was his right hand cut off, wherewith he gave the cup in the ſacrament; then was his head cut off, his bowels taken forth, and wrapped in his ſhirt, his quarters ſet upon four ſtakes, and his head upon the fifth.

After this did the commiſſioners go into Moravia, to a noble baron called Charles de Zerotina, a man for wiſdom and virtue, famous through all Europe, a conſtant profeſſor of religion, and one who maintained twenty four miniſters of the brethren within his juriſdiction: They told him, 'That they had an expreſs command from cardinal 'Ditrichſteine, to expel all thoſe miniſters out of the 'country. He anſwered, That in matters of religion he 'ought not to be ſubject to the cardinal, and therefore 'from him he appeals to Cæſar.' They granted him fourteen days to proſecute his appeal; but the baron being not in health, could not go in that time to Cæſar. Then they came again to him, and told him, 'That it ſhould be in 'his choice, whether he would ſend them away himſelf, 'or ſuffer them to do it.' The baron anſwered, 'That 'he could not baniſh thoſe whom he knew to be the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, nor would conſent that they ſhould 'do it.' Yet that night they ſent abroad their citations, to require all the inhabitants of that village, to appear before them the next morning; at which time the miniſter and people came. Then did they read to them Cæſar's edict, aſking them if they would ſubmit to it; they anſwered, 'That they wholly relied upon the will of God, 'whom they ſerved in the goſpel of his Son; and there'fore they were reſolved to undergo what puniſhment they 'ſhould inflict, ſeeing they ſuffered only for the name 'of Jeſus Chriſt, and not for any ill deeds.' Then they demanded of them, 'Whether they would forſake their 'hereſy, and return to the catholic church?' Which they unanimouſly denied. The commiſſioners would have given them time to conſider of it, but they all anſwered *That in ſo religious a cauſe as this, they needed no deliberations.* Hereupon in Cæſar's name they baniſhed them, commanded them to depart within eight days. Theſe godly perſons obeyed, and by the baron, at his own charge, they were conveyed into Hungary. The like they did in other places. So that the miniſters of the goſpel, through all Bohemia and Moravia, were thruſt out, and ignorant and illiterate perſons ſet in their rooms.

The next deſign of the enemies was againſt the nobles. The crime was, for taking up arms for Frederic their lawful king, againſt an uſurper: For though hope of pardon was granted, if laying down arms they would ſubmit

to Cæſar's mercy, yet divers of them were apprehended. And firſt they ſeized upon ſome that were of the rank of defenders of the kingdom's liberties, and then all thoſe whom they knew to have done any thing for the common good of religion and liberty, or feared, that they might be able to do for the time to come; and all ſuch as feared to break their faith given to Frederic. Theſe were about the number of fifty men, famous for learning, ſkill in military affairs, and prudence in government, who were the light, delight and ſafeguard of their country.

All of theſe in one night, and at one hour, were apprehended in their houſes, when they ſuſpected no danger, and by the captains were commanded to get up into waggons; and ſome of them were carried to the caſtle of Prague, others to the major's houſe. The next day proclamations were iſſued out, requiring all thoſe that had hid themſelves, or departed the kingdom, to appear within ſix weeks. But they not appearing, ſentence was pronounced, 'That all ſuch as were guilty of treaſon, ſhould 'forfeit goods, honours, and lives;' and then their names were ſet upon the gallows. The next day ſentence was pronounced againſt their heirs, *That all their goods ſhould be confiſcate to the king.*

Then did they proceed to the trial of the noblemen whom they had taken. Two apoſtate civilians were appointed to examine them, with ſome of the nobility, who tired them out with a thouſand impertinent queſtions, labouring to extort that from them whereof they were never guilty: Which one of them not able to endure, renting his garments, and opening his breaſt, ſaid, 'Tear in 'to a thouſand pieces this body, and ſearch into my heart, 'and you ſhall find nothing there but what is expreſſed in 'my apology. The love of religion and liberty made us 'unſheath our ſwords; but ſeeing God would have Cæſar 'prevail, and hath delivered us into your hand, his will 'be done.' Others of them alſo ſtoutly maintained, that their cauſe was not the worſe, becauſe of the ſucceſs.

After ſome time, when none of the noblemen would yield, or acknowlege themſelves in an error, or ſue unto them for mercy, they proceeded to execution; their judgments were committed to ſuch as were ſworn enemies to the goſpel.

After ſentence was paſſed, it was ſent to Cæſar to conſider of it; and he was ſo troubled, that he ſlept not that night, and the next morining calling his confeſſor, he ſaid to him, 'I adjure thee upon thy conſcience to tell me, 'whether I may with a ſafe conſcience pardon theſe that 'are condemned? Or whether I ſhould ſuffer execution to 'paſs upon them?' The confeſſor anſwered, 'O Cæſar, 'both are in thy power.' Then did he with his pen pardon ſome, and left others to execution, with a great addition of ſhame and ignominy.

Preſently after they were brought out ſingly to hear their ſentence, wherein ſome were condemned to death, others to perpetual impriſonment, others to baniſhment, and ſome were reſerved to Cæſar's further pleaſure.

Then were each ſort of priſoners carried to their ſeveral priſons; the noblemen into the inward priſon of the caſtle, the citizens to the major's houſe; and as they went, ſome villains were ſuborned to inſult over them, ſaying, 'Why 'do they not now ſing, the Lord reigneth?'

Then did the wives, children, and kinſfolk, of the condemned perſons, humbly petition for their lives: But anſwer was made, that all the favour which could now be granted to them, was, that they ſhould have leave to bury the corps of their friends.

In the evening, the condemned men, which were twenty ſeven in number, had notice given them of the day wherein they were to ſuffer; and therefore they were adviſed to ſend for Jeſuits or capuchins, or a miniſter of the Auguſtine Confeſſion, for the good of their ſouls; but they muſt expect no miniſter of the brethren, for that would not be granted to them. The Jeſuits and capuchins, not ſtaying till they were called for, flocked to them, uſing many perſuaſions, promiſing life, *&c.* if they would turn. But God ſo ſtrengthned them, that all thoſe endeavours of Satan's imps were in vain. Then were ſome miniſters of the Auguſtine Confeſſion ſent for, who ſpent that time which remained in religious exerciſes, conferences, prayer, and ſinging of pſalms; and laſtly, by adminiſtring the ſacrament to them.

They which were of the brethren, willingly admitted theſe miniſters, proteſting, that they acknowleged them for brethren, though they differed from them in ſome things; only two of them did not partake of the ſacrament, for fear of ſome falſe accuſation, comforting themſelves with that ſaying, 'Believe, and thou haſt eaten.'

They which were priſoners in the major's houſe, being called to ſupper, the night before they were to ſuffer, comforted themſelves, 'That this was their laſt ſupper on 'earth, but to morrow they ſhould feaſt with Chriſt in 'his kingdom.' Whereupon a great Papiſt flouted, ſaying, 'Hath Chriſt cooks for you in heaven?'

When it was told them, that the noblemen were coming to the ſcaffold in the market-place, where they were to ſuffer, they haſted to the windows, and entertained their fellow martyrs, with ſinging the forty fourth pſalm. The night after they ſpent in pſalms, prayer, godly diſcourſe, and mutual exhortations, 'That ſince it pleaſed 'God to call them before others, to this honour of mar'tyrdom, they hoped by their conſtancy to confound the 'world, to glorify Chriſt, and to leave a good example to 'others.' And ſinging the ſixty eighth pſalm, wherein David prays to God, 'To ſhew ſome token of good upon 'him:' One of them ſaid, 'Shew therefore ſome token of 'good upon us, O God, whereby we thy ſervants may be 'ſtrengthned by thy goodneſs, and our enemies confound'ed.' And being full of faith, he ſaid further, 'Be of 'good chear, for even in this God hath heard your voice, 'and to morrow he will ſhew ſome wonderful ſign, where'by he will witneſs that we ſuffer for his cauſe.'

Early in the morning they waſhed their faces, and put on clean cloaths, as if they had been going to a wedding; and cut of the collars of their doublets, that when they came to the ſcaffold, there ſhould need no new making ready. Then did they earneſtly pray to God, 'That he 'would be pleaſed to confirm and ſtrengthen both them'ſelves and the people, concerning their innocency.'

Preſently after the ſun riſing, a beautiful bow appeared, and compaſſed the heavens, the miniſters, ſoldiers, and many others looking upon it. The martyrs looked out at the window, and ſaw a rainbow of an unuſual colour, the heavens being clear, and no rain of two days before: Whereupon, falling upon their knees, they lifted up their voices and hands, praiſing God for this ſign that he ſhewed from heaven. Then preſently was a gun diſcharged, which was a warning for their bringing forth to execution: Whereupon thoſe champions of Chriſt encouraged one another, praying, 'That each of them might be ſtrengthned,' *&c.* Then came troops of horſe and foot to fetch them, the ſtreets, market place, and houſes, being filled with multitudes of ſpectators.

The martyrs being called forth one by one, went to their death with an undaunted courage, haſting as if they had been going to a banquet: When one was called for, he thus took his leave of the reſt, 'Farewel moſt loving 'friends, God give you the comforts of his Spirit, patience 'and courage, that what formerly with your mouths you 'have profeſſed, you may confirm by your glorious death. 'Behold, I go before, that I may ſee the glory of my 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt; you will follow me, that we may to'gether ſee the face of our heavenly Father. At this hour 'all ſorrow departs from me, and joyful eternity ſhall ſuc'ceed it.' Then did the reſt anſwer, 'God above to 'whom you are going, proſper your journey, and grant that 'you may paſs happily from this vale of miſery, unto that 'heavenly country. The Lord Jeſus ſend his angels to 'meet you. Go, dear brother, into thine and our Father's 'houſe, and we will follow after; preſently we ſhall meet 'in the heavenly glory. And this we are confident of, 'through him in whom we have believed.'

The firſt was the lord Schilk, a man of admirable parts, about fifty years old: When he was condemned to be quartered, and his parts to be ſcattered here and there, he ſaid, 'The loſs of a ſepulchre is eaſy.' Being exhorted by a miniſter to courage, he ſaid, 'I have God's favour 'ſo, that no fear of death doth trouble me. I have for'merly dared to oppoſe antichriſt, and I dare now die for 'Chriſt.' The Jeſuits troubling him when he came to the

the ſcaffold, he ſhaked them off, and ſeeing the ſun ſhining bright, he ſaid, 'Chriſt, thou Sun of righteouſneſs, 'grant that through the darkneſs of death, I may paſs in-'to eternal light;' and ſo having ended his prayers, he conſtantly received the ſtroke. His right hand and head were hung on the high tower upon the bridge.

The lord Wenceſlaus was next, about ſeventy years old, famous for learning, religion, and his travels through divers countries; his houſe was formerly plundered, even to his wearing apparel, he only ſaying, 'The Lord hath 'given, and the Lord hath taken away.' Being aſked, why he would engage himſelf in Frederic's cauſe? he ſaid, 'My conſcience preſſed me to do what I did; I am here, 'my God, diſpoſe of me thy ſervant as ſeems good in thine 'eyes. I am full of years, take me out of this life, that I 'may not ſee that evil that is coming on my country.' Afterwards holding forth his Bible, he ſaid, 'Behold my 'paradiſe, it never yielded me ſo much nectar and ambro-'ſia, as now.' When he was ſentenced, he ſaid to the judges, 'You have a long time thirſted after my blood, 'but know withal, you will find God a revenger of inno-'cent blood, for whoſe cauſe we ſuffer.' A Fryer ſaying to him, 'You are deceived in your opinion;' he anſwered, 'I rely not on opinion, but on the infallible truth of 'God; for I have no other way, but him who ſaid, I am 'the way, the truth, and the life.' On the ſcaffold, ſtroaking his long beard, he ſaid, 'My gray hairs, behold 'what honour remains for you, that you ſhould be crown-'ed with martyrdom!' And ſo praying for the church, his country, his enemies, and commending his ſoul to Chriſt, his head was cut off, and ſet on the tower.

The next was the lord Harant, a man that had gained much experience by his travels in Aſia, Africa, and Europe; his crime was, 'That he had taken oath to be true 'to Frederic, and durſt not violate it.' As he was going to ſuffer, he called the miniſter to him, and told him, 'That he much feared his wife's inconſtancy in religion; 'and therefore deſired him to exhort her to conſtancy, 'and not to ſuffer herſelf to be drawn from her religion 'by any allurements, aſſuring her, That it is the infallible 'way to ſalvation.' Then to exhort her to uſe more clemancy to his ſubjects, rather eaſing then over charging them with burdens. Laſtly, 'To require her to have a 'care of his children, and to bring them up in the pure 'religion,' &c. Being called to execution he ſaid, 'I have 'travelled through many countries, through many bar-'barous nations, eſcaped many perils by ſea and land, and 'now ſuffer innocently in my own country, and by them, 'for whoſe ſake, I, and my forefathers have ſpent our e-'ſtates and lives: Father forgive them.' Then he ſaid, 'In thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confound-'ed.' On the ſcaffold he ſaid, 'Into thine hands, O Lord, 'I commend my ſpirit: In thee, O Lord, have I truſted 'from my youth. I am confident, that I ſhall be accept-'ed by that ignominious death of my Saviour.' And falling upon his knees, he ſaid, 'To thee, O Lord, I com-'mend my ſpirit; for thou, O God, juſt and true, haſt 'redeemed me.' And ſo he received the fatal ſtroke with the ſword.

The next was Caſper Kaplitz, a knight, of eighty ſix years old: When the miniſter came to him after his condemnation, he ſaid, 'See me, a miſerable old man, who 'have often intreated my God, that he would have mer-'cy on me, and take me out of this miſerable life, but have 'not obtained it; for God hath reſerved me to be a ſpec-'tacle to the world, and a ſacrifice to himſelf, God's will 'be done. My death indeed is diſgraceful in the eyes of 'men, but glorious in the ſight of God: For God will 'account that death precious in his ſight, which I ſuffer 'for his glory and truth.' And when it was told him, 'That he might have his life, if he would aſk pardon:' He anſwered, 'That he would aſk pardon of him, againſt 'whom he had committed many ſins all his life, but he 'never offended the prince; and therefore would not give 'occaſion to ſuſpect that he had commited ſome crime, for 'which he had deſerved death, &c. God forbid therefore, 'ſaid he, that I ſhould be ſeparated from this holy com-'pany of martyrs.' As he was going to the ſcaffold, being feeble with age, he ſaid, 'O my God ſtrengthen me, leſt 'I fall down, and become a ſcorn to the enemies.' Being crooked with age, and hanging down his head, the executioner could not well come at his neck; whereupon the miniſter ſaid to him. 'My noble lord, as you have com-'mended your ſoul to Chriſt, ſo now offer up your heavy 'head chearfully to God, and lift up yourſelf towards hea-'ven.' Then lifting up his head as well as he could, he ſaid, 'Lord Jeſus, into thy hand I commend my ſpirit;' and ſo his head was cut off.

The next was Procopius Dorzecki, who after his condemnation ſaid to the miniſter, 'I have had a great contention all night with old Adam, ſo that it made me ſweat again; But thanks be to my God, by whom my ſoul hath overcome all temptations:' Saying further, 'O Almighty God, ſtrengthen thy ſervant that I may not be made a deriſion to mine enemies by any fear of death; and as thou waſt wont to encourage thy holy martyrs, ſo I ſtrongly believe thou wilt comfort me.' When he was called forth to execution, he ſaid, 'Thanks be to God, who doth now call me to himſelf, to him I have lived, and for him I will die; for my Saviour hath therefore died and riſen again, that he might be Lord both of the living and dead: I know that my ſoul ſhall live, and my body ſhall be raiſed like to his glorious body.' Upon the ſcaffold, he ſaid to the imperial judges, 'Tell Cæſar that we are now under his judgment, but he ſhall undergo a more grievous, yet juſt judgment of God.' And ſeeing a gold medal hanging about his neck, wherein was engraven the coronation of Fredrick, he delivered it to one that ſtood by, ſaying, 'I require thee, that when my dear king Fredrick ſhall recover the throne of this kingdom, thou deliver him this, and tell him, that for his ſake I wore it till death, and that now I lay down my life willingly, for God and my king,' and ſo preſently after he loſt his head.

The next was the lord Frederic de Bile, who ſuffered death likewiſe patiently and pioufly.

The next was the lord Henry Otto, a man of great judgment, who having received the ſentence of condemnation, ſaid, 'O Cæſar, do you indeed eſtabliſh your throne by our blood? But what account will you make to God of it in the day of judgment? &c. Kill my body, diſperſe my members whither you pleaſe; yet do I believe that my Saviour will gather them together again, and cloath them with ſkin, ſo that with theſe eyes I ſhall ſee him, with theſe ears I ſhall hear him, with this tongue I ſhall praiſe him, and rejoice with this heart for ever.' Afterwards when the miniſter came to him, amongſt other things he ſaid, 'I was troubled, but now I feel a wonderful refreſhing in my heart;' adding, with his hands lift up to heaven, 'I give thee thanks, O moſt merciful Saviour, who haſt been pleaſed to fill me with ſo much comfort; O now I fear death no longer, I will die with joy.' As he was going to the ſcaffold he ſaid to the miniſter, 'I am ſure that Chriſt Jeſus will meet my ſoul with his angels, that he may bring it to an everlaſting marriage, where I ſhall drink of a new cup, a cup of joy for ever: This death I know ſhall not ſeparate me from him:' Upon the ſcaffold lifting up his eyes to heaven, he ſaid, 'Behold I ſee the heavens open,' pointing with his hand to the place, where others alſo obſerved a certain brightneſs which dazled their eyes; after he had prayed ſilently, he ſaid, 'Into thy hands O Lord God I commend my ſpirit, have pity on me through Jeſus Chriſt, and receive me that I may ſee thy glory;' and ſo he received the ſtroke of the ſword.

The next was Dionyſius Zervius formerly a Papiſt, but being told of the promiſes made to the people of God concerning the pardon of ſins, and aſſurance of ſalvation to thoſe that believe in Chriſt, he ſtruck his breaſt, and with tears in his eyes, cried out, 'This is my faith, and in this I die, I reſt in the grace of Chriſt, and I truſt in my God, that he will graciouſly accept my contrite ſpirit.' When upon the ſcaffold the Jeſuits exhorted him, he liſtned not to them, but turned from the crucifix, and falling down on his knees he prayed ſoftly: Then looking up towards heaven, he cried, 'They can take away the body, but they cannot take away the ſoul; O Lord Jeſus, I commend that unto thee: and ſo he ended his life being fifty ſix years old.

The next was an aged man about ſeventy years old, that had been long lame: His crime was that he had aſſiſted Frederic with his counſel and wealth. At the time

of

of his death, he ſaid, 'O Lord Jeſus, who being innocent didſt undergo death, grant that I may die the death of the righteous, and receive my ſoul into thy hands.'

The next was the Lord of Rugenia, a man of excellent parts, and full of zeal for God; when he was judged to die, he ſaid, that it was more welcome to him than if the emperor had given him life, and reſtored him to his eſtate with addition of more: Afterwards he ſaid to the miniſter, 'God is our witneſs, that we have fought for nothing but the liberty of religion; and in that we are overcome and condemned to die, we acknowlege, and find that God will not have his truth defended by our ſwords, but by our blood,' &c. When he ſaw divers called out before him, he ſaid, 'What is the matter my God? thou knoweſt that I reſign my ſelf wholly unto thee: Ah do not deſpiſe thy ſervant, but make haſte to take me away:' And when the ſheriff came for him, he rejoiced, and ſaid, 'Praiſed be my God, that I ſhall now be taken out of the world, that I may be with Chriſt;' and ſo he went to meet him. On the ſcaffold he comforted himſelf with that promiſe, 'Father, I will, that where I am, my ſervants may alſo be, to behold that glory which thou gaveſt me:' Therefore (ſaid he) 'I make haſte to die that I may be with Chriſt, and ſee his glory;' and ſo he ſuffered martyrdom couragiouſly.

The next was Valentine Cockan of about ſixty years old: During his impriſonment, he was full of heavenly diſcourſe, and at the ſcaffold he ſaid, 'Grant me, O God, 'to paſs thro' this valley of death, that I may preſently ſee 'thee, for thou knoweſt, my God, that I have loved thy 'word, bring me O God, thro' the paths of life, that I 'may ſee fulneſs of joy in thy preſence: (and kneeling 'down, he ſaid,) Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my 'ſpirit;' and ſo holily ended his life.

The next was Toby Steffica man of a compoſed temper, and ſincere in religion: He ſpent moſt of the time of his impriſonment in ſilent ſighs and tears: Before his execution he ſaid, 'I have received many good things of the Lord 'all my life long; ſhall I not therefore receive this cup of 'affliction? I embrace the will of God, who by this igno-'minious death makes me conformable to his Son, and by 'a narrow way brings me to his heavenly kingdom; I 'praiſe God who hath joined me undeſervedly to theſe 'excellent men, that I might receive with them the crown 'of martyrdom:' When he was called to die, he ſaid, 'My Saviour being about to die, ſaid, Father, not as I 'will, but as thou wilt: Thy will be done. Shall I 'therefore who am but a worm, yea, duſt, and a ſhadow 'contradict his will? far be it from me; yea, I come wil-'lingly, my God, only have mercy on me, and cleanſe me 'from my ſins, that no ſpot or wrinkle may appear in me, 'but that I may appear pure in thy ſight;' And ſo he lift ed up himſelf full of ſighs, yet full of hope, and as he was praying he rendred up his ſpirit unto God.

Then was Jeſſenius, a doctor of phyſic, called forth, a man famous for piety and learning all over Europe: Having heard his ſentence, he ſaid, 'You uſe us too cruelly 'and diſgracefully; but know, that our heads ſhall be 'buried, which you ignominiouſly expoſe for a ſpectacle;' which afterwards came to paſs, *Anno* 1631 when the king of Sweden with his army took Prague, and cauſed the martyrs heads to be taken from the tower, and ſolemnly and honourably buried. When the hangman required his tongue to cut it off, he willingly put it out, and falling upon his knees, as he was praying, his head was cut off, his body quartered and ſet upon four ſtakes.

The next was Chriſtopher Chober, who much encouraged his fellow-martyrs, and then cited the words of Ignatius, 'I am God's corn, and ſhall be ground with the 'teeth of wild beaſts: So we (ſaith he) are God's corn, 'ſown in the field of the church, and that we may be for 'our maſters uſe, we are now to be torn by beaſts; but 'be of good chear, the church is founded in blood, and 'hath ever increaſed by blood; God is able to raiſe up a 'thouſand worſhippers of himſelf out of every drop of our 'blood; for tho' truth now ſuffers violence, yet Chriſt 'reigns, and no man ſhall throw him from his throne:' Being called to execution, he ſaid, 'I come in the name of 'my God, neither am I aſhamed to ſuffer theſe things for 'his glory, for I know whom I have believed: I have fought 'the good fight of faith, and finiſhed my courſe,' &c. Then praying, *Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my ſpirit*, he received the crown of martyrdom.

John Shultis was next, who on the ſcaffold, ſaid, *Why art thou ſo ſad, O my ſoul? Hope thou in God for thou ſhalt yet praiſe him*, &c. 'The righteous ſeem to die in the eyes 'of fools, but indeed they go to their reſt: Lord Jeſus 'thou haſt promiſed that whoſo comes to thee, thou wilt 'not caſt off: Behold I now come, look on me, pity me, 'pardon my ſins, and receive my ſoul to thyſelf:' Then kneeling down, he ſaid, 'Come, come, Lord Jeſus, and 'do not tarry,' and ſo he was beheaded.

The next was Maximillian Hoſtialick, a learned, and pious man: After his condemnation he was ſadder than the reſt, and being aſked by the miniſter the reaſon of it, he ſaid, 'The ſins of my youth do now come into my mind: For tho' I know that nothing remains to condemn them which are in Chriſt Jeſus, yet I know that God exerciſeth juſtice as well as mercy towards his own:' Being called to death, he ſaid, 'Look upon me, O Lord my God, and lighten mine eyes, leſt I ſleep the ſleep of death; and leſt mine enemies ſay, we have prevailed.' Afterward repeating the words of Simeon, 'Now letteſt thou thy ſer-'vant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalva-'tion,' he was beheaded.

The next was John Kutnaur, who when the Jeſuites began to ſpeak to them, ſaid, 'Pray you trouble not our 'conſciences, we are ſufficiently furniſhed againſt the fear 'of death, we need none of your help: And when they would have proceeded, he ſaid, 'Why do you create unprofitable labour to yourſelves, and trouble to us?' Then ſaid they one to another, 'They are hard rocks, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be removed: To whom he anſwered, You ſay true, Chriſt is an hard rock, and we are firmly fixed on him.' Afterwards he ſaid to his fellow-martyrs, 'I underſtand that I muſt be hanged, but whether by the neck, middle or feet, I know not, nor care not; this only is my grief, that my blood may not be mingled with yours, that we might be made one ſacrifice to God.' When he was called forth to execution, he was beſprinkled with the tears of his friends, to whom he ſaid, 'Play the men, brethren, and refrain from weeping, I go before, but it is but a ſhort time and we ſhall meet in the heavenly glory.' When he was upon the ladder, he ſaid, 'I have plotted no treaſon, committed no murder, I have done nothing worthy of death; but I die becauſe I have been faithful to the goſpel, and my country? O God pardon my enemies, for they know not what they do: But thou, O Chriſt, have pity on me, for I commit my ſoul unto thee;' and ſo he ſlept in the Lord

The next was Simon Suſſickey, who when he ſaw the Jeſuites coming, he ſaid to his companions, 'Theſe birds of prey are flying hither, but they ſhall not feed on theſe carcaſſes, but return hungry; For God hath promiſed to preſerve his own as the apple of his eye, and therefore he will not ſuffer us to be ſeduced. The laſt night he had a great conflict with the fleſh, becauſe the ſcripture ſaith, *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* But when the miniſter told him, that, that curſe was taken away by the death of Chriſt, he was well ſatisfied: He went to his death praying and ſinging, and being hanged next to Kutnaur, who was his ſon in law; after he was dead, he turned towards him, and ſo near that their mouths touched each other; ſo that their enemies ſaid, 'Theſe were ſuch obſtinate rebels that they ceaſe not to plot after death.'

The next was Nathaneel Wodnianſkey, who when the Jeſuites ſolicited him to apoſtacy he ſaid to them, 'You take away our lives under pretence of rebellion, and not content with that, you ſeek to deſtroy our ſouls? Glut yourſelves with ſight of our blood, and be ſatisfied with that, but we ſhall leave a ſting in your conſcience:' Afterwards his own ſon ſaying to him, 'my father, if hope of life ſhould be proffered you, upon condition of apoſtacy, I pray you be mindful of keeping your faith to Chriſt: He anſwered, It is very acceptable to me, my ſon, to be exhorted to conſtancy by you, but what makes you to ſuſpect me? I rather adviſe and exhort you to follow your father's ſteps, and to exhort your brethren, ſiſters, and children, to that conſtancy whereof I ſhall leave you an example;'

ample;' and ſo he patiently ended his life upon the gallows.

The next was Wenceſlaus Giſbitſky, to whom were given great hopes of life: And the miniſter fearing Satan's ſtratagems, adviſed him to take heed of ſecurity, and to prepare himſelf for the encounter of death. Upon the ſcaffold, ſeeing his hopes fruſtrate, he fell on his knees, and ſaid, 'We are proſtrate before thee, O eternal Father, do not forſake us, have pity on us through Jeſus Chriſt: We would ſay more, but we are not able to expreſs it: Into thy hands do we commend our ſouls, perfect that which thou haſt begun to work in us. Render to us our inheritance that we may ſing' Holy, holy, holy, *&c.* and ſo in the midſt of his prayers he ended his life.

There was alſo one Martin Fruin, an eminent citizen of Prague, who being taken in his own houſe, was ſcoffed at by the ſoldiers, beaten with their fiſts, and afterward cruelly tortured, and ſo burnt in the privy parts, that for ſix months he was troubled with moſt grievous pain: He was ſhut up in priſon from all company, and at laſt was found dead in the caſtle ditch under the tower.

Preſently after the execution of theſe holy martyrs, all their goods were confiſcated, as alſo of thoſe that were driven into baniſhment. Then was a proclamation publiſhed, wherein a general pardon of all crimes was offered to all the inhabitants of the kingdom, only their goods were confiſcated, either in whole or in part, which muſt be brought into his majeſty's treaſury, to pay his debts which were contracted by this neceſſary war: beſides which, they were to make a confeſſion of their faults in a form preſcribed before cardinal Lichtenſtein, who was Cæſar's viceroy, and if any did not appear, he ſhould loſe this favour.

Hence it was that the enemies publicly boaſted that none were puniſhed but ſuch as were convicted by their own confeſſion. Then by edict all were forbidden to diminiſh, or waſte their goods, by ſelling them, or conveying them over to others; and if any man ſhould ſend away his goods to another place, all ſhould be loſt; and whoſoever received ſuch goods, ſhould pay ſo much of his own to the emperor.

Yet the merry judges turned all this to a jeſt, ſaying to divers that pleaded their innocency from having any hand in bringing in Frederic, 'That though they had not actual ſins, yet they were infected with the original ſin of hereſy and wealth, and therefore could not be exempted from puniſhment.'

Then did they proceed to take from the Proteſtants all their caſtles, towns, and villages, whereby they were deprived of their livelihoods, and driven into ſtrange places: Some were forced to caſt themſelves upon their Popiſh friends, others to become ſervants to their own deſtroyers.

Afterwards all their perſonal eſtates were ſequeſtred, ſcarce leaving ſo much as a garment for them wherewith to cover their nakedneſs: And leſt any man ſhould have money at uſe, they commanded all to bring in all their bonds, upon pain of loſing all their debts, if they concealed the leaſt: And when any conſiderable ſum was brought in, the king's treaſurers were at hand, who proteſting that the emperor had need of it to defray his charges of war, took it away, giving to the party a note that ſo much was due to him from the emperor, which yet was never repayed.

And thus the Proteſtants being commanded to depart the kingdom, the Popiſh party divided their confiſcated goods and lands amongſt themſelves; and as it lay commodious for any of them, they added this or that village, town, caſtle, or lordſhip to their own, but the greateſt part fell to ſtrangers ſhares, Spaniards, Italians, or Germans which were commanders in the imperial army, inſtead of their pay. If any widows or orphans had lands or goods not taken away, their Popiſh neighbours would either circumvent them by craft, or weary them out by quartering ſoldiers upon them, and ſo enforced them to ſell them their lands, at what prices themſelves liſted to make thereof, and yet afterwards not paying that neither.

Then did the emperor call for the ancient charters of the kingdom, which he immediately rent, and threw into the fire.

The miniſters being all baniſhed, the noble lord Charles de Zerotine did yet not only retain his houſhould chaplain; but he ſuſtained alſo many others privately, in their caves with bread and water; and not fearing man, he did not only give liberty to his own ſubjects, but to divers others in neighbouring places to reſort to the holy exerciſes which were performed in his caſtle.

Hereupon the enemies by a new edict publiſhed, that all ſuch barons, noblemen, and citizens, as kept any Proteſtant tutor for their children, ſhould preſently diſmiſs him; otherwiſe he ſhould be taken and puniſhed.

Alſo by another edict all the Proteſtants were caſt out of protection of the laws, and were to have no benefit by them.

The enemies being every day puffed up with their ſucceſſes and victories, made a decree that all the Proteſtant noblemen ſhould preſently depart out of the kingdom, and the emperor publiſhed a proclamation, that to prevent all diviſions which were dangerous to the kingdom and magiſtrates, therefore he was reſolved no longer to tolerate any of the inferior, much leſs of the ſuperior eſtates of either ſex, who was infected with heretical errors: And withal, he granted to the ſuperior ſtates the terms of ſix months, wherein to learn the holy Roman Catholic faith: and for that end he appointed commiſſioners of reformation to inſtruct them, requiring them to be obedient to his will, and to be diligently inſtructed by them, otherwiſe they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſtay in the kingdom, much leſs to poſſeſs their goods; and therefore he required all thoſe which at the end of that term of ſix months did not turn Catholics, immediately to depart the kingdom, and never to return again.

Hereupon they which loved religion at their hearts, did preſently ſeparate themſelves by baniſhment: Others ſollicited Cæſar by petitions, either to change the decree, or to grant them a longer time: Others there were that thinking to deceive the emperor and Pope, did buy falſe teſtimonies of the prieſts, that they had been at confeſſion and communicated in one kind, and ſo made ſhew of a diſſembled apoſtacy, thereby to avoid baniſhment.

Then was the forenamed act extended unto widows, and the Proteſtants children were commanded to be delivered to the care and inſtruction of Catholics, or elſe to be ſhut up in monaſteries; and this cauſed extream grief and groans, when noble-mens ſons, and daughters, even maids that were marriageable, were pulled from their parents, and friends, and thruſt into Jeſuites colleges, or monks cells; their goods being taken alſo from them, and committed to Papiſts.

The cunning craftineſs of thoſe ſeducing reformers, deceived many unwary perſons, whilſt they told them, that they might hold their former opinions; only for order ſake they muſt acknowlege the Roman biſhop to be the viſible head of the church: Hereby the ſimpler ſort, thinking that they were not conſtrained to any other faith, but what they had formerly learned, thought that they might with a ſafe conſcience promiſe that outward obedience. And if the ſeducers ſaw any one of more nobility than ordinary, they preſently ſuggeſted to them how much it grieved Cæſar that thoſe ancient families which had formerly been the ornaments and props of the kingdom, ſhould caſt themſelves out into baniſhment through their unadviſedneſs, when they might remain and flouriſh under the favour both of God and Cæſar; and this ruined many of the Proteſtant nobility, who preferred their earthly, before the heavenly country.

Yet about a hundred families, leaving their inheritances, and all their poſſeſſions, went away: Amongſt theſe was the lord de Zerotine, who might have lived in his country if he would have deprived himſelf of the worſhip of God, by the loſs of his miniſter, or if he would have uſed it covertly, yet he rather choſe to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to continue the enjoyments of his earthly poſſeſſions.

And whereas many of theſe Proteſtants were gone into Cilicia, and Luſatia, the emperor ſent forth a proclamation, wherein he proteſted, that it was not his intention to remove them out of Bohemia and Moravia, and to ſuffer

them in the incorporated provinces, and therefore he commanded them to depart from thence alſo, or elſe they ſhould be brought to puniſhment; requiring them alſo to ſend back their children which they had carried with them, upon penalty of loſing all the goods which any of them could demand in his country.

Preſently after he publiſhed another edict, wherein he required all the Proteſtant wives of the catholics, either to reform, or to go into baniſhment: But when many of the chief officers of the kingdom had Proteſtant wives, and they would not endure that they ſhould be thus divorced from them; he ſet forth another edict, whereby they were tolerated till the death of their huſbands, and then they ſhould be excluded from their inheritances, and ſent into baniſhment: And required that in the mean time they ſhould abſent themſelves from all feſtival and nuptial ſolemnities, or elſe ſhould take the loweſt places after the catholics.

And whereas ſome of the Proteſtants did privately return, or ſtay to make the beſt of that little that did remain unto them: Proclamation was ſent out that all ſuch ſhould be apprehended and impriſoned; and to warn all ſuch as had harboured any of them, upon their allegiance, to appear before the chief officers in the caſtle of Prague: requiring that if any knew where any of them lay hid, they ſhould ſecretly and ſuddenly attack them, and bring them to priſon.

Then did the emperor repeal, and diſannul divers of the ancient ſtatutes of the kingdom, that made moſt for the peoples liberties, as concerning their free election of a king, &c. that he might the better every where oppreſs them.

Then in all the free cities, men of baſe and mean quality were appointed to determine all buſineſſes, and to be the chief officers, and to theſe were added ſome of the ſoldiery, the better to procure ſubjection.

Theſe cities alſo they impoveriſhed by taxes and contributions, which continued divers years, and were extorted by the ſoldiers power.

Then maſs-prieſts were put into places of godly miniſters, and people were compelled to frequent the maſs: Marriages were forbidden, except amongſt the catholics: Such as turned apoſtates were promoted to all places of magiſtracy in the cities, though men of no judgment, nor experience.

Then were theſe Articles given to the Captains of Diſtreſſes.

I. THAT whoſoever is not of the king's religion, all traffic and commerce ſhall be debarred him:

II. Whoſoever ſhall ſuffer private preaching, baptiſm, or matrimony in his houſe, ſhall pay a great fine, or ſuffer ſix months impriſonment; but if he harbour a preacher, he ſhall loſe goods and life:

III. If any man ſhall work upon Catholic holy-days, he ſhall be impriſoned, and pay ten florences:

IV. It ſhall not be lawful for any non-Catholic to make a will; if he do, it ſhall be null:

V. No youth ſhall be bound apprentice, or learn any art or trade, unleſs he learn the Catholic religion:

VI. The poor people in hoſpitals, except they be converted by ſuch a day, ſhall be turned out, &c.

After the taking the city of Prague, Papiſts were examined upon oath to declare what they knew or heard that the Proteſtants had ſpoken or done againſt Cæſar. Then was an act publiſhed to the reſt of the citizens, that though they had forfeited their whole eſtates, yet they ſhould not be wholly ſequeſtred, but every one ſhould contribute part of his eſtate to ſupport the army: All men alſo were required upon oath to diſcover what their eſtates were; according to which they were enjoined to pay a ranſom to obtain a pardon; yea, all trading was inhibited to ſuch as were not Catholics.

In the city of Kuttenberg were abundance of ſilver mines, and the inhabitants generally were zealous profeſſors: Hereupon ſo ſoon as they began to be moleſted for religion, the king's revenue began to diminiſh, moſt of the workmen giving over the work: The king ſeeing this, he farms his revenues to the citizens for ten years, promiſing that in the interim they ſhould not be troubled with ſoldiers, nor for their religion; and hereto he ſet his hand and ſeal: But Satan envying their place and liberties, ſtirs up the Jeſuites, to move the king to break his covenant within four months after: And the ſoldiers were ſent thither again, and they began again to be queſtioned about their religion. The citizens aſtoniſhed at this manifeſt breach of covenant, humbly petition that no violence might be offered to them, which would overthrow the mettal-works: But inſtead of anſwer, the major and chief aldermen had twenty muſquetiers apiece put into their houſes upon free quarter, till they had ſhriven themſelves to a prieſt. The ſoldiers domineered exceedingly, waſting theſe mens eſtates by their profuſeneſs, and abuſing them divers other ways at their pleaſures; yet the patience of the one, overcame the tyrannical behaviour of the other. Theſe godly men ſo long as they had it, provided for the ſoldiers, but when all was gone, ſome of them withdrew themſelves from danger by flight; others reſigned their houſes and goods to theſe domineering villains; delivering the keys to them, and ſo departing.

When yet this prevailed not, the taſk of reforming that city was committed to Don Martin, who accompanied with a troop of Cuiraſſiers, and himſelf brandiſhing a naked ſword, entred into the city, the citizens trembling at his coming, hearing of the cruelty which he had exerciſed in other places, whereupon that very night multitudes of them betook themſelves to flight, thinking to hide themſelves in neighbouring villages, this cauſed Don Martin to get an edict that none ſhould harbour exiles upon a great penalty.

The year after a ſenate at Kuttenberg was elected out of the apoſtates: The major being a baſe and illiterate perſon, ſo that all the citizens being ſtill oppreſſed with the ſoldiers, either fled with their wives and children, leaving all behind them, or elſe were fain to ſubmit their necks to the antichriſtian yoke.

The next city whither theſe reformers went, was Boliſlavia, where the orthodox religion had continued for two hundred years, and it was the principal ſeat of the brethren. The miniſters being ejected, they placed in their rooms two crafty friers, that by all means ſought to pervert the people, but when this prevailed not, they brought in three companies of ſoldiers to quarter upon them. Then were ſome of the citizens baniſhed, others caſt into priſon, and three of the principal were ſequeſtered to ſtrike a terror into the reſt; the cauſe pretended was, becauſe they ſaid, as was alledged, *That none had power to command their conſciences*, &c. But when yet the citizens remained conſtant, they were all warned to appear in the court, and being come, they were ſhut up in ſeveral rooms, and called out and examined one by one. The firſt was the town-clerk, a weak and timorous man, and therefore they had ſet a ruffian in a corner, with a ſword in his hand, whom the fearful man ſeeing, was ſo terrified, that he promiſed to turn Catholic; they ſo rejoiced at this beginning, that they diſmiſſed all the reſt, bade them conſider of it, and do as the town-clerk had ſet them an example.

Amongſt theſe were two burgo-maſters, learned men, who exhorted their fellow citizens not to be affrighted with theſe imaginary terrors.

Afterwards one of them being called for, was partly with threats, and partly with flatteries ſo wearied out, that at laſt he took time to conſider of it: The other being called for, and an old man propoſing the other's example to him, he ſpit in his face, ſaying, *Traitor is this your conſtancy?* And ſo both he, and the reſt of the citizens remained as unmoveable as a rock. The firſt burgo-maſter conſidering what he had done, and being aſhamed of it, came and gave them ſuch a poſitive anſwer, as that with the reſt he was ſent to priſon.

One Bartholomew Lang told them to their faces; that he had rather die by the ſword, than deny his faith; whereupon, with divers others, he was thruſt into a ſtinking dungeon, where they kept them priſoners for

ſeventeen

ſeventeen weeks, their houſes in the mean time being poſſeſſed by the barbarous ſoldiers.

One of theſe godly perſons died in priſon: And about that time Bethlem Gabor warring with the emperor, and count Mansfield entring Cilicia, with the king of Denmark's army, theſe tyrants were ſtruck with ſuch a terror, that preſently proclamations came forth, that it was not his majeſty's pleaſure that any man ſhould be forced to the faith by violent means; by which proclamation the inhabitants of Boliſlavia had ſome reſpite.

But the year after, when Gabor was retired, and the king of Denmark beaten out of Cilicia, their tyranny again revived, and a new proclamation came forth to inhibit the Proteſtants all trade and commerce, and to command them to abjure their hereſies under pain of the ſevereſt and inevitable puniſhment. Hereupon ſome were baniſhed, others voluntarily went into exile, others were denied traffic, the friers taking away ſuch commodities as they ſet to ſale, ſo that the citizens which ſtayed, were forced to take the *mark of the beaſt*, that they might buy and ſell.

In the city of Litomericia, *anno* 1517. there was an unanimous agreement amongſt the citizens, that none ſhould be made free amongſt them, but ſuch as profeſſed the reformed religion; and that whoſoever ſhould move for the nulling of this act ſhould be diſfranchiſed. This continued inviolate for a hundred years, till two Jeſuites ſued to be made free men of the city, which being denied, they entred their complaint in the chancery, whither ſome of the principal aldermen were ſummoned, and kept for nine weeks ſpace, till by threats they had obtained from them to make theſe two men free. Five months after, one of them is made an alderman, that ſo they might have their ſpies in every place: There were alſo cunning ſeducers ſent thither to withdraw the people from their religion.

But when this prevailed not, *anno* 1525. they took the names of every citizen, commanding them conſtantly to come to the maſs, and every one to ſhew his name to the ſexton, that they might know that all were there preſent, or elſe for every omiſſion they ſhould forfeit five pound.

Then bringing in more ſoldiers, they commanded all the inhabitants to be preſent at their idolatrous proceſſion, and becauſe the recorder came not, they ſent a whole company of ſoldiers to plunder his houſe, who alſo abuſed and threatned his wife.

The year after they brought in more ſoldiers, quartering them in the principal mens houſes, in ſome ten, in ſome twenty, and in others thirty, who abuſed them fearfully; but, through God's aſſiſtance, they bore it with ſuch admirable patience that the enemies were weary with plaguing them, and began to be more moderate; yet they publiſhed an order, that whoſoever would not turn Catholic, ſhould, with their wives and children, depart the city and kingdom by a certain day, whereupon many of them removed into Miſnia.

At the city of Radecium they drave away the miniſters, and placed there a merry arch deacon, who proteſted that all violent means were diſpleaſing to him, and therefore he entertained the citizens with jeſts and merry ſpeeches, and would draw them to taverns and gameing houſes: But when after four years trial, he found that he had not converted any one of them by theſe means, he brought in ſoldiers for his help: Then did he aſſemble the people, requiring them to go in proceſſion with him, but when none would follow, the ſoldiers ruſhed in amongſt them with their drawn ſwords; whereupon the people ran, ſome one way, ſome another, others were forced to follow the proceſſion whether they would or no, and ſome for refuſing were ſlain.

Then was a whole regiment of ſoldiers ſent thither, with expreſs charge not to depart, till the city was reformed. The archdeacon taking ſome of theſe, went to a phyſician that had been lame for ſome years, and aſketh him whether he would become a Catholic? which he ſtoutly refuſed, ſaying, "That he had rather his half rotten carcaſs ſhould be drawn through the fields, and torn in pieces, than to deny any thing againſt his conſcience." Then were all the inhabitants called together, the city gates ſhut, and the people grievouſly threatned if they would not turn; and ſuch as refuſed, were thruſt into priſons, and ſoldiers were ſent to their houſes, who raged and domineered over their wives and children; whereupon they ran to their huſbands with tears and intreaties, and prevailed with many of them to deſire time to be given them to learn the Romiſh religion, only twenty eight of them, together with their wives and children forſook their earthly eſtate, and went into baniſhment to preſerve their conſciences clear.

Don Martin went alſo to Bidſove, ten miles from Prague, attended with his ſoldiers, and aſſembling the citizens, he made an oration to them to turn Catholics, they anſwered, "That they could not unlearn that in an hour, which they had been learning all their life." This ſo enraged Martin, that he aſſaulted the man that anſwered for all the reſt, with a club, beating him extreamly, and then he commanded the chief officer to carry him out of the city, not ſuffering him ſo much as to viſit his houſe before his departure: This ſo terrified the reſt, that they promiſed to be taught within a certain time; and whereas ſome of them thought to ſave themſelves by flight, ſending their wives and ſome of their goods privately before, with whom went alſo ſome godly widows; Martin having intelligence of it, ſent ſome ſoldiers after them, that ſtript them of their goods, and brought them back and caſt them into fetters, refuſing to releaſe them, till both they and their huſbands turned Catholics.

At Zaticum, another city, famous for religion, the miniſter being baniſhed, fryers were put into his place, who being aſſiſted with ſoldiers, uſed to cane thoſe that would not bow to the hoſt, and becauſe the major and ſome of the aldermen were abſent at a ſolemn proceſſion, they fined them. Then came thither Don Martin, and proclaimed, that whoſoever had any bibles, or other evangelical books; if they brought them not in preſently, they ſhould be fined of a hundred florences, or ſuffer five weeks impriſonment. As alſo whoſoever refuſed to come to maſs, ſhould pay five florences, and three pounds of wax: All the books that were ſo brought, he burnt them without the walls; and for ſuch as ſtill ſtood out, he quartered troopers upon them, which extorted money from them day by day: Hereupon many forſook their houſes, and betook themſelves to the hardſhip of a baniſhed life. Then did he proclaim that without his leave none ſhould go out of the gates upon pain of death: The next day he arreſted the major, and would not releaſe him, but upon the promiſe of apoſtacy. Two of the aldermen he bound with iron chains for refuſing to adore the hoſt, and for fourteen days together tormented them grievouſly, till he had forced their conſent to the like apoſtacy.

Then aſſembling the whole ſenate, he commands them preſently to ſubmit to Cæſar's will, to go to auricular confeſſion, and to communicate in one kind, promiſing that ſuch as obeyed ſhould be eaſed of ſoldiers, that the others ſhould have their burthens doubled, requiring every one in order to anſwer for himſelf, whether he would promiſe to perform this within three weeks: One of them modeſtly pleading to be excuſed, in regard of his conſcience; the furious beaſt fell upon him, beat him about the head, and abuſed him with curſed words, ſaying, 'Thou art an unworthy knave to be in this place, I will have thee bound hand and foot, and caſt into a deep dungeon, and when thou haſt vomited out thy wicked ſoul, I will deliver thee to the hangman to be buried, &c." Then he calls to his ſoldiers for chains and fetters, with which they bound his hands and feet, and put an iron collar about his neck, with a thick chain, and ſo brought him to the dungeon, where he was tormented for three weeks, neither wife nor children being ſuffered to come to him, and fed with bread and water; the Jeſuites alſo were daily moleſting him: Then was he ſentenced to death, which he choſe before apoſtacy. Then ſaid one of the Jeſuites, he is poſſeſſed with the devil, and therefore he commanded him to be bound more ſtraitly, whereby at laſt he was forced to go to auricular confeſſion, but by that means getting out of the priſon, he fled into Miſnia to eſcape their tyranny.

All the beſt citizens did deſire baniſhment, but the city gates were kept ſtrictly, leſt any ſhould get out, or carry out their houſhold ſtuff; whereupon many eſcaped by the mines of the wall: and among theſe, a lord's wife, leaving all

all her rich houſhold ſtuff behind her, crept out at the common ſewer, to follow her huſband into baniſhment.

Many of the exiles in Miſnia, having ſpent all that little which they carried with them, were forced to ſeek alms in Bohemia, where being betrayed, they were caſt into priſon, and ſo tormented, till ſome of them were almoſt diſtracted, and then they were ſent away to other places; ſome of theſe were perſons of good quality.

At Tuſta a chief officer of the kingdom ſolicited the citizens to turn Catholics; which they refuſing to do, he complained of it to the Jeſuites at Prague, whereupon Don Martin is ſent thither, who entring the city, ſends his ſoldiers into the ſenators houſes, licenſing them to abuſe them at their pleaſure, ſo that in a ſhort time many were forced to apoſtacy. Then did that other officer ſet a great fine upon the the city, becauſe they turned Catholic's for another man's ſake, and would not do it for his: And thus the poor Proteſtants were abuſed on every hand to ſatisfie the luſts of theſe tyrants.

Then did another nobleman with a band of ſoldiers, go to the city of Rokizan, and tyrannically abuſe them for their religion, forbearing no kind of inſolency that they could think of: Amongſt other projects this was one, He cauſed all the citizens to write their names in three books: In the firſt ſuch as were already Catholics, (which were but ſix, late apoſtates:) In the ſecond the names of ſuch as would become apoſtates within a fortnight, which were very few: In the third ſuch as abſolutely refuſed, and ſo were oppoſite to God and Cæſar; and in this were almoſt all the names, which ſo enraged him, that he reſolved to uſe all manner of cruelties, ſaying, that they deſerved the croſs, the wheel, yea and hell it ſelf.

Then did he command all the citizens to come to the church the next day, to receive the ſacrament in one kind; but when coming himſelf to church, he found few or none there, he runs thro' the ſtreets, and into the houſes, driving all that he met with to the church with his ſtick. When he came thither again, he eſpied one John Felix, a chief citizen, but a Calviniſt, he therefore fell upon him with a knotty club, beating him about the head, ſhoulders and hands, till he was all gore blood, and then he ſaid to him, *Get thee hence thou beaſt, with thy curſed Calvin-blood.* Then did he rage againſt the other citizens, curſing them, beating ſome, and ſpitting in the faces of others; and from one of the grave citizens he pulled off his beard, and ſtrewed it on the floor.

After this he again ſent word to Felix, that except he changed his mind by the morrow, he would act a new tragedy with him, but that night he eſcaped, leaving behind him his dear wife and children, and an aged mother of eighty years old. Then did the earl impriſon his wife, and ſequeſtred his eſtate, and enforced the reſt of the citizens to ſubſcribe, that they did freely, and with all readineſs of mind, embrace the Catholic religion.

One Martiniz was appointed to reform the city of Slana, who ſubſtituted one Hunſburſky, an apoſtate, to ſee this work done. This man that he might ingratiate himſelf with the Jeſuites, appointed a ſolemn proceſſion, and either by fraud or force, brought to it moſt of the citizens: Amongſt others, he required one John Blyſſa to accompany him, but he refuſed, ſaying, *As oft as I have received the Lord's Supper, ſo oft have I obliged myſelf to God, and againſt theſe abominations:* Then ſaid the other, *Thou ſhalt not reſiſt the emperor's pleaſure:* But ſaid he, *In thoſe things which belong to Cæſar I will not, but here God's buſineſs is in hand:* Then ſaid the other, *Thou ſhalt be forced to it: God,* replied he, *ſeeks willing, not forced worſhippers:* whereupon he was preſently committed to priſon for nine weeks, and ſo was another godly citizen, and fined, and then together with his wife, driven out of the city.

Afterwards alſo was Blyſſa and his wife baniſhed, for procuring his child to be baptized by a Proteſtant miniſter privately, and his eſtate was ſequeſtred, having nothing left him to ſupport him in his baniſhment.

Alſo by divers kinds of torments he compelled ſome to a forced obedience; as he did fifty men whom he ſhut up in a narrow room, where they could neither ſtand, ſit, nor lie, nor have leave to go forth to eaſe nature: So that after three days enduring of this pain and ſtink, they were forced to promiſe to learn the Roman religion.

The like dealing he uſed to divers women in his own chamber: But ſo ſoon as they could, moſt of them went into voluntary baniſhment.

The city of Prachatice they entred by force, and ſlew the major, who was bringing to them the keys, together with a thouſand ſix hundred men, women and children, ſparing none but ſuch as fled, or hid themſelves in ſecret places: The carcaſſes they left unburied for divers days, all dirty, and ſhamefully naked. Afterwards when the city began again to be inhabited, the commiſſioners of reformation came thither, promiſing them that if they would turn Catholics, they ſhould have their liberties reſtored to them, but if they refuſed, they ſhould be reſtrained from all trading; and when this prevailed not, they thruſt men and women, young and old into priſons, where they miſerably afflicted them for four whole months.

The like cruelty they uſed to all other cities where they ſhewed and uſed all manner of impoſtures, deceits, tyrannies, and impudent practices, till they had rooted out the reformed religion, and ſet up their idolatrous, and ſuperſtitious worſhip in the ſtead of it.

The godly miniſters being generally removed, the next deſign of the enemies was to take all Bibles, and other profitable books out of the peoples hands, that ſo the heat of religion might in time grow cold: The friers alſo which were placed in the churches, did not preſently thunder, but dealt fairly, beſeeching and confirming the truth of their religion with oaths, and dreadful curſing of themſelves, promiſing alſo the emperor's favour, and eaſe of their burdens; yea they ſought by works of charity to oblige the poorer ſort to them.

One frier promiſed a buſhel of wheat to every one that would come to confeſſion: But when his garners began to waſte, he gave but half the meaſure, whereupon one flung away in anger, ſaying, *What, is my ſoul viler than the reſt?* But when they perceived that they gained but few by their fox-like ſubtilty, they returned to their wolviſh cruelty, compelling men to come to maſs, and taking the names of all ſuch as abſented themſelves; and if any went to private religious meetings, they were fined, impriſoned and whipt.

Some godly perſons being met together with a miniſter, in a private chapel, two colonels, with ſome troops came upon them, encompaſſed the church, ruſht in with their drawn ſwords, took the miniſter from the communion table, ſtript off his cloaths, and ſent him away to priſon; then they caſt the bread upon the earth, poured out the wine, and trampled upon it: Then they fell upon the people, ſtripping men and women naked, it being froſt and ſnow, ſo that many of them died; ſome were wounded, others ſo affrighted that they fell into diſeaſes: Modeſty forbids to tell how they uſed the women, even in the church.

Then came out an edict, that whoſoever refuſed to turn Papiſt, whether men or women, young or old, bond or free, their names ſhould be returned to the council of ſtate, who would give inſtructions what ſhould be done with their perſons and eſtates.

Marriage, burial and baptiſm were forbidden to the proteſtants, and if any did it privately, they were impriſoned, and not diſmiſſed without apoſtacy, or a great fine. Then was all trading inhibited, or means of getting their living, and at laſt buying of food, ſo that the poor people being oppreſſed with hunger and want, were either forced to fly, or to apoſtatize.

The countrymen they fetched out of their houſes, yea out of their beds, by troops of ſoldiers, driving them like beaſts before them in the ſharpeſt cold, and filled the common priſons, towers, cellars, ſtables, yea and hog-ſties with them, where they were killed with hunger, cold and thirſt.

A godly chirurgion, with others, was caſt into a place full of ſnakes. Another company was thruſt into a ſtable, and all the windows ſtopt up, that they were almoſt ſtifled for want of breath. In ſome places they ſhut them up in privies, that they might be poyſoned with the ſtink. In ſome places they made holes, and knockt them full of iron ſpikes, wherein thoſe that were ſhut, could neither ſit nor ſtand, but bending and crooked: It was not poſſible that

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any man could endure this poſture above two or three hours, their ſinews in the mean time trembling, and their members quivering, and their hearts ready to faint with anguiſh; ſo that ſome were forced to promiſe to turn Catholics, others that refuſed, were brought back to torture.

Then they deviſed a priſon upon the water, very narrow, and not above a cubit and an half in length, wherein the priſoner could by no means lay himſelf at length, and if he turned himſelf unawares, he muſt fall into the water.

Another deſign was, firſt to aſſault men of greateſt authority, to make them an example to the reſt.

In the town of Minion the commiſſioner demanded of the people a poſitive anſwer, whether they would turn Catholics: And one of them in the name of the reſt, ſaying, 'that conſcience neither would nor could be forced,' he was preſently laid upon the ground and beaten, and ſtill denying to turn Catholic, when he could hardly ſpeak, he was torn in pieces: The reſt affrighted at this terrible ſpectacle, promiſed obedience if time were given them.

In another place the ſenators refuſing to turn apoſtates, the chiefeſt of them was made to ride the wooden horſe in the market place, for ſix hours ſpace, though he was very ancient, ſo that he was lame and half dead, when he was taken off.

When any deſired to die, rather than to forſake their religion; it was anſwered, 'That the emperor did not thirſt after their blood, but rather after the welfare of their ſouls: To others they ſaid, Oh, you affect the glory of martyrdom, but you are baſe knaves, and are unworthy to have any thing to glory in.

There were many who would have died in the maintenance of their Chriſtian faith, but there were none that would inflict death upon them: For theſe cruel tyrants, brought up in the devil's ſchool, would not kill the body but the ſoul, and therefore they ſought by lingering and continual puniſhments to bring them firſt to ſtagger, and then to deny the truth.

When any man deſired to be convinced by ſcripture, they anſwered with ſcoffs and jeers, accuſing the ſcripture of imperfection, of obſcurity, of ambiguity, ſaying, 'That it was the fountain of hereſy, the ſanctuary of heretics, and that laymen had nothing to do with it:' They called the Bible wiblia, which in the Bohemian language, ſignifies vomit. They took away all orthodox books from the people, that thereby they might be the more eaſily led into error.

In ſome places they ſhut up the people in the church, and forced them to receive in one kind; and if they would not fall down to the hoſt, they uſed to beat their legs with clubs, till they fell down: Some they impriſoned and racked ſeveral times to force them to auricular confeſſion. Of others they ſet open their mouths with gags, and thruſt the hoſt down their throats. In other places they forced the people, not only to abjure the cup, but to throw it down, and to ſpit upon it, and to tread it under foot.

If any to avoid this tyranny fled into the woods and ſecret places, hunger drave them out again, whereby they became a prey to their adverſaries; if they went to neighbouring places, ſome or other would betray them.

Edicts alſo were publiſhed, forbidding all to entertain ſuch as fled, upon pain of forfeiting a hundred pieces of ſilver for every night's entertainment. Yet theſe miſerable people could not go out of the kingdom, not being acquainted with any other language: beſides, they were told that ere long the like tragedy ſhould be acted every where.

Four men of Koſſenburg continuing conſtant after long impriſonment, they were firſt expoſed to cold for five weeks together in the depth of winter: Then for nine days they were pined with hunger, they having only a ſmall portion of bread that kept life and ſoul together, and drinking their own urine, and when they were threatned with harder uſage if they turned not, they anſwered, 'We willingly embrace all afflictions, of famine, hanging, burning, or any thing, rather than we would ſin againſt God.' Thereupon, only twice a week there was given them a mouthful of bread, and a draught of water. Then were they parted aſunder, one thruſt into the ſink of the priſon, another into a furnance, and none permitted to viſit them; and when nothing would prevail, they ſet a fine upon them, and baniſhed them.

Others were kept in priſons and bonds till they died. One was kept in a filthy priſon till his feet rotted off, and yet he paſſed away the time with ſinging of pſalms, as if he enjoyed all manner of delights.

Another man being tired out with impriſonment, promiſed to turn Catholic, and was releaſed; but preſently (as himſelf wrote afterwards) God chaſtened him for this fault, holding his conſcience captive for an whole year together, ſo that he could have no hope in God's mercy: Yet he recalled to mind former ſinners, who upon their repentance obtained mercy of God: Thereupon he cried unto God a whole year together, night and day watering his bed with his tears, becauſe he thought himſelf damned; but at laſt God (ſaith he) ſent his angel to me, and I ſaw his glory brighter than the ſun, and I had God's Spirit beſtowed upon me, *&c.* After which he was apprehended, beheaded and quartered.

The pictures of John Hus and Jerom of Prague they defaced; all the Bibles that they could meet with, they burned; the graves of the miniſters they opened, took out their bones and burnt them.

The ſtatutes of king Frederick they beat in pieces, and trampled them under their feet. One man they fined in five hundred dollars, for giving his ſon the name of Frederick.

Before theſe calamities befel the Bohemians, God gave them warning by ſundry prodigies. In ſeveral places, divers ſuns were ſeen together. At Prague the ſun ſeemed to dart out balls of fire. Alſo a flying dragon, flaming horribly, was ſeen throughout all Bohemia and Cilicia. Alſo a ſpring flowed with blood for an whole month together. In another place a fiſh-pond was wholly turned into blood for the ſpace of three days.

A great flock of crows and daws, fought together for a whole day's ſpace, whereby multitudes of them were ſlain.

At Prague it rained brimſtone, and the image of the crucifix being ſet up, was ſtruck down with a thunderbolt. The gates of ſome cities opened of their own accord. Many Bibles being thrown into a great fire, were untouched, only the margin a little ſcorched.

Many apoſtates tormented by the ſting of conſcience, cried out, *They were damned.* Some to avoid theſe terrors, hanged themſelves; others drowned themſelves. Some died in fearful deſpair, others died ſuddenly: One as he was about to abjure, was ſtricken dumb, and being carried home was poſſeſſed with a great trembling all over his body, and gnawing his own tongue, he died miſerably.

Dr. Knapper a great perſecutor was ſlain by the appointment of his wife an adultereſs, for which ſhe was afterwards hanged. Another vomited out his ungodly ſoul with blood. Another ran mad, and caſt himſelf down from the top of his houſe, and ſo roaring fearfully, he breathed his laſt. Another ſhot himſelf to death with his own piſtol. Another ran mad, fell into ſuch a diſeaſe, that none could come near him for ſtink, and at laſt was choaked with vomiting up abundance of blood. Another being taken with a ſudden diſeaſe, waxed as black as a coal, uttered his ſpeech like the barking of a dog, and within three days died with terrible pains. Another by the breaking of great gun, was torn all to pieces. Another had a terrible diſeaſe in his throat, his tongue rotted, many holes were eaten in his throat, whereout his food and medicines came, ſo that he died miſerably.

[*Collected out of a Book called* Hiſtoia Perſecutionum Eccleſiæ Bohem. *Written by ſome Bohemian Exiles.*]

HAVING thus given you a brief narrative of the perſecutions of the church in Bohemia, from the firſt planting of the goſpel amongſt them, to our preſent times: Before I proceed any further, let us a little look back to ſee how God fought for them, againſt their Popiſh adverſaries, and thereby after a wonderful manner plagued their perſecutors. Much may be read hereof in my *ſecond Part*, in the life of Ziſca; But after his death,

there was a great fear, and ſorrow ſeized on his army, and the ſoldiers being divided amongſt themſelves, one part of them choſe for their captain Procopius Magnus, who ſtill retained the name of Thaborites. The other part, thinking none worthy to ſucceed Ziſca, named themſelves the Orphanes, by reaſon of the loſs of their captain; yet whenſoever their Popiſh adverſaries came againſt them, they both joined together to defend themſelves, and the liberty of the goſpel in Bohemia.

About this time Pope Martin perceiving the goſpel and the profeſſors of it to increaſe daily in Bohemia, he ſent the cardinal of Wincheſter, an Engliſhman, into Germany, to ſtir up the emperor and German princes to make war againſt the Bohemians. Hereupon three armies were levied, One under the duke of Saxony; The ſecond under the marqueſs of Brandenburg; The third under Otho archbiſhop of Trevers: Theſe three armies entred Bohemia three ways, and at laſt joining all in one, beſieged the city of Miſna, which but the night before was won from the Papiſts by one Prichicho, a learned and zealous Proteſtant, and therefore the Popiſh armies reſolved to take that place before they marched any further: But ſoon as news came that the Proteſtants had raiſed an army, and were haſting to the relief of Miſna, they ſpeedily fled before they ever ſaw an enemy, leaving their engines of war, and a great booty behind them.

The cardinal meeting them in their flight, uſed all the arguments that poſſibly he could to the nobles and captains, to turn them back again, magnifying their number and proweſs, and vilifying their enemies, but when nothing would prevail, himſelf was fain to accompany them in the flight. Preſently the Bohemians purſuing, fell upon their rere-ward, which made their flight much more fearful and diſordered than it was before, neither did they leave flying till the Bohemians left purſuing of them.

The emperor hearing of this ſhameful flight, went to Noremberg and by the aſſiſtance of the cardinal, a new army was raiſed under the command of Frederick marqueſs of Brandenburg, which entred Bohemia one way, and another great army under Albert archduke of Auſtria, which entred another way. In theſe two armies were all the chiefeſt nobles and biſhops in Germany, being above forty thouſand horſemen, beſides foot.

The Bohemians as ſoon as they heard of their enemies approach, gathered their hoſt with all ſpeed to encounter them: But God marvelouſly fought for them; For before the Bohemians came near them, the Popiſh army was ſtruck with ſuch a marvellous ſudden fear, that they began moſt ſhamefully to run away; The cardinal wondering at it, went up and down to the captains, exhorting and encouraging of them, telling them that they were to fight for their lives, honour, religion, and the ſalvation of ſouls, &c. But notwithſtanding all that he could ſay and do, the enſigns were ſuddenly ſnatched up, and every man ran headlong away, ſo that the cardinal was forced to do the like: The Proteſtants encouraged hereby, ſpeedily purſued them, and obtained a very great booty. This ſo aſtoniſhed both the Pope and emperor, that afterwards they ſought rather by ſubtilty to entrap them, than by force to compel them to forſake their religion, as we have ſeen in the foregoing ſtory.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Perſecution of the Church in Spain, which began Anno Chriſti 1540.

ANNO 1540. There was one Francis Romanes ſent by the Spaniſh merchants of Antwerp, to Breme to take up ſome money that was due to them; where, being at a ſermon (through the marvellous working of God's Spirit) he was ſo effectually wrought upon, that after the ſermon he went to the preacher, and repeated the contents of his whole ſermon to him, and then betaking himſelf to the ſearching of the ſcriptures, and conferring with learned men, in a ſhort ſpace he had attained to a great meaſure of knowlege in the word of life; which the miniſter obſerving, and withal finding him of a fervent ſpirit, he directed and exhorted him to circumſpection in his carriage, more and more inſtructing him in the knowlege of the goſpel, which he ſo greedily received as one that could never be ſatisfied. This made him give over ſeeking after temporal treaſure, and inſtead thereof he bought good books, by reading of which, and conference with the miniſter, he much improved his knowlege in all the chief articles of religion. Then did he write letters to his countrymen at Antwerp, wherein he firſt gave thanks to God for revealing his truth to him; And did bewail the groſs ignorance of his countrymen, beſeeching God to open their eyes to underſtand the word of ſalvation, and ſo promiſed ſhortly to return to them to confer with them about the grace of God, which he had received; and laſtly, he declared his purpoſe of going into Spain, to acquaint his parents and friends with that wholeſome doctrine which God had communicated to him.

He wrote other letters alſo to the emperor Charles the V. opening to him the miſerable ſtate of Chriſt's church, deſiring him to tender the good thereof; eſpecially to reform the groſs corruptions of the church of Spain; he wrote alſo a catechiſm, and ſome other treatiſes in the Spaniſh tongue.

The merchants at Antwerp having received his letters, ſent for him, pretending much good will, but ſecretly practiſing his deſtruction: For againſt his coming, they ſuborned ſome friers, who ſo ſoon as he was alighting from his horſe, ſeized upon him, rifled his books, and carrying him into a merchant's houſe, examined him; but he mightily confuting them, they bound him hand and foot, calling him Lutheran; they alſo burnt his books before his face, threatning to burn him likewiſe. Then was he ſent priſoner to a tower ſix miles from Antwerp, and caſt into a deep dungeon, where he endured much miſery for eight months, at the end whereof, the merchants ſuppoſing that he would be better adviſed for the time to come, releaſed him. After this did he go to Lovian, where he had much conference with Driander, who adviſed him to continue in his calling of a merchant, wherein he might have many opportunities of doing good; and for religion, that he ſhould do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed. He adviſed him alſo to take heed of inconſiderate zeal, leſt he ſhould do as ſome, who going beyond the bounds of their vocation, thinking to do good, and to edify, they deſtroy and do harm. 'For, ſaid he, it is God that takes care of his church, and will raiſe up faithful miniſters for the ſame; neither doth he approve ſuch as raſhly intrude themſelves into that function without any calling thereto.'

This advice Francis willingly hearkned unto, promiſing to follow the ſame. Not long after going to Ratiſbone, where the imperial diet was held, having opportunity, he boldly ſtept to the emperor, beſeeching him to deliver his country and ſubjects of Spain from falſe religion, and to reſtore them to the ſincerity of Chriſt's doctrine, proteſting that the Proteſtants of Germany were in the truth; and that the religion of Spain was greatly diſſonant to the word of God, &c. The emperor all this while heard him gently, promiſing him to conſider of the matter, and ſo to do therein as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt.

Francis being encouraged with this anſwer, went again to the emperor a ſecond and third time, and ſtill received a quiet anſwer as before; yet not ſatisfied herewith, he went a fourth time, but was repulſed by ſome Spaniards about the emperor, who were ſo incenſed againſt him, that immediately they would have thrown him headlong into the river Danubius, if the emperor had not reſtrained them, willing that he ſhould be judged by the laws of the empire: Then was he caſt into priſon, till the emperor's voyage into Afric, at which time he, with ſome other captives, were carried into Spain, and there delivered unto the inquiſitors, who caſt him into a dark priſon under ground: He was oft examined, loaden with many reproaches and contumelies, yet ever remained firm and unmoveable, ſo that at laſt they condemned him to be burnt for an heretic. As he was led to the place of execution, they put upon him a miter of paper, painted all over with ugly devils; As he paſſed by a wooden croſs, they required him to worſhip it, to which he anſwered, 'That the manner of Chriſtians was not to worſhip wood:'

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Being laid upon the pile of wood, when he firſt felt the fire, he lifted up his head towards heaven; whereupon the inquiſitors thinking that he would recant, cauſed him to be taken down, but when they found his conſtancy, they threw him on again, where he ſlept in the Lord. Then did the inquiſitors proclaim that he was damned, and that none ſhould pray for him, and that they were heretics whoſoever doubted of his damnation.

There was alſo dwelling at ſaint Lucar in Spain, one Rochus, a ſkilful graver of images: But the Lord pleaſing to enlighten him with the ſaving knowlege of his truth, he gave over making of idolatrous images, and employed himſelf in making of ſeals; only he kept ſtanding on his ſtall an image of the virgin Mary, artificially graven for a ſign of his occupation.

An inquiſitor paſſing by, and liking the image, aſked the price of it: Rochus ſet him a price, but was not willing to ſell it: The inquiſitor bade him half ſo much: The other anſwered, that he could not afford it ſo, and that he had rather break it than ſell it; yea, ſaid the inquiſitor, let me ſee that if thou dareſt? With that Rochus with a chiſel cut off the noſe of the image; whereupon the inquiſitor preſently commanded him to priſon, and within three days he was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution he poured out his fervent prayers to almighty God, and ſo made a bleſſed end, *anno* 1545.

Divers other godly perſons being by the inquiſitors caſt into loathſome dungeons, ended their lives there.

Anno 1550. at Validolid, the inquiſitors brought forth thirty priſoners together, of high and low eſtate, as alſo the coffin of a certain noble woman with her picture lying upon it, ſhe being dead long before, to receive judgment and ſentence. For the ſolemnities whereof, they had erected three great ſtages; the firſt for the king's ſiſter, the lady Jane, and his eldeſt ſon, prince Philip, with other ſtates; the ſecond for the fathers inquiſitors; and the third for the priſoners. Multitudes of people being aſſembled together, theſe dear ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, cloathed with ſambito's (a yellow cloth hanging down before and behind, powdred with red croſſes) and having burning tapers in their hands, and miters upon their heads painted with devils, were placed in their ranks: Then was a ſermon preached, after which an oath was adminiſtred to the princes and nobles, by the inquiſitors, That they ſhould favour the holy inquiſition, and conſent to the ſame; and that they ſhould employ their uttermoſt endeavour to ſee all them executed which ſhould ſwerve from the church of Rome, and adhere to the Lutherans, without reſpect of perſons, of what degree, quality, or condition ſoever: and that they ſhould compel their ſubjects to ſubmit to the church of Rome, and to obey all its laws, *&c.* Then was doctor Cacalla called forth, a man of excellent learning, who had often preached before the emperor, whilſt he was a fryer: But being now accounted to be the ſtandard-bearer to the Lutherans, he was called forth to hear his ſentence; which was, 'That he ſhould be degraded, and preſently burnt, and his goods confiſcated.'

The like ſentence of condemnation was pronounced upon his brother Francis, a preacher alſo; who having ſpoken boldly againſt the inquiſition, they ſo ſtopt his mouth that he could not ſpeak a word. Then Blanch their ſiſter received the like ſentence, and ſo did moſt of the other, only ſome few of them were condemned to ſome years impriſonment, and to wear their ſambito's all their life time, *&c.*

Then was the coffin of the dead lady, with her picture upon it, condemned likewiſe to be burnt. This good woman, whilſt ſhe lived, was a worthy maintainer of the goſpel, of great integrity of life, and one that had divers aſſemblies in her houſe, for the true preaching of the word of God; wherefore her houſe was alſo ſentenced to be razed down, and a pillar to be ſet up in the place thereof, with an inſcription ſhewing the cauſe.

Then were all theſe that were ſentenced to death, together with the coffin, delivered to the ſecular magiſtrate; and ſo every one of them being ſet upon an aſs, with their faces towards his tail, they were guarded by many ſoldiers to the place of execution. At which place, there was for each of them a ſtake ſet up, to which every one of them were bound, and ſo they were firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt to aſhes; only one of them, who had been moſt vehement againſt them, was burnt alive, and his mouth ſtopped, that he ſhould not ſpeak to the people. All men marvelled at their conſtancy and quiet end.

At the ſame time alſo, there were in priſon at Validolid thirty ſeven others, which were reſerved for another tragedy and ſpectacle of the bloody inquiſition. But ſeeing much mention is made of the Spaniſh inquiſition, and of the cruelty exerciſed thereby againſt the poor ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, I ſhall here ſet down the firſt original and progreſs thereof, as hereafter followeth.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Original, Progreſs, and Practice of the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

WHen king Ferdinand and Iſabel, had expelled the Turks out of the city and territories of Granata, and other places of Spain, who had lived there ſeven hundred ſeventy and eight years, they ſet upon the reformation of religion, and granted the conquered Moors liberty to ſtay, and to enjoy all their goods, provided, that they would turn chriſtians: And whereas alſo, there were many Jews who had continued there ſince Titus conquered Jeruſalem, they gave them leave to ſtay upon the ſame condition; but all ſuch as refuſed, were commanded preſently to depart out of Spain. Yet afterwards, finding that thoſe perſons were only chriſtians in name, and had ſubmitted only to ſave their eſtates, inſtead of providing godly miniſters with meekneſs to inſtruct them, and to draw them from their errors (by the advice of the Dominican friers) they erected the inquiſition; wherein the poor wretches, inſtead of inſtructions, were robbed of all their eſtates; and either put to moſt cruel deaths, or elſe ſuffered moſt intolerable torments by whipping, *&c.* and leading the reſt of their lives in ignominy and poverty: Neither was this only inflicted upon ſuch as blaſphemed Chriſt, but for the obſervation of the leaſt Jewiſh or Mooriſh ceremony, or the ſmalleſt error in the chriſtian religion. But this inquiſition, at firſt erected againſt Jews and Moors, was afterwards turned againſt the faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and for the ſuppreſſing of the goſpel, and the profeſſion of it. And thus briefly you have the original of it; let us now ſee what their practice and exerciſe is.

As ſoon as information is given in againſt any one, though but for a very ſmall matter, they do not preſently cite the perſon to appear before them, but they ſuborn one of their officers, called a familiar, to inſinuate himſelf into his company, who taking occaſion to meet the party accuſed, uſes thus to greet him. 'Sir, I was yeſterday by 'accident at my lords inquiſitors, who ſaid, That they had 'occaſion to ſpeak with you about certain of their affairs; 'and therefore they commanded me to ſummon you to ap-'pear before them to morrow at ſuch an hour.' The party not daring to refuſe, goes to the place, ſends in word, 'That he is come to attend them;' and ſo when he is called in, they aſk him, 'What ſuit he hath to them?' And when he anſwers, that he comes upon ſummons; they inquire his name: 'For, ſay they, we know not 'whether you be the ſame man, or not. But ſince you 'are come, if you have any thing to inform this court of, 'either concerning yourſelf or any other, you may let us 'hear it, for the diſcharge of your own conſcience.' The party's ſafeſt way is conſtantly to deny, that he hath any thing to declare to them. But if, through ſimplicity, he doth accuſe himſelf, or any other, they rejoice, as having attained their deſires, and ſo preſently commit him to priſon.

If nothing be confeſſed, they diſmiſs him, pretending, that for the preſent they know not whether he be the party, or no. After his departure, they let him alone for ſome ſpace, and then ſend for him again, exhorting him, That if he know, or hath heard any thing that concerns their holy court, to diſcloſe it to them. 'For (ſay they) we know that you have had dealing with ſome perſons ſuſpected in religion; and therefore remember yourſelf well. If you confeſs, you ſhall fare the better, and you

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ſhall but do therein as a good chriſtian ought to do.' If ſtill he refuſe, they threaten, and ſo diſmiſs him.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him company, to creep into his boſom, and grope his conſcience; who under the colour of friendſhip ſhall viſit him daily, and have an eye to all his dealings, obſerve what company he keepeth, with whom he confers, *&c.* So that without *God's* ſpecial aſſiſtance, it is not poſſible to eſcape their ſnares. The inquiſitors alſo, if they meet him, ſpeak courteouſly to him, promiſe to befriend him, *&c.* and all to make him more careleſs of himſelf, that they may undo him before he be aware: But if the party be a ſtranger, or that they hope to gain any thing by his confeſſion, they preſently clap him up in priſon; in which priſon great numbers die, either ſtarved with hunger, or by extremity of racking of them, *&c.*

If any one that is accuſed, chance to make an eſcape, they have many devices to find and fetch him in again. They have ſtore of ſearchers, to whom, beſides the common ſigns, they give his lively picture, whereby they may eaſily know him. An Italian at Rome, having wounded an apparator, fled to Sivil; the familiars were ſent to ſeek him, and when they had found him, though they had his counterfeit; yet by reaſon that he had altered his habit, they were doubtful whether it was he or no, the rather, becauſe he had changed his name; whereupon they followed him only upon ſuſpicion. But one day as he was walking, and earneſtly talking with ſome gentlemen, two of theſe familiars ſuddenly called him by his old name: The party earneſt in talk, and not minding it, looked behind him, and made anſwer; whereupon they preſently apprehended him, clapt him in irons for a long time, then whipt him, and condemned him to the gallies, during his life. So ſoon as any is arreſted by the familiars, they take from him all the keys of his locks or cheſts whatſoever, and then they take an inventory of all his goods, leaving them with ſome man that will undertake to be accountable for them. But in the ſequeſtring and rifling the houſes, if they have any gold, ſilver, or jewels, theſe familiars, which uſually are bawds, thieves, ſhifters, and the vileſt of people, will be ſure to filch ſome of it. And the reaſon of this ſequeſtration is, That if the party be condemned, the holy inquiſition may enjoy his whole eſtate.

As ſoon as the priſoner is entred within the firſt gate of the priſon, the gaoler aſketh him, If he have a knife about him, or money, or rings, or jewels; and if a woman, whether ſhe hath knives, rings, chains, bracelets, or other ornaments; and all theſe the gaoler ſtrips them off as his fee. And this is done that the poor priſoners may have nothing to relieve themſelves with, during their impriſonment: They ſearch them alſo, to ſee whether they have any writing or book about them, which likewiſe they take from them; then they ſhut them up in a cabin, like to a little caſe, where they have little room for cleanlineſs, and but little light.

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three months, ſome as long as they live, others have company, as the lords inquiſitors pleaſe. When the party hath been in priſon a week or two, the gaoler perſuades him to petition for a day of hearing, telling him, The ſooner the better, and that it will much further his cauſe, and bring it to ſome good effect, *&c.* Whereas it were far better for him to ſtay till he be called for; for then he hath nothing to do but to anſwer their objections. But the poor priſoner, not knowing this myſtery, is uſually ruled by his keeper, intreating him to ſtand his friend to procure him a day of hearing, whoſe ſuit is eaſily heard, and the priſoner is brought into the conſiſtory. Then do the inquiſitors aſk him, What is his requeſt? The priſoner anſwereth, That he would gladly have his matter heard: Then they labour by threatning him with worſe uſage, if he conceal the truth, to cauſe him to confeſs the thing whereof he is accuſed; and if they can but draw him to this, they have their deſires: For uſually they draw more from him, than they could have proved againſt him. Then they adviſe him to let it come from himſelf, promiſing, That if he acknowlege his faults, he ſhall preſently be releaſed and ſent home: If yet he ſtand mute, they then charge him to diſburthen his conſcience, and in the mean time to return to his priſon, till he hath better bethought himſelf, and then he may ſue for a new day of hearing, and ſo they diſmiſs him.

After ſome days they call for him again, aſking him, Whether he be yet determined to confeſs ought? But whether he pleads his innocency, or confeſs ſome little, they ſtill urge him to diſburthen his conſcience, perſuading him, that they adviſe him for the beſt, and in love and compaſſion to him; but if he now refuſe the favour profered, he ſhall find them afterwards ſharp juſticers, *&c.* and ſo ſend him back again to priſon.

The third time he is called for, they uſe the like ſubtility to draw him to confeſſion, telling him, That if he refuſe, they muſt uſe extremity, and do what they can by law; by which word they mean extream tormenting and mangling of him. Then if the party confeſs any thing; Nay, ſay they, 'we are not yet ſatisfied, we have not all you can ſay, you keep back ſomething on purpoſe.' And ſo they remand him to priſon.

Having thus excruciated him day by day, if they can yet get nothing out of him, they then require an oath of him, and hold a crucifix or croſs before him, whereby the poor Chriſtian muſt at laſt needs ſhew himſelf. For knowing that he ought to ſwear by *God* alone, who hath reſerved this honour to himſelf, he muſt refuſe the oath; which if he do, then they read a large indictment againſt him, wherein they lay to his charge, things that never any man accuſed him of, and which it may be, himſelf never thought of: And this they do to amaze him, and ſo to try if he will confeſs any of theſe miſdemeanors: or if they can trip him in his anſwers, and ſo catch him in their net. Then they put him to anſwer to every article particularly *ex tempore*, without any time of deliberation. Then they give him pen, ink, and paper, requiring him to ſet down his anſwer in writing, to ſee if they can find any difference betwixt his former anſwer and this. And if the party chance to confeſs ought, then they inquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath ſpoken of it before others, and who they are, and hereby many are brought into trouble. For, whether they liked it, or not, they are ſure to be queſtioned, becauſe they did not come and declare it to the fathers inquiſitors. Then pretending to ſhew him favour, they appoint him an advocate to blind the peoples eyes, as if they proceeded according to the rules of juſtice: But this advocate dares not tell his client any point of law, that may do him good, for fear of angring the inquiſitors; neither may he ſpeak privately with his client, but either before an inquiſitor or a notary.

Two or three days after the party hath had the copy of his accuſation, he is called into the court, where his advocate is, as if he intended to defend his cauſe: But indeed, he dare ſay nothing to the purpoſe for fear of angering the inquiſitors; only he chears up his client, and bids him tell the truth in any caſe, as the only way to prevail in that court, and then is the priſoner ſent back again; who hopes that now his cauſe will be heard, and his buſineſs diſpatched, whereas uſually theſe good fathers let him lie, two, or three, or four years in priſon, without ever calling for him again: And if through loathſomneſs and intolerableneſs of the priſon, any ſue to come to hearing, it may be with much ado he obtains it, but uſually that favour is denied him: Yet at length, when they pleaſe, they call for him to hear the depoſitions of the witneſſes againſt him; which yet is not done till the poor priſoner, by his grievous impriſonment, is brought ſo low, as that they think he will rather chuſe death, than ſuch a life; and therefore will be willing to tell all, that ſo he may be rid out of his miſery. Then between rebuking and a gentle admonition, they tell him, that though he hath ſtood out ſo long, yet at length they would have him wiſer to confeſs the truth: But if he yet refuſe to be his own accuſer, then the fiſcal produceth the depoſitions, which are delivered to the priſoner; but they are drawn up ſo intricately and ambiguouſly, that he knows not what to make of them. And this they do to conceal the witneſſes, leſt he ſhould except againſt them, and to ſet him on gueſſing, that ſo if he chance to reckon up any others, to whom he ſpake any thing about any of thoſe matters, they may thereby get more griſts to their mill: For they preſently out law ſuch perſons as favourers of heretics, for ſuffering an here-

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tic to ſow ſuch peſtilent ſeeds amongſt them, without complaining thereof to the inquiſitors.

The keeper of the priſon alſo is examined, what he hath ſeen and obſerved of him in the priſon, and his teſtimony is as good as two witneſſes, to take away the priſoners life.

They have alſo Promoters to bring in accuſations, who are admitted, though frantic bedlams, or the verieſt varlets that be; and in their informations, if they chance to want words of weight, the inquiſitors will help them out, and prompt them word by word. Then after three or four days, the priſoner is called again to put his anſwer to the depoſitions; but in the *interim* his advocate never comes at him to aſſiſt or direct him, but he is left to himſelf without all help, ſave God alone. His anſwer being viewed, he is remanded to priſon again with this *item*, That if he confeſs not the truth, they will extort it out of him by extremity.

After two or three months more, he is called for once again, and required to ſpeak what he hath for himſelf, or elſe they muſt draw to an end: And if he ſtill ſhrinks not, but ſtands firm in his own juſtification, they proceed to other dealings; in compariſon of which, all their former proceedings are not only ſufferable, but ſeem very reaſonable and full of gentleneſs. For their future actions far exceed all barbarouſneſs, the devil himſelf being not able to go beyond them in their monſtrous tyranny: For not long after, the priſoner is called in before the inquiſitors, who tell him, That they have deeply conſidered his whole caſe, and found out that he doth not declare the whole truth; and therefore they are reſolved, that he ſhall be racked, that by force they may draw from him what by fair means he will not acknowlege: And therefore they adviſe him rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the pain and peril that yet attends him: Yet whether he confeſs or not confeſs, all is one, for to the rack he muſt go. Then is he led into the place where the rack ſtandeth, which is a deep and dark dungeon under ground, with many a door to paſs through, ere a man come to it, becauſe the ſhreeks and cries of the tormented ſhould not be heard. Then the inquiſitors ſet themſelves upon a ſcaffold hard by the rack, and the torches being lighted, the executioner comes in, all arrayed from top to toe in a ſuit of black canvas, his head is covered with a long black hood that covereth all his face, having only two peep-holes for his eyes; which ſight doth more affright the poor ſoul, to ſee one in the likeneſs of the devil to be his tormentor. The lords being ſet in their places, they begin again to exhort him to ſpeak the truth freely and voluntarily; then with ſharp words, they command him to be ſtripped ſtark naked, yea, though the modeſteſt maid, or chaſteſt matron in the city; whoſe grief, in regard of the rack, is not half ſo great as to be ſeen naked in the preſence of ſuch manner of perſons: For theſe wicked villains, without any regard of honeſty, will not by any prayers of godly matrons, chaſt maidens, forbear one jot of that barbarous impudence. As if a ſhirt or ſmock could hinder the violence of the rack from ſufficiently tormenting them.

The party being thus ſtripped, the inquiſitors ſignify to the tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The firſt kind of torment is the gibbet or pully; but firſt one comes behind him, and binds his hands with a cord eight or ten times about, the inquiſitors calling upon him to ſtrain each harder than other; they cauſe alſo his thumbs to be bound extream hard with a ſmall line, and ſo both hands and thumbs are faſtned to a pully, which hangs on the gibbet; then they put great and heavy bolts on his heels, and hang upon thoſe bolts, between his feet, certain weights of iron, and ſo hoiſe him or her up from the ground: And whileſt the poor wretch hangs in this plight, they begin to exhort him again to accuſe himſelf, and as many others as he knows of; then they command him to be hoiſed up higher to the very beam till his head touch the pully. Having hung thus a good while, they command him to be let down, and twice ſo much weight to be faſtned to his heels, and ſo hoiſed up again, and one inch higher if it may be: Then they command the hangman to let him up and down, that the weights of the iron hanging at his heels may rent every joint in his body aſunder. With which intolerable pains, if the party ſhreek or cry out, they roar out as loud to him to confeſs the truth, or elſe he ſhall come down with a vengeance. Then they bid the hangman ſuddenly to ſlip the rope, that he may fall down with a ſway, and in the mid-way to ſtop; thus give him the ſtrappado, which being as ſoon done, it rends all his body out of joint, arms, ſhoulders, back, legs, *&c.* by reaſon of the ſudden jerk, and the weights hanging at his legs. If he yet remain conſtant, they add more weight to his heels the third time, and the poor wretch already half dead is hoiſed up the third time, and to increaſe his miſery, they rail upon him, calling him dog and heretic, telling him, That he is like there to make his end. And if the poor creature in his pangs call upon Chriſt, intreating, That he would vouchſafe to aid and aſſiſt him, thus miſerably tormented for his ſake; then they fall to mocking and deriding him, ſaying, 'Why calleſt thou on Jeſus Chriſt? Let Jeſus Chriſt alone, and tell us the truth: What a crying out upon Chriſt makeſt thou? *&c.* But if the party deſire to be let down, promiſing to tell ſomewhat, that is the ready way to be worſe uſed, for now they think that he begins only to broach the matter: For when he hath done they command him to be haled up again, and to be let down as before; ſo that uſually theſe torments are exerciſed upon him for three hours together. Then they aſk the goaler, if his other torments are ready, to affright the poor ſoul: The goaler anſwereth, That they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him. Then the inquiſitors bid him to bring them againſt the morrow; for, ſay they, we will try other ways to get the truth out of this fellow: And ſo turning to him that lies in miſerable pain, having all his joints out. 'Now now, ſirrah, *ſay they*, how like you this gear? Have you enough of it yet? Well, ſee that you call your wits to you againſt to morrow, or look to die then: For what you have felt, is but a flea biting, in compariſon, of what is behind.' And ſo they depart.

Then the gaoler plays the bone ſetter ſo well as he can, ſetting his joints, and ſo carries him back to priſon, or drags him by the arms or legs moſt pitifully: If they mean to rack him no more, after two or three days they ſend for him again, and cauſe him to be brought by the rack, where the hangman ſtands in the likeneſs of a devil, as before, the more to affright him. When he comes before the inquiſitors, they fall a perſuading him to confeſs the truth at laſt; and if he confeſs any thing, he may chance to go to the rack again, whereby they hope to extort more: And when indeed they intend to rack the party again, then at three days end, when the ach in his joints is moſt grievous and painful to him, they ſend for him, requiring him to declare all his hereſies, and to impeach all ſuch as he hath had conference with, about them, and all ſuch as he knows to be of that mind, or elſe he muſt prepare himſelf for the rack; and if he continue conſtant, he is again ſtripped of his cloathes, and hoiſed up with weights at his heels, as before; beſides which, as he hangs at the pully, they bind his thighs together, and legs about the calf, with a ſmall ſtrong cord, and with a ſhort piece of wood they twiſt the cord till it be ſhrunk ſo deep in the fleſh, that it is paſt ſight; which is an extream and terrible torment, worſe than any that he hath yet endured; and in this plight they let the poor ſoul lie two or three hours: The inquiſitors in the mean time not ceaſing to exhort, perſuade, threaten, and ſcoff at him.

Yea, ſometimes they proceed to another kind of torture called the Aſelli, which is after this manner. There is a piece of timber ſomewhat hollowed on the top like a trough, about the middle whereof, there is a ſharp bar going a croſs, whereon a man's back reſteth, that it cannot go to the bottom; it is alſo placed ſo, that his heels ſhall lie higher than his head: Then is the naked party laid thereon; his arms, thighs, and legs bound with ſtrong ſmall cords, and wreſted with ſhort truncheons, till the cords pierce almoſt to the very bone. Then they take a thick fine lawn cloth, laying it over the parties mouth, he lies upright on his back, ſo that it may ſtop his noſtrils alſo; than taking a quantity of water, they pour it in a long ſtream like a thread, which falling from on high, drives the cloth down into his throat, which puts the poor wretch into as great an agony as any indure in the

pains of death: For in this torture he hath not liberty to draw his breath, the water ſtopping his mouth, and the cloth his noſtrils; ſo that when the cloth is drawn out of the bottom of his throat, it draws forth blood with it, and a man would think that it tore out his very bowels. This is iterated as oft as the inquiſitors pleaſe, and yet they threaten him with worſe torments, if he confeſs not. And ſo he is returned to his priſon again.

Yet many times after he hath lain there a month or two, he is brought again to the rack, and uſed as before, yea, ſometimes five or ſix times, even as oft as they pleaſe; for their luſt is a law: And yet they have another torment with fire, which is no whit inferior to the former. They take a pan of burning charcoal, and ſet it juſt over againſt the ſoles of the parties feet, juſt before he goes to the rack; and that the fire may have the more force upon them, they baſt them with lard or bacon. But if all extremity of torments will not force him to confeſs what they deſire, nor to deny the truth, they uſe other means by ſubtil interrogatories, and frequent queſtionings, to draw him into ſome ſnare or other. Yea, if yet they cannot prevail, then ſome one of the inquiſitors comes to him in private, and ſhews himſelf much affected with his miſery; weeps with him, comforts him, gives him advice, ſeems to impart ſuch a ſecret to him, as he would ſcarce impart to his father, or deareſt friend alive. And this they uſe moſt with women, whereas they are but fair baits upon deadly hooks, whereby they ſeek to deſtroy them: Whereof we have this example.

At Sivil there were apprehended, a godly matron, two of her daughters, and her niece, who all of them underwent the forementioned torments, with manly courage, and Chriſtian conſtancy because they would not betray each other, nor other godly perſons in that city. Then one of the inquiſitors ſent for the youngeſt maid oft to his chamber, pretended much compaſſion towards her, ſpake much to comfort her, told her what a grief it was to him, to ſee her torments: And then he uſed familiar and pleaſant communication to her; and told her, That he would adviſe her the beſt way to free herſelf, mother, and ſiſter, from theſe troubles; that he would undertake the ordering of their buſineſs; and then perſuaded her to diſcloſe the whole truth to him; and he bound himſelf with an oath, that he would ſtop all further proceedings againſt them, and procure their diſmiſſion. Having thus outwitted the poor maid, who gave too much credit to him, ſhe told him of ſome points of religion which they had wont to confer of amongſt themſelves: And ſo when he had gotten out of her what poſſibly he could, like a perfidious villain, contrary to his vows, promiſes, and oath, he cauſed her to be racked again to get more out of her; yea, they put her alſo to the intolerable pain of the trough, and through extremity of pangs and torments, they at laſt extorted from her a betraying of her own mother, ſiſters, and divers others, which were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at laſt burnt with fire. But when they were brought in great pomp upon the ſcaffold, and had the ſentence of death paſſed upon them, this maid went to her aunt, who had inſtructed her in the principles of religion; and boldly without change of countenance, gave her hearty thanks for that great benefit which ſhe had received by her means, intreating her to pardon her for what ſhe had offended her at any time, for that ſhe was now to depart out of this life. Her aunt comforted her ſtoutly, bid her be of good chear, for that now ere long they ſhould be with Chriſt. This woman was openly whipt, and kept in priſon during her life, the reſt were all preſently burned.

Another device that they have, is this. When they think that priſoners, which are together, do talk together of religion, exhorting and comforting one another, as they have occaſion or opportunity; the inquiſitors commit to priſon, under a colour, a crafty knave whom they call a fly; who after two or three days will cunningly inſinuate himſelf into the boſoms of the other priſoners, and then pretending a great deal of zeal to religion, he will proffer diſcourſe to them, and by degrees get out of their mouths ſomething whereof he may accuſe them. Then doth he move for a day of hearing, and ſo getting to the inquiſitors, he impeaches the priſoners, who ſhall be ſure afterwards to hear of it to their ſmart. Yea, theſe flies, as ſoon as they are out of one priſon, for the hope of gain, will be content preſently to be put into another, and then into a third; where they will lie in chains, as the other priſoners do, enduring hunger, cold, ſtink, and the loathſomeneſs of priſon, and all to betray others: And this man's accuſation is as ſtrong and valid as the teſtimony of any other witneſs whatſoever. Other flies alſo there be that ſerve the holy inquiſition abroad, ſlily inſinuating themſelves into the companies of the common people, who are ſuſpected to be Lutherans, and when they can pump any thing out of them, they preſently betray them. They have yet this other device, when they can catch any man that is noted for religion, or a miniſter that hath inſtructed others, after he hath been in priſon a while, they give it out, that upon the rack he hath diſcovered all his diſciples, and acquaintance, and they ſuborn others to aver that they heard it: And this they do to draw the ſimple people to come of their own accord, and to confeſs their faults to the inquiſitors, and to crave pardon, whereupon they promiſe them favour.

The inquiſitors and their offices uſe to call their priſoners dogs and heretics; and indeed, they uſe them much worſe than moſt men do their dogs. For firſt, the place where uſually each of them is laid, by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs, ill air, and dampneſs of the earth, is liker a grave than a priſon: and if it be a loft, in the hot weather, it is like a hot oven or furnace; and in each of theſe holes, uſually two or three are thronged together: So that they have no more room than to lie down in. In one corner is a ſtool of eaſment, and a pitcher of water to quench their thirſts. In theſe cells they have no light, but what comes in at the key-hole, or ſome ſmall cranny; other ſome there are much worſe, not being long enough for a man to lie in: So that ſuch as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a conſumption.

Their diet is anſwerable to their lodging: The rich pay large fees to the holy houſe, and every priſoner is rated as the inquiſitors pleaſe: But ſuch as are poor, the king allows them three pence a day, out of which, the ſteward, landreſs, and ſome other neceſſary charges are deducted; ſo that one half of it comes not to the priſoners ſhare: And if any be moved with compaſſion to relieve them, it is counted ſuch an hainous offence, that it will coſt him a ſcourging till blood come at leaſt.

It once happened, that there was a keeper appointed for their priſon, in the caſtle of Triana in Sivil, that was of a courteous diſpoſition by nature, who uſed the priſoners well, and cloſely, for fear of the inquiſitors, ſhewed them ſome favour: At which time, there was a godly matron and her two daughters committed to priſon; which being put into ſeveral rooms, had a great deſire to ſee each other for their mutual comfort in their diſtreſſes: Whereupon they beſought the keeper to ſuffer them to come together, if it were but for one quarter of an hour; the keeper yielded, and ſo they were together about half an hour, and then returned to their former priſons. Within a few days after, theſe women being racked in a terrible manner, the keeper fearing leſt they would confeſs that little favour which he had ſhewed them, of his own accord went to the inquiſitors, confeſſed his fact, and craved pardon. But they deemed this ſo hanious an offence, that they preſently commanded him to be haled to priſon, where by reaſon of the extremity ſhewed him, he fell mad. Yet this procured him no favour; for after he had been a whole year in a vile priſon, they brought him upon their triumphant ſtage, with a ſambenito upon him, and a rope about his neck, and there they cenſured him to be whipt about the city, and to have two hundred ſtripes, and then to ſerve in the gallies for ſix years. The next day one of his mad fits coming upon him, as he was ſet on an aſſe's back to be ſcourged, he threw himſelf off, ſnatched a ſword out of the officer's hand, and had ſlain him, if the people had not immediately laid hold on him; whereupon he was bound faſter on the aſſe's back, had his two hundred ſtripes, and was for this offence condemned four year longer to the gallies.

Another keeper at another time had a maid, who ſeeing how miſerably the priſoners were uſed, pitying their

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diſtreſſed condition, who were hunger-ſtarved, and almoſt pined, would ſometimes ſpeak to them at the grate, exhort and comfort them as well as ſhe could, and ſometimes would help them to ſome good and wholeſome food; yea, by her means the priſoners came to underſtand one another's condition, which was a great comfort to them. But this at laſt coming to the inquiſitors ears, they enjoined her to wear the ſambenito, to be whipped about the ſtreets, to receive two hundred ſtripes, and to be baniſhed the city for ten years, with this writing on her head, 'A favourer and aider of heretics.' And whereas all other ſorts of perſons in priſon and bondage are allowed to recreate and refreſh themſelves with ſinging at their pleaſure, theſe poor ſouls are forbidden this ſmall ſolace in their great miſery: For if any of them ſing a pſalm, or openly recite any portion of ſcripture, the inquiſitors take it very haniouſly, and preſently ſend to them, requiring them to be ſilent, upon the pain of excommunication; and if the priſoner make light of this warning, he ſhall have a bit ſet on his tongue to teach him obedience: And this they do, both to deprive the poor ſouls of all kind of ſolace, and to keep other priſoners from knowing how their friends do: So that it often falls out that a man and his friend, the father and the ſon, yea the huſband and wife ſhall be in one priſon-houſe two or three years together, and not know of each others being there, till they meet upon the ſcaffold, upon the great day of triumph.

By reaſon of this cruel uſage many of the priſoners die, ſome of their torments, others of the ſtink of the priſon, and others of diſeaſes contracted by hunger, cold, ill diet, &c. They have alſo an hoſpital, unto which they remove ſuch as fall ſick into their priſons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any thing, ſave that they have phyſic allowed them for their health's ſake; But none are ſuffered to come to them but the phyſician, and the ſervants of the hoſpital: And as ſoon as the patient is on the mending hand, he is carried back to the place whence he came.

If the priſoner be half naked, or want ſomething to lie on, and thereupon pray the inquiſitors that his neceſſity may be conſidered: The anſwer which he receives is this, 'Well, now the weather is warm, you may live full well without either cloaths or couch:' And if it be winter time, his anſwer is, 'True, it hath been a great froſt of late, but now the cold is come down again, and it will be more ſeaſonable weather. Care you for the garments wherewithal you ſhall cloath your ſoul, which conſiſteth in uttering the truth, and diſcharging your conſcience before this holy houſe:' And if the priſoner deſire to have ſome good books, or the holy Bible to enable him to paſs that troubleſome and careful time to ſome profit; The inquiſitors anſwer him, 'That the true book is to ſpeak the truth, and to diſcharge his conſcience to that holy court, and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his wounds to their lordſhips, who are ready to give him a plaiſter.' Whereby it appears that all their care and deſire is, that the poor priſoner may have nothing to look on or think on but his preſent miſerable ſtate, that the grief thereof grating upon him, may force him to ſatisfy their requeſts.

The laſt act of the tragedy remaineth, wherein both parties are pleaſed and have their deſire; The inquiſitors in obtaining their prey; The priſoners in finding ſome end of their miſerable uſage: But two or three days before the ſolemnity, they uſe ſeverally to call before them, all ſuch whoſe eſtates are confiſcated, examining them what lands or goods they have, where they lie, charging them upon great penalties not to conceal one jot, telling them, that if any thing be afterwards found, felony ſhall be laid to their charge, and he with whom it is found, ſhall pay ſoundly for it, and when all is confeſſed, they are returned to priſon again.

The night before the feſtival, they cauſed all the priſoners to be brought into a large room, where they are informed of the ſeveral kinds of penances that they are to do the next day: The next morning very early, the familiars come and attire the priſoners in their ſeveral habits, in which they are to appear before the people: Some ſambenito's, which is a long garment painted all over with ugly devils; on his head he hath an high-crown'd hat whereon a man is painted buring in the fire, with many devils about him, plying him with fire and fagots Beſides, their tongues have a cleft piece of wood put upon them, which nips and pincheth them that they cannot ſpeak; they have alſo about their necks, cords, and their hands faſt bound behind them. On this ſort come theſe conſtant martyrs diſguiſed, firſt to the ſtage, and then to the ſtake; and in the like ſort do all the reſt come forth, arrayed as the other, and ſet forth with the like notes of infamy, either more or leſs, as the inquſitors pleaſe to diſgrace them in the ſight of the people. On each hand of every priſoner goeth a familiar, all armed, to guard him: As alſo two friers with every one that is to die, who perſuade him tooth and nail to deny that doctrine that formerly he hath profeſſed, now at their going out of this world; which wicked importunity is a great grief to the poor ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt.

The inquiſitors alſo paſs in great pomp from the caſtle Triana to their ſcaffold: And when all are ſet in their places, a ſermon begins, framed on purpoſe in commendations of the holy houſe, and in confutation of ſuch heretics as are preſently to ſuffer: But the greateſt part is ſpent in ſlanderous reproaches, wherewith they vilify and diſgrace the truth, and the profeſſors of it. The ſermon being ended, the ſentences againſt the priſoners are read; Firſt, againſt ſuch as have eaſieſt puniſhments, and ſo in order to the greater; which ſentences are commonly theſe, death without mercy; whipping in ſuch extremity that the perſons ſeldom eſcape with their lives; condemnation to the galley; forfeiture of all their eſtates, &c.

Then doth the chief inquiſitor abſolve all ſuch as have forſaken Chriſt, and are come home to the church of Rome, from all the errors for which they ſhewed themſelves penitent; but though hereby they are abſolved from the fault, yet not from the puniſhment; for notwithſtanding their recantation, they muſt abide the puniſhment without mercy.

And whereas multitudes of people reſort to this ſpectacle, ſome coming twenty leagues to ſee it; the inquiſitors have this trick to uphold their kingdom, They cauſe all the people preſent, to take an oath to live and die in the ſervice of the church of Rome, hazarding both life and goods againſt any that ſhall oppoſe it; as alſo to their power, to uphold and maintain the holy inquiſition, and to defend all the officers thereof, &c.

Then if there be any amongſt the priſoners to be degraded, they proceed after this manner. Firſt, they apparel him in his maſſing robes, then they deſpoil him again of every part thereof; then are his hands, lips, and the crown of his head ſcraped with a piece of glaſs, or a ſharp knife till they bleed again, to ſcrape off the holy oil, wherewith he was anointed at his ordination. In the end of their ſentence which is pronounced upon ſuch as are to be burned, they uſe this abominable hypocriſy: They bequeath him to the ſecular power, with this humble requeſt to them, to ſhew the priſoner as much favour as may be; and neither to break any bone, nor pierce the ſkin of his body: This ſhews their great impudence, that having already given ſentence on him to be burned, they yet ſhould pretend ſuch mercy and clemency towards him, whom all along themſelves have uſed with ſuch extream cruelty.

They uſe alſo this trick further, that in reading the crimes for which he is condemned, they do not only miſreport ſuch things as he confeſſed upon his examination, but they deviliſhly father upon him ſuch things as he never ſpake, or thought of in all his life; and this they do to diſgrace him, and to make him and his opinions more abhorred of all men, and to encreaſe their own eſtimation and credit, as being neceſſary officers to rid the world of ſuch peſtilent perſons; and all this while the priſoners tongue hath a cleft piece of wood upon it to his intolerable pain and grief, that he cannot anſwer for himſelf, nor gainſay that they charge him with.

All theſe things being finiſhed, the magiſtrate takes them into his hand, and conveys them preſently to the place of execution, with divers inſtruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them to forſake the truth; and when they cannot prevail, after the priſoner is tied to the ſtake, they break his neck in a trice, and then they report

report amongſt the common people that they recanted their hereſies at the laſt hour, and ſo came home to the church of Rome, and therefore they felt no pain in the fire at all, which made them take it ſo patiently.

Such as are not condemned to die, are carried back to priſon, and the next day brought up to be whipt, after which ſome of them are ſent to the gallies, others kept in priſon all their life time: But all have this ſpecial charge given them that they never ſpeak of any thing that they have heard, ſeen, or felt, during their impriſonment in the inquiſition; for if the contrary be ever proved againſt them, and they utter any of their ſecrets, they ſhall be taken for perſons relapſed, and be puniſhed with greateſt ſeverity, their judgment being death without redemption; and hereby they keep in all their knavery and tyranny cloſe and ſecret to themſelves: And if any of them be releaſed becauſe their faults were but ſmall, they are ſo careful leſt their cruelty ſhould come to light, that they inhibit them the company or conference with any other, than ſuch as they ſhould appoint and allow them; neither will they ſuffer them to write to any friend, except they firſt have the peruſing of their letters.

Sometimes alſo, after they have impriſoned men in ſuch a miſerable ſtate, for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing againſt them by witneſs, ſo that they muſt neceſſarily diſmiſs them, they then call them into the court, and begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them, and that they are reſolved to ſend them home, for the which fatherly favour extended towards them in ſaving their lives and goods, they are to account themſelves much beholden to their lordſhips, *&c.* And ſo at laſt they diſmiſs him with ſpecial charge of ſilence; and when he is gone, they have ſpecial ſpies abroad to ſee how he takes the matter; and if they find that he complains of his puniſhments, or diſcloſes their ſecrets, they preſently commence a new ſuit againſt him.

On a time the inquiſitors at Sivil apprehended a noble lady; the cauſe was, for that a ſiſter of hers, a very virtuous virgin, who was afterwards burned for religion: had confeſſed in the extremity of her torments, that ſhe had ſometime had conference with this her ſiſter about matters of religion: This lady when ſhe was firſt apprehended, was gone with child about ſix months, in reſpect whereof they did not ſhut her up ſo cloſe at firſt, nor deal ſo ſeverely with her as they did with others: But within four days after ſhe was brought to bed, they took the child from her; and the ſeventh day after, they ſhut her up in cloſe priſon, and uſed her in all things as they did other priſoners; the only worldly comfort that ſhe had in her miſery, was, that they lodged her with a virtuous maiden that was her fellow priſoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the ſtrke: This maid whilſt they were together, was carried to the rack, and ſo ſore ſtrained and torn thereon, that ſhe was almoſt pulled in pieces; then was ſhe brought back and thrown upon a bed of flags, that ſerved them both to lie on: The good lady was not able to help her, yet ſhewed ſingular tokens of love and compaſſion towards her.

The maid was ſcarce recovered when the lady was carried out to be ſerved with the ſame ſauce, and was ſo terribly tormentrd in the trough, that by reaſon of the ſtraining of the ſtrings, piercing to the very bones of her arms, thighs and ſhins, ſhe was brought back half dead to her priſon, the blood guſhing out of her mouth abundantly, which ſhewed that ſomething was broken within her: But after eight days the Lord delivered her from theſe cruel tygers by taking her mercifully to himſelf.

Upon one of their days of triumph, there was brought out one John Pontio, of a noble family, a zealous profeſſor of the truth, and one of an holy and blameleſs life, and well learned; he was eminent alſo in works of charity, in which he had ſpent a great part of his eſtate: Being apprehended for the profeſſion of the goſpel, he was caſt into priſon, where he manfully maintained the truth in the midſt of all their cruel dealings with him. At laſt they caſt into priſon to him one of their flies, who by his ſubtilty and craft, ſo wrought upon him, that he drew from him a promiſe to yield obedience to the Romiſh church. But though God ſuffered him to fall a while to ſhew him his frailty, yet afterwards in much mercy he raiſed him up again with double ſtrength to that which he had before, and before his execution he manfully defended the truth againſt a ſubtil frier. The things which he was condemned for, were theſe; 'That he ſhould ſay, that from his heart he abhorred the idolatry which was committed in worſhipping the hoſt. That he removed his houſhold from place to place, that he might ſhun coming to the maſs That the juſtification of a Chriſtian reſteth only in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt apprehended by faith, *&c.* That there was no purgatory. That the Pope's pardons were of no value, *&c.* And for myſelf, ſaith he, I am not only willing but deſirous to die, and ready to ſuffer any puniſhment for the truth which I have profeſſed. I eſteem not of this world nor the treaſures of it more than for my neceſſary uſes, and the reſt to beſtow in the propagation and maintenance of the goſpel: And I beſeech God daily upon my knees for my wife and children, that they may all continue in in this quarrel even to the death.' And when he came to his execution, he patiently and comfortably ſlept in the Lord.

At the ſame time there was alſo brought forth one John Gonſalvo, formerly a prieſt, but by his diligent ſtudy of the ſcripture it pleaſed God to reveal his truth to him, ſo that he became a zealous preacher of it, labouring in all his ſermons to beat into mens minds the true way, and means of our juſtification to conſiſt in Chriſt alone, and in ſtedfaſt faith in him; for which he was apprehended and caſt into priſon, where he endured all their cruelty with a Chriſtian courage: At laſt, with two of his ſiſters, he was condemned. His mother and one of his brothers were alſo impriſoned with him for the truth, and executed ſhortly after. When he with his ſiſters went out at the caſtle gate, having his tongue at liberty, he began to ſing the cvi pſalm before all the people, who had often heard him make many godly ſermons: He alſo condemned all hypocrites as the worſt ſort of people; whereupon they ſtocked his tongue. Upon the ſtage he never changed countenance, nor was at all daunted. When they all came to the ſtake, they had their tongues looſed, and were commanded to ſay their Creed, which they did cheerfully; when they came to theſe words, *The holy Catholic church*, they were commanded to add, of Rome, but that they all refuſedw; hereupon their necks were broken in a trice: And then it was noiſed abroad that they had added thoſe words, and died, confeſſing the church of Rome to be the true Catholic church.

There was in Sivil a private congregation of God's people, moſt of which the inquiſitors conſumed in the fire, as they could diſcover any of them: Amongſt others that were apprehended, they took four women, famous above the reſt for their holy and godly converſation, but eſpecially the youngeſt of them, who was not above one and twenty years old, who by her diligent and frequent reading of the ſcriptures, and by conference with godly and learned men, had attained to a very great meaſure of knowlege; ſo that whilſt ſhe was in priſon, ſhe non-plus'd and put to ſhame many of thoſe friers that came to ſeduce her.

Another of theſe women was a grave matron, whoſe houſe was a ſchool of virtue, and a place where the ſaints uſed to meet, and ſerve God day and night: But the time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they together with other of their neighbours, were apprehended and caſt into priſon, where they were kept in dark dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extream torments which are before mentioned: At laſt they were condemned, and brought forth to the ſcaffold amongſt other priſoners. The young maid eſpecially came with a merry and chearful countenance, as it were triumphing over the inquiſitors, and having her tongue at liberty, ſhe began to ſing pſalms to God; whereupon the inquiſitors cauſed her tongue to be nipped by ſetting a barnacle upon it. After ſentence read, they were carried to the place of execution, where with much conſtancy and courage they ended their lives: Yet the inquſitors not ſatisfied herewith, cauſed the houſe of the matron where the church uſed to meet, to be pulled down, and the ground to be laid waſte, and a pillar to be erected upon it with an inſcription ſhewing the cauſe.

There was alſo apprehended another worthy member

of

of the ſame congregation called Ferdinando; he was of a fervent ſpirit, and very zealous in doing good: A young man, but for his integrity of life, very famous. He had ſpent eight years in educating of youth, and had endeavoured to ſow the ſeeds of piety in the hearts of his ſcholars, as much as lay in him to do in a time of ſo great perſecution and tyranny; being at the laſt apprehended for a Lutheran, he was caſt into priſon, and terribly tormented upon the gibbet, and in the trough, whereby he was ſo ſhaken in every joint, that when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his body; yet did thoſe cruel tormentors draw him by the heels into his priſon, as if he had been a dead dog: But notwithſtanding all his torments, he anſwered the inquiſitors very ſtoutly, and would not yield to them one jot. During his impriſonment God uſed him as an inſtrument to recal and confirm a monk, who had been caſt into priſon for confeſſing the goſpel openly: But by means of the inquiſitors flatteries and fair promiſes he had ſomewhat relented: God's providence ſo ordering it, that Ferdinando was caſt into the ſame priſon, and finding the monk wavering, he rebuked him ſharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a ſight of, and ſorrow for his ſin, he at laſt ſtrengthned him in the promiſe of free grace and mercy. Hereupon the monk deſired a day of hearing, where before the inquiſitors, he ſolemnly renounced his recantation, deſiring that his former confeſſion might ſtand, whereupon the ſentence of death paſſed againſt them both: After which the inquiſitors aſked Ferdinando, Whether he would revoke his former hereſies; To which he anſwered, 'That he had profeſſed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect word of God, and ought to be the profeſſion of every Chriſtian man, and therefore he would ſtick to it to the death.' Then did they clap a barnacle upon his tongue, and ſo they were burned together.

There was alſo one Juliano, called, The little, becauſe he was of a ſmall and weak body, who going into Germany, was there converſant with divers learned and godly men, by which means he attained to the knowlege of the truth, and became a zealous profeſſor of it, and earneſtly longing after the ſalvation of his countrymen, he undertook a very dangerous work, which was to convey two great dry fats full of Bibles printed in Spaniſh, into his own country: In this attempt he had much cauſe of fear, the inquiſitors had ſo ſtopped every port, and kept ſuch ſtrick watch, to prevent the coming in of all ſuch commodities: But through God's mighty protection, he brought his burden ſafely thither, and which was almoſt miraculous, he conveyed them ſafe into Sivil, notwithſtanding the buſy ſearchers and catch-poles that watched in every corner. Theſe Bibles being diſperſed, were moſt joyfully and thankfully received, and through God's bleſſing, wrought wonderfully amongſt God's people to ripen them againſt the time of harveſt. But at laſt the matter broke out by the means of a falſe brother, who going to the inquiſitors, played the Judas, and betrayed the whole church to them. So that there were taken at Sivil at one time, eight hundred Chriſtians, whereof twenty of them were afterwards roſted at one fire.

Amongſt theſe, this Juliano was one of the firſt that was apprehended and ſent to priſon, where he lay without any company, laden with irons above three years; yet was his conſtancy ſo great and wonderful, that the tormentors themſelves were ſooner wearied in inflicting, than he in ſuffering torments; and notwithſtanding his weak and wearyiſh body, yet he remained undaunted in mind in undergoing all their tyrannies, ſo that he never departed from the rack more dejected than he came to it; neither threatnings, nor pains, nor torments made him ſhrink or yield one jot to them: But when he was drawn back to his priſon, he would tell his fellows how he had conquered and confounded his enemies, ſaying, 'They depart vanquiſhed, they depart vanquiſhed; The wolves flie with ſhame, they flie with ſhame.'

In the day of their triumph, when he was brought out to be apparelled (with his other fellow priſoners) in all their ſhameful habits, he exhorted them with a chearful countenance, ſaying, 'My brethren be of good chear, this is the hour wherein we muſt be faithful witneſſes unto God and his truth before men, as become the true ſervants and ſoldiers of Chriſt, and ere long we ſhall have him to witneſs with us again; and within a few hours we ſhall triumph with him in heaven for ever:' But hereupon they preſently clapt a barnacle upon his tongue that he ſhould ſpeak no more, and ſo he was led to his execution; but though he could not ſpeak, yet by his countenance and geſtures he ſhewed his chearful and quiet mind: Then kneeling down, he kiſſed the ſtep whereon he ſtood, and being tyed to the ſtake, he endeavoured by his looks and geſtures to encourage his fellow-martyrs in their ſufferings, and ſo they quietly and patiently reſigned up their ſpirits unto God.

There was alſo John Leon, a taylor by trade, who out of a blind devotion to ſerve God, reſolved to enter into a monaſtry, but by God's providence it ſo fell out that he entred into a cloiſter at Sivil, wherein moſt of the monks were well affected to the true religion, amongſt whom in two or three years ſpace, he was ſo grounded in the principles of religion, that he reſolved to leave that kind of life, which accordingly he did, and went into the country, yet after a time he had a great mind to confer with his former ſchool-maſters: but when he came back to the cloiſter, he found that they were all fled into Germany: Hereupon he reſolved to follow them, and through many dangers and perils, it pleaſed God at laſt after a long and tedious journey, to bring him ſafe to Franckfort, where he met with ſome of his old acquaintance, and with them he travelled to Geneva. About which time queen Mary ſuddenly dying, and queen Elizabeth of bleſſed memory ſucceeding her, the Engliſh exiles that lived in thoſe parts were called home; whereupon divers Spaniards that ſojourned at Geneva, thinking England a fitter place for their congregation, reſolved to accompany the Engliſhmen; and for this end they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral companies that they might travel with the more ſafety: The inquiſitors took the departure of theſe monks ſo ill, that not ſparing any coſt, they ſent their ſlies abroad to apprehend them, who way-laid them, eſpecially at Collen, Franckfort, Antwerp, and in all the ways that led from Geneva. This John Leon had gotten him a companion, with whom he travelled towards England, who being diſcovered at Argentine, were dogged into Zealand, and as they were ready to take ſhip, they were apprehended. John Leon took his arreſt very compoſedly, never changing countenance at it: They were preſently carried back into the town, where they were miſerably racked to diſcover their fellows, and not long after were ſhipped for Spain, having great irons, wrought like a net, that covered both head and face, within alſo was another piece of iron made like a tongue, which being thruſt into their mouths took away their ſpeech: They were alſo loaden with other engines and fetters of iron, wherewith they were bound hand and foot, and in theſe continual pains and torments they lay a ſhip board till they came into Spain, and then John Leon was ſent to Sivil, and his companion to Validolid, where afterwards in defence of the truth he ſuffered martyrdom: But John remained long in priſon, where he taſted of the inquiſitors tyranny, ſuffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at laſt was brought out in their ſolemn ſhew, arrayed after their uſual manner. It was a ſad ſight to ſee ſuch a ghoſt as he was, his hair ſo grown, his body ſo lean, that he had nothing but ſkin and bones left on him, and his pain much encreaſed by having a barnacle upon his tongue. After ſentence of death pronounced upon him, they ſet his tongue at liberty hoping that he would have recanted, but he made a ſtout and godly confeſſion of his faith, and ſo quietly ended his life in the flames.

There was alſo burned at the ſame time a godly virgin, that had formerly been a nun; but being, through God's grace, converted, ſhe left her cloiſter, and joined herſelf to the church of Chriſt. Being apprehended by the inquiſitors, ſhe was treated as others had been before her; and at laſt was brought out to the ſcaffold, where with a manly courage ſhe put the inquiſitors to a foul foil, not only conſtantly affirming the truth, but ſharply rebuking thoſe fathers, calling them dumb dogs, a generation of vipers, &c. Being brought to the ſtake, with a chearful

report amongſt the common people that they recanted their hereſies at the laſt hour, and ſo came home to the church of Rome, and therefore they felt no pain in the fire at all, which made them take it ſo patiently.

Such as are not condemned to die, are carried back to priſon, and the next day brought up to be whipt, after which ſome of them are ſent to the gallies, others kept in priſon all their life time: But all have this ſpecial charge given them that they never ſpeak of any thing that they have heard, ſeen, or felt, during their impriſonment in the inquiſition; for if the contrary be ever proved againſt them, and they utter any of their ſecrets, they ſhall be taken for perſons relapſed, and be puniſhed with greateſt ſeverity, their judgment being death without redemption; and hereby they keep in all their knavery and tyranny cloſe and ſecret to themſelves: And if any of them be releaſed becauſe their faults were but ſmall, they are ſo careful leſt their cruelty ſhould come to light, that they inhibit them the company or conference with any other, than ſuch as they ſhould appoint and allow them; neither will they ſuffer them to write to any friend, except they firſt have the peruſing of their letters.

Sometimes alſo, after they have impriſoned men in ſuch a miſerable ſtate, for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing againſt them by witneſs, ſo that they muſt neceſſarily diſmiſs them, they then call them into the court, and begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them, and that they are reſolved to ſend them home, for the which fatherly favour extended towards them in ſaving their lives and goods, they are to account themſelves much beholden to their lordſhips, *&c.* And ſo at laſt they diſmiſs him with ſpecial charge of ſilence; and when he is gone, they have ſpecial ſpies abroad to ſee how he takes the matter; and if they find that he complains of his puniſhments, or diſcloſes their ſecrets, they preſently commence a new ſuit againſt him.

On a time the inquiſitors at Sivil apprehended a noble lady; the cauſe was, for that a ſiſter of hers, a very virtuous virgin, who was afterwards burned for religion: had confeſſed in the extremity of her torments, that ſhe had ſometime had conference with this her ſiſter about matters of religion: This lady when ſhe was firſt apprehended, was gone with child about ſix months, in reſpect whereof they did not ſhut her up ſo cloſe at firſt, nor deal ſo ſeverely with her as they did with others: But within four days after ſhe was brought to bed, they took the child from her; and the ſeventh day after, they ſhut her up in cloſe priſon, and uſed her in all things as they did other priſoners; the only worldly comfort that ſhe had in her miſery, was, that they lodged her with a virtuous maiden that was her fellow priſoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the ſtake: This maid whilſt they were together, was carried to the rack, and ſo ſore ſtrained and torn thereon, that ſhe was almoſt pulled in pieces; then was ſhe brought back and thrown upon a bed of flags, that ſerved them both to lie on: The good lady was not able to help her, yet ſhewed ſingular tokens of love and compaſſion towards her.

The maid was ſcarce recovered when the lady was carried out to be ſerved with the ſame ſauce, and was ſo terribly tormented in the trough, that by reaſon of the ſtraining of the ſtrings, piercing to the very bones of her arms, thighs and ſhins, ſhe was brought back half dead to her priſon, the blood guſhing out of her mouth abundantly, which ſhewed that ſomething was broken within her: But after eight days the Lord delivered her from theſe cruel tygers by taking her mercifully to himſelf.

Upon one of their days of triumph, there was brought out one John Pontio, of a noble family, a zealous profeſſor of the truth, and one of an holy and blameleſs life, and well learned; he was eminent alſo in works of charity, in which he had ſpent a great part of his eſtate: Being apprehended for the profeſſion of the goſpel, he was caſt into priſon, where he manfully maintained the truth in the midſt of all their cruel dealings with him. At laſt they caſt into priſon to him one of their flies, who by his ſubtilty and craft, ſo wrought upon him, that he drew from him a promiſe to yield obedience to the Romiſh church. But though God ſuffered him to fall a while to ſhew him his frailty, yet afterwards in much mercy he raiſed him up again with double ſtrength to that which he had before, and before his execution he manfully defended the truth againſt a ſubtil frier. The things which he was condemned for, were theſe; 'That he ſhould ſay, that from his heart he abhorred the idolatry which was committed in worſhipping the hoſt. That he removed his houſhold from place to place, that he might ſhun coming to the maſs That the juſtification of a Chriſtian reſteth only in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt apprehended by faith, *&c.* That there was no purgatory. That the Pope's pardons were of no value, *&c.* And for myſelf, ſaith he, I am not only willing but deſirous to die, and ready to ſuffer any puniſhment for the truth which I have profeſſed. I eſteem not of this world nor the treaſures of it more than for my neceſſary uſes, and the reſt to beſtow in the propagation and maintenance of the goſpel: And I beſeech God daily upon my knees for my wife and children, that they may all continue in in this quarrel even to the death.' And when he came to his execution, he patiently and comfortably ſlept in the Lord.

At the ſame time there was alſo brought forth one John Gonſalvo, formerly a prieſt, but by his diligent ſtudy of the ſcripture it pleaſed God to reveal his truth to him, ſo that he became a zealous preacher of it, labouring in all his ſermons to beat into mens minds the true way, and means of our juſtification to conſiſt in Chriſt alone, and in ſtedfaſt faith in him; for which he was apprehended and caſt into priſon, where he endured all their cruelty with a Chriſtian courage: At laſt, with two of his ſiſters, he was condemned. His mother and one of his brothers were alſo impriſoned with him for the truth, and executed ſhortly after. When he with his ſiſters went out at the caſtle gate, having his tongue at liberty, he began to ſing the cvi pſalm before all the people, who had often heard him make many godly ſermons: He alſo condemned all hypocrites as the worſt ſort of people: whereupon they ſtocked his tongue. Upon the ſtage he never changed countenance, nor was at all daunted. When they all came to the ſtake, they had their tongues looſed, and were commanded to ſay their Creed, which they did cheerfully; when they came to theſe words. *The holy Catholic church*, they were commanded to add, of Rome, but that they all refuſedw; hereupon their necks were broken in a trice: And then it was noiſed abroad that they had added thoſe words, and died, confeſſing the church of Rome to be the true Catholic church.

There was in Sivil a private congregation of God's people, moſt of which the inquiſitors conſumed in the fire, as they could diſcover any of them: Amongſt others that were apprehended, they took four women, famous above the reſt for their holy and godly converſation, but eſpecially the youngeſt of them, who was not above one and twenty years old, who by her diligent and frequent reading of the ſcriptures, and by conference with godly and learned men, had attained to a very great meaſure of knowlege; ſo that whilſt ſhe was in priſon, the non-plus'd and put to ſhame many of thoſe friers that came to ſeduce her.

Another of theſe women was a grave matron, whoſe houſe was a ſchool of virtue, and a place where the ſaints uſed to meet, and ſerve God day and night: But the time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they together with other of their neighbours, were apprehended and caſt into priſon, where they were kept in dark dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extream torments which are before mentioned: At laſt they were condemned, and brought forth to the ſcaffold amongſt other priſoners. The young maid eſpecially came with a merry and chearful countenance, as it were triumphing over the inquiſitors, and having her tongue at liberty, ſhe began to ſing pſalms to God; whereupon the inquiſitors cauſed her tongue to be nipped by ſetting a barnacle upon it. After ſentence read, they were carried to the place of execution, where with much conſtancy and courage they ended their lives: Yet the inquſitors not ſatisfied herewith, cauſed the houſe of the matron where the church uſed to meet, to be pulled down, and the ground to be laid waſte, and a pillar to be erected upon it with an inſcription ſhewing the cauſe.

There was alſo apprehended another worthy member

of

of the ſame congregation called Ferdinando; he was of a fervent ſpirit, and very zealous in doing good: A young man, but for his integrity of life, very famous. He had ſpent eight years in educating of youth, and had endeavoured to ſow the ſeeds of piety in the hearts of his ſcholars, as much as lay in him to do in a time of ſo great perſecution and tyranny; being at the laſt apprehended for a Lutheran, he was caſt into priſon, and terribly tormented upon the gibbet, and in the trough, whereby he was ſo ſhaken in every joint, that when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his body; yet did thoſe cruel tormentors draw him by the heels into his priſon, as if he had been a dead dog: But notwithſtanding all his torments, he anſwered the inquiſitors very ſtoutly, and would not yield to them one jot. During his impriſonment God uſed him as an inſtrument to recal and confirm a monk, who had been caſt into priſon for confeſſing the goſpel openly: But by means of the inquiſitors flatteries and fair promiſes he had ſomewhat relented: God's providence ſo ordering it, that Ferdinando was caſt into the ſame priſon, and finding the monk wavering, he rebuked him ſharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a ſight of, and ſorrow for his ſin, he at laſt ſtrengthned him in the promiſe of free grace and mercy. Hereupon the monk deſired a day of hearing, where before the inquiſitors, he ſolemnly renounced his recantation, deſiring that his former confeſſion might ſtand, whereupon the ſentence of death paſſed againſt them both: After which the inquiſitors aſked Ferdinando, Whether he would revoke his former hereſies; To which he anſwered, 'That he had profeſſed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect word of God, and ought to be the profeſſion of every Chriſtian man, and therefore he would ſtick to it to the death.' Then did they clap a barnacle upon his tongue, and ſo they were burned together.

There was alſo one Juliano, called, The little, becauſe he was of a ſmall and weak body, who going into Germany, was there converſant with divers learned and godly men, by which means he attained to the knowlege of the truth, and became a zealous profeſſor of it, and earneſtly longing after the ſalvation of his countrymen, he undertook a very dangerous work, which was to convey two great dry fats full of Bibles printed in Spaniſh, into his own country: In this attempt he had much cauſe of fear, the inquiſitors had ſo ſtopped every port, and kept ſuch ſtrick watch, to prevent the coming in of all ſuch commodities: But through God's mighty protection, he brought his burden ſafely thither, and which was almoſt miraculous, he conveyed them ſafe into Sivil, notwithſtanding the buſy ſearchers and catch-poles that watched in every corner. Theſe Bibles being diſperſed, were moſt joyfully and thankfully received, and through God's bleſſing, wrought wonderfully amongſt God's people to ripen them againſt the time of harveſt. But at laſt the matter broke out by the means of a falſe brother, who going to the inquiſitors, played the Judas, and betrayed the whole church to them. So that there were taken at Sivil at one time, eight hundred Chriſtians, whereof twenty of them were afterwards roſted at one fire.

Amongſt theſe, this Juliano was one of the firſt that was apprehended and ſent to priſon, where he lay without any company, laden with irons above three years; yet was his conſtancy ſo great and wonderful, that the tormentors themſelves were ſooner wearied in inflicting, than he in ſuffering torments; and notwithſtanding his weak and wearyith body, yet he remained undaunted in mind in undergoing all their tyrannies, ſo that he never departed from the rack more dejected than he came to it; neither threatnings, nor pains, nor torments made him ſhrink or yield one jot to them: But when he was drawn back to his priſon, he would tell his fellows how he had conquered and confounded his enemies, ſaying, 'They depart vanquiſhed, they depart vanquiſhed; The wolves flie with ſhame, they flie with ſhame.'

In the day of their triumph, when he was brought out to be apparelled (with his other fellow priſoners) in all their ſhameful habits, he exhorted them with a chearful countenance, ſaying, 'My brethren be of good chear, this is the hour wherein we muſt be faithful witneſſes unto God and his truth before men, as become the true ſervants and ſoldiers of Chriſt, and ere long we ſhall have him to witneſs with us again; and within a few hours we ſhall triumph with him in heaven for ever:' But hereupon they preſently clapt a barnacle upon his tongue that he ſhould ſpeak no more, and ſo he was led to his execution; but though he could not ſpeak, yet by his countenance and geſtures he ſhewed his chearful and quiet mind: Then kneeling down, he kiſſed the ſtep whereon he ſtood, and being tyed to the ſtake, he endeavoured by his looks and geſtures to encourage his fellow-martyrs in their ſufferings, and ſo they quietly and patiently reſigned up their ſpirits unto God.

There was alſo John Leon, a taylor by trade, who out of a blind devotion to ſerve God, reſolved to enter into a monaſtry, but by God's providence it ſo fell out that he entred into a cloiſter at Sivil, wherein moſt of the monks were well affected to the true religion, amongſt whom in two or three years ſpace, he was ſo grounded in the principles of religion, that he reſolved to leave that kind of life, which accordingly he did, and went into the country, yet after a time he had a great mind to confer with his former ſchool-maſters: but when he came back to the cloiſter, he found that they were all fled into Germany: Hereupon he reſolved to follow them, and through many dangers and perils, it pleaſed God at laſt after a long and tedious journey, to bring him ſafe to Franckfort, where he met with ſome of his old acquaintance, and with them he travelled to Geneva. About which time queen Mary ſuddenly dying, and queen Elizabeth of bleſſed memory ſucceeding her, the Engliſh exiles that lived in thoſe parts were called home; whereupon divers Spaniards that ſojourned at Geneva, thinking England a fitter place for their congregation, reſolved to accompany the Engliſhmen; and for this end they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral companies that they might travel with the more ſafety: The inquiſitors took the departure of theſe monks ſo ill, that not ſparing any coſt, they ſent their flies abroad to apprehend them, who way-laid them, eſpecially at Collen, Franckfort, Antwerp, and in all the ways that led from Geneva. This John Leon had gotten him a companion, with whom he travelled towards England, who being diſcovered at Argentine, were dogged into Zealand, and as they were ready to take ſhip, they were apprehended. John Leon took his arreſt very compoſedly, never changing countenance at it: They were preſently carried back into the town, where they were miſerably racked to diſcover their fellows, and not long after were ſhipped for Spain, having great irons, wrought like a net, that covered both head and face, within alſo was another piece of iron made like a tongue, which being thruſt into their mouths took away their ſpeech: They were alſo loaden with other engines and fetters of iron, wherewith they were bound hand and foot, and in theſe continual pains and torments they lay a ſhip board till they came into Spain, and then John Leon was ſent to Sivil, and his companion to Validolid, where afterwards in defence of the truth he ſuffered martyrdom: But John remained long in priſon, where he taſted of the inquiſitors tyranny, ſuffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at laſt was brought out in their ſolemn ſhew, arrayed after their uſual manner. It was a ſad ſight to ſee ſuch a ghoſt as he was, his hair ſo grown, his body ſo lean, that he had nothing but ſkin and bones left on him, and his pain much encreaſed by having a barnacle upon his tongue. After ſentence of death pronounced upon him, they ſet his tongue at liberty hoping that he would have recanted, but he made a ſtout and godly confeſſion of his faith, and ſo quietly ended his life in the flames.

There was alſo burned at the ſame time a godly virgin, that had formerly been a nun; but being, through God's grace, converted, ſhe left her cloiſter, and joined herſelf to the church of Chriſt. Being apprehended by the inquiſitors, ſhe was treated as others had been before her; and at laſt was brought out to the ſcaffold, where with a manly courage ſhe put the inquiſitors to a foul foil, not only conſtantly affirming the truth, but ſharply rebuking thoſe fathers, calling them dumb dogs, a generation of vipers, *&c.* Being brought to the ſtake, with a chearful

countenance ſhe underwent the pains of death, and ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord.

There was alſo one Chriſtopher Loſada, a phyſician, a learned man and very well ſtudied in the ſcriptures, as alſo of a very holy converſation, inſomuch as he was choſen ſuper-intendent of the church of Chriſt in Sivil, which at this time was very great, though diſperſed into corners. At laſt he was apprehended by the inquiſitors, before whom he made a good confeſſion of his faith, for which he endured hard and ſharp impriſonment, with moſt cruel torments, and the open infamy of their ſolemn ſhew, and laſtly was adjudged to the fire. As he ſtood at the ſtake, the barnacle being taken from his tongue, he diſputed notably with ſome monks that came to ſeduce him; and when they ſpake Latin that the common people might not underſtand them, Loſada alſo began to ſpeak in Latin ſo copiouſly and eloquently, as was ſtrange to hear that he ſhould have his wits ſo freſh when he was ready to be burned: After which he patiently reſigned up his ſpirit unto God in the fire.

There was alſo in Sivil one Arias, a man of a ſharp wit and well ſtudied in divinity, but withal of a crafty wit and inconſtant nature; which vices he yet covered with a cloke of religion, whereby he deceived many. About this time there were alſo in that city two ſorts of preachers, and both had a great number of auditors: The one taught ſchool-divinity, and were continually calling upon their hearers to often faſtings, mortification, ſelf-denial, frequency of prayer, humility, &c. But themſelves practiſed nothing leſs than theſe things: And indeed all their religion conſiſted in works and bodily exerciſes, as running to maſſes, hallowed places, ſhrift, &c. The other ſort dealt more ſincerely with the holy ſcriptures; out of which they declared what was true righteouſneſs, and perfect holineſs: By means whereof that city above all others in Spain, bore the name for juſt and true dealing; and it pleaſed God that the brightneſs of this light did diſcover all the counterfeit holineſs, and pharaſaical devotion of the other party: The chief labourers in this harveſt were Conſtantine, Ægidius, and Varquius, all doctors, and ſober, wiſe, and learned men; who by this kind of preaching procured to themſelves many enemies. But above all others, Arias was the moſt ſpiteful and malicious; yet he carried it ſo cunningly, that he ſtill kept up his reputation with theſe men: But it was not long before he diſcovered himſelf, and that upon this occaſion; There was one Ruzius, a learned man, queſtioned before the inquiſitors, for ſomething that he had delivered in a ſermon about the controverſies in religion: The inquiſitors appointed him a day of hearing; and two or three days before, Arias met him, ſaluted him courteouſly, and diſcourſed familiarly with him: Then did he pump out of him, all thoſe arguments wherewith he intended to defend himſelf before the inquiſitors. When the day came, and Ruzius appeared, Arias went on that ſide where his opponents were, which much amazed Ruzius; and in the diſputation, Arias being prepared, did ſo wittily enervate all his arguments, that Ruzius had nothing to ſay for himſelf, and ſo was fain to yield the cauſe, and Arias went away with the honour of the field, tho' he got it by treachery. Yet did this Arias, being of ſaint Iſidores monaſtery, preach ſo practically, that a great light began to dawn in that dark place: For the whole ſcope of his ſermons was to overthrow all their profeſſion; He taught them that ſinging and ſaying of their prayers day and night was no ſervice of God, that the holy ſcriptures were to be read and ſtudied with diligence, whence alone the true ſervice of God could be drawn, and which alone teach us the true obedience to his will, to the obtaining wherof we muſt uſe prayer as a means, proceeding as well from a ſenſe and feeling of our own infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect truſt and confidence in God.

By laying theſe foundations, through God's bleſſing, he began to make them out of love with their monkiſh ſuperſtition, and much provoked them to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures. Beſides alſo his ſermons, he read daily a lecture upon Solomon's Proverbs very learnedly, and made application thereof with good judgment and diſcretion; alſo in his private conference he did much good. The Lord alſo ſo ordered it in his wiſdom, that he met with ſcholars that were very tractable, ſuch as were not greatly wedded to their ſuperſtitions. And ſuch was the force and might of God's election, that theſe few good ſeeds ſo fructified, that in the end they brought forth a great encreaſe of godlineſs. For divers of the monks, that hereby had their conſciences awakened and cleared to ſee their former hypocriſy and idolatry, ſought out for further inſtructions, and through God's mercy, they light upon thoſe preachers which taught the truth with more ſincerity; of whom they learned the principles of pure and perfect religion, ſo that by degrees they left that evil opinion which they had formerly conceived againſt the Lutherans, and were deſirous to read their books: And God miraculouſly provided for them, that they had all ſorts of books brought them that were extant at that time, either in Geneva or Germany; whereby it came to paſs that there were very few in all that cloiſter but they had ſome taſte of true religion and godlineſs; ſo that inſtead of mumbling their mattens, they brought in divinity lectures, &c. Vain faſting was turned into Chriſtian ſobriety, neither were any taught to be monkiſh, but to be ſincerely and truly religious.

But conſidering that when this ſhould be once known they could not live in any ſafety, they reſolved among themſelves to forſake their neſt, and to flie into Germany, where they might enjoy more ſafety of their lives, and freedom of their conſciences; but how to get thither was all the difficulty; if one or two ſhould go firſt, the reſt would be expoſed to danger: If many ſhould go together, a thouſand to one but they would be taken again, being to travel from the furtheſt part of Spain into Germany; yet upon debate they concluded, That they muſt all either ſpeedily depart, or ſhortly be apprehended by the inquiſitors, who now got ſome inkling of the matter. And God ſeeing them in this diſtreſs, ſhewed them a means how, under an honeſt pretence, a dozen of them might depart together within a month, and each betake himſelf a ſeveral way towards Geneva, where they appointed, by God's aſſiſtance, all to meet within a twelve month: The reſt, which were but young novices, were left behind; who yet not long after were ſo ſtrengthned by God, that they endured the brunt of perſecution when it came: Three of them being burned, and divers others diverſly puniſhed.

The aforementioned ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt forſook that place where they lived in honour, eaſe, and plenty; and by undertaking for Chriſt's ſake, a voluntary exile, expoſed themſelves to ſhame, ignominy, wants, yea, and were in continual danger of their lives alſo. And under God, Arias was a great means of this, who, by his miniſtry, had firſt enlightned them with the knowlege of the truth: For which, he was often complained of to the inquiſitors, and was convented before them; where he ſo cunningly anſwered the matter, that he was ſtill diſcharged: But his laſt apprehenſion, through the mercy of God, brought forth in him the 'fruits of true repentance;' for he did ſo deeply and unfeignedly bewail, and repent of his former 'witholding of the truth in unrighteouſneſs;' that whereas he uſed to be exceeding fearful of the rack, he being brought to it, and upon it, with a marvellous conſtancy withſtood the enemies of God's truth, and took up the inquiſitors roundly; withal telling them, that he was heartily ſorry, and did moſt earneſtly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their preſence impugned the truth, againſt the godly defenders of the ſame: Many other ſharp rebukes he gave to the inquiſitors, ſo often as he came to his anſwer. But at laſt, he was brought forth arrayed in their accuſtomed manner upon their day of triumph, at which time, he alſo made a notable profeſſion of his faith, and ſo was led from the ſtage to the ſtake with a merry and chearful countenance; where, by the notable example of his repentance at his death, he made ſatisfaction to the church of Chriſt for all his former unfaithful and hypocritical dealing with them. And ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord.

The Life of Doctor Ægidio.

DOCTOR Ægidio, who is before-mentioned, was brought up in the univerſity of Alcala, where he took all his degrees, and was a hard ſtudent in ſchool-divinity.

But

But the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures was there ſo neglected and contemned, that if any one read it, he was in contempt and ſcorn called *A good bibler*. Afterwards being public reader of divinity in that univerſity, he grew famous all over Chriſtendom, and was ſent for to Sivil to be divinity reader in the Cathedral church, where he was ſo highly eſteemed, that ſoon after he was choſen ſubdean; yet did he not attempt to preach openly, nor had once ſo much as opened the Bible to read and ſtudy the ſcriptures: And therefore the firſt time that he came into the pulpit, contrary to all mens expectations, he was found ſo unfit for ſuch a function, that he grew out of conceit with himſelf, and was contemned by others; inſomuch, as they fell to repent themſelves, the one for admitting him ſo unadviſedly, the other for taking upon him that office ſo arrogantly. But having paſſed over ſome time, it ſo fell out, that he met with a plain man which gave him ſuch inſtructions, That after a few hours conference, he learned by him what the office and duty of a preacher was; and by what means he might attain thereto. And, thro' God's bleſſing, his advice was ſo effectual, that now Dr Ægidio was quite altered, and became a new man, thinking all his former life and labour ill ſpent, and therefore he reſolved to ſteer another courſe. He alſo fell into acquaintance with Dr. Conſtantine, a man excellently well learned, by whoſe conference and advice he profited marvelloufly in his ſtudies, fell to the reading of good authors, and grew to profound knowlege in the holy ſcriptures: So that after a time, he began to preach as learnedly, godly, and zealouſly, as he had before done coldly, fooliſhly, and unſkilfully. Then did his hearers find the marvellous force of that doctrine which was taught them by theſe three worthy men, Ægidio, Conſtantine, and Varquio: So that the more they crept out of their former ignorance, and grew in knowlege, the more they eſteemed and honoured them.

Hereupon there were daily complaints made againſt them to the inquiſitors, eſpecially againſt Dr. Ægidio, who did more openly than the reſt inveigh againſt the adverſaries of the truth. But it ſo fell out, by God's providence, that juſt at the ſame time, the emperor Charles the fifth, in reſpect of his ſingular learning and integrity of life, elected him to the biſhoprick of Dortois. Then did thoſe hypocritical inquiſitors beſtir themſelves on all hands, citing him to come before them, where articles were exhibited againſt him; and thereupon they caſt him into priſon, and examined him. But the emperor, who had elected him to the biſhoprick, and the whole chapter of the cathedral churchin Sivil, became very earneſt ſuitors to the inquiſitors in his behalf.

It fell out alſo, that juſt at the ſame time, whileſt Ægidio was in priſon, three of his greateſt adverſaries amongſt the inquiſitors, and the prime enemies againſt the truth, ſickned and died ſhortly one after another, whereby he was releaſed, and lived four or five years after. At the end whereof, he was ſent upon an ambaſſie, in which journey he viſited the brethren that profeſſed the truth in Valido-lid, and much comforted and confirmed them: But in his return home, his aged body being ſore ſhaken in that long journey, having not been uſed to travel of a long while before, he ſickned, and within a few days departed out of this troubleſome life, to everlaſting reſt.

But within three years after, the new inquiſitors thinking that the former had dealt too gently with him, digged him out of his grave, and buried in his place a puppet of ſtraw; then they brought his corps upon the ſcaffold, and uſed it in the ſame ſort as they would have uſed himſelf if he had been alive.

The Life of Dr. Conſtantine.

DOCTOR Conſtantine, of whom mention hath been made before, was a moſt famous divine, and indued by God with ſuch rare abilites, as the like were hardly found in that age. He was a man of a very pleaſant wit, and wondrous facetious, which he eſpecially uſed againſt the hypocritical monks and fryers: And tho' he lived in a barbarous age, wherein all good learning was almoſt loſt, yet by his wit and induſtry he attained to a great deal of ſkill, both in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and was alſo an excellent orator; and he ſtudied the ſcriptures ſo hard, that he grew very exquiſite therein. He was alſo ſo eloquent in his own language, that all his auditors were brought into a great admiration of him: He was very diſcreet in all his doings. Which parts he attained to, both by his ſtudy, long practice and experience, but eſpecially by profound knowlege in the holy ſcriptures.

Whenſoever he preached, there was ſo great reſort to his ſermons, that three or four hours before he began, there was ſcarce a place in the church to be gotten. He was far from covetouſneſs and ambition, inſomuch, as having a good canonſhip in the church of Toledo proferred him, he refuſed it, together with divers other preferments. In his miniſtry in Sevil he did ſo plainly ſet forth, and ſo ſharply rebuke thoſe huckſters that ſold indulgences, pardons, &c. That they were much incenſed againſt him, fearing, that he would prove a plague to the whole generation of them: So that they hated him deadly, yet could find nothing whereof to accuſe him, but what would redound to their own ſhame.

But for all this, he neglected not to preach the truth faithfully, though he knew that they lay at catch, waiting for an opportunity to inſnare him: And it was the ſingular providence of God, that that city ſhould enjoy ſuch preaching, when there were ſo many powerful and malicious enemies to oppoſe it. For at this time Varquio read upon the goſpel according to Matthew, and upon the Pſalms. Ægidio preached daily, and Conſtantine, though not ſo often, yet to as great fruit and edification: Thus continuing till God ſent ſtorms to try each man's faith. In the midſt of which tempeſt, Varquio died, and Conſtantine was ſent for by the emperor, to be his houſhold chaplain; only Ægidio was left alone, like a lamb amongſt wolves, to be the object of their fury, of whoſe end we have heard before. After whoſe death, Conſtantine left the emperor's court, and returned to Sevil, where he preached the goſpel with as much zeal as ever he did before. Then was he choſen to preach every other day in the cathedral, which he refuſed, becauſe of a great fit of ſickneſs which had made him very weak; but he was forced to undertake it, though he was ſo weak a creature, that ſometimes he was fain to be carried to church, and by reaſon of his faintneſs, was neceſſitated once or twice in a ſermon, to drink a draught of wine to refreſh himſelf. About this time there was one Scobario, a man famous for life and learning, choſen by the magiſtrates of the city to the government of the colledge of children, who out of his zeal to promote the goſpel converted his ſtipend, to the erecting a divinity lecture in the cathedral church: And Conſtantine having recovered his health, was choſen to read it; who performed it excellently well, beginning with the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Canticles. Which having paſſed through very learnedly, he began upon the book of Job, and proceeded to expound more than the half of it: But ſome evil ſpirit envying the progreſs of the goſpel in that city, under a pretence of fervent zeal, cauſed him to forſake this courſe, and incumbred him ſo many ways, that he was never clear of thoſe troubles to his dying day.

For not long after he was brought before the inquiſitors, and many things laid to his charge; yet by his quick and ready anſwers, he eaſily avoided them, and they could not by any means bring him to make an open proteſtation of his faith, by which all their hope was to circumvent him; and ſo he might have eſcaped, had not God, by a ſpecial providence, compelled him, as it were, briefly and plainly to confeſs his faith; the occaſion was this.

There was one Iſabel Martin apprehended, in whoſe houſe Conſtantine had hid ſome ſpecial books for fear of the inquiſitors. This woman's goods being ſequeſtred, her ſon conveyed divers cheſts of her beſt Goods away to another place. This coming to the inquiſitors ears, by means of an unfaithful ſervant, they ſent their officer immediately to demand thoſe cheſts; the woman's ſon ſuppoſing, that the officer came for Conſtantines books, ſaid unto him, 'I know what you come for, and therefore if 'you will promiſe me upon your honeſt word to depart 'quietly, I will bring you to them.' The officer ſuppoſing he meant the cheſts, promiſed him ſo to do. Then did

did he carry him into a ſecret place, and plucking forth a ſtone or two in the wall, ſhewed him Conſtantine's jewels, of paper indeed; but far more precious than gold or pearl. The officer aſtoniſhed to find that which he looked not for, told him, That he came for no ſuch thing, but for certain cheſts of his mother's goods, which he had purloined from the ſequeſtrators: And that notwithſtanding his promiſe, he muſt carry both him and his books to the inquiſitors. Thus came Conſtantine's writings into the inquiſitors hands; out of which, they quickly found matters enough againſt him. Then did they ſend for him before them, and demanded, if he knew his own hand: He ſhifted it off at the firſt, but afterwards perceiving that it was the will of God, that he ſhould bear witneſs to the truth, he confeſſed it to be his own writing, proteſting openly, That all things therein contained, were full of truth and ſincerity: 'Therefore,' ſaid he, 'trouble 'yourſelves no further in ſeeking witneſſes againſt me, 'ſeeing you have ſo plain and apert a confeſſion of my 'judgment and faith, but deal with me as you ſhall pleaſe.' Then was he caſt into priſon, and kept there two whole years, where partly by occaſion of his corrupt diet, but chiefly of grief, to ſee ſuch havock made of the poor church of Chriſt, which himſelf and his brethren had with ſo great pains and care planted and watered, he began firſt to be crazy; and then not being able to endure the extreme heat of the ſun, which made his priſon like an hot-houſe, he was forced to ſtrip himſelf to his very ſhirt, wherein he lay day and night, by occaſion whereof he fell into the bloody flux, and within fifteen days died in the ſtinking priſon, rendring up his ſoul to Chriſt: For promoting of whoſe glory, he had oft-times manfully adventured it.

He never indeed felt thoſe cruel torments which the inquiſitors uſed to inflict upon others; but it was not because they regarded ſuch a man of eminency as he was, but becauſe they intended to delay his puniſhment by keeping him long in priſon, not expecting that he ſhould ſo ſuddenly have been taken out of their hands. Yet did theſe imps of Satan ſpread abroad a report, that before his death upon the rack, he had confeſſed to them who were his diſciples; and this they did to make men come in and accuſe themſelves, upon hope to find the more favour with the inquiſitors. They reported alſo, that he opened one of his veins with a broken glaſs whereof he died, that ſo he might avoid the ſhame and puniſhment of his hereſies. And againſt the day of their ſolemn triumph, his corps was taken out of his grave, and ſet in a pulpit; with one hand reſting on the deſk, and holding up the other, juſt as he uſed to do when he preached, Then they paſſed ſentence upon him, and ſo afterwards cauſed him to be burnt.

Thus we have ſeen in ſome few examples the rage of theſe bloody inquiſitors, againſt the poor ſaints and ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, whereof a great number were cruelly murthered in a few years ſpace in that one city of Sevil, whereby we may partly gueſs how great numbers have ſuffered in all other places, ſince the light of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt brake forth, until this day, under their cruel and bloody tyranny.

[*Collected out of a Book called, The Diſcovery of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, &c. Firſt written in Latin by Reynold Gonſalvius Montanus; and afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh.*]

The Perſecution of Nicholas Burton, Engliſhman, by the Inquiſitors in Spain, Anno 1560.

THIS Burton was a citizen of London, who being about his merchandize at Cadiz in Spain, there came to his lodging one of the familiars, deſiring to take lading to London, in the ſhip which Burton had freighted; and this he did, that he might learn where his goods were. Preſently after came a ſerjeant who apprehended Burton, and carried him away to the inquiſitors, who, though they could charge him with nothing ſpoken or written againſt them ſince he came to Spain; yet they ſent him to the filthy common priſon, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongſt thieves. In which time, he ſo inſtructed the poor priſoners in the word of God, that in a ſhort ſpace he had well reclaimed many of thoſe ignorant and ſuperſtitious ſouls: Which being known to the inquiſitors, they preſently removed him, laden with irons, from thence to Sevil, and put him into the more cruel priſon in the caſtle of Triana, where the inquiſitors proceeded againſt him after their accuſtomed cruel manner, by racking, &c. Neither could he get leave to write to, or ſpeak with any of his countrymen. Afterwards they brought him forth with many other godly perſons upon their public day of triumph, in his ſambito, painted all over with ugly devils tormenting a ſoul in flames of fire, and with a barnacle upon his tongue, where he received ſentence of death, and ſo with the reſt, was carried to the place of execution to be burnt; and he endured the flames with ſo much patience and chearfulneſs of countenance, that his Popiſh adverſaries ſaid, 'That the Devil 'had his ſoul before he came to the fire, whereby his 'ſenſe of feeling was taken away.' They alſo ſequeſtred all his goods, which could never be recovered out of their hands, though great means were uſed for the ſame. This was in queen Mary's days.

There was burnt with him at the ſame time another Engliſhman; and not long after two more, called John Baker and William Burgate, And about the ſame time William Burges, maſter of an Engliſh ſhip, was burnt there alſo; and William Hooker, a youth of about ſixteen, was there ſtoned to death for the bold profeſſion of his faith.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Perſecution of the Church of Chriſt in Italy, which began Anno Chriſti 1154.

ADRIAN the IV. an Engliſhman, being pope, there was one Arnald of Breſcia, who coming to Rome, preached boldly againſt the corruptions which were crept into the church, and found great favour amongſt the ſenators, and people, inſomuch, as when the pope commanded this Arnald to be driven away as an Heretick, they reſiſted his command, and defended Arnald, till at laſt the pope interdicting the whole city, at the importunity of the clergy, the ſenators and citizens were forced to ſend him away: And ſhortly after, he was apprehended by the pope's legate, cardinal of St. Nicholas, out of whoſe hands he was reſcued by the viſcounts of Campania, with whom he remained, and to whom he preached the goſpel of Chriſt, and was had in ſuch eſteem, that he was accounted a prophet.

Shortly after, Frederick Barbaroſſa, the emperor, coming into Italy to be crowned, the pope ſent ſome cardinals to him, requeſting, That he would deliver Arnald of Breſcia into their hands, whom the viſcounts of Campania had taken from his legate at Otriculi, whom they held for a prophet in their country, and greatly honoured him. The emperor receiving theſe commands from the pope, preſently ſent forth his apparitors, and took one of the viſcounts priſoner; wherewith the other was ſo terrified, that they delivered up Arnald to the cardinals: And this the emperor did, to gratify the pope that was to ſet the imperial crown upon his head.

Not long after the pope being in his ruff, marching with a brave army into Apulia, commanded his prefect at Rome to do execution upon Arnald; who accordingly moſt cruelly, firſt hanged, and then burnt him for an Arch-heretic, at the appointment of the Pope.

This Arnald was born in Italy, and was trained up under Peter Abailardus in France. His hereſies were, That he preached againſt the pride and covetouſneſs of the clergy and monks; that he inveighed againſt the corruptions which were crept into the ſacraments, &c. He firſt preached in Breſcia, and expounded to the people the ſacred ſcriptures, who earneſtly embraced his doctrine; whereupon the biſhops and monks of that city complained of him to the council that was held at Rome by pope Innocent, who (to prevent the ſpreading of his doctrine) enjoined him ſilence, and baniſhed him Italy. Then did he

go

go beyond the Alps, into a town of Germany called Turengum, where for a time he preached the truth, and did much good, till he heard of the death of pope Innocent his old adverſary: At which time, he returned into Italy and went to Rome, where, what his ſucceſs was, we heard before. After his body was burnt, they gathered up his aſhes, and threw them into the river Tiber. Otho Friſing.

Anno Chriſti 1546. There was one Encenas or Driander, a Spaniard, born in Bruges, who in his youth was ſent by his ſuperſtitious parents to be educated in Rome; where in proceſs of time, through God's mercy, he came to the knowlege of the truth: And thereupon manifeſting his diſlike of the impure doctrine of the church of Rome, he was betrayed by ſome of his own countrymen and houſhold friends, and by them carried before the cardinals, who committed him ſtraight to priſon; and afterwards, being called forth to declare his judgment in matters of religion, he gave a notable teſtimony to the truth, before the cardinals and the pope's whole retinue; whereupon they cried out upon him, 'That he ſhold be burnt; yet the cardinals proferred him life, if he would wear the Sambito: But he conſtantly refuſed to wear any other badge, ſave the badge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was, to ſeal his profeſſion with his blood. Hereupon he was condemned to the fire, and ſuffered martyrdom with great patience and conſtancy. His brother Francis Encenas, a very learned and godly man as any was in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Bruſſels, offered to Charles the fifth the New Teſtament, tranſlated into Spaniſh; for which, he was caſt into priſon, where he remained in great miſery for the ſpace of fifteen months, looking for nothing but preſent death. But at laſt, through the marvellous providence of God, at eight o'clock at night he found the priſon doors ſtanding wide open, and a ſecret motion in his mind to make an eſcape: Whereupon going out of priſon, with a leiſurely pace, he went without interruption, and ſo from thence ſtraight into Germany.

Anno 1550. There was at Ferrara, one Faninus, who by reading of good books, was through God's grace, converted to the knowledge of the truth; wherein he found ſuch ſweetneſs, that by conſtant reading, meditation, and prayer, he grew ſo expert in the ſcriptures, that he was able to inſtruct othrs: And though he durſt not go out of the bounds of his calling to preach openly, yet by conference and private exhortations he did good to many. This coming to the knowlege of the pope's clients, they apprehended and commited him to priſon, where, by the earneſt ſolicitations of his wife and children, and other friends he was overcome, that he renounced the truth, and ſo was diſmiſſed out of priſon. But it was not long before the Lord met with him: So that falling into horrible torture of conſcience, he was near unto utter deſpair for his apoſtacy, and for preferring the love of his kindred and friends, before the ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt, neither could he poſſibly by any means be free from theſe terrors, before he had fully reſolved to adventure his life more faithfully in the ſervice of the Lord. Wherefore being thus inflamed with an holy zeal, he went about all the country, doing much good whereſoever he came: Whereupon he was again apprehended, and caſt into priſon, and condemned to be burnt. But he told his judges, that his time was not yet come, and ſo it fell out: for ſhortly after, he was removed to Ferrara, where he continued in priſon two years. Then was he again condemned by the pope's inquiſitors; and yet his time being not come, he remained a good while after in priſon: In which time many godly people came to viſit him, which cauſed the pope to command him to be kept more ſtrictly. Then was he kept cloſe priſoner for eighteen months, wherein he endured many and great torments: After this, he was brought into another priſon, where were many nobles, great lords and captains for ſtirring up ſedition, who when they firſt heard him ſpeak, ſet him at naught, and derided him; and ſome of the graveſt of them, ſuppoſing it to be but a melancholy humour, exhorted him to leave his opinion, &c. Faninus gave them thanks for their friendly good will, but withal, modeſtly and plainly he declared to them, That the doctrine which he profeſſed, was no humour nor opinion of man's brain, but the pure truth of God held forth in his word; which truth, he was fully reſolved never to deny, &c. With which inſtructions they were, through the mercy of God, clean altered in their carriage and judgment, highly admiring and honouring him now, whom a little before they derided and contemned. Then did he proceed ſtill to impart the word of grace to them, declaring, That though he knew himſelf to be a miſerable ſinner, yet through faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and his grace, he was fully perſwaded that his ſins were forgiven: Aſſuring them likewiſe, That if they did repent and believe on our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they alſo ſhould have their ſins remitted unto them.

There were in that priſon alſo ſome that having formerly lived very delicately, could not now endure the hardſhip of a priſon, to whom he adminiſtred much comfort in this their diſtreſs, inſomuch, as they rejoiced in theſe their ſufferings; by which they had learned a better kind of liberty, then ever they had before.

His kinsfolk hearing of his impriſonment, his wife and ſiſter came to him, pitifully weeping and intreating him to conſider and remember his poor family, *&c.* To whom he anſwered, 'That his Lord and Maſter had commanded him not to deny his truth for his family's ſake; and that it was too much, that once for their ſakes he had fallen into that cowardice which they knew of. Therefore he deſired them to leave him, and not to follicit him any further in that kind, for he knew that his end now drew near, and ſo he commended them to the Lord.'

Preſently after, the Pope ſent a command, that Faninus ſhould be executed, whereof, when an officer brought him word, he much rejoiced at it, thanking the meſſenger. Then did he begin to make a long exhortation to his fellow priſoners about the felicity of the life to come.

He had life proferred him, if he would recant, and he was put in mind what a ſad condition he would leave his wife and children in: Whereupon he anſwered, That he had committed them to an overſeer that would ſufficiently care for them. And being aſked, Who that was? He anſwered, Even the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, a faithful keeper of all that are committed to him. The next day he was removed into the common priſon, and delivered to the ſecular magiſtrate.

In all his words, geſtures, and countenance, he ſhewed ſuch modeſty, conſtancy, and tranquillity of mind, that they which before extremely hated him, and thought that he had a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him; yea, with ſuch grace and ſweetneſs he ſpake of the word of God, that many of the magiſtrates wives which heard him, could not abſtain from weeping; yea, the executioner himſelf wept.

As he was going to execution, one that ſaw him ſo merry and chearful, aſked him, What was the reaſon of it, whereas Chriſt before his death, ſweated blood and water? To whom he anſwered, 'That Chriſt ſuſtained all the ſorrows and conflicts with hell and death that were due to us, that by his ſufferings we might be freed from the ſorrow and fear of them all.

At the place of execution, after he had made his moſt earneſt prayers to the Lord, he meekly and patiently went to the ſtake, where he was firſt ſtrangled, and afterwards burnt. And during the time of his burning, there came a moſt fragrant and odoriferous ſmell to the ſpectators, the ſweetneſs whereof did ſo delight and refreſh their ſenſes, as his words would have done, if they had heard him ſpeak.

There was alſo one Dominicus, ſometimes a ſoldier under Charles the fifth, in Germany, where he received the firſt taſte of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; after which, by his conference with learned men, he much increaſed in knowlege, inſomuch, as he was able to inſtruct others; whereupon he returned into Italy, and in the city of Naples he taught the word of God to many, *Anno* 1550. From thence he went to Placentia, where he inſtructed the people alſo in many of the fundamentals of religion, promiſing, That he would in the next place, ſpeak to them of Antichriſt, whom he would paint out in his colours. But when he came the next day, he was apprehended by the magiſtrate, whom he readily obeyed, ſaying, 'That he wondred the devil had let him alone ſo

long.' And being aſked, whether he would renounce his doctrine, he anſwered, 'That he maintained no doctrine of his own, but the doctrine of Chriſt, which alſo he was ready to ſeal with his blood;' Giving hearty thanks to God for accounting him worthy to ſuffer for his name. Then was he committed to a filthy and ſtinking priſon, where he remained ſome months, and was often ſolicited to revoke his opinions, or elſe he muſt ſuffer death: But, through God's mercy, nothing could remove him from his conſtancy. Being therefore condemned to death, he was brought into the market-place, where he moſt heartily prayed for his enemies, inſtructed the people, and then was hanged, reſting in peace in the Lord.

In St. Angelo, there was an houſe of Auguſtine Friers, to whom there often reſorted a Frier from the city of Pavia, who was a man very expert in the ſcriptures, and of godly converſation; by whoſe labours, not only divers of the Friers, but other townſmen were brought to the knowlege and love of God's word; and amongſt the reſt, one Galeacius Trecius, a gentleman of good quality, very wealthy, and bountiful to the poor, was wrought upon to embrace the truth, and was afterwards much confirmed and ſtrengthened by Cælius Secundus, who being perſecuted from Pavia, came to this place. After ſome time, Galeacius having much profited in knowlege, was inflamed with a godly zeal to promote and propagate the knowlege of the truth unto others: But a light ſhining in ſuch darkneſs, could not be long hid; inſomuch as *anno* 1551. he was apprehended and carried before the biſhop, by whom he was kept in bands, having only a pad of ſtraw to lie on; and though his wife ſent him a good bed and ſheets, yet did the biſhop's officers keep them from him, dividing it as a booty amongſt themſelves.

Thrice he was brought before the commiſſioners, where he boldly rendered a reaſon of his faith, anſwering all their interrogatories with ſuch evidence of ſcripture, and conſtancy of mind, as aſtoniſhed all that heard him; yet afterwards at the importunity of his friends and kindred, he was by much perſuaſion brought to aſſent to certain Popiſh points. But, through the mercy of God, he was after a while, brought to ſuch repentance and bewailing of this fact, that afterwards he became more valiant in the defence of Chriſt's quarrel; neither did he deſire any thing more than to have occaſion to recover again by confeſſion that which he had loſt by denial: Affirming, That as he never had felt more joy of heart, than when he conſtantly profeſſed the truth, ſo he never taſted more ſorrow in all his life, than when he turned from the ſame by diſſimulation. Profeſſing to his Chriſtian friends, That death was much more ſweet to him with teſtimony to the truth, than life with the leaſt denial of it, and violation of a good conſcience thereby. So that afterwards, through God's mercy, he was ſo full of comfort, that divers which talked with him, continued all day without meat or drink; and if they might, would have ſtaid all night too, they were ſo delighted with him.

Galeacius thus waiting for ſome occaſion to manifeſt his recovery, it ſo fell out, that the inquiſitors came into the priſon to him, ſuppoſing, that now he would have confirmed what before he had granted unto them, requiring him ſo to do: But Galeacius, on the contrary retracted that, and boldly aſſerted the truth with more courage than he did before: And hereby his mind was greatly refreſhed, and his adverſaries went away aſhamed; yet did they condemn and deliver him to the ſecular judge to be burnt. Then was he brought forth in the morning to the market place, and bound to a ſtake, where he was left till noon, to be a gazing ſtock to all the people. During which time, many came to ſee him, exhorting him to recant, and not ſo wilfully to caſt away himſelf, and thereby to undo his loving wife and young children, &c. But nothing could alter the firm mind of this conſtant martyr; and therefore at length fire was put to him, and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

A little before his execution, he hearing that there was a controverſy between the biſhop and major of the city, which of them ſhould be at the coſt to buy wood for his burning, he ſent to them to end that quarrel; for, that he himſelf would be at the coſt of it, out of his own goods.

The Life of John Mollins.

THERE was at Rome, one John Mollins, who at twelve years old, was placed by his parents in the houſe of the Gray Fryars, where being of an excellent wit; in a ſhort time, he ſo profited both in the knowlege of the arts and tongues, that at eighteen years old he was made a prieſt: Then was he ſent to ſtudy at Ferrara, where he ſo profited in ſix years time, that he was made doctor and reader of divinity in that univerſity, and by his ſophiſtry ſhewed himſelf an utter enemy to the goſpel. From thence he went to Breſcia, and the year following to Milan, where he read openly. Then by Francis Sforce he was brought the to univerſity of Papia, to be the philoſophy profeſſor, where he remained four years; then was he called to the univerſity of Bononia: About which time, it pleaſed God ſo to enlighten him with the knowlege of his truth, that he began ſecretly to expound the Epiſtle of Paul to the Romans to a few. But preſently his auditors increaſed ſo faſt, that he was compelled to read openly in the church, where the number of his auditors daily increaſed, and withal, they ſhewed ſuch fervency of mind, that moſt of them came with pen and ink to write what they heard, taking great care to come ſo early, that they might have room to hear him: This was *anno* 1538. Hereupon cardinal Campeius ſet up one Cornelius, an arrogant babler, to expound the ſame epiſtle, who cried up the Pope and his traditions, as John, on the contrary, commended and extolled Chriſt and his merits to the people: But Cornelius, his auditors, quickly decreaſed, and the others increaſed exceedingly. This angred Cornelius, inſomuch, as by cardinal Campeius his advice, they came to an open diſputation; and when they could not agree, as John was returning home in a narrow place, where his friends could not come to his reſcue, he was apprehended and clapt up in priſon; but this cauſed ſuch ſtir in the city, that Cornelius was fain to hide himſelf: Then did the biſhop ſend word to John in priſon, that he muſt either recant or be burnt. To the firſt he anſwered, That he would by no means condeſcend, only it grieved him, that he ſhould be condemned, and his cauſe not heard: Yet by the mediation of a friend, he was releaſed out of priſon, upon condition, that within three months he ſhould appear at Rome. Some of his friends diſſuaded him from going to Rome, adviſing him rather to go into Germany, and they would give him money to bear his charges; but he refuſed, ſaying, 'That he muſt preach the goſpel at Rome alſo.'

When he came thither, he requeſted of the pope that he might have a public hearing, but that was denied him, and he was commanded to write his opinion; which accordingly he did, about original ſin, juſtification by faith only, freewill, purgatory, &c. All which he confirmed by the authority of the ſcriptures and fathers, and ſo exhibited it to the pope, who referred it to ſome cardinals; and they diſputed with him three days upon thoſe points, but could not confute them: Then was he anſwered, that it was truth which he ſaid, yet not meet for the times; and therefore he was commanded to abſtain from preaching, and to return to Bononia to be the philoſophy profeſſor.

When he came back, all men longed to hear how he had ſped, and in the pulpit he openly declared the whole proceedings to them, giving God thanks for his ſafe return.

But this ſo offended the cardinal, that by order from the pope, he was removed from Bononia to Naples. There alſo his doctrine was ſo diſtaſted by the viceroy, that he laid wait to take away his life; yet, through God's mercy, he eſcaped, and wandred up and down Italy, preaching the goſpel of Chriſt, whereſoever he came. At laſt he was called back to Bononia, where privately he expounded Paul's epiſtles, which could not be long concealed; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to Faventia, where he was caſt into a filthy ſtinking priſon, and lay there four years, no man being ſuffered to come to him; yet at laſt, by the mediation of ſome friends, he was again releaſed, and went to Ravenna, where he preached the goſpel of Chriſt with ſuch affections, that he never

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ſpake of Jeſus Chriſt, but tears dropped from his eyes.

After a ſhort time he was again caſt into priſon; but four perſons of quality proffering to be his bail, through God's mercy, he was releaſed: After which, ſo many flocked to him, that his adverſaries conſulted to kill him, leſt his doctrine ſhould ſpread further; and apprehending him, they ſent him bound to Rome, where again he was caſt into priſon for eighten months; in which time he was often aſſaulted, ſometimes with flatteries and fair promiſes, ſometimes with terrible threats; but his conſtancy could not be ſhaken by either. Whereupon he, with ſome others, were brought forth to receive the ſentence of condemnation; at which time, with great earneſtneſs, he confirmed his former doctrine, affirmed the Pope to be antichriſt, *&c.* citing them to appear before the tribunal of Chriſt.

Being condemned and carried to the place of execution, he exhorted the people to have no ſaviours but Chriſt alone, the only Mediator betwixt God and man; and ſo he was firſt hanged, and then burned. This was *anno Chriſti* 1553.

The year after, Francis Gamba, born in Lombardy, having, through God's grace, received the knowlege of the goſpel, went to Geneva, where he was much confirmed in the truth, and received the ſacrament with them; then returning into his own country, he was apprehended and caſt into priſon, whither many nobles, doctors, and prieſts reſorted to him, labouring by all means to diſſuade him from his opinions. But he diſputing with them, conſtantly affirmed, That what he held was conſonant to the word of God, and the evident doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and neceſſary for all men to believe, if they would be ſaved; aſſuring them, that rather than he would be found falſe to Chriſt, and his word, he was there ready to ſhed his blood. He was long aſſailed by the intreaties of his friends and threatnings of his enemies, but could by no means be diſcouraged, yea, he gave thanks to God for accounting him worthy to ſuffer rebukes and death for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo, by order of the ſenate of Milan, he was had forth to execution.

He went with a great deal of chearfulneſs; and when a croſs was brought him by a frier, he ſaid, that his mind was ſo repleniſhed with joy and comfort in Chriſt, that he needed neither his croſs nor him. Then, becauſe he declared many comfortable things to the people, his tongue was bored through, and he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt, undergoing death with admirable patience and conſtancy.

Anno 1555. There was one Algerius, a ſtudent in Padua, a young man, of excellent learning, who having attained to the knowlege of the truth, ceaſed not, by inſtruction and example, to inform others that he might bring them to the ſaving knowlege of Chriſt: For this, he was accuſed of hereſy to the Pope; by whoſe command he was apprehended and caſt into priſon at Venice, where he lay long. During which time, he wrote an excellent letter to the afflicted ſaints, wherein, amongſt many other expreſſions, he thus writeth.

"I cannot but impart unto you ſome portion of my delectations and joys, which I feel, and find: I have found honey in the intrails of a lion. Who will believe, that in the dark dungeon, I ſhould find a paradiſe of pleaſure? In a place of ſorrow and death, dwells tranquility and hope of life: In an infernal cave, I have joy of ſoul; where others weep, I rejoice; where others ſhake and tremble, there is ſtrength and boldneſs, *&c.* All theſe things the ſweet hand of the Lord doth miniſter to me. Behold, he that was once far from me, is now preſent with me; when I could ſcarce feel before, now I ſee more apparently; whom once I ſaw afar off, I now behold near at hand; whom I once hungred for, he now approaches and reaches his hand to me. He doth comfort me, and fills me with gladneſs; he drives away my ſorrow, ſtrengthens, encourageth, heals, refreſheth, and advanceth me. O how good is the Lord, who ſuffers not his ſervants to be tempted above their ſtrength! O how eaſy and ſweet is his yoke, *&c.* Learn therefore how amiable and merciful the Lord is, who viſiteth not his ſervants with temptations and diſdains, but keeps them company in ſuch vile and ſtinking dungeons," *&c.*

And in concluſion he ſubſcribes his letter, From the delectable orchard of the Leonine priſon, &c.

After this, the Pope ſent for him to Rome, where, by manifold perſuaſions, and allurements, he was tempted to deſert and deny the truth; which not prevailing, he was adjudged to be burnt alive. Which death he moſt conſtantly endured to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Anno 1559. John Aloyſius, being ſent from Geneva to be a paſtor in Calabria, was thence ſent for by the Pope to Rome, where he ſuffered martyrdom.

Alſo James Bovellus, a godly miniſter in the ſame place, and at the ſame time was ſent for by the Pope, by whom he was ſent to Meſſina, and there martyred.

Pope Pius the IV. raiſed an hot perſecution againſt the people of God in all the territories of the church of Rome, whereby many conſtant Chriſtians ſuffered martyrdom. Yea, this perſecution was ſo hot in the kingdom of Naples, that many noblemen with their wives, and divers others, were there ſlain, *anno* 1560.

A Papiſt writing to a noble lord, about the cruelty ſhewed to ſome Chriſtians, hath theſe expreſſions. 'When I think upon it, I verily quake and tremble: For this manner of putting to death, may fitly be reſembled to the ſlaughter of calves and ſheep; for eighty eight of them being thruſt up together in one houſe, as in a ſheepfold, the executioner cometh in, taketh one and blidfoldeth him, and ſo leads him forth to a larger place adjoyning, where commanding him to kneel down, he cuts his throat; and leaving him half dead, he takes his butchers knife and muffler, all gore blood, and goeth back to the reſt; and ſo leading one after another, he diſpatches them all. How ſad this ſpectacle was, I leave to your lordſhip to judge; for my own part, I cannot but weep to think of it; neither was there any of the ſpectators, which ſeeing one to die, could endure to behold another: But truly, ſo humbly and patiently they went to their death, as is almoſt incredible to believe; all the aged perſons went to death more cherfully, the younger were ſomething more timorous. I tremble and ſhake to remember how the executioner held his bloody kife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all gore blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them one after another by the hand, and ſo diſpatching them all, no otherwiſe than as a butcher doth kill his calves and ſheep.' This was in Calabria, *anno Chriſti* 1560.

Perſecution raiſed by the Pope in Venice.

THE city of Venice was a long while free from the cruel inquiſition, whereby the face of a church was diſcerned there, from the year 1530. to the year 1542. yea, and multitudes of good Chriſtians flocked thither from other parts; which ſo provoked the Devil to envy, that he ſtirred up the Pope to ſend inquiſitors, which erected an inquiſition in that city; and for divers years the Pope ſent them money to diſtribute among their ſlies, and ſuch perſons as would betray the faithful to them. By this means many of the worthy ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt were apprehended, impriſoned, and after a while ſent to Rome to be there butchered.

Then was a new found manner of death inflicted upon divers others, never till then heard of, whereby they were drowned in the bottom of the ſea; the manner of it was thus. After any of them had received the ſentence of death by the inquiſitors, an iron chain was faſtened about their middle, with a very heavy ſtone tied thereto; then were they laid upon a plank between two boats, and ſo rowed to an appointed place in the ſea, where the boats parting aſunder, the martyrs preſently ſunk into the bottom of the ſea, and were drowned. Yet notwithſtanding this cruelty, many godly perſons ceaſed not to aſſemble together in a place appointed for that purpoſe, where they talked and diſcourſed of heavenly matters for their

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ſpiritual edification, and made collections for the poor among them. And *anno* 1566. they called to them a miniſter of the goſpel, and conſtituted a church, where they enjoyed all the ordinances with much comfort. But ſome falſe brethren creeping in amongſt them, after a while betrayed them; then were many apprehended, caſt into the ſea and drowned: Others were ſent to Rome, where they were caſt into priſon till they rotted and died there.

Amongſt others that were condemned to be drowned at Venice, was one Mr. Anthony Ricetto: To whom, after his condemnation, his ſon, a youth about twelve years old, came, beſeeching him with tears to yield, that his life might be ſaved, and himſelf not left fatherleſs. To whom he anſwered, 'A good Chriſtian is bound to forego children, goods, yea, and life itſelf for the maintenance of God's honour and glory. For which cauſe' (ſaid he) 'I am now reſolved to lay down my life, the Lord aſſiſting me.

The lords of Venice offered to reſtore to him his patrimony, which was partly mortgaged, and partly ſold, if he would ſubmit to the church of Rome; but he reſolutely refuſed that condition. Not long after came a captain to him, and told him of one Francis Sega, his priſon fellow, that was reſolved to recant. To whom he anſwered, 'What tell you me of Sega? I am reſolved to perform my vows to the Lord my God. Then was he carried forth bound to the boats, and by the way a prieſt preſented him with a wooden croſs, exhorting him to recant, *&c.* But he on the contrary, perſuaded him and others to come out of the ſnares of the Devil, and to cleave to Jeſus Chriſt, and to live, 'Not according to the fleſh, but according to the Spirit. For,' (ſaid he, 'otherwiſe your unbelief will bring you into the lake of fire, that never ſhall be quenched. When he came to the place where he was to ſuffer, the captain faſtned the chain and ſtone to him; whereupon, lifting his eyes to heaven, he ſaid, 'Father forgive them, they know not what they do. 'Lord Jeſus, into thy hands do I commend my ſpirit.' And ſo in the ſea he ended his life.

A few days after, one Mr. Francis Spinola was apprehended and committed to priſon, and when he was brought forth before the inquiſitors, they ſhewed him a treatiſe about the Lord's Supper, demanding whether he was the author of it; which he acknowleged, avouching, That the doctrine that was contained therein, was agreeable to the holy ſcriptures. Then was he returned to his priſon, where the aforementioned Sega was, who waiting for his coming, as he paſſed by, ſaluted him by his name; after which they conferred together about the doctrine of the goſpel: And Sega having heard that Spinola had ſtood ſtoutly in the confeſſion of the truth, he was much comforted, ſaying, 'That God had reſerved him for ſuch a time as this, to make him partaker of ſo great conſolation.' Shortly after the goaler told Sega, that he was to die one hour within night; at the hearing whereof, he entreated Spinola to pray with him, and after prayer he ſaid, 'That his ſoul was heavy unto death.' Spinola anſwered, 'Fear not, for it will not be long before your ſoul ſhall partake of thoſe joys which ſhall endure for ever. At the appointed time he was fetched out of the dungeon, where he took his leave of Spinola, and the other priſoners. As he went into the boats, a fryar perſuaded him to return to the church of Rome. Sega anſwered, that he was already in the way to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo paſſing on, he called upon the name of God. He ſeemed to be a little amazed at the faſtning of the chain and ſtone to his body, yet preſently recollecting his ſpirits, he took it patiently, and ſo commending his ſoul into the hands of God, he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

Spinola being again called before the inquiſitors, he boldly reproved the pope's legate, and the other judges; for that, contrary to their conſciences, they perſecuted the truth of God, calling them the off ſpring of the Phariſees, *&c.*

The third time that he was called before them, they aſked him, if he would not recant his errors? He anſwered, That the doctrine which he maintained was not erroneous, but the ſame truth which Chriſt and his holy apoſtles taught; and for which, all the martyrs, both in former and latter times, did willingly lay down their lives, and endure the pains of death. Yet after all this, Spinola by the crafty perſuaſions of ſome ſeeming friends, began to ſtrike ſail and to faint; but through God's goodneſs he ſoon recovered again, and being called before the judges, he openly confirmed the truth, and ſo had ſentence paſſed upon him, 'That he ſhould be drowned as an heretic' To which he anſwered, 'I am no heretic, but the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.' At which words the pope's legate commanded him ſilence, and told him, 'That he lied.' The night after he was conveyed into the ſea, and there drowned, praiſing and bleſſing God with invincible conſtancy.

Anno 1595. There was at Rome a young Engliſhman, who going into a church, and ſeeing their groſs idolatry, was ſo inflamed with zeal, that he could not endure the ſight of thoſe horrible impieties; and therefore he went out into the church porch, and as the proceſſion paſſed by him, he waited till the biſhop came that did bear the hoſt, and then ſtepping forwards, he plucked out it of his hands, threw it to the ground, ſaying aloud, 'Ye wretched idolaters, do ye fall down to a morſel of bread?' This ſo provoked the people, that they had almoſt torn him in pieces, and yet they ſpared him and ſent him to priſon.

Complaint being made to pope Clement the VIII. he was ſo incenſed that he appointed him to be burnt the ſame day: But ſome of the cardinals adviſed, That he ſhould rather be kept in priſon, and examined by exquiſite torments to find out his abettors and ſetters on. This accordingly was put in practice, yet could they draw nothing from him but theſe words, 'Such was the will of God.' Then was he adjudged to be led from the capitol, naked to his middle, and to wear on his head the form of a devil, his breeches to be painted over with flames of fire, and ſo to be carried all about the city, and then to be burnt alive.

When he heard this ſentence, he liſt up his eyes to heaven, and implored the help of almighty God. As he paſſed through the ſtreets, he was mocked and derided of all the people, but he continued his fervent prayers to God; at laſt he ſpake ſomething againſt the filthy lives of the cardinals, which ſo enraged them, that they cauſed him to be gagged; which cruelty he patiently endured. When he came before the church where he caſt down the idol, the hangman cut off his right hand and ſet it on a pole in the cart, to which he was tied. Then did two tormentors, with flaming torches, ſcorch and burn his fleſh all the ways as he went through the city of Rome; all which, he bore with admirable patience. By that he came to the place where he was to be executed, his body was all over ſcorched, bliſtred, and bloody, having no part free but his head: Then was he taken from the cart, and ſeeing the poſt to which he ſhould be tied, he went of himſelf to it, and kneeling down, kiſſed the chains which ſhould bind him to it. The fryars urged him to worſhip an idol which they preſented to him, but he, turning away his face, ſhewed his deteſtation of it, holding on his Chriſtian courſe unto the end: And when the flames of fire ſeized him, he bowed his head, and quietly yielded up his ſoul to God.

The ſame year there was an old godly man that had long lain in the inquiſitors dungeons, who was at laſt brought forth and condemned; after which, the fryars brought him to a crucifix, importuning him to kiſs and adore it. He ſeeing their impudence, ſaid unto them, 'If you take not this idol out of my ſight, ye will conſtrain me to ſpit upon it.' The Fryars hearing this, ſent him away immediately to the fire, where with great courage and conſtancy he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

CHAP. XXX.

The Life and Martyrdom of William Gardiner in Portugal, anno Chriſti 1552.

WILLIAM Gardiner was born at Briſtol, and well educated, and when he was grown up, was placed with one maſter Paget, a merchant; by whom, when he was twenty ſix years old, he was ſent into Portugal to Lisbon

bon, the regal city of that kingdom, to be a factor; there he learned in the country language, and became a profitable ſervant, both to his maſter, and others. He was careful to keep cloſe to God, and to avoid the ſuperſtitions of that country, and there being divers good men in that city, he aſſociated himſelf with them, uſed good conference, and often bewailed to them his own weakneſs, as being neither ſufficiently humbled for his ſins, nor yet inflamed with a love of godlineſs as he ought: He had alſo good books which privately he made uſe of. Now whilſt he was here abiding, it ſo fell out that a great marriage was to be ſolemnized betwixt the king of Portugal's ſon, and the king of Spain's daughter. Great preparations were made for it, and a great concourſe there was of perſons of all ranks that came to it; and upon the wedding day they went to church in great pomp, and amongſt multitudes of ſpectators, William Gardiner made one, rather for the novelty of the buſineſs, than for any deſire that he had to ſee their ceremonies; and going to church early in the morning, he got a convenient place to hear and ſee in.

When all were come to church, a cardinal began to ſay maſs; the people ſtanding with great ſilence and devotion: The ſight of theſe ſuperſtitions, did wonderfully grieve the mind of William Gardiner, not ſo much to ſee the folly of the common people, as to ſee that the king himſelf, and ſo many ſage nobles ſhould be led away with ſuch abominable idolatry; wherewith he was ſo exceedingly moved in his ſpirit, that he had much ado to refrain himſelf from doing ſomething, whereby he might manifeſt his diſlike: But the great throng that he was in, hindred him, that he could not come near to the altar.

When all was ended, he returned home very ſad, ſeeking out ſolitary places, where falling down proſtrate before God, with many tears he bewailed the neglect of his duty, and ſtudied how he might revoke that people from their impiety and ſuperſtition. At length his mind was fully ſettled, not to defer the matter any longer, whereupon he renounced the world, exactly made up all his accounts, both what he owed, and what was owing to him to a farthing. Then did he continue night and day in prayer unto God, and in continual meditation of the holy ſcriptures, ſo that he would ſcarce take any meat by day, or ſleep by night; as one Pendigrace his bed fellow teſtified.

The Sabbath following, maſs was to be celebrated with the like ſolemnity. Whereupon William Gardiner went early in the morning, handſomely apparelled to church, ſeeting himſelf near to the altar; after a while the king and ſtates came. Gardiner with a New Teſtament in his hand, ſtood near the altar, privately reading it all the while. A cardinal began the maſs, conſecrated the hoſt, lifted it up on high, ſhewed his god to the people, they adored it: Yet Gardiner contained himſelf all this while. Then the cardinal took the hoſt, toſſed it to and fro about the chalice, made divers circles, &c. With that Gardiner ſtept to him, took the hoſt out of his hand, and trampled it under his feet, and with his other hand overthrew the chalice.

At firſt, all that were preſent ſtood amazed; then aroſe a great tumult, and one drawing his dagger, wounded Gardiner in the ſhoulder, and as he was about to have ſlain him, the king commanded him to forbear, whereby his life was ſaved for the preſent. The tumult being ceaſed, the king demanded of him what countryman he was? He anſwered, 'Moſt noble king, I am not aſhamed of my country, I am an Engliſhman by birth and religion, and came hither as a merchant; and ſeeing ſo great idolatry committed in this famous aſſembly, I neither ought, nor could any longer ſuffer it; neither could I forbear doing what you have ſeen. Which thing, moſt noble prince, was not done in contempt of your preſence, God is my witneſs, but to ſeek the ſalvation of this people.'

The king hearing that he was an Engliſhman, and conſidering what alteration of religion king Edward had made, preſently conceited that he was ſuborned, by ſome body, to do this in ſcorn to their religion: Wherefore he aſked him who was the author and procurer of this act? Gardiner anſwered, 'That he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conſcience. For, ſaith he, there is no man under heaven, for whoſe ſake I would put myſelf into ſuch manifeſt danger, but that I owed this ſervice, firſt to God, and then to your ſalvation. And if I have done any thing which is diſpleaſing to you, you ought to impute it to no man, but to yourſelf, who ſo irreverently uſe the holy ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper to ſo great idolatry,' &c. Whilſt he thus ſtoutly ſpake to the king, by reaſon of the loſs of much blood by his wound, he was ready to faint. Whereupon ſurgeons were ſent for to cure him, that he might be reſerved for further torments.

Then were all other Engliſhmen in the city clapped up in priſon, eſpecially his bed-fellow, who was grievouſly tormented and examined more than all the reſt, and ſcarcely delivered after two years impriſonment; the reſt got off ſooner.

They ſearched alſo all his writings and letters, to ſee if they could find out any confederates: Then they went to him, ſeeking by torments to extort the author of this fact. They alſo invented a new kind of torment, exceeding Phalaris his brazen bull, which was this, They made a ball of linnen-cloth, which with violence they thruſt down his throat, to the bottom of his ſtomach, and with a ſtring faſtned to it, they pulled it up again; and this they did divers times, which cauſed as bitter pains, as the pains of death. But when by this means they could get no confeſſion from him, they aſked him, If he did not repent of his wicked act? Whereunto he anſwered, That he was ſo far from repenting, that if it were to do again, he ſhould do it: Yet was he ſomewhat ſorry that it was done in the kings preſence, to his diſturbance; but they were not to blame him for it, but the king was rather to be blamed, who having power, would not prohibit ſo great idolatry.

When they had uſed all kinds of torments, and that he was ſo weakned thereby, that he was not like to live long, they firſt cut off his right hand, then carried him into the market-place, where they cut off his other hand alſo; then faſtning a rope about his middle, with a pully they hoiſted him up on high, and making a great fire under him, they let him down, ſo that his feet only felt the fire, and ſo often pulling him up and down, they burned him by degrees; and yet in all theſe great torments he remained conſtant, and the more terribly that he burnt, the more earneſtly he prayed. When his feet were conſumed, they aſked him, Whether he yet did not repent him of his deed? exhorting him to call upon our lady and the ſaints: He anſwered, That what torments ſoever they uſed, the truth was the ſame; that which he had confeſſed in his life, he would not deny at his death; and that when Chriſt ceaſed to be our advocate he would pray to our lady, &c. And when they laboured to ſtop his praying to, and praiſing of God, he with a loud voice rehearſed the 34th Pſalm; which being almoſt ended, the rope was burned in ſunder, ſo that his body fell down into the fire, where he changed his momentary pains for eternal reſt.

But the Lord ſuffered not this cruelty to go altogether unpuniſhed in this life; for a ſpark of the fire wherewith he was burned, was driven by the wind into the Haven, where it ſet on fire one of the king's great ſhips, and conſumed it: The new-married prince alſo died within half a year, and the king himſelf not long after.

The Martyrdom of a Chriſtian Jew in Conſtantinople, an no Chriſti 1528.

THIS Jew dwelling at Conſtantinople, thro' God's grace, was there converted, baptized, and became a good Chriſtian; which the Turks underſtanding, were vehemently exaſperated againſt him for it, fearing leſt his converſion ſhould prove very prejudicial to their Mahometan religion, and therefore they apprehended and cruelly murdered him, and for his greater infamy they caſt out his dead body into the open ſtreets, forbidding all ſtrictly to bury it. Thus his dead body lay in the ſtreets nine days; yet, thro' the power of God, it corrupted not at all, yea there proceeded from it a certain delectable ſcent or odour,

which much aſtoniſhed the Turks, ſo that at laſt they took it up, and carried it out of the city, and buried it.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Perſecution of the Church in Germany, which began anno Chriſti 1523.

THE goſpel being ſpread abroad in Germany, by the means and miniſtry of Luther, and his fellow labourers, the Pope having tried all other means for the ſuppreſſing of it, and finding them ineffectual, he at laſt provokes the emperor Charles the V by war to deſtroy the Proteſtants; and for that end gives him two hundred thouſand crowns in money for the maintenance of theſe wars, and ties himſelf at his own coſt to maintain twelve thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe for ſix months; yea out of his zeal for the cauſe, he allows the emperor the one half of the revenues of the clergy, and gives him leave to ſell of abby-lands to the value of five hundred thouſand crowns; whereupon great preparation was made for this war, both in Germany, Spain, and Italy, the conſideration whereof cauſed the confederate Proteſtant princes to raiſe a great army alſo for their own defence; upon which occaſion they were proclaimed guilty of high treaſon by the emperor.

The two armies lay near together, and the Proteſtants offered battel to the emperor, but he refuſed, aſſuring himſelf that they could not long continue together: The army of the Proteſtants was commanded by the duke of Saxony, and the Lantgrave of Heſſen, who did not concur very well in their counſels: Beſides, they wanted both victuals and money, ſo as they were forced to diſlodge and retire further off: The emperor following, forced the elector to fight with diſadvantage; and God, who doth not always proſper the better cauſe, gave the victory to the emperor, the duke of Saxony and the Lantgrave being taken priſoners. *Anno* 1547.

Preſently after enſued a great perſecution in many places: Authority armed with laws and rigour, ſtriving againſt ſimple verity. It was lamentable to hear how many poor men were troubled, both miniſters and Chriſtians; ſome toſſed from place to place, others exiled out of their own countries; ſome driven into woods, and forced to dwell in caves; ſome tormented upon the rack, and ſome burned with fire and faggot: Amongſt others, two young men were burnt at Bruxels, *viz* Henry Voes and John Eſch, formerly Auguſtine friers; When they came before the inquiſitors, they were examined what they did believe? They anſwered, The books of the Old and New Teſtament, wherein were contained the articles of the creed. Then were they aſked whether did they not believe the decrees of the councils and fathers: They anſwered, ſuch as were agreeing to the ſcriptures, they believed, *&c.* When they were condemned, they gave thanks to God their heavenly Father, which of his great goodneſs had delivered them from that falſe and abominable religion, making them prieſts to himſelf, and receiving them to himſelf as a ſacrifice of a ſweet odour: They went joyfully to the place of execution, proteſting that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the goſpel as true Chriſtians, and that it was the day which they had long deſired; They joyfully embraced the ſtake, and endured patiently the torments of the fire, ſinging Pſalms, and rehearſing the creed in teſtimony of their faith; whereupon one ſaid to them, that they ſhould take heed of glorifying themſelves ſo fooliſhly; but one of them anſwered, 'God forbid that 'we ſhould glory in any thing but in the croſs of our 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt;' When the fire was kindled at their feet, one of them ſaid, 'Methinks you do ſtrow roſes un-'der my feet;' preſently after they quietly ſlept in the Lord. Henry being before demanded if Luther had ſeduced him: He anſwered, 'Even ſo as Chriſt ſeduced his a-'poſtles.

The year after there was one Henry Sutphen, who having been with Luther, came to Antwerp, from which he was driven for his religion; from thence did he go to Breme, where he was requeſted by ſome godly citizens to preach to them, and the citizens hearing him preach the goſpel ſo ſincerely, they were ſo in love with his doctrine, that they requeſted him to tarry amongſt them to be their miniſter: But the Popiſh clergy preſently complained of him to the magiſtrates, accuſing him of Hereſy, and deſiring that he might be baniſhed the town: But not prevailing there, they complained to the archbiſhop and ſent their chaplains daily to his ſermons to entrap him in his words: But it pleaſed God ſo to work upon them by his miniſtry that moſt of them were converted, and did openly witneſs that he taught nothing but the truth of God.

Not long after he was ſent to Meldorp, to preach the goſpel to them alſo; wherefore he thought good to try what God would work by him there: But the citizens of Breme were very unwilling to part with him, becauſe the goſpel had not as yet took much deep root amongſt them, and becauſe the perſecution was very great, *&c.* Yet Sutphen alledged, that in Diethmatch there was more need of his labours, the people being as ſheep amongſt wolves, and that with a ſafe conſcience he could not deny their requeſt, and that he did not intend utterly to forſake Breme, but only for a month or two, after which he would return to them again. So having made all things ready, he went into Diethmarch to Meldorp, where he was joyfully received. But before he began to preach, the devil and his inſtruments began to fret and fume, and conſulting together, they reſolved to hinder him from preaching, fearing that if the people once heard his doctrine, it would be too late to ſtop it. Hereupon they grievouſly complained to the magiſtrates, telling them that if they ſuffered this Heretic to preach, he would infect all the country as he had done at Breme, and that it would be a moſt grateful ſervice if they would put him to death. This ſo far prevailed with theſe ignorant men, that they reſolved that he ſhould be put to death unſeen and unheard: They wrote alſo to forbid him to preach, whereunto, he anſwered, that ſince he was come at the requeſt of the whole pariſh to preach, he reſolved to anſwer that call, and rather to obey God than man, and that if God had determined that there he ſhould loſe his life, that there was as near a way to heaven from thence as from any other place; aſſuring himſelf that ſooner or later he muſt die for the goſpel's ſake: And accordingly the next day he preached, and the people ſo liked him, that they reſolved to have him for their preacher, and to defend him to their power: In the afternoon he preached again, afterwards alſo he preached a third time with ſuch a ſpirit and grace, that all men admired him, praying God earneſtly that they might long enjoy ſuch a preacher: But his enemies were not all this while idle; for going to the rulers of the country, they procured ſome of them to join with them, and privately raiſed five hundred men, with whom they went in the night time to Meldorp, brake into the houſe where Sutphen lay, pulled him out of his bed naked, and in their rage had almoſt pulled him to pieces: They then bound him, and aſked him for what cauſe he come into Diethmarch? He gently declared it to them, yet they led him away barefoot; ſo that his feet being pitifully cut with the ice, he deſired a horſe to ride on, for which they jeered him, ſaying, 'Muſt we provide an horſe for an Heretic? thou ſhalt go on foot whether thou wilt or no:' Afterwards they bound him with chains, and ſet him in the ſtocks: Then was he removed to another place, and ſhut up in a cupboard; the next day binding him, hands, feet and neck, they carried him forth to be burnt. Then a certain woman came to them, and proffered herſelf to ſuffer two thouſand ſtripes, and to give them a great ſum of money if they would but reſpite his life till he had a public hearing, but they threw her under foot and trod upon her. They alſo fell upon Sutphen, cutting and mangling him in ſeveral parts: The fire was often kindled, yet would not burn; then they fell upon him again, cutting and ſlaſhing him, and laſt bound him to a ladder, and threw him into the fire, and when he began to pray, one of them ſtruck him, ſaying, 'Thou ſhalt firſt be burnt, and then pray and prate thy fill: Another trod upon his breaſt, and another endeavoured to ſtrangle him:' Another ran him trough with an halbert: Another ſtruck him on the breaſt with a mace till he died: And laſtly, they roaſted him upon the coals, and ſo he finiſhed his martyrdom.

About the ſame time many other godly perſons were thrown into the river Rhine and drowned; and in the town of Diethmarch, another faithful ſervant of God ſuffered martyrdom.

In Haia a godly preacher was ſlain by a company of cut-throats, ſet out by the friers. And not long after the town of Miltenburg was taken, ſacked, many ſlain, and others impriſoned for maintaining Caroloſtadius, to be their preacher. Two other godly perſons were burned at Vienna.

Alſo a godly miniſter for reproving ſin in his prince ſharply, was condemned to be hanged, and a cruel gentleman with a troop were ſent to apprehend and hang him: The gentleman when he came to his houſe ſaluted him friendly; pretending that he came to make good chear with him, for he was a good houſe-keeper, and the gentlemen of the country uſed oft to reſort to him: The miniſter in a ſhort time prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them, whereof they did eat freely. Dinner being ended, the gentleman ſaid to his men, 'Take this prieſt our hoſt and hang him without delay: His ſervants aſtoniſhed hereat, abhorred to do the deed, ſaying, 'God forbid that we ſhould commit ſuch a crime, as to hang a man that hath uſed us ſo courteouſly; its a wicked act thus to render evil for good,' &c. But the gentleman ſtill provoked them to accompliſh his command: Then did the miniſter ſay, 'I beſeech you ſhew not ſuch cruelty upon me, rather lead me to purge myſelf to my prince, before whom I doubt not to purge myſelf from any thing wherewith I ſhall be charged, neither ſo violate ye laws of hoſpitality which I have ſhewed to you and other noblemen, which uſed to reſort to my houſe. Beſides, conſider what a ſting this act will leave in your conſciences: For I have faithfully and truly taught the doctrine of the goſpel, and that is the principal cauſe that my prince bears me this ill will,' &c. But whatſoever this good man could ſay in his own behalf, the wicked gentlemen continued reſolute, provoking his ſervants to accompliſh that which he commanded them, withal ſaying to the miniſter, 'You ſhall gain nothing by your preaching in this ſort, for I am fully determined that the princes will ſhall be fulfilled. At laſt the ſervants took the miniſter, and with great lamentation and mourning, hanged him upon a beam in his own houſe, the gentleman ſtanding by and looking on.

Alſo about the ſame time there was a godly learned miniſter, called Mr. Peter Spengler in a town called Schlat, who faithfully diſcharged the duty of his place, and was much beloved for his affable and courteous carriage: He was alſo a great peace maker, and very prudent in compoſing differences, well ſtudied in the ſcriptures, whereby he ſaw that perſecution was at hand, the enemies of the truth beginning now to rage, and proudly to lift up their heads; yea, ſhortly after he ſaw many bodies of the ſaints, cruelly tormented, beaten, exiled, drowned and burned; and to the end that he might not defile himſelf with fornication, he married his maid, who was one that feared God, and by whom afterwards he had many children. About this time there was a great commotion of the boors, who went to abbys and monaſtries, robbing, plundering, and ſpoiling what they could not carry away; one company of them came to his houſe, whom he entertained kindly, yet they ranſacked and robbed him of all, even to his very apparel, not leaving him ſo much as a pair of ſtockings, though he laboured to convince them of their wickedneſs: As they were going out of his houſe he fell a weeping, and ſaid to them, 'I tell you that this your wickedneſs will in the end bring much miſchief upon yourſelves; you pretend the goſpel, but walk contrary to the rules of it, &c. But for his good counſel they requited him with ſcoffs and jeers.

It pleaſed God not long after, that this faithful paſtor in the night time was taken by a company of Popiſh ſoldiers, who bound him hands and feet with a great rope, and ſo carried him away to Friburg: It would have grieved any heart to hear the barbarous and deſpiteful taunts and ſcoffs that they gave him: From thence they carried him to another place, where they caſt him into priſon, cruelly tormented him in his privy members, and other parts of his body, and at laſt adjudged him to death. As he was going to execution, he ſaid, 'I ſhall be an acceptable ſacrifice to my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who hath given me a quiet conſcience, as knowing myſelf innocent from the crimes objected againſt me: For my death, it is all one whether I die thus or no; For if you had let me alone, I muſt ſhortly have forſaken this ſkin, which already ſcarcely hangs to my bones. I know that I am a mortal and corruptible worm, I have long deſired my laſt day, and have oft prayed that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joined with my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, &c. Then was he caſt headlong into the river; which afterwards for a certain ſpace was as red as blood.

Another godly man therer was, who (after the commotion raiſed by the Anabaptiſts was quieted) was apprehended under pretence that he was one of them, and caſt into priſon, in which he was long detained, and at laſt they hoiſted him up with a cord, with a great ſtone faſtened to his feet, where they kept him ſix hours, ſo that the ſweat that dropped from his body, through pain and anguiſh, was almoſt blood. At laſt his ſtrength failing, they let him down with great violence; where he lay as a ſtock almoſt dead, only they perceived him to breathe: Then did they uſe means to recover him, and gave him ſome food, after which they let him down into a deep dungeon: There he continued eighteen days, in the end whereof they took him forth, and examined him of divers things; which he denied. Then did they deviſe ſundry kinds, of torments to force him to accuſe himſelf falſly, yet he conſtantly denied it. Afterwards they hired an hangman who left no kind of cruelty unpractiſed upon him; yet at length he was conſtrained to give over his cruelty and pronounce the man innocent, in that he had conſtantly endured ſo many and grievous torments: Then did they again caſt him into the dungeon, and in the mean time ſuborned two falſe witneſſes againſt him, whereupon they condemned him unheard, and having let down a cord, they drew him up out of the dungeon, to his execution: As he was going to it, a fryar perſuaded him to confeſs his ſins in his ear, and he would abſolve him, and ſo he ſhould go to heaven: To whom he anſwered, 'Thou wicked fryar, get thee from me, I have long ſince bewailed my ſins to God, and obtained abſolution at the hands of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and therefore I have no need of thy abſolution, &c. At the place of execution, after he had made his prayer to God, and vindicated his own innocency, his head was cut off. 'Theſe were written by Oecolampadius.

Wolfgang Souch coming to Hippolitus in Lorrain, was choſen to be their paſtor, where through God's bleſſing upon his miniſtry, he mightily prevailed with the people to bring them from darkneſs to light, ſo that they forſook their former idolatry, and aboliſhed the maſs, and other ſuperſtitious practices from amongſt them, which much inraged their Popiſh neighbours about them, ſo that they complained to the duke that they had not only fallen from the pope, but went about to caſt off their obedience to him, and to ſhake off his authority: This ſo provoked the indignation of the duke, that he threatened utterly to deſtroy the town with fire and ſword: Wolfgang being informed hereof, wrote to the duke in humble wiſe, defending his miniſtry and the doctrine which he taught, and the whole cauſe of the goſpel: He alſo excuſed the people as innocent and guiltleſs, confuted the ſlanders of their malicious adverſaries, and profeſſed their ready and willing ſubjection to that authority which God had placed over them. But this epiſtle prevailed nothing, by reaſon of the virulent accuſations of their enemies: Whereupon, to ſave the town from ruin, he went of his own accord to the duke to render an account of his doctrine, thereby deriving all the *odium* and danger upon himſelf.

As ſoon as he came thither he was apprehended and caſt into a narrow and ſtinking priſon, where he was moſt cruelly handled by a churliſh jaylor: In this plight he remained a whole year, and yet would not ſhrink from his conſtancy, though beſides his hard uſage, he had a wife and five or ſix ſmall children to care for. Then was he called to juſtify his faith; which he did wittily and learnedly, confuting all that did oppoſe him; and though they called him Heretick, Judas, Devil, &c yet he regarded it not, but went on confirming his doctrine by the ſcriptures: But when his adverſaries could not make their part good againſt

againſt him, they took his Bible and burnt it, and proceeded to condemn him to be burnt; which ſentence when he heard pronounced againſt him, he ſung the 122d. Pſalm. When he came to the place of his martyrdom, they aſked him if he would have his pain ſhortened, he anſwered, *No*; for ſaith he, 'God that hath been with me hitherto, I truſt will not now leave me when I have moſt need of him. When faggots were heaped about him, he ſung the 51ſt Pſalm, and ſo continued ſinging till the flame and ſmoke took away his voice and life.

Shortly after the commendator that ſat as chief judge upon him, died ſuddenly. Alſo his fellow judge hearing the ſudden noiſe of ſome guns that went off at the coming of the king of Denmark into the town, was ſo overcome with fear, that he ſuddenly fell down and died.

One John Huglin a miniſter, was burned at Meſperg for religion, *Anno Chriſti* 1526.

At Munchen in Bavaria, one George Carpenter was apprehended and caſt into priſon for his religion, and at laſt was brought forth before the judges, where he ſtoutly defended the truth, refuſing to recant: Then came a ſchool maſter to him, ſaying, 'My friend, doſt thou not fear death? wouldſt thou not fain return to thy wife and children?' To whom he anſwered, 'Were I at liberty, whither ſhould I go but to my dear wife and children?' Then ſaid the ſchool maſter, 'Recant your errors and you ſhall be ſet at liberty:' George anſwered, 'My wife and my children are ſo dear to me, that they cannot be bought from me with all the riches and poſſeſſions of the duke of Bavaria: But for the love of my Lord God I willingly forſake them all. When he went to execution, being again perſuaded to recant, he ſaid, 'I will confeſs Chriſt this day before the whole world, for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.' When he was bound to the ladder, ſome Chriſtian brethren deſired him, that as ſoon as he was caſt into the fire, he would give them ſome ſign of the truth of his faith; To whom he ſaid, 'This ſhall be my ſign, that ſo long as my tongue can move I will not ceaſe to call upon the name of Jeſus.' He never changed his countenance, but chearfully went to the fire, and crying continually, Jeſus, Jeſus, he joyfully yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

Alſo one Leonard Keyſer, a Bavarian, being a ſtudent at Wittenburg, was ſent for to come home, his father lying upon his death bed: But ſo ſoon as he was come, he was apprehended at the command of the biſhop; and though the duke of Saxony, and his own friends ſolicited very earneſtly to the biſhop for his life, yet he proceeded to condemn him, and delivered him over to the ſecular magiſtrate. As he was led to the place of execution, he ſaid, 'O Lord Jeſus, remain with me, ſuſtain and help me, and give me ſtrength:' When the fire was ready to be kindled, he cried out with a loud voice, 'O Jeſus, I am thine, have mercy upon me, and ſave me, and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

The Martyrdom of a Godly Miniſter in Hungary.

A Cruel biſhop in Hungary took a godly miniſter for preaching the truth; and cauſed hares, geeſe, and hens to be tied round about his naked body, and then ſet dogs upon him, that cruelly rent and tore whatſoever they could catch, ſo that he died thereof: But God left not this cruelty unrevenged; for ſhortly after the biſhop fell mad, and raving, died miſerably.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Perſecutions of the Church in the Low Countries.

IN Holland there was a grave widow called Wendelmuta, to whom it pleaſed God to reveal his truth, and ſhe became a zealous profeſſor of it, for which cauſe ſhe was apprehended and caſt into priſon, and afterwards brought forth at the ſeſſions, where many monks perſuaded her to recant, but could not prevail. Many alſo of her kindred and other women were ſuffered to perſuade her, amongſt which was a noble matron, who coming to her, ſaid, 'My Wendelmuta, why doſt thou not keep thoſe things which thou believeſt ſecret in thy heart, that thou mayeſt prolong thy life?' To whom ſhe anſwered, 'Truly you know not what you ſay; for with the heart man believes to righteouſneſs, but with the tongue confeſſion is made to ſalvation. Then was ſhe condemned to be burnt to aſhes, and her goods to be confiſcated, which ſentence ſhe took patiently and quietly.

At the place of her execution a monk brought her a croſs, and bade her to kiſs and worſhip her God, to whom ſhe ſaid, 'I worſhip no woodden God, but only that God which is in heaven; and ſo with a merry and joyful countenance ſhe went to the ſtake, deſiring the executioner to knock it in faſt that it might not fall: Being bound to it, ſhe ardently commended her ſoul into the hands of God; when ſhe was to be ſtrangled ſhe modeſtly cloſed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that went to ſleep; after which ſhe was burnt to aſhes.

Anno 1529. There were two godly and learned men apprehended in Colen, and caſt into priſon, where they were kept a year and an half, and the ſweating ſickneſs raging exceedingly at that time in Germany, the Popiſh clergy preached that the way to pacify God's wrath, and to remove the plague, was to cut off Heretics, whereupon theſe two godly men were brought out, and condemned, and preſently after burnt.

Alſo one Nicholas, a godly man, was apprehended at Antwerp, bound up in a ſack, caſt into the river and drowned.

Alſo Piſtorius, a learned and godly preacher, coming from Wittenburg into Holland, preached againſt the maſs, Popiſh pardons, *&c.* Whereupon he was caſt into priſon amongſt malefactors, whom he inſtructed, and much comforted in their diſtreſſed condition: and one of them being half naked, he gave him his gown. His father viſiting him in priſon, encouraged him to conſtancy: At laſt he was condemned, and carried forth to execution with a fool's coat on his back; when he was tied to the ſtake he ſaid, 'O death, where is thy victory?' and ſo he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt.

Another for ſpeaking againſt the maſs and reliques, was hanged in Suevia.

Another godly miniſter being commanded to go to ſixteen men that were to be beheaded, to counſel and comfort them at their death; when they were executed, was himſelf bidden to kneel down, and ſo they cut off his head alſo.

Alſo George Sherter, a godly miniſter, that took great pains in inſtructing his people in the knowlege of the goſpel in a town near Salizburg, was apprehended and caſt into priſon, where he wrote a confeſſion of his faith, and afterwards was condemned, firſt to be beheaded, and then burnt. As he went to execution, he ſaid to the ſpectators, 'That you may know that I die a true Chriſtian, I will give you a ſign:' And accordingly when his head had been cut off, ſo long as whilſt a man might eat an egg, his body all the while lying upon the belly, it turned itſelf upon the back, croſſing the right foot over the left, and the right hand over the left; by which miracle many were induced to believe the goſpel.

Another godly man was burnt at Dornick.

Anno 1539. A godly miniſter not far from Baſil, was murthered in his own houſe by a Popiſh prieſt, whom he had kindly entertained. Many other miniſters about that time, were, ſome drowned, ſome beheaded.

Anno 1543. Notice was taken that there were divers godly perſons in Lovain, whereupon an inquiſitor came from Bruſſels thither, and having gotten a company of ſoldiers, in the night time he brake into their houſes, plucking men and women out of their beds from their children, and caſting them into priſon. Thither the doctors of Lovain came, thinking either to convert them or confound them: But the Spirit of God aſſiſting his ſaints, the doctors went away confounded themſelves. Then did they cruelly torment every one of them by themſelves: Amongſt theſe an aged miniſter of about ſixty years old, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment in a dark and ſtinking dungeon, where he could neither read nor write, nor might any man come to him, and he was fed only with bread and water.

Two

Two were burnt alive in the fire. An aged man was beheaded. Two aged women were buried quick. Others for refuſing to do penance were burnt alſo: All which took their death very patiently and chearfully.

The year after in the ſame univerſity of Lovain, was one Mr. Perſival, a very learned and godly man, caſt into priſon, and becauſe he could by no means be brought to recant, he was adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, and there to be fed only with bread and water; neither would they ſuffer the citizens to ſend any relief to him: ſhortly after he was made away in priſon.

Alſo one Juſtus Juſberg in the ſame city, for having a New Teſtament and ſome of Luther's ſermons found in his houſe, was caſt into priſon, and command given that none ſhould ſpeak with him. At the ſame time there were priſoners in a room under him, Ægidius and Encenas mentioned before, whoſe door being left open accidentally, they went to this poor man, and much confirmed and ſtrengthened him in the faith, inſomuch as when the Lovain doctors came to perſuade him to recant, he before them all made a bold confeſſion of his faith, from which he would not be diſſuaded, whereupon he was condemned and beheaded.

About the ſame time there was one Giles Tilleman, a cutler at Bruxels, who by diligent reading of the ſcriptures, through God's grace, was converted, and became very zealous for the truth: He was alſo very humble, mild, and merciful; whatſoever he could ſpare from his own neceſſity, he gave it to the poor, living by his trade himſelf. Some he refreſhed with meat, others with cloathing; to others he gave ſhoes, to others houſhold ſtuff; to others he miniſtred godly exhortations for their edification. One poor woman being delivered of a child, and wanting a bed he ſent her his bed, and himſelf was content to lie on the ſtraw. At laſt he was diſcovered and caſt into priſon, where much pains was taken to bring him back to popery, but always his adverſaries went away with ſhame: After eight months impriſonment he was ſent to Bruxels to be judged, in which place he comforted many that he found in priſon there, exhorting them to conſtancy that they might attain the crown: Moſt of his food he divided amongſt them, contenting himſelf with ſome few ſcraps. He was ſo ardent in prayer, kneeling by himſelf in ſome ſecret place, that often he forgat himſelf; and being many times called to his meat, he neither heard, nor ſaw them that ſtood by him till he was lifted up by the arms.

Divers fryars coming to reduce him, he would ſtill requeſt them to go their ways, for he was at a point; and when they reviled him, he would not anſwer them again inſomuch as they reported abroad that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they ſpake of matters of religion, he anſwered them freely, mightily confuting them by the ſcriptures: Often he might have eſcaped, the priſon doors being ſet open, but he would not, that he might not bring his keeper into trouble. Afterwards he was removed to another priſon, where they ſought by torments to enforce him to recant; and when all would not prevail, he was condemned to the fire; which when he heard of, he gave hearty thanks to God for that the hour was come, wherein he might glorify his name. Seeing a great pile of wood prepared for his burning, he deſired that moſt of it might be taken away and given to the poor, for a little, ſaid he, will ſerve to burn me; and ſeeing a poor man by that lacked ſhoes, he gave him his. Being tied to the ſtake, the hangman would have ſtrangled him, but he refuſed, ſaying, 'It needs not, I fear not the fire;' and ſo in the midſt of the flames he gave up the ghoſt.

Anno 1543. and 1544. There was great perſecution all over Flanders, ſo that there was neither town nor city in all the country, wherein ſome were not baniſhed, beheaded, or condemned to perpetual impriſonment; neither was there any reſpect either of age or ſex: But eſpecially at Gaunt, many of the chief men were burnt for religion.

Alſo at the emperor's going to Bruxels, there was a terrible perſecution and ſlaughter made of God's people in in Brabant, Artois, &c ſo that two hundred men and women were apprehended at one time, whereof ſome were drowned, ſome buried quick, ſome privily made away, others ſent to perpetual impriſonment; yea ſo many others were put to death, that the hands of the hangman were tired with ſlaying them.

Anno 1545. There was one Martin, at Gaunt, a fiſhmonger, who lived very diſſolutely to his old age: But it pleaſed God by a ſermon that he heard, to bring him to the knowlege of the truth, and to repentance for his former ſins; whereupon he left Gaunt, and ſought out the company of godly Chriſtians, who uſed much reading of the ſcriptures, by whom he was further inſtructed and grounded in the truth. Then after three months he returned to the city again, where he viſited the captives in priſon, comforted them in perſecution, and confirmed them in the truth, which were led to the fire.

The fryars ſeeing this, though formerly he had been very bountiful to them, yet now they conſpired againſt him, whereby he was laid in bands, and by ſharp and cruel torments they would have inforced him to recant; but not prevailing, he was condemned, and his goods confiſcated. As he ſtood at the ſtake, a fryar ſaid to him, 'Martin, except thou doſt turn, thou ſhalt go from this temporal to everlaſting fire:' To whom he anſwered, 'It is not for you to judge me.' And ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

The next day after, two other men were burned, and a woman buried alive for the ſame cauſe, who joyfully and chearfully ſuffered martyrdom.

At Delden, two virgins of a noble ſtock, who frequently and diligently attended ſermons, being apprehended and examined, courageouſly confeſſed and maintained the truth; whereupon they were condemned, and the younger was firſt burned. In the fire, ſhe prayed ſo ardently for her enemies, that the judges greatly marvelled at it: Then did they exhort the elder, That if ſhe would not recant, yet, at leaſt, that ſhe would petition to have her puniſhment changed into beheading, inſtead of burning: Whereupon ſhe anſwered, That ſhe held no error, of which ſhe had cauſe to repent, but the truth which was conſonant to the ſcriptures; in which, ſhe truſted to perſevere unto the end. And for the kind of her puniſhment, ſhe feared not the fire, but would rather follow the example of her dear ſiſter; and ſo being put into the fire, ſhe quietly ſlept in the Lord. But this was marvellous, That after their death, the bodies of them both remained white, and unhurt by the fire, whereupon ſome Chriſtians privily in the night buried them.

Anno Chriſti 1545. There was in Mechlin, one Andrew Thieſſen, who had three ſons and a daughter, whom he carefully brought up in the knowlege of the truth. After which, he went into England, and there died: Two of his ſons went into Germany to ſtudy there, and after a time returned home again, inſtructing their mother, brother, and ſiſter, in the right knowlege of Chriſt; which being taken notice of, they were all carried before the magiſtrate, and exhorted to return to the church of Rome again. The younger brother and ſiſter, being not ſo throughly grounded in the truth, by reaſon of their years, yielded ſomething, and ſo were ſent home again. The mother, who remained conſtant, was adjudged to perpetual impriſonment; the two elder brethren defended the truth ſtoutly againſt the fryars, diſputation not prevailing, they proceeded to torments, endeavouring to know of them who was their maſter, and what fellows they had? They anſwered, 'That their maſter was Chriſt, who bare his croſs before them; and for fellows they had innumerable, diſperſed in all places.' At laſt they were condemned to the fire; and at the place of execution, they began to exhort the people; whereupon balls were put into their mouths, which through vehemency in deſiring to ſpeak, they thruſt out again, intreating them for the Lord's ſake, that they might have leave to ſpeak: And ſo ſinging with a loud voice, they were faſtned to the ſtake, where they prayed for their perſecutors, exhorted one another, and endured the fire patiently. One of them feeling the violence of the flame, 'Said, O what a ſmall pain is this compared with the glory to come!' And ſo committing their ſpirits into the hands of God, they finiſhed their race.

Anno 1545. There was a great perſecution in Dornic: and amongſt others, there was one Adrian Taylor and his wife, apprehended; and upon their examination, the man being ſomewhat timorous, relented ſomething, and

ſo was beheaded: But the woman being more conſtant, was put into an iron-grate, and ſo buried alive.

There was alſo one maſter Peter Bruly, about the ſame time, ſometimes a preacher in Straſburg, but now at the requeſt of the faithful in Dornic, a diligent preacher there: He uſed to preach in houſes, the door ſtanding open. The magiſtrate hearing of it, laid wait for him, ſhutting up the city gates, and ſearching three days for him: But the brethren in the night time let him down in a baſket over the wall. And when he was down, one of them leaning over the wall, to bid him farewel, unawares threw down a looſe ſtone, which falling upon his leg, brake it in pieces. He complaining of his hurt, the watchmen heard him, and apprehended him. Then did he give thanks to almighty God, who by that providence ſtaid him there to bear witneſs to his truth. Whilſt he was in priſon, he ceaſed not to inſtruct and confirm all them that came to him in the word of grace. After four months impriſonment he was condemned to be burnt, and his aſhes to be caſt into the river. The fryars took care that he ſhould have but a ſmall fire, that his pain might be the more increaſed, yet he conſtantly and chearfully ſuffered martyrdom.

God made the miniſtry of this good man very powerful to many; amongſt others there was one Peter Mioce, who had lived long in all manner of wickedneſs and licentiouſneſs; but being, through God's grace, converted, he excelled all the reſt of the brethren in zeal and holineſs. At laſt he was apprehended, and being aſked, 'Whether he was one of Peter Brulies diſciples? He ſaid, That he was, and that he had received much benefit by his doctrine; withal profeſſing, That his doctrine was conſonant to the holy ſcriptures.' Whereupon he was let down into a deep dungeon full of toads and other vermine: Afterwards he was brought forth before the ſenate, who had provided ſome fryars to convert him; to whom he ſaid, 'When I lived an ungodly life, in all manner of vice and wickedneſs, you never ſaid a word to me; but now for favouring and favouring the word of God, you ſeek my blood.' Then did they examine him about ſundry articles of religion; to which, whilſt he was making full anſwer, they cut him off, bidding him anſwer in two words, yea or no. Whereupon he ſaid, 'If you will not give me leave to anſwer fully to things of ſuch importance, ſend me again to my dungeon amongſt the toads and frogs, who will not interrupt me whilſt I talk with my Lord my God.' Shortly after, he was condemned to be burned; and having a bag of powder hung about his neck; when the fire came to it, it gave a crack. Whereupon the fryars told the people, 'That the devil came out of him, and carried away his ſoul to hell.'

A tyrannous prince in Germany apprehended a godly miniſter, and for his conſtancy in the truth, put out both his eyes, and kept him a long time in priſon, afflicting him with divers kinds of torments. Then did he cauſe him to be degraded, ſhaving the ſkin off his head, and rubbing it with ſalt, till the blood ran down his ſhoulders, and paring off the ends of his fingers. So that four days after, he patiently yielded up the ghoſt.

Not long after, there was a godly miniſter in Antwerp, called Chriſtopher Fabri, that was betrayed by a woman, who pretended a great zeal to religion, and was caſt into priſon, where he lay for a long time, and endured much miſery. At laſt he was brought forth and condemned to be burnt alive: And when the margrave brought him forth to execution, the people, having firſt ſung pſalms, fell to caſting of ſtones againſt the executioner; ſo as the poor priſoner being bound, and fire ſet to him, the margarve durſt ſtay no longer but run away, and ſo did the executioner: But before he fled, by the command of the margrave, he took a hammer and beat out Fabri's brains, and ſtabbed him into the back with a dagger; ſo that the people running to ſave him from the fire, found him dead. After which, by the command of the margrave, he had a great ſtone tied about his neck, and was thrown into the river.

Anno 1549. One Nicholas and Barbara his wife, and one Auſtin and Marrian his wife, Germans by birth, went to Geneva, where they lived for a ſpace: Then returning through Germany, they intended to go into England, but having paſſed through Dornick, they were diſcovered to the lieutenant thereof, who ſpeedily purſuing them, overtook them: Yet at that time, God delivered Auſtin out of their hands; but Nicholas, and the two women, were apprehended and carried back by the ſoldiers: Coming to an inn by the way, at table Nicholas gave thanks, whereat the wicked captain ſwearing grievouſly, ſaid, 'Let us ſee, thou lewd heretic, if thy God can deliver thee out of my hand. Nicholas replied, Hath Chriſt ever offended you, that by your blaſphemous ſwearing, you thus tear him in pieces? Pray you, if you have any thing againſt Chriſt, rather wreak your anger upon this poor body of mine, and let the Lord alone.' Then did he bind them hands and feet, and carried them to Bruges, and caſt them into the dungeon.

Divers fryars coming to them, Nicholas in diſputing with them, ſo confounded them, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying, 'That he had a devil, crying, To the fire with the Lutheran.' Afterwards the magiſtrate ſought to pump out of Nicholas, what acquaintance he had in that city: But not prevailing with him, he went to his wife, and by flattering ſpeeches and fair promiſes, he wrought ſo upon her weakneſs, that he gat out all that ſhe knew; whereupon enſued a great perſecution.

Shortly after, Nicholas was condemned to be burned; at the hearing of which ſentence, he bleſſed the Lord, who had counted him worthy to be a witneſs in the cauſe of his dear and well beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt. At the place of execution, he was commanded not to ſpeak to the people; for, if he did, he ſhould have a wooden ball thruſt into his mouth: Yet as he was binding to the ſtake, forgetting the command, he cried out, 'O Charles, Charles, how long ſhall thy heart be hardned? With that one of the ſoldiers gave him a great blow. Then he ſaid, 'Ah miſerable, people who are not worthy that the word ſhould be preached to you:' The fryars crying out, 'That he had a devil;' he anſwered them in the words of David, Depart from me all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.' And ſo commending his ſpirit into the hands of God, he ended his life in the midſt of the flames.

Marrian was condemned to be buried quick; and when ſome earth was thrown upon her, the hangman ſtamped upon her with his feet till ſhe died. Afterwards Auſtin that had before eſcaped, was apprehended, and being examined, though by nature he was a very timorous and weak man, yet did he ſtand to the defence of the truth valiantly, and anſwered his adverſaries very boldly. Being condemned to be burnt, as he was going to execution, a gentleman drank to him in a cup of wine, exhorting him to pity himſelf, at leaſt, not to deſtroy his ſoul. Auſtin thanked him, ſaying, 'What care I have of my ſoul, you may ſee by this, in that I had rather give my body to be burned, than to ſin againſt my conſcience.' Being tied to the ſtake, and fire ſet to him, he heartily prayed to the Lord, and ſo patiently departed.

Anno 1551. The emperor Charles the V. having obtruded the *interim* upon Germany, many godly miniſters were perſecuted and driven from their places, for oppoſing the ſame; as may be ſeen in my *Firſt part of lives*. The city of Magdenburgh alſo for refuſing it, had an army ſent againſt it, which beſieged it for a whole year together, whereby many of the godly citizens loſt their lives, and others endured great miſeries. But at laſt, God's providence ſo ordering of it, war aroſe betwixt the emperor and the king of France, whereupon peace was granted unto Magdenburgh upon good terms, and the inhabitants enjoyed their former religion quietly.

Anno 1555. There was an one Hoſtius, born at Gaunt, who for ſome time, was a member of the French church, here in London, in king Edward's days; but in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, he went with his family to Norden in Frieſland: And afterwards having ſome buſineſs to Gaunt, he went thither, where he inſtructed many of his friends in the truth; and hearing that a fryar uſed to preach good doctrine, he went to hear him; but the fryar that day defended tranſubſtantiation, which ſo grieved him, that he could ſcarce refrain from ſpeaking till the ſermon was ended. When the fryar was come down from the pulpit, he charged him for preaching falſe doctrine, perſuading the people by the ſcripture, that the bread

bread was but the ſacrament of the Lord's body; but the people making a tumult, carried him out of the church in a croud; and he had not gone far before he was apprehended by an officer, and carried to priſon. Then came divers fryars to reaſon with him, and he would ſtand to the trial of the ſcriptures only, which they refuſed. During his impriſonment, he wrote a conſolatory letter to his wife, exhorting her to bring up his children in the fear of God. Being condemned, he was commanded not to ſpeak to the people; being bound to the ſtake, he prayed for his enemies, and was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt.

The ſame year there was at Dornick, one Bertrand, who to enjoy the freedom of his conſcience went to Weſel; but being deſirous to draw his wife and children thither, he went thrice to Dornick to perſuade her to go with him; yet could he by no means prevail with her. Then did he ſet his houſe in order, deſiring her to pray, that God would eſtabliſh him in the work that he went about: And on Chriſtmas day he went to the great church at Dornick, and the prieſt being at maſs, when he was about to elevate the hoſt, Bertrand took the cake out of his hand, and trampled it under his feet, ſaying, That he did it to ſhew the glory of that god that they worſhipped, or rather, what little power he had: Labouring to perſuade them, that the cake was not their Saviour. At firſt the people ſtood amazed, but preſently they raiſed ſuch a tumult that Bertrand hardly eſcaped with life.

The governor hearing of it, was exceedingly enraged, and ſent for Bertrand into the caſtle, aſking him, Whether he was ſorry for his fact, and whether he would do it, if it were to do again? Bertrand anſwered, That he would; and if he had a hundred lives to loſe, he would loſe them all in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the rack and tormented cruelly to draw from him who were his ſetters on; yet could they get nothing from him. Then was he condemned, and drawn from the caſtle to the market place, with a ball of iron in his mouth. There he was ſet upon a ſtage, and had his right hand, wherewith he did the fact, cruſhed between two hot irons with ſharp edges, till the form of his hand was quite changed. Then did they bring other red hot irons for his right foot, which they uſed as they had done his hand, which he with marvellous patience and conſtancy underwent, putting out his foot of his own accord to them: Then taking the ball of iron out of his mouth, they cut out his tongue; notwithſtanding which, he continually called and cried unto God, which cauſed them to thruſt in the ball of iron again. Then was he let down in an iron chain upon the fire, and pulled up again; and ſo they continued pulling up, and letting down, till he was burnt to aſhes, which aſhes they threw into the river.

From Locrane in Helvetia the miniſters were baniſhed, but were entertained by the citizens of Zurick.

Two other good men born in Dornick, went into divers reformed churches, where they increaſed much in knowlege and godlineſs; and at laſt reſolved to return to Dornick, to do what good they could in their own country; and it ſo fell out, that on a day when many good people were gone to a wood, to hear the word of God preached to them by a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, their adverſaries having intelligence of it, followed them thither, and took about thirty of them, amongſt whom were theſe two men, who fell to ſinging of pſalms, ſuppoſing, that they ſhould be preſently burned; but afterwards they were condemned to be beheaded; and ſo they comfortably ended their lives.

Alſo divers godly men and women ſuffered martyrdom at Valence, amongſt whom was James Faber, an old man, who, when they argued with him about his religion, ſaid, 'Though I cannot ſatisfy you by reaſoning, yet I can conſtantly abide and ſuffer for the truth of the goſpel.'

Alſo one Godfrid, being condemned at Dornick for an heretic. Nay, ſaid he, 'not an heretic, but an unprofitable ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.' When the hangman would have ſtrangled him to eaſe his pain in burning, he refuſed, ſaying, That he would abide the ſentence of death which was paſſed upon him.

Beſides theſe, there were both in the upper and lower Germany many others ſecretly made away, ſome drowned, ſome buried quick, ſome murdered in priſon, &c. A godly miniſter was alſo poiſoned by a prieſt at Erford, for preaching the truth of Chriſt; beſides many others.

In the city of Liſle, the goſpel was ſecretly preached for three years together, ſometimes in houſes, then in woods, fields, and caves of the earth, not without hazard of their deareſt lives, if they had been diſcovered: Yet did not dangers cool the zeal of God's people; but what was preached, was accordingly practiſed amongſt them: Works of mercy and charity were their exerciſe, not only towards thoſe *of the houſhold of faith*, but towards thoſe which were without alſo: So as many by means hereof, were drawn and brought to the knowlege of Chriſt.

This ſo enraged Satan his inſtruments, that *anno* 1556. the time being come, wherein God had given them power to try and exerciſe the faith of his people, they neglected not to ſhew their cruelty upon them; and for that end, one night about ten of the clock, the provoſt of the city, with his armed ſergeants, made ſearch to ſee if they could find any met together: But, by God's providence, there was no meeting of God's people at that time. Then went they to the houſe of one Robert Ogoire, which was a little church; for all in it, both ſmall and great, were familiarly inſtructed in the knowlege and fear of God.

Being violently entred into the houſe, ſeeking up and down for their prey, they found certain books which they took away with them: But Baudizon, the Son of Robert, whom they principally ſought after, was not then at home, being gone abroad to confer of the word with ſome of the brethren. Before the provoſt was departed, Baudizon came home, and knocked at the door Martin, his younger brother, who watched for his coming, bade him preſently to be gone. But he thinking that he had miſtaken him for ſome other, continued knocking, ſaying, *It is I, open the door.* Then came the ſergeants and opened the door, and laying hold on him, ſaid, *Ah ſir, you are well met;* and with that, the provoſt arreſted him in the emperor's name, withal, cauſing the father, mother, and two ſons to be bound, and ſo carried them away towards the priſon. As they went through the ſtreets Baudizon ſaid aloud. 'O Lord, aſſiſt us by thy grace, not only to be priſoners for thy name's ſake, but to confeſs thy holy truth in all purity before men, ſo far as to ſeal the ſame with our blood, for the edification of thy poor church.' They were all caſt into ſeveral priſons, yet remained chearful, praiſing God for accounting them worthy to ſuffer for his truth: And after a few days they were all brought forth before the magiſtrates, who ſpeaking to Robert Ogoire, ſaid, 'We hear that you never come to maſs; that you diſſuade others from it; that you keep conventicles in your houſe, where erroneous doctrine is preached, &c. Robert anſwered, I indeed refuſe to go to maſs, becauſe the death and precious blood of Chriſt is utterly aboliſhed there, and trodden under foot, &c. And I cannot deny but there have met together in my houſe honeſt people fearing God: Not with intention to harm any, I aſſure you, but for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many,' &c. Then one demanded what they did when they met together; to which Baudizon anſwered, 'When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to hear the word of God, we firſt, falling on our knees before God, in the humility of our ſpirits, do make confeſſion of our ſins before his divine Majeſty. Then we pray, that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached. Then we pray for our ſovereign lord the emperor, that the commonwealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forget not you whom we acknowlege our ſuperiors, intreating our good God, that you may maintain this city in tranquillity, &c. Thus you hear what we do in our aſſemblies; and if you will not be offended to hear the ſum of our prayers, I am ready to recite the ſame unto you.' One of the magiſtrates wiſhed him to go on, whereupon, kneeling down, he prayed before them all with ſuch fervency of affection, and ardency of zeal, that it forced the magiſtrates to break forth into tears. Baudizon riſing up, ſaid,

'Your

'Your maſterſhips may hereby take a ſcantling, how we are employed in our meetings.'

Being further examined, every one of them made an open confeſſion of his faith, and ſo were returned to priſon again: And not long after they were tortured upon the rack, to make them confeſs who they were that met at their houſe; but they would diſcover none, but ſuch as they knew were at that time out of their reach.

Four or five days after the men were again convented before the magiſtrates, who aſked them, 'If they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the magiſtrates.' Robert and Baudizon ſaid, 'They would;' but Martin the younger ſon, ſaid, 'He would not ſubmit thereto, but would accompany his mother;' and ſo he was ſent back to priſon, and the father with his eldeſt ſon, were preſently adjudged to be burnt alive. Sentence being pronounced, one of the judges ſaid, 'This day ſhall you go to dwell with all the devils in hell fire. Then were they returned to priſon, praiſing God, and by their patience and conſtancy, conquered the rage and fury of their enemies. In priſon there came ſome fryars to them, telling them, 'That the hour was come wherein they muſt finiſh their days.' They anſwered, 'Bleſſed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile priſon, will receive our ſouls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom.' Then ſaid one of the fryars, 'Father Robert, thou art an old man, I intreat thee in this thy laſt hour think of ſaving thy ſoul; and if thou wilt give ear to me, I will warrant thee thou ſhalt do well.' Robert anſwered, 'Poor man, how dareſt thou aſſume that to thyſelf, which belongs to God alone, and ſo rob him of his honour?' &c. Another wiſhing him to pity his ſoul, he ſaid, 'Doſt thou not ſee what pity I have on it, when for the name of Chriſt I am willing to give my body to the fire, hoping to day to be with him in paradiſe, &c. Then ſaid a fryar, Out dog, thou art not worthy the name of a Chriſtian; thou, and thy ſon, are reſolved to damn your ſouls with all the devils in hell.'

Then would they have ſevered the father from his ſon, which Baudizon perceiving, ſaid, 'Pray you let my father alone, he is an old man, hinder him not from receiving the crown of martyrdom. Another fryar ſaid, Away Varlet, thou art the cauſe of thy father's perdition.' Whilſt Baudizon was ſtripping and fitting himſelf to be ſacrificed, ſome of the fryars had faſtned a crucifix in the old man's hands, perſuading him, 'That it would pleaſe the people, and that for all that, he might lift up his heart to God, &c. But ſo ſoon as Baudizon ſaw it, he ſaid, Alas father, what do you now? Will you play the idolater at your laſt hour?' And ſo pulling the idol out of his hand, he threw it away.

At the place of execution they were ſet upon a ſcaffold, and Baudizon deſired leave to make a confeſſion of his faith: Anſwer was made, That he might confeſs himſelf to a fryar if he would, which he refuſing, was readily haled to the ſtake, where they began to ſing the ſixteenth pſalm, Then ſaid a fryar, 'Do you not hear what wicked errors theſe heretics ſing, to beguile the people withal? Baudizon hearing him, replied, Thou ſimple idiot, calleſt thou the pſalms of David, errors? But no marvel, for thus are ye wont to blaſpheme againſt the Spirit of God.' Then ſeeing them about to chain his father to the ſtake, he ſaid to him, 'Be of good courage, father, the worſt will be paſt by and by.' Then did he often breathe forth: 'O God, Father everlaſting, accept the ſacrifice of our bodies for thy well beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. A fryar cried, Out heretic, thou lieſt, God is none of thy father, the devil is thy father.' Baudizon fixing his eyes upon heaven, ſaid to his father, 'Behold, I ſee the heavens open, and millions of angels ready to receive us; and rejoicing to ſee us thus bearing witneſs to the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us rejoice and be glad, for the joys of heaven are opened to us. Then ſaid a fryar, I ſee hell open, and millions of devils are ready to carry you thither. A poor man in the croud, cried out, Be of good comfort Baudizon, ſtand to it, thou fighteſt in a good quarrel, I am on thy ſide.' Which words ſo ſoon as he had ſpoken, he departed, and ſo haſtned himſelf from danger.

The fire being kindled, Baudizon oft ſaid to his father, 'Yet a very little while, and we ſhall enter into the heavenly manſions.' The fire increaſing, the laſt words which they ſpake, were, Jeſus Chriſt, 'thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our ſpirits;' and ſo they ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

After the death of theſe worthy champions of Chriſt, many of the popiſh rabble were ſent, if poſſible, to ſeduce the mother and ſon, remaining in priſon; and coming to them, the firſt ſubtilty they uſed was to ſeparate them aſunder; then they ſet upon the woman, as the weaker veſſel, and ſo wrought upon her, that ſhe began to waver, and let go her firſt faith. This the adverſaries much rejoiced in; and the poor flock of Chriſt, in that place, hearing of it, were as much afflicted with the news: But God left them not in this mournful condition long; for a monk one day going to her, perſuaded her to draw her ſon Martin to the ſame recantation with herſelf, which ſhe promiſed ſo to do. But when they came together, Martin perceiving the grievous apoſtacy of his mother, bewailed it with many tears, ſaying to her, 'O mother, what have you done? have you denied him that redeemed you? Alas! what injury hath he done you, that you ſhould requite him with ſo great an injury and diſhonour? Now am I plunged into that woe which I moſt feared: Ah good God, that I ſhould live to ſee this which pierceth me to the very heart?' His mother hearing his pitiful complaints, and ſeeing him drowned in tears for her ſake, began again to renew her ſtrength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, 'O Father of mercies, be merciful to me miſerable ſinner, and cover my tranſgreſſions under the righteouſneſs of thy bleſſed Son. Lord enable me with ſtrength from above, to ſtand to my firſt confeſſion, and make me to abide ſtedfaſt therein even to my laſt breath.' Preſently in came the ſeducers, hoping to find her in the ſame mind that they left her; but ſhe no ſooner ſaw them, but cried, 'Avoid Satan, get thee behind me; for henceforth thou haſt neither part nor portion in me, I will, by the help of God, ſtand to my firſt confeſſion; and if I may not ſign it with ink, I will ſeal it with my blood.' And ſo after this time, through God's gracious aſſiſtance, ſhe grew ſtronger and ſtronger. Then were they both condemned to be burnt alive, and their aſhes to be ſprinkled in the air. When the ſentence was paſſed, as they returned to priſon, they ſaid, 'Now bleſſed be God who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: This is the wiſhed hour, our gladſome day is come; let us not therefore forget to be thankful for that honour that God doth us, in thus conforming us to the image of his Son. Let us remember thoſe that have trodden this path before us; for this is the highway to the kingdom of heaven,' &c. Hereupon ſome of the fryars, being ready to burſt for anger, ſaid unto Martin that was moſt valiant, 'We ſee now, heretic, that thou art wholly poſſeſt body and ſoul with a devil, as were thy father and brother, who are now in hell. Martin anſwered, As for your railings and curſings, God will this day turn them into bleſſings, in the ſight of himſelf, and all his holy angels.'

When they came into priſon, there came to them two perſons of great quality, of whom, one of them ſaid to Martin, 'Young man, I have compaſſion on thee, if thou wilt be ruled by me, and return to the church of Rome, thou ſhalt not only be freed from this ſhameful death, but I will alſo give thee an hundred pounds. Martin preſently replied, Sir, you preſent before me many temporal commodities: But alas! Do you think me ſo ſimple, as to forſake an eternal kingdom, for the enjoyment of a ſhort temporal life? No ſir, it is now too late to ſpeak to me of worldly commodities: I will hearken to no other ſpeech, but of thoſe ſpiritual commodities which I ſhall enjoy this day in God's kingdom,' &c. Soon after, Martin and his mother were carried to the place of their martyrdom, and being bound to the ſtake, the woman ſaid, 'We are Chriſtians, nor that which we now ſuffer, is not for murder and theft, but becauſe we will believe no more than the word of God teacheth us.'

The fire being kindled, the heat of it did nothing abate the fervency of their ſouls, but they continued crying, 'Lord Jeſus into thy hands we commend our ſpirits; and ſo they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord.

A fryar at Gaunt, called Charles Coninck, being thro' God's

God's mercy converted to the truth, left his fryar's weed, and joined himſelf to the brethren: For which he was apprehended, and remaining conſtant, was condemned. Then came a ſpecial friend perſuading him to recant, and he would procure him a canonſhip: To whom Charles anſwered, 'Sir, I thank you for your good will and kind offer, but I cannot accept them without offending God; and that reſt is no true reſt and quietneſs, which is obtained againſt the peace of a good conſcience.' Shortly after his death, one of his adverſaries which had the greateſt hand in procuring of it, fell into grievous terror and horror of conſcience, whereof within a few days he died.

The Perſecution by the Duke de Alva in the Netherlands.

WHEN the light of the goſpel was much ſpread abroad in the Netherlands, king Philip of Spain, ſent the duke de Alva with a great army to root out the profeſſors of it, who exerciſed unparalell'd cruelty againſt all ſorts of perſons, both of nobility and commons, permitting his ſoldiers to raviſh honeſt matrons and virgins, many times cauſing their huſbands and parents to ſtand by and behold it.

This duke on a time boaſted at his own table, that he had been diligent to root out hereſy: For that, beſide thoſe which he had ſlain in war, in the ſpace of ſix years he had put into the hands of the common hangman above eighteen thouſand perſons.

His ſon alſo Don Frederick being ſent by him to Zutphen, was received by the burghers, without any oppoſition; yet was he no ſooner entred, but he fell to murder, hang and drown a number of inhabitants, with infinite cruelties ſhewed upon wives and virgins; yea, not ſparing the very infants. From thence marching to Nærden in Holland, the inhabitants made an agreement with him, and he entred the town peaceably. But never did Turks or Scythians, or the moſt barbarous and inhuman nations in the world, commit more abominable cruelties than Don Frederick did in this town: For when the burghers had given the beſt entertainment that they could to him and his ſoldiers, he cauſed it be proclaimed, That they ſhould all aſſemble themſelves together in the chappel of the hoſpital, where they ſhould be made acquainted with ſuch laws, according to which they ſhould hereafter govern themſelves. But when theſe poor people were thus aſſembled, he commanded his ſoldiers to murder them all, without ſparing any one: The men were maſſacred; the women were firſt raviſhed, and then murdered moſt cruelly; the children and infants had their throats cut; and in ſome houſes they tied the inhabitants to poſts, and then ſet fire on the houſes, and burnt them alive. So that in the whole town, neither man, wife, maid, nor child old nor young were ſpared; and then the town was wholly razed to the ground, without pity or mercy.

After this Don Frederick beſieged Harlem, which held out againſt him for a long time, but at laſt, their proviſion being ſpent, they made bread of lintſeed and of turnips, and lived upon the fleſh of horſes, dogs, and cats, and ſuch like. And this alſo in the end failing them, they were enforced to ſurrender the town upon compoſition, by which they were to pay two hundred and forty thouſand florins to redeem themſelves and town from ſpoil.

Don Frederick having thus got the town into his hands, commanded that at the tolling of the great bell, all the burghers and ſoldiers ſhould bring their arms into the ſtate-houſe; That the townſmen ſhould go into the cloiſter of Zyel, the women into the cathedral church, and the ſoldiers into another church, this done, all the enſign bearers were ſingled out and impriſoned, and whilſt the poor burghers were guarded in the church, the perfidious Spaniards plundered their houſes. The next day this bloody Don Frederick cauſed three hundred Wallons to be hanged and beheaded. The next day captain Riperda and his lieutenant were beheaded, and a godly miniſter called Stembach, was hanged, and two hundred and forty ſeven ſoldiers were drowned in the ſea of Harlem. The next day a great number were executed, and the day following three hundred more ſoldiers and burghers loſt their heads, and with them a godly miniſter called Simon Simonſon. Preſently after three of the principal men loſt their heads, and ſhortly after all the Engliſh and Scots were beheaded, and to fill up this ſea of blood, all the wounded and ſick were beheaded before the hoſpital door.

In the mean time a party of ſoldiers that lay without in a ſconce were all ſtarved to death.

Not long before, the ſtrong town of Valenciennes in Henault, having ſet up the free exerciſe of the reformed religion amongſt them, were preſently beſieged by an army under the ſignior of Noircarmes: The ſiege laſted about three months, and the citizens having no hope of reſief, at laſt treated and ſurrendred the city upon good conditions. But Noircarmes being entred, he kept the city gates ſhut for divers days, and moſt perfidiouſly and barbarouſly hanged up all the French ſoldiers, with all the miniſters and proteſtant merchants, and confiſcated their goods. But beſides theſe generals, let us alſo view ſome particulars.

Anno 1560. There was in Flanders one John Herwin, a ſoldier of a very diſſolute life: But God having a purpoſe to ſhew him mercy, put it into his heart to go into England, and accordingly he came to London in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and by God's good providence was entertained in a brewer's family, where both maſter and ſervants feared God: His maſter cauſed him often to go to the Dutch church, where, by the miniſtry of the word, he firſt began to taſte, and afterwards more and more to increaſe in the ſaving knowlege of Chriſt. After a while he returned back into Flanders, and at Furne he was preſently laid wait for by the popiſh bailiff: This occaſioned his removal to Honſcot; and yet there alſo, the bailiff being informed of him, went in the night with his ſergeants, and apprehended him: By the way they met ſome drunkards in the ſtreets; whereupon the bailiff ſaid, 'We have, as they ſay, many goſpellers in this town, but it little appears by theſe diſorders. Herwin hearing him, ſaid, Is drunkenneſs a ſin, maſter bailiff? The bailiff anſwered, What of that? Herwin replied, why then do ye not commit theſe men to priſon, ſeeing it is your office to puniſh vice, and to protect them that fear God?' To this the bailiff anſwered not.

In the priſon Herwin behaved himſelf ſo vertuouſly, that every one admired him. Being ſomewhat long before he was called before the magiſtrate, he was much troubled at it, his heart being inflamed with an holy zeal to confeſs Jeſus Chriſt before his judges. Yet many of the brethren were very fearful of him conſidering what his former life had been, and what a novice he as yet was in the profeſſion of the goſpel.

At laſt he had his heart's deſire, being brought before the ſheriff; there a prieſt was provided to diſpute with him, to whoſe queſtions Herwin anſwered with ſuch ſoundneſs of judgment and modeſty, that it eaſily appeared that he had profited well in Chriſt's ſchool. Being aſked of Chriſt's real preſence in the ſacrament, he anſwered, 'That the Higheſt dwelleth not in temples made with hands, &c. Whereupon he admoniſhed his judges to examine the doctrine of the church of Rome by the true touchſtone of God's word, whereby they might eaſily ſee how contrary it is to the ſcriptures, &c. And having made a free profeſſion of his faith, he craved juſtice one way or other; but they ſtill urged him to recant, to which he anſwered, 'My faith is not built upon man's opinion, but the Lord hath taught me to do good.' Then was he returned to priſon again.

During his impriſonment he was dangerouſly aſſaulted by ſome ſubtile and cunning fryars, who alledged the ſaying of divers of the fathers to prove their tranſubſtantiation: But he, through God's mercy, holding cloſe to the word of Chriſt, overcame them. In priſon he uſed to recreate himſelf by ſinging of pſalms, and the people uſed to flock together to the priſon door to hear him: This ſo angred the popiſh clergy, that they ſought to hinder him from ſinging, and for this end they cauſed two deſperate malefactors to be put into the ſame room with him: But within a few days, theſe villains brake priſon and eſcaped, leaving opportunity to Herwin to eſcape alſo; But he, fearing that his flight might be prejudicial to other godly perſons in the city, upon whom it would be charged, reſolved rather to remain there, than to flie. Preſently after news was brought him that ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, whereupon he thanked God for advancing him to ſo high an honour as to be accounted worthy to

ſuffer for his name: Teſtifying the inward joy which he felt in his ſoul by a letter that he wrote to the brethren, wherein he exhorted them to conſtancy and perſeverance in the doctrine of the truth which they had received from God: Within a few days after he was carried forth to hear his ſentence, at which time the magiſtrate by earneſt intreaties and large promiſes ſought to bring him to a recantation, and to worſhip their breaden god, promiſing that thereupon he ſhould be preſently releaſed: But Herwin refuſing their offer of life upon thoſe terms, was bound and carried into a chappel where they celebrated the maſs; at which time, to ſhew his deteſtation of their idolatry, he turned his back, winked with his eyes, and ſtopped his ears. At the elevation of the hoſt, one aſked him, if Jeſus Chriſt was not now between the prieſts hands? To which he anſwered, 'No, he is in heaven at the right hand of his Father.' Then was the ſentence of death read againſt him.

As he was going to execution, he ſaid to the people, 'See here how this wicked world rewards the poor ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt; whilſt I was a drunkard, a player at cards and dice, living in all diſſoluteneſs and ungodly behaviour, I was never in danger of theſe bonds; yea, I was then counted a good fellow, and at that time, who but I? But no ſooner began I, through God's grace, to ſeek after a godly life, but preſently the world made war upon me, and became mine enemy, *&c.* yet this diſcourageth me not; for the ſervant is not better than his lord: ſeeing they perſecuted him, no queſtion but they will perſecute us.' At the place of execution, one gave him his hand, and comforted him: Then began he to ſing the thirtieth pſalm, whereupon a fryar interrupted him, ſaying, 'Oh John turn, there is yet time and ſpace;' The martyr diſregarding his words, turned his back upon him; and ſome of the company ſaid to the fryar, 'Turn thou, hypocrite;' and ſo Herwin quietly finiſhed his pſalm, many joining with him in ſinging of it; Then ſaid the fryar, 'Be not offended good people to hear this heretic to ſing of God;' The people anſwered,' Hold thy peace thou Balaamite, here is no body offended.' There were preſent at leaſt four hundred that encouraged the martyr to continue to the end, as he had well begun; To whom he anſwered, 'Brethren I fight under the ſtandard, and in the quarrel of my great Lord and captain Jeſus Chriſt. Then he prayed, and ſo went into his cabin made with fagots, ſaying to the people, 'I am now going to be ſacrificed; Follow you me when God of his goodneſs ſhall call you to it: and ſo he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt to aſhes.

Anno 1561. There was apprehended in Antwerp one John de Boſcane, who for his conſtancy in religion was condemned to death: But the magiſtrate fearing an uproar if he ſhould put him to death publicly, knowing that he was a man free of ſpeech, and beloved of the people, he reſolved for this cauſe ſecretly to drown him in the priſon; and for this end a tub with water was provided, and an executioner ſent to drown him: But the water was ſo ſhallow, and the martyr ſo tall, that he could not poſſibly be drowned therein; whereupon the executioner gave him many wounds and ſtabs with a dagger, and ſo this holy martyr ended his life.

About the ſame time another ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, having made a bold profeſſion of his faith, was in the ſame city ſentenced to death; and becauſe they durſt not execute him publicly, they privately ſent and beheaded him in priſon. His name was John de Buiſon's.

The godly in this city of Antwerp, being deſirous to take all opportunities to meet together in the fear of God, on a day when the popiſh party was met to behold great triumphs, they withdrew themſelves out of the city, and went into a wood, where their miniſter preached the word of God to them: The drofart of Marklem being advertiſed hereof, took his officers and went thitherward; by the way he met with ſome poor boys that were cowherds; to whom he promiſed new cloaths if they would bring him to the place in the wood where their aſſembly was; which they undertaking, he ſent ſome of his officers along with them into the wood, who coming to the place like wolves, the ſheep of Chriſt began to flie. The miniſter ſeeing their fear, admoniſhed them not to ſtir: The perſecutors were not above five or ſix, and the perſecuted four or five hundred, ſo that they might eaſily have reſiſted them, but they would not. The officers chiefly aimed to apprehend the miniſter, and having caught one of the aſſembly, they thought him to be the man, crying one to another, *Hold the prieſt faſt*, ſtriking him with their piſtols and ſtaves, and ſo carried him to the drofart: They caught alſo two or three more, which afterwards made an eſcape. The man only that remained with the drofart whoſe name was Bartholomew, was often ſet upon to be turned aſide from his holy profeſſion; 'Why, ſay they, cannot ſuch a young man as thou art content thyſelf with our religion and glorious church, adorned with gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, in which there is ſuch melodious muſic, both of voices and inſtruments, but thou muſt needs join thyſelf to that church that is hated, deſpiſed, and expoſed to all manner of contempt?' Bartholomew overcame all theſe temptations by the power of the Almighty, ſaying, 'That which is greatly eſteemed amongſt men, is altogether abominable in the ſight of God;' Then was he condemned and beheaded; by which death he glorified God.

Anno 1568. There were apprehended in Antwerp, one Scoblant, John de Hues, and Joris Coomans, who being caſt into priſon were very joyful, confeſſing that nothing befel them but by God's divine providence, as they acknowlege in a letter which they wrote to the brethren, wherein they thus write, 'Seeing it is the will of God that we ſhould ſuffer for his name, and in the quarrel of his goſpel, we certify you, dear brethren, that we are joyful; and however the fleſh continually rebels againſt the ſpirit, counſelling ever and anon according to the advice of the old ſerpent: yet we are all aſſured that Chriſt, who hath bruiſed, will ſtill bruiſe the ſerpent's head, and not leave us comfortleſs; we are indeed ſometimes pricked in the heel, yet we are not diſcouraged, but keep our faith cloſe to the promiſes of God, *&c.* Be not therefore diſmayed for our bonds and impriſonment; for it is the good will of God towards us, and therefore we pray that he will give us grace to perſevere conſtantly unto the end.'

Shortly after Scoblant was brought to his trial, where he made a good confeſſion of his faith, and ſo was condemned. Returning to priſon, he earneſtly requeſted the jailor that he would not ſuffer the fryars to come and trouble him; 'For, ſaid he, they can do me no good, ſeeing the Lord hath already ſealed up the aſſurance of my ſalvation in my heart, by his holy Spirit. I am now going to my ſpouſe, and putting off this earthly mantle, to enter into his celeſtial glory, where I ſhall be freed from all ſuperſtitions. Would to God that I might be the laſt that theſe tyrants ſhould put to death, and that their thirſt might be ſo quenched with my blood, that the poor church of Chriſt might henceforth enjoy reſt and quiet.

When he was to go forth to execution, he ſung the fortieth pſalm with his fellow-priſoners, then ſaid the Lord's prayer, and ſo kiſſing each other, they commended one another unto God with many tears. Being tied to the ſtake, he was burned alive, calling upon the name of the Lord.

John Hues died in priſon, whereupon Joris wrote thus to his friends; 'Brethren, I am now left alone, whereas we were three in number. John Hues is now dead in the Lord; and yet I am not altogether alone, ſeeing the God of Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob is with me; he is my exceeding great reward, and will not fail to reward me ſo ſoon as I ſhall have laid down this earthly tabernacle. Pray unto God that he will ſtrengthen me to the end; for every hour I expect the diſſolution of this houſe of clay.'

When he was brought before the judges, and examined of his faith, he anſwered freely, and proved what he ſaid by the holy ſcriptures; and being aſked, whether he was reſolved to die for the faith which he profeſſed? He anſwered, 'I will not only venture to give my body, but my ſoul alſo for the confirmation of it;' and ſo being condemned, he was ſhortly after burned, dying with much comfort.

The perſecution growing hot in Flanders, one Giles Annik, and John his ſon removed to Emden: But by reaſon of their ſudden departure they could not take their wives

wives with them; whereupon in the year 1568. they returned back to fetch their wives, who were at Renay; yet in regard of the danger, they durſt not go into the town openly, but took up their lodging in the evening, at an honeſt man's houſe, called Lewis Meulin.

Now it ſo fell out that that very night the enemies had appointed to make a ſecret ſearch after ſuch as profeſſed the goſpel, and ſo paſſing by this houſe, and ſeeing the light of a candle in it, expecting their prey, they forced open the door, and took theſe two, together with their hoſt, priſoners, God having appointed them to bear witneſs to his truth: After they had been in priſon a while, they were all three condemned for heretics; and preſently after Giles the father, was burnt. John the ſon, being fetched to execution, when he ſaw the man that firſt apprehended him, he called him to him, ſaying, 'I forgive thee my death;' and ſo he, with Lewis Meulin, were both beheaded.

About the ſame time there was alſo a godly widow apprehended and caſt into priſon, her crime was, for that about two years before ſhe had ſuffered a miniſter to preach in an out houſe on the back of her dwelling. She was very charitable in relieving the poor, and every way ſhewed forth the fruits of a true ſaving faith. After ſeven months impriſonment ſhe was condemned to die, and a prieſt coming to her, to hear her confeſſion, ſhe ſpake to him with ſuch a divine grace, and with a ſpirit ſo repleniſhed with zeal, that he went from her with tears trickling down his cheeks, ſaying, 'I came to comfort you, but I have more need to be comforted of you;' when ſhe was carried forth to execution, ſhe went with much boldneſs and joy of heart, and having her head cut off, ſhe ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

There was alſo one Chriſtopher Gauderin, that at firſt was brought up under the abbat of Hename; but the abbat dying, he betook himſelf to the weaving of linen, and quickly grew expert in his trade: But having been trained up in a bad ſchool, when the Sabbath came, he ſpent riotouſly what he had gotten all the week by his labour: Now, through God's mercy, it ſo fell out that a godly man working with him, would often tell him of the danger of his preſent condition, exhorting him rather to diſtribute his gettings to the poor, aſſuring him that if he ſpent his money ſo waſtfully, God would call him to an account for it: Theſe with the like exhortations ſo wrought upon him, through the grace of God, that he began to change his courſe, and inſtead of frequenting taverns, he became a diligent hearer of ſermons, and gave himſelf much to reading of the holy ſcriptures; ſo that not long after he was called by the church to the office of a deacon, which he diſcharged carefully and faithfully.

Shortly after having occaſion to go to a place called Audenard, to diſtribute ſome alms to the poor there, he was apprehended; and the bailiff that had formerly ſeen him in the abbat's houſe, aſked him how he came to turn heretic? 'Nay, ſaid he, I am no heretic, but a right believing Chriſtian, and what I learned of him, I am now aſhamed to remember.'

In priſon he had many diſputes about his faith, which he ſo maintained and defended by the word of God, that he ſilenced all his adverſaries. Some told him that he would caſt away himſelf in his youth, being but thirty years old, to whom he anſwered, that man's life conſiſted but of two days, viz. The day of his birth, and the day of his death, and therefore he muſt needs die once, 'And for my part,' ſaid he, 'I am now willing by death to paſs into eternal life.'

When news was brought him in the evening that he muſt die the next day, he retired himſelf, and poured out his ſoul in prayer unto God till ten o'clock; and after his reſt, the like he did the next morning: Having ended his prayer, he put on a clean ſhirt and waſhed himſelf; ſaying to his fellow priſoners, 'Brethren, I am now going to be married, I hope ere noon to drink of the wine of the kingdom of heaven:' When he came down, he found three other priſoners that were to ſuffer with him. Theſe four exhorted and encouraged one another to ſuffer patiently and conſtantly: Then came a fryar, ſaying, 'That he came to convert them;' To whom Chriſtopher ſaid, 'Away from us thou ſeducer of ſouls, for we have nothing to do with thee:' The hangman coming to put gags in their mouths; one of them ſaid 'What? ſhall we not have liberty at this our laſt hour to praiſe God with our tongues? Chriſtopher anſwered, Let not this diſcourage us, the more wrong our enemies do to us, the more aſſiſtance we ſhall find from God;' and ſo ceaſed not to comfort them, till himſelf was gagged alſo. Their ſentence was, That they ſhould be hanged for hearing ſermons; and ſo with admirable conſtancy they yielded up their ſouls to God: One of them being a woman was condemned to be beheaded, becauſe ſhe had ſung pſalms, and exhorted her neighbours out of the word of God, at a woman's upſitting: Her body was grown very feeble, ſo that ſhe was cauſed to ſit on a ſtool, where ſhe received three blows with a ſword overthwart her teeth; yet did ſhe conſtantly ſit till ſhe received the crown of martyrdom.

About the ſame time there was in a town a mile diſtant from Gand, a miniſter whom it pleaſed the Lord to illuminate with the ſaving knowlege of his goſpel, whereupon he became a diligent and faithful preacher of it, both in his life and doctrine: yea, he went from houſe to houſe exhorting and comforting every one as he had occaſion out of the word of God; and above all, labouring with them to beware of the abominable ſuperſtitions of the papacy. The popiſh clergy of Gand having intelligence hereof, fearing leſt by this means, their doctrine and authority would come into contempt, cauſed him to be apprehended and caſt into a deep and dark hole, where he remained bearing his affliction patiently, and calling upon God night and day, praiſing him for accounting him worthy to ſuffer for his name's ſake. Whilſt he lay there, many good people came to viſit him, receiving ſuch inſtructions and conſolations from him, that they could not be drawn to leave him till neceſſity enforced, neither then could they depart without abundance of tears.

The prieſts and fryars ſought by all means to draw him to a recantation, but to no purpoſe, for he ſtill kept himſelf cloſe to the word of God, which ſo vexed them, that at laſt they procured his condemnation to be hanged. The Spaniſh ſoldiers which carried him to execution, would needs have him burned, binding and ſtraining him exceedingly with cords, and in the way abuſed him ſhamefully with mocks and ſcoffs, thruſting him forwards and ſtriking him: The captain alſo gave him a blow on the face with his gantlet, which much diſfigured him; yea, they uſed him worſe than a dog, being the the more enraged againſt him, becauſe of his patient and meek carriage: At laſt they thruſt him into a little cabin piled with faggots, and ſo burnt him, continually calling upon God till he reſigned up his ſpirit to him.

Anno 1568. There was a goldſmith dwelling in Breda, who had long been a deacon of the church in that place, his name was Peter Coulogne; In his houſe the church often met for the ſervice of God: The popiſh adverſaries being much enraged hereby, caſt him into priſon, which the faithful much grieved at, and endeavoured to viſit and comfort him. This the enemies taking notice of, removed him to the caſtle; during his abode there, though all others were excluded from him, yet his maid ſervant brought him his food daily, never ceaſing to confirm and comfort him out of the word of God, as well as ſhe was able, for which at length they impriſoned her alſo: This ſhe was right glad of, thinking herſelf happy to ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake.

Not long after Peter was put to the torment, which he endured patiently; Then did they fetch Betkin the maid alſo to it, whereupon ſhe ſaid, 'My maſters, wherefore will you put me to this torture, ſeeing I having no way offended you? If it be for my faith's ſake, you need not torment me; for I was never aſhamed to make a confeſſion thereof, no more will I now be at this preſent before you, but will, if you pleaſe, freely ſhew you my mind therein;' Yet for all this they would have her to the rack, whereupon ſhe again ſaid, 'If I muſt needs ſuffer this pain, I pray you give me leave to call upon my God firſt:' This they conſented to; and whilſt ſhe was fervently pouring out her prayers unto God, one of the commiſſioners was ſurpriſed with ſuch a fear and terror, that he fell into a ſwoon, and could not be recovered again, by which means the poor maid eſcaped racking.

Shortly

Shortly after, theſe two innocent perſons were condemned to be burnt, and as they were led to execution, there was much lamentation among the people. Peter and Betkin prayed earneſtly unto God to ſtrengthen them, and perfect the good work that he had begun in them, and to aſſiſt them till they had finiſhed their courſe.

The courage and conſtancy of the maid did ſo work upon many of the people, godly men and women, that not conſidering the danger, they brake through the multitude, embracing the priſoners, and praiſing God for their conſtancy, ſaying to them, 'Fight manfully for the crown is prepared for you:' At the place of execution Betkin with a chearful and amiable countenance ſpake thus to the people, 'Dear brethren and ſiſters, be always obedient to the word of God, and fear not them that can kill the body, but have no power over the ſoul: As for me, I am now going to my glorious Spouſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt;' Then falling upon their knees they prayed to the Lord with great devotion; and the executioner faſtening them to the ſtake, ſtrangled Peter, Betkin encouraging him till he yielded up the ghoſt, and till the fire had taken hold of herſelf; and in the flames ſhe was heard to magnify the Lord, till ſhe yielded up her ſpirit into his hands.

About this time multitudes of perſons were murdered in Flanders by the bloody inquiſition, whoſe dead bodies were caſt out to be gazed upon in every place; and multitudes of believers, both men and women were caſt into priſons, where they languiſhed till many of them died. In the city of Valence there were executed fifty ſeven perſons, moſt of them burgeſſes, only becauſe they clave to the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyrdom of William of Naſſaw, Prince of Orange.

THE eſtates of the United Provinces, having declared the king of Spain to be fallen from the government of thoſe countries, they choſe William of Naſſaw, prince of Orange, to be their captain general, whereupon he was proſcribed by the king of Spain, and a great ſum of money promiſed to him that ſhould ſlay him. Not long after a deſperate villain called Joanville was ſuborned to do the feat; For which end he was directed to charge his piſtol with two bullets, and to ſhoot him behind in the head: The day appointed for this execution was March 18. 1582. upon which day the prince was to be at a great feaſt at the duke of Anjou's court; But the preſs being great there, Joanville choſe rather to do it at the prince of Orange's own houſe as he was at dinner. The villain being thus deſperately reſolved, a Jacobin Fryar came to confeſs him, fortifying him in his reſolution with many ſweet words, perſuading him that he ſhould go inviſible, for which end he gave him ſome characters in paper, and little frog's bones, and other conjurations.

Being thus aſſured, he drunk a cup or two of Malmſey, and ſo accompanied with his ghoſtly father, he went to the prince's court: At the ſtair-foot the fryar gave him his bleſſing, encouraged him, and ſo left him. The prince of Orange was ſet at dinner with the earls of Laval, Hohenlo, and many other noblemen; Joanville came into the dining room, attired like a Frenchman, ſo that he was taken for a ſervant to ſome of thoſe French noblemen: He thruſt forward twice or thrice to come behind the prince to ſhoot him in the head, as he was directed, but was ſtill repulſed by the prince's gentlemen that ſtood about him: Dinner being done, the prince was going to his retiring chamber, whereupon this villain gat before a window in the hall, cloſe by the door of that room into which the prince was to go. As the prince paſſed towards it, he was ſhewing the earl of Laval the cruelties that the Spaniards had exerciſed in the Low-Countries, which were wrought in the hangings; and having his face turned, this murderer diſcharged his piſtol at him; but the prince, as God would have it, turning at the ſame inſtant, the bullet entred in at his throat under the right chap, being ſo near that the fire entred with the bullet into the wound, burning his ruffe and beard; It brake out one of his teeth, pierced the jugular vein; but hurt not his tongue, and ſo came out at his left cheek hard by his noſe: The blow being given, one with an halberd could not contain himſelf, but thruſt the villain thro', and ſlew him.

The chirurgions being ſent for, found that the fire which entred the wound, had cauterized the jugular vein, and had done him much good ſo that the wound was not mortal. The fryar was afterwards apprehended and executed.

Anno 1584. The Spaniards thinking they had no greater enemy in the world than the prince of Orange, and that if he were dead they ſhould quickly attain their deſires in the Netherlands; they ſuborned one Balthazar Gerard, an high Burguignon, to murder him, who bought a good pair of piſtols, and on the tenth of July watched when the prince ſhould go down into the hall to dinner at Delph in Holland, and as he paſſed by, he demanded a paſport of him: The princeſs obſerved that he ſpake with an hollow and unſettled voice, ſhe aſked her huſband who he was? ſaying, That ſhe did not like his countenance; The prince anſwered, That he demanded a paſport, which he ſhould preſently have: After dinner the prince going out of the hall, the murderer ſtood behind a pillar in the gallery, and as the prince paſſed by, ſuddenly ſhot him from the left ſide to the right, thro' the ſtomach and the vital parts, who ſaid no more, but 'O my God, take pity of my ſoul, 'I am ſore wounded; my God, take pity of my ſoul and 'of this poor people;' and preſently after he gave up the ghoſt.

[*Collected out of Sleiden's Commentaries, and the Hiſtory of the Netherlands, &c.*]

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Modern Perſecutions of the Church in Germany, ſince the year 1630.

THE Swedes being poſſeſſed of a town called Paſewalck, the Imperialiſts took it by ſtorm, beat, killed, and drave out the Swedes, and not content therewith, they fell to torturing of the townſmen, raviſhing women and girls in the open ſtreets and church-yards, yea women in child-bed; Then they killed the men, fired their houſes, and burnt many in them; Thruſt ſtraw into cellars where children were hidden, and ſo burnt and ſmothered them; Then they burnt the churches, and maſſacred the miniſters, and at laſt burnt down the whole town.

The like cruelty was uſed againſt the city of Magdenburg, famous for religion, which being taken by Tilly and Pappenheim, *anno* 1631. was in twelve hours ſpace wholly turned into cinders, except one hundred thirty nine houſes, by which fire ſix goodly churches, were burnt down; no mercy ſhewed to any age, ſex, or condition: Above twenty thouſand perſons were ſlain, burnt, and ſmothered to death; ſix thouſand were drowned in the river Elve; ladies and gentlewomen, like beaſts were yoked together all about the country; and driven into woods to be raviſhed; and ſuch as reſiſted were ſtript ſtark naked, whipt, had their ears cropt, and ſo were turned up.

Anno 1634. The popiſh army having taken the town of Hoxter, they ſpared neither man, woman nor child, moſt inhumanly butchering and hewing in pieces all, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition; and what the ſword could not ſpoil, they cauſed the fire to conſume, and the dead corpſes they caſt into the Weſer.

At Griphenburg they kept the ſenators ſhut up in a chamber, maſſacring and tormenting them ſo long with hunger and ſmoak, that divers of them died.

In Heidleberg they ſhut up divers reverend miniſters and burghers in priſon, allowing them nothing to eat but bread and water.

Frankendal being ſurrendred upon articles, contrary to covenants, the grave counſellors, and other electoral miniſters, were forced to endure ſuch conditions, as were fitter for dogs than men: Some were caſt into priſon, and ſo abuſed that they died there; others were forced to redeem themſelves with unreaſonable ranſoms; The goods of ſuch as were fled were confiſcated; and tho' the inha-

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bitants were willing to have left their houſes, and all their goods, yet were they detained in the city, and their deſtruction moſt cruelly plotted.

Their rage was ſo great againſt the profeſſors of the goſpel, that neither turks nor heathens did ever exceed them. Princes, ſacred perſons were not exempted from their fury; the old Landtgrave of Heſſen, and the old dutches dowager of Wittenburgh were taken priſoners, reviled, and abuſed. In Saxony, Tillres ſoldiers tortured the Proteſtants by half ſtrangling them, and preſſing their thumbs with wheels. In Pomeren they forced the people to eat their own excrements; and if they refuſed, they thruſt them down their throats, whereby ſome of them were choaked. If they ſuſpected that any had hidden their gold or ſilver, they uſed exquiſite torments to make them to confeſs it: They wound and tied about the heads of ſome, ſtrong matches or cords, and with ſhort truncheons twiſted them, till blood came out of their eyes, ears, and noſes, yea, ſometimes till their eyes ſtarted out of their heads: To others they tied burning matches between their fingers, yea, to their eyes, ears, noſes, tongues, cheeks, breaſts, legs, and ſecret parts; yea, ſuch parts that nature hideth, they either ſtuffed with gun powder, or hung bags of powder to them; and ſo giving fire to it, in an horrible manner they burſt their bellies, and killed them. With bodkins they made holes, or with knives they cut the ſkin and fleſh of many. They drew ſtrings and cords through the fleſhy parts of ſome, and through the muſcles of their thighs, legs, arms, *&c.* or through their noſes, ears, lips, *&c.* Some they hung up in the ſmoak, drying them with ſmall fires, and ſometimes refreſhing them with ſmall drink, or water, taking care, leſt in their torments they ſhould die too ſoon. Some they put into hot ovens, roaſting or ſmothering them there: Some they roaſted with fires of ſtraw: Some the ſtifled, ſtrangled, or hanged; and this was a great favour, ſo ſoon to rid them out of their pain. Of many they bound their hands and feet ſo hard, that the blood ſpirited out of their fingers and toes end: Of ſome they tied their hands and feet backwards together, ſtopping their mouths with clouts, to hinder them from praying. Some they hung up with ropes faſtned to their privy parts, and hearing their cries, ſtrove by their roaring to drown their cries, as in ſport.

Where they found poor creatures troubled with ruptures, they enlarged them by villainous means, filling them with gun powder, and blowing them up, as a mine, by giving fire thereto. Many they threw up on high, hanging great weights at their feet to pull their bodies out of joint: Of ſome they plained their faces with chiſels: Some men they openly gelded in the preſence of their wives and children. The mouths of ſome they ſet wide open with gags, and then poured down their throats ſtinking water, urine, and other liquid things, till they grew ſick, and their bellies ſwelled like tuns, whereby they died leiſurely with greater torment.

Down the throats of ſome they violently thruſt knotted clouts, and then with ſtrings pulled them up again, whereby they diſplaced their bowels, and put them to miſerable torment, inſomuch as ſome were made dumb, others deaf, others blind, and others lame.

If the huſband intreated for his wife, or the wife for the huſband, they would take the interceſſor and torture him in the ſame manner, before the other's eyes; and when any of theſe poor creatures, in their torments or agonies of death, called and cried unto God for mercy, they would command, and ſeek to force them to pray and cry unto the devil. Yea, their deviliſhneſs proceeded ſo far, that they ſtudied to find out new and unheard of torments. Some they bound, hung up, and ſawed off their legs; of others, they tied the arms backwards, and hanged them up by thoſe diſtorted parts. Many they drew through the ſtreets of the cities ſtark naked, then brake and wounded them with axes and hammers, and generally uſed them with ſuch barbarous cruelty, that many begged to be ſhot or ſlain inſtantly, rather than to live and be partakers of ſuch miſeries. In moſt places they took away all the corn and proviſion of victuals, leaving the places ſo bare, that many of the beſt rank, for the ſpace of divers days after, ſaw not one bit of bread, but were to live with roots and water. In other places they ſpoiled the inhabitants of their garments, expoſing them to that nakedneſs, that neither man, woman, nor child, had cloathes to put on. Hereby fruitful countries were totally ruinated: Cities, towns, and villages, were ſpoiled and turned into pillars of fire and ſmoak: Churches lay deſolate, the woods were cut down, the ground lay waſte and untilled.

One reverend aged divine they ſtripped, bound him backwards upon a table, and ſet a big cat upon his naked belly, beating and pricking the cat to make her fix her teeth and claws therein. So that both man and cat, with hunger, pain, and anguiſh, breathed their laſt.

The crabats laboured much to teach their horſes, not only to kill men, but to eat human fleſh; and conſulted how to find out more new and exquiſite torments, than ever were before uſed.

At the taking of Magdenburg, a godly miniſter of great eſteem, was found in one of the churche's, whom they dragged out to his own houſe, where they raviſhed his wife and daughters before his face; his tender infant they ſnatched from the mother's breaſt, and ſtuck it upon the top of a launce: And when his eyes and heart were glutted with this ſo cruel a ſpectacle, they brought him forth bound into the ſtreet, and there burnt him with his own books.

Rapes and raviſhings were committed beyond all human modeſty: Maids and matrons, wives and widows, they forced and violated without diſtinction, yea, and that in the preſence of their parents, huſbands, and neighbours; yea, women great with child, and others in child bed. Their beaſtlineſs was ſuch that no pen can write it, no faith can believe it. Chappels and churches were not freed from their filthy pollutions; yea, hoſpitals and bedlam houſes were not ſpared.

In Heſſen land they took divers poor women, ſome mad, ſome dumb, ſome lame, and tying up their coats about their ears, ſo uſed them as a modeſt pen cannot expreſs.

In Pomeren, they took the faireſt maids and raviſhed them before their parents faces, making them ſing pſalms the while. One beautiful maid being hid by her parents in a dunghil, they found her out, had their pleaſure of her, then cut her in pieces, and hung up her quarters in the church. Yea, very girls of ten years old and under, they raviſhed till ſome of them died: virtuous and chaſte women, they would threaten to kill, to throw their children into the fire, if they would not yield to their luſts. Divers maids and women to avoid the luſts of theſe hellborn furies, have leaped into rivers and wells, and ſome have otherwiſe killed themſelves; and that which was never before heard of, they did not only violate ſickly and weak maids and women till they died, but committed the like filthineſs with the dead corps.

The merchants of Baſil returning from Straſburgh mart, were ſet upon by the imperialiſts in their lodging; and though they craved their lives upon their knees, yet they killed ten of them, ſaying, 'They muſt die, for that they were heretics;' the reſt leaving their goods and garments, eſcaped by flight ſtark naked in the night.

Two noble counteſſes, with their fair daughters, were rifled in their coaches of all that they had, not ſparing the very garments that covered them.

Near Friburgh, theſe bloody miſcreants cut in pieces a reverend miniſter, a man of rare learning and piety; after whoſe death, the dogs would not lick his blood, nor touch his fleſh. For the common people, they made not ſo much account of them as of dogs, murdering them upon every trifling occaſion, neither pitying old nor young, men, women, nor innocent babes, whom ſometimes moſt barbarouſly they uſed to eat, even when other meat might be had; yea, ſuch inhuman cruelty they uſed, that in ſome places they ſcarce left any remaining alive to relate the ſufferings of the dead. Many times they cut off the noſes and ears of the living, carrying them about in bravery.

[*Collected out of a Book compoſed by Dr. Vincent, a divine who was an eye-witneſs of many of theſe things.*]

The Perſecution in Germany.

BEFORE this great perſecution befel the church of God in Germany, God gave his people warning of it by many and ſtrange prodigies. For Octob. 26. *anno Chriſti* 1616. there appeared a terrible comet with a great blazing tail; at firſt of a red, afterwards of a pale-red colour, which continued for the ſpace of twenty ſeven days, and in ſome places it was ſeen longer. This fearful and ominous link or torch, the Lord ſent to thoſe who had long deſpiſed and ſlighted his voice in his ſacred word, preached by his vigilant and faithful miniſters, to awaken them from their dead ſleep of ſin, and by repentance to bring them to the reformation of their lives; or otherwiſe to aſſure them, that he would come ſuddenly upon them, and plague them with all thoſe evils and miſeries which he had denounced againſt them by his meſſengers, and whereof he gave them warning by this dreadful ſign.

Anno 1619. At Groningen, in the dukedom of Brunſwick, was ſeen a great blazing-ſtar, and two armies, one in the eaſt, and another in the north, fighting together, till one of them was defeated and ſlain.

At Wien in Auſtria, the water in a ditch was ſeen to be like blood for the ſpace of eight days; and ſhortly after three ſuns appeared in the heavens. In the beginning of April, *anno* 1619. And *anno* 1621. in March, in the ſame country of Auſtria, were two armies ſeen in the heavens by clear day-light, fighting furiouſly together with great thundering of ordnance and cannons.

In the ſame country, *anno* 1623. in the month of January, juſt over the city of Lintz, two ſwords were ſeen one over againſt the other, and two great armies fighting a pitched battle together, which cauſed great terror to the beholders.

At Heidelbergh in February, *anno* 1622. were ſeen three ſuns, and three rainbows. Shortly after which, that city was beſieged by the imperialiſts, and at laſt taken. where a great ſlaughter was made of the inhabitants, and in Neckergemund three miles off, all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were put to the ſword.

In April, *anno* 1622. In the country of Darmſtad, were trees, whoſe leaves dropped blood: And the year after, in the ſame country, in divers towns and villages, were ſeen bloody ſigns on houſes and ſtone walls. About Meyen field and Malants, as men were reaping their corn, their hands and ſickles were all bloody.

In July, *anno* 1622. In the dukedom of Wittenburgh. it rained ſo much blood, that it fell upon the hands and cloaths of people in the fields, and was ſeen upon trees, ſtones, and other places.

May the twelfth, *anno* 1624. in the dukedom of Anhalt there appeared a ſtrange prodigy in the heavens, which continued from ſix till eight o'clock at night. Firſt, there came out of the clouds an enſign-bearer; after him came forth a grave man in the ſame habit: Then came forth a chariot drawn with two parti-coloured horſes; then another chariot with four armed horſes; then ſuddenly there brake out of the clouds an infinite number of people, like a ſwarm of bees: After them followed a man ſitting on horſeback with a long robe, putting the people before him. A quarter of an hour after came forth another army conſiſting of many horſe and foot, *&c.* The two armies fought till one of them was routed, and preſently after, all vaniſhed away.

Anno 1624. In May a ſtrange tempeſt happened at Ratiſbon; the weather being very calm, with little rain, two dark clouds met together, which ſuddenly bleched out a great wind mingled with fire, which raiſed ſuch a tempeſt, that near to the city, it tore up trees by the roots, and in a moment drave them into divers places; and thence extending itſelf to the city, it overturned above two hundred houſes in the town and ſuburbs, not leaving a chimney ſtanding, nor a roof to cover an houſe. The church of Emeranus, beſides the ſhattered windows, had one of the ſteeples laid flat to the ground, and the other broke off in the middle: Two other of the chiefeſt ſteeples in the city were alſo broken down. This tempeſt laſted not above a quarter of an hour, nor extended beyond the city, neither were there above four men ſlain by it.

Anno 1625. near Troppaſh, a great multitude of jackdaws met in the air, where they fought a great battle, and that with ſo great eagerneſs, that many of them fell down dead; ſo that the countrymen gathered them up whole ſackfuls of them.

Anno 1628. in Pomerland, the heavens ſeemed to open, and an army came forth of the northern part, the avant-guard conſiſting of pioneers and muſketiers; then followed great pieces of ordnance, and in the rear came the cavalry: Another army came forth on the other ſide, and betwixt them there became a cruel battle; the victory inclining to the northern army: And at laſt a fiery beam followed upon the northern conqueror, which continued for the ſpace of ſome hours.

Anno 1631. at Hall in Saxony, the water was turned into blood, to the great aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants.

During the ſiege of Magdenburg, a captain's wife being in travail, when ſhe could not be delivered, and was near death, ſhe deſired, That when ſhe was dead, her body might be opened; which being done, there was found in her womb, a boy almoſt as big as one of three years old, with an hand-piece and breaſt-plate upon him, great boots after the French faſhion, and a bag by his ſide with two things in it like muſket-bullets.

June the nineteenth, *anno* 1631. In the lower Saxony, two great armies appeared in the air, one in the north, the other in the ſouth, which fought a great battle together; after long fighting, the northern army obtained the victory. After the battle was ended, there appeared a man in a long coat, bearing a bow, with which he ſhot at, and overthrew the commander of the ſouthern army.

In the ſame country, a woman having bought a loaf of bread, when ſhe came home, was dividing it, and in the cutting of it there came forth blood.

Anno 1633. in the country of Altenburgh, a fiſh-pond was turned into blood, which ſtank ſo extreamly, That if any paſſengers did but touch it, they could not waſh off the ſtink thereof in three days ſpace.

Anno 1634. at Berlin in Brandenburgh, it rained blood and brimſtone.

Anno 1635. in Heſſen there met two armies of ſtrange birds which fought a ſet battle; and not far off, about that ſame time, a multitude of dogs had their rendezvous, which fought ſo eagerly, that they would not be reconciled; and when the governor of a neighbour-garriſon ſent out four companies of muſketiers againſt them; they ſeeing a common enemy, joined together, and in deſpight of their guns, beat them away, and devoured nine of them.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Perſecutions of the Church in France, which began Anno Chriſti. 1524.

ANNO CHRISTI 1209. There were certain learned men in France, diſciples of one Almericus at Paris, whoſe names were, Mr. William, a ſub-deacon of Poictiers, well ſtudied in the arts, and divinity; Bernard, another ſub-deacon; William Goldſmith; Steven, a prieſt; Steven of the cellar; and one John, a prieſt, who upon examination, held, 'That God was no otherwiſe preſent in the ſacramental bread, than in any other bread: That it was idolatry to build altars to ſaints, or to cenſe their images.' They mocked thoſe that kiſſed the relics: They ſaid, 'That the pope was Antichriſt, and Rome Babylon: That God was not ſeen in himſelf, but by his creatures.' For which (when they could not be drawn to recant) they were condemned to be burnt at Paris, which accordingly was executed. Bzovius out of Cæſarius, and Almeneus who had been their maſter, had his body digged up in the church-yard, and was burned in the field; and all his French books of divinity were for ever condemned and burnt.

Anno Chriſti 1524. At Melden, in France, there was one John Clark, who ſet up a bill upon the church door againſt the pope's pardons, lately come thither, wherein he called the pope Antichriſt; for which, being apprehended, he was adjudged three ſeveral days to be whipt, then to have a mark burnt in his forehead as a note of infamy: His mother, a good woman, when ſhe ſaw her ſon ſo pitiouſly ſcourged and branded, encouraged him, crying with a loud voice, 'Bleſſed be Chriſt, and welcome be theſe marks for his ſake.' Afterwards he removed from thence and went to Metz, in Lorrain, where for a time he followed his calling of a wool carder: But the people of the city uſed, once a year, all of them to go forth into the ſuburbs to worſhip ſome idols there. Whereupon John Clark, inflamed with an holy zeal, went the night before and brake down all thoſe images. The next morning when all the clergy and people came to the place to worſhip them, they found all their idols broken upon the ground. This ſet all in a tumult, and great ſearching there was after the author of this deed; and quickly was John Clark ſuſpected and apprehended. He preſently confeſſed the fact, and told them the reaſons why he did it.

The people hereupon cried out againſt him in a great rage. Before the judges he profeſſed the pure doctrine of the Son of God; and thereupon was condemned to a cruel death, which he ſuſtained with admirable patience and conſtancy. Firſt, his right hand was cut off, then was his noſe with ſharp pincers pulled violently from his face, then were his arms and breaſts pulled off with the ſame inſtrument; yet he, through God's grace, endured all with great quietneſs, pronouncing the while that of Pſalm 115. 'Their idols are ſilver and gold, the work of men's hands.' Laſtly, he was caſt into the fire, and there conſumed.

Not long after Mr. John Caſtellane, doctor in divinity, born at Tourney, being through God's mercy called to the knowlege of the truth, became a zealous, fervent and faithful preacher of it in divers places, and at laſt he was taken priſoner by the cardinal of Lorrain's ſervants, by whom he was carried to the caſtle of Nommeny, where he endured much cruel uſage; yet ſtill he perſevered in confeſſing the true doctrine of the Son of God. Then was he carried to the caſtle of Vik, and after a time was condemned, degraded, and delivered over to the ſecular power, with this hypocritical ſpeech. "My lord judge, we pray you as heartily as we can for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy; and for reſpect to our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that ſhall be hurtful to this miſerable man, or tending to his death, or the maiming of his body." Then was he burnt alive, which death he underwent with much patience and comfort.

At Paris, one James Panane, a ſchool maſter, was burnt for the truth.

Alſo at Melda, Dennis de Reux was burnt, for ſaying, 'That the maſs was a plain denial of the death and paſſion of Chriſt.' He uſed often to meditate of, and to repeat thoſe words of Chriſt. 'He that denies me before men, him will I deny alſo before my Father.' He was burnt in a ſlow fire, and ſo abode much torment.

John de Cadurco, preaching to his countrymen of Limoſine, was apprehended and degraded. The fryar that was to preach at his degradation, took that text, 1 Tim. 4. 'The Spirit ſpeaks expreſly, that in the latter days men ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying ſpirits and doctrines of errors.' Then did John read on, 'Teaching falſe doctrine in hypocriſy, having their conſciences ſeared with an hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats created by God to be received with thankſgiving, &c. Preſently after he was burnt.

About the ſame time, five men for ſcattering about certain papers againſt the maſs, and other Popiſh ſuperſtitions, were apprehended and burnt at Paris. One of them for ſpeaking freely, had his tongue burnt through, and with a wire tied faſt to one of his cheeks.

Alexander Canus, a godly miniſter, for preaching and confeſſing the truth of Chriſt, was burnt at Paris with a ſmall fire, whereby he endured great pain.

Alſo John Pointer, a chirurgeon, had his tongue firſt cut out, and then was burnt about the ſame time.

Peter Gaudet, living at Geneva, was by a popiſh uncle trained into France, apprehended, condemned, and after many and long torments ſuſtained in priſon, was burnt.

Divers others were apprehended, and burnt at Arras.

A godly virgin was burnt at Fountains, *Anno* 1534.

As alſo one John Cornon, an huſbandman; but one endowed with ſuch wiſdom by God, that all his judges were amazed at it: Yet was he condemned and burnt.

Martin Gonin was caſt into the river and drowned.

Anno 1540. One Claudius endeavouring to convert his friends and kinſfolk in Paris, was by them betrayed, adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and then burnt.

Stephen Brune at Rutiers, being for the conſtant profeſſion of his faith condemned to be burnt: When the fire was kindled, a great wind ſo drave away the flame from him, that he ſtood for an hour's ſpace, exhorting and inſtructing the people. Then did they bring oil veſſels, and more faggots, yet ſtill was the flame driven from him. Whereupon the hangman took a ſtaff, and ſtruck him on the head, to whom he ſaid, 'I condemned to be burnt, and do you ſtrike me with ſtaves like a dog?' With that the hangman, with a pike, thruſt him through the belly, threw him down into the fire, and afterwards ſcattered his aſhes in the wind.

At Roan four Chriſtians were condemned to be burnt, and being carried to the ſtake in a dung-cart, they ſaid, 'Bleſſed be God, we are here reputed as the excrements of this world, but yet our death is a ſweet ſavour unto God.'

John de Beck, a godly miniſter, being condemned for the doctrine of the goſpel, conſtantly endured the torment of the fire at Troyes.

Aymond de Lavoy, a godly miniſter, preaching the truths of God faithfully, was complained of by the popiſh clergy to the magiſtrates of Bourdeaux, who ſent to apprehend him: hereupon ſome of his friends perſuaded him to fly; but he refuſed, ſaying, 'That thereby he might cauſe the people to think that he had fed them with dreams and fables, and not with the pure word of God; whereas he feared not to yield up both ſoul and body, in the quarrel of the truth which he had taught,' ſaying, that with Paul, 'He was ready not only to be bound for the teſtimony of Chriſt in the city of Bourdeaux, but to die alſo.

After the ſumner came, he ſtaid three days and preached three ſermons; and whereas the people would have reſcued him out of the ſumner's hand, he deſired them not to ſtop his martyrdom: 'For, ſaid he, ſince it is the will of God, that I ſhould ſuffer for him, I will not reſiſt his will.' At Bourdeaux many witneſſes came in againſt him, againſt whom he made many exceptions, but they would not be admitted. Nine months he remained in priſon, ſuffering great miſery, much bewailing his former courſe of life, though yet it had been ſuch as none could charge him with any crime. Then the judges proceeded to his condemnation, and he had great fetters put upon him: he was alſo examined with torments, which he endured two or three hours, though but of a weakly body, comforting himſelf thus, 'This body muſt once die, but the ſpirit ſhall live. The kingdom of God abideth for ever.' During his torments he ſwooned, and when he came to himſelf again, he ſaid, 'O Lord why haſt thou forſaken me?' Nay ſaid the preſident, 'Wicked Lutheran, thou haſt forſaken God.' Aymond replied, 'Alas, good maſters, why do you thus miſerably torment me? O Lord, I beſeech thee forgive them, for they know not what they do. 'See, ſaid the preſident, this caitiff how he prayeth for us?' Shortly after he was condemned; and when the fryers came to confeſs him, he bad them depart from him, for he would confeſs his ſins to the Lord. He went to the place of execution with much joy, exhorting the people all the way: at the place of execution they tumbled him out of the cart, and when he was upon the ſtage he ſaid, 'O Lord make haſte to help me, tarry not, deſpiſe not the work of thy hands.' And ſeeing ſome ſcholars, he ſaid to them, 'My brethren I exhort you to ſtudy and learn the goſpel, for the word of God abideth for ever: labour

labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power over your ſouls.' And afterwards he ſaid, 'My fleſh doth wonderfully reſiſt the ſpirit, but preſently I ſhall caſt it away.' At the ſtake he often repeated, 'O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my ſoul;' and ſo he was firſt ſtrangled by the hangman, and then burned.

Francis Bribard, ſecretary to the cardinal of Bellay, being convicted for adhering to the truth, had firſt his tongue cut out, and then was burnt *anno* 1544.

About the ſame time William Huſſon, an apothecary, came from Bloyes to Roane and in the place where the council ſat, he ſcattered ſundry books concerning the Chriſtian doctrine, and againſt mens traditions; and preſently taking horſe rode away. The books being found, the council made diligent ſearch for the author, and at laſt heard, that probably this Huſſon had ſcattered them there: whereupon poſts were ſent out every way to apprehend him, and by ſome of them he was taken riding towards Deep, and brought back to Roan; who being examined, profeſſed his faith boldly, and acknowleged that he had ſcattered thoſe books, and that he was going to Diep to do the like there. For this he was condemned to be burnt alive; and as he was carried to execution, becauſe he refuſed to worſhip an image, his tongue was cut out; afterwards his hands and feet being bound behind him, he was pulled up with a pully, and ſo let down into the fire, in which, he with a chearful countenance held up his head, and fixed his eyes upon heaven, till he yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

Anno 1545. James Cobard, a ſchoolmaſter in the city of St. Michael, declared and proved, That the maſs, neither profited the quick nor dead, &c. For which he was burnt.

Alſo at Melda, fourteen godly perſons were caſt into priſon, where they were cruelly racked to make them confeſs their fellows, which they ſtoutly refuſed to do, and at laſt were condemned to the fire; ſeven of them had their tongues cut out, and ſo all of them were burnt together, their wives being compelled to ſtand by to ſee torments: Many others were ſcourged and baniſhed.

Anno 1546. There was one Peter Chapot, who having been a while at Geneva, out of a zeal to do good to the church of Chriſt, carried divers Bibles into France, and diſperſed them amongſt the faithful; at laſt he was apprehended and carried to Paris; there he readily rendered an account of his faith, exhorting the judges to do their office uprightly. Three doctors of Sorbonne were appointed to diſpute with him, but he made them all to go away aſhamed: Then was he condemned to be burnt. At the ſtake, one of the doctor's preſſed him ſorely to pray to our lady; which he refuſed, crying only, 'O Jeſus, Son of David, have mercy on me.' The doctor bade him ſay only Jeſus Maria, and he ſhould not be burnt alive, but he for a while refuſed, yet at laſt through his importunity, he ſaid Jeſus Maria; but preſently checking himſelf, he ſaid, 'O God what have I done? Pardon me, O Lord, for againſt thee only have I ſinned.' And ſo he was preſently ſtrangled, and then burnt: But upon the complaint of the doctor, the court made a decree, 'That all which were to be burnt, unleſs they recanted at the ſtake, ſhould have their tongues cut out;' which was diligently afterwards obſerved.

There was living at Meaux, a lame cripple, to whom God was pleaſed to reveal his truth; and after a time he was apprehended, and examined, at which time he confeſſed more than they deſired to hear. Then did they aſk him, 'Whether he would ſtand to that which he had ſaid?' To whom he anſwered, 'And I aſk you again, Dare you be ſo bold as to deny that which is ſo plain and evident in the holy ſcriptures?' Being adviſed to take care of his life, he ſaid to the judges; 'For God's ſake take care of your own lives and ſouls, and conſider how much innocent blood you ſpil daily in fighting againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and his goſpel.' At laſt he was carried to Paris, where he endured many ſorts of torments, and laſtly was burnt.

At Fera, one Stephen Polliot was apprehended, carried to Paris, and there caſt into a foul and dark dungeon where he lay long in bonds and fetters. At laſt he was brought forth and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and to be burnt with his ſachel of books hanging about his neck, which was accordingly executed.

Anno 1547. There was one John Engliſh condemned by the court of Paris, for confeſſing the truths of God; and ſo ſent to Sens in Burgundy, where he was burnt.

Alſo Michelote, being apprehended for profeſſing the goſpel, was put to his choice, either to recant and be beheaded, or to perſevere and be burnt. He anſwered, 'That he truſted, that he which had given him grace not to deny the truth, would alſo give him patience to abide the fire:' And ſo he was burnt.

Another being betrayed by falſe brethren, was burnt at Bar in Burgundy.

Five men and two women were condemned to the fire at Langres, for adhering to the truth; one of the women being the youngeſt, was reſerved to be burnt laſt; and in the mean time ſhe much encouraged them all, ſaying, 'This day we ſhall be married to the Lord Jeſus, to live with him for ever.' And ſo they all quiety ſlept in the Lord. Four others about the ſame time were condemned, and cruelly burnt at Paris for the ſame cauſe.

Anno 1548. There was one Blondel, a merchant of precious ſtones, that frequented may great fairs in France; and was well known, both in court and country. He was a man of ſingular integrity, and a favourer of God's word, who being at an inn in Lions, he freely reproved the filthy talk and ſuperſtitious behaviour which he there heard and ſaw: Hereupon the hoſt complained of him to an officer; withal, informing him of his rich coller of jewels; theſe two ſuborned one to borrow money of him, which becauſe Blondel refuſed to lend, the fellow cauſed him to be apprehended for hereſie, thinking thereby to attach his goods; but Blondel's friends prevented it, privily conveying them away.

Blondel being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confeſſion of it; whereupon he was ſent to priſon, in which he did much good amongſt the priſoners, paying the debts of ſome and ſo looſing them, feeding others, cloathing others, &c. At length through the importunity of his parents and friends, he changed his confeſſion; yet was he ſent to the high court at Paris, where being examined again concerning his faith, he adhered to his firſt confeſſion, much bewailing his former fall: then was he condemned to be burnt, and great haſte was made for his execution, leſt his friends at court ſhould ſave his life.

Anno 1549. One Hubert, a young man of nineteen years old, was ſo conſtant in the faith, that neither the perſuaſions of his parents, nor the threats of his adverſaries could remove him from his ſtedfaſtneſs, for which he was burned at Dyion.

The ſame year there was a godly miniſter, called Florent Venote, caſt into priſon at Paris, where he lay above four years, in which time there was no kind of torment, which he did not endure and overcome: amongſt others he was put into ſo narrow a place, that he could neither ſtand nor lie, in which he remained ſeven weeks, whereas there was never any malefactor that could endure it fifteen days, but he either grew mad or died. At laſt when a great ſhew was made at the king's coming into the city, and divers other martyrs in ſundry places of it were put to death; Florent alſo having his tongue cut out, was brought forth to ſee their execution, and laſtly was himſelf burnt.

About the ſame time one Anne Audebert, as ſhe was going to Geneva, was apprehended and brought to Paris, where ſhe was adjudged to be ſent to Orleans and burned there; when ſhe was had forth to execution, a rope being put about her, ſhe called it her wedding girdle, wherewith ſhe ſhould be married to Chriſt; and being to be burned on a ſaturday, ſhe ſaid, 'On a ſaturday I was firſt married, and on a ſaturday I ſhall be married again;' She much rejoiced when ſhe was put into a dung-cart, and ſhewed ſuch patience and conſtancy in the fire, as made all the Spectators to wonder at it.

Not long after the coronation of Henry the ſecond, king of France, at whoſe coming into the city of Paris divers godly martyrs were burned, there was a poor tailor, that dwelt not far from the King's Palace, apprehended for working

working upon an holy-day: being by the officer aſked why he wrought upon that day? He anſwered, That he was a poor man living only upon his labour, and that he knew no day but the ſabbath wherein he might not work, his neceſſity requiring it; then was he clapt up in priſon. This being noiſed in the court, ſome would needs have the taylor ſent for, that the king might have the hearing of him: then was the taylor brought thither, and the king ſitting in his chair of ſtate, commanded the biſhop of Maſcon to queſtion him. The taylor being nothing amated at the king's preſence, after he had done reverence to his prince, gave thanks to God for honouring him ſo greatly, being ſuch a wretch, as to bring him where he might bear witneſs to his truth before ſo great a prince: the biſhop queſtioned with him about the greateſt matters of religion, and he with an undaunted ſpirit ſo anſwered for the ſincere truth, and with ſuch pregnant proofs of ſcripture, as was wonderful. And though the nobles that were preſent jeered and taunted at him, yet could they not daſh him out of countenance, but that ſtill with much liberty and freedom of ſpeech he defended the truth of Chriſt, neither flattering their perſons, nor fearing their threats. The king ſeeming to muſe much within himſelf, that ſo mean and ſimple a perſon ſhould ſhew ſuch audacity in ſuch a preſence, the biſhip and popiſh lords taking notice of it, cried out that he was an obſtinate and impudent heretick, and therefore remanded him back to priſon; and within a few days after he was condemned to be burnt alive. And leſt the king ſhould be affected with what he heard from the taylor, the biſhops often ſuggeſted that the Lutherans were ſuch as carried a vain ſmock in their mouths, which being put to the fire would ſoon vaniſh. They alſo would needs have the king preſent at his execution: but it pleaſed God to give ſuch ſtrength and courage to the taylor at his execution, as much more aſtoniſhed the king than all his former carriages: for having eſpied the king in a window where he ſat, he beheld him with ſo ſtedfaſt a countenance, that his eyes were never off him; yea, when the fire was kindled about him, he ſtill kept his eyes ſo fixed upon the king, that the king was conſtrained to leave the window, and to withdraw himſelf, and was ſo wrought upon thereby, that he confeſſed that he thought the ſhadow of the taylor followed him whitherſoever he went, and for many nights after, he was ſo terrified with the apparition thereof, that he proteſted with an oath, that he would never ſee nor hear any more of theſe Lutherans, though afterwards he brake his oath, as it follows in the ſtory of Anne du Bourg.

About the ſame time one Claudius, a godly man was apprehended as he came from Geneva, and burned at Orleans.

Anno 1551. One Thomas, a young man of about eighteen years old, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked one for ſwearing, whereupon he was apprehended for a Lutheran, and carried before the high court; by them he was committed to priſon, and cruelly racked to confeſs his companions, which he ſtill refuſed to do, whereupon they continued to rack him, till one of the bloody inquiſitors turned his back and wept, and till the hangman was a weary: then was he carried to be burned, and was let down by a pully into the fire; and after a while, being pulled up again, they aſked him if he would yet turn? to whom he ſaid, 'That he was in his way to God, and therefore he deſired them to let him go, and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

Anno 1553. There was apprehended at Lyons one Peter Bergerius, who for his bold and conſtant confeſſion was caſt into priſon, and put into a dungeon, where was a thief that had lain there ſeven or eight months, who being in great pain and torment, cryed out of God, and curſed his parents that begat him, being almoſt eaten up with lice, and fed with ſuch bread as dogs and horſes had refuſed to eat: But it pleaſed Almighty God of his goodneſs, through the inſtructions and prayers of Bergerius, that he was converted and brought to the knowledge of the truth, after which, the very next day, his lice which before extremely abounded, ſo went away, that he had not one remaining: and God ſo ſtirred up the hearts of good men, that he was fed plentifully, and that with wheat bread, ſo that with much patience and joyfulneſs he bore his impriſonment, and had great comfort afterwards in his ſoul.

About the ſame time three godly men were apprehended at Lyons, and being condemned for the truth; when they were to be led forth to execution, two of them had ropes put about their necks: the third, having ſerved the king in the wars, was favoured to have none; whereupon he ſaid to the lieutenant, 'That he alſo deſired to have one of thoſe precious chains about his neck in honour of his Lord;' the which being granted, they all went ſinging to the fire, where, with much patience, they yielded up their ſpirits unto God.

Not long after in the ſame place was apprehended one Matthew Dimont, who formerly had lived a moſt wicked life, full of all filthineſs and abominations; he had been alſo a ſearcher out of the profeſſors of the goſpel, and a great perſecutor of them; yet at laſt it pleaſed God to ſhew him mercy, and he was converted to the knowledge of the truth: after which, being apprehended and examined, he made a ſtout profeſſion of his faith; and during his impriſonment he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own fleſh but eſpecially with the temptations of his parents, kindred, and friends; yet the Lord did ſo ſtrengthen him, that he endured conſtant to the end: at his burning he ſpake much to the people, and was hearkened to with great attention.

Simon Laloe coming upon ſome occaſions from Geneva into France, was apprehended by the Bailiff of Dyon, by whom he was impriſoned and racked to force him to confeſs what fellows he had: But that not prevailing, he was condemned to be burnt. At his death the executioner, ſeeing his great faith, patience, and conſtancy, was ſo wrought upon thereby, that he fell into great terrors of conſcience, ſo that he was near to utter deſpair, and all the promiſes of the goſpel could ſcarce comfort him; yet at laſt, through God's mercy, receiving comfort, he with all his family removed to the church of Geneva, where he afterwards lived till his death.

Nicholas Naile, carrying ſome good books to Paris, was there apprehended and made a bold confeſſion of the faith, for which he was cruelly tormented ſundry wiſe, and racked all his joints aſunder, and laſtly being condemned, when he was carried to the ſtake, they put a gag into his mouth, which they tied in ſo hard with a rope about his head, that blood guſhed out of his mouth: They alſo beſmeared all his body with oyl and brimſtone, ſo that at the firſt taking of fire, all his ſkin was ſhrivelled together, whilſt his inward parts were untouched. The cord being burnt in ſunder, and the gag falling out of his mouth, he praiſed God in the midſt of the fire, till he yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

Peter Serre was at firſt a prieſt, but God of his mercy revealing his truth to him, he went to Geneva, and there learned the ſhoemaker craft, whereby he maintained himſelf: And having a brother at Tholouſe, out of a ſingular love to his ſoul, he went thither to inſtruct him. His brothers wife being not well pleaſed herewith, revealed it to one of her goſſips, who informed the official againſt him: Hereupon he was apprehended and carried before the inquiſitor, to whom he made an excellent declaration of his faith, and ſo was delivered to the judge. Who aſked him of what occupation he was? He ſaid, 'That of late he was a ſhoemaker;' Then did the judge aſk him of what occupation he had formerly been? He ſaid, 'He had been of another formerly, but he was aſhamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worſt and vileſt ſcience of all others in the world:' The judge and people ſuppoſing that he had been ſome cutpurſe or thief, were more importunate to know what it was; But ſhame and ſorrow ſo ſtopped his mouth, that he could not declare it. At laſt thro' their importunate clamor, he told them he had been a popiſh prieſt: This ſo incenſed the judge, that he preſently condemned him to be degraded, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burnt; which was accordingly executed. In the fire he ſtood ſo quiet, looking up ſtedfaſtly to heaven at the time of his burning, as if he felt no pain at all, which cauſed wonderful admiration in the people; and one of the parliament ſaid, 'That it was not the beſt way to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for it would do more hurt than good.'

Anno 1554. There were two godly men, with one of their ſons and a daughter going towards Geneva, whom a lieutenant overtaking by the way, like a Judas, he inſinuated himſelf into their company, pretended great favour to them and to that religion, which he ſaid, he ſuppoſed them to be of: And ſo with fair words he circumvented them, and drew out of them that they were Proteſtants, and their wives at Geneva, whither they were now travelling: Then did he apprehend them, and carry them to the caſtle of Niverne. During their impriſonment, they were examined of many articles, to which they made a full and clear anſwer according to their faith: After this they were racked extreamly for three hours together to force them to recant, which they bore with admirable patience: Being therefore condemned, as they went to execution, the officer, bound a wooden croſs between their hands, but they pulled it out with their teeth, and threw it away, whereupon their tongues were cut out, notwithſtanding which God gave them utterance, ſo that they ſpake plain, ſaying, 'We bid ſin, the fleſh, the world, and the devil farewel for ever, with whom we ſhall never have more to do hereafter,' and much more to the like purpoſe. When the officer came to beſmear them with brimſtone and gunpowder, they ſaid, 'Go to, ſalt on, ſalt on the ſtinking and rotten fleſh; and ſo perſiſting conſtant in the flames, they finiſhed their martyrdom.

Anno 1557. Philbert Hamlin, a prieſt, was thro' God's grace brought to the knowlege of the truth, whereupon he went to Geneva, where he exerciſed the art of printing, and ſent books abroad. Afterwards he was made a miniſter, and preached at the town of Alenart, in which and in ſome others places he did much good: At laſt he with his hoſt, a prieſt, whom he had inſtructed in the knowlege of the goſpel, where apprehended and caſt into priſon, at Bourdeaux; and whilſt they lay there, in came a prieſt with his furniture to ſay maſs: But Philbert, inflamed with a holy zeal, went and plucked the garments from his back, and overthrew the chalice and candleſticks, ſaying, 'Is it not enough for you to blaſpheme God in the churches, but you muſt alſo pollute the priſon with your idolatry? The jailor ſeeing this, fell upon him, and beat him with his ſtaff, and alſo removed him into a dungeon, loading him with irons which made his legs to ſwell: There he lay eight days. The prieſt his hoſt, terrified with the priſon and fear of death, renounced Chriſt and his word, and was ſet at liberty; whereupon Philbert ſaid to him, 'O unhappy and more than miſerable man! Is it poſſible that you ſhould be ſo fooliſh, as for to ſave your life a few days, you ſhould ſo ſtart away from and deny the truth? Know you therefore, that altho' hereby you have avoided the corporal fire, yet your life ſhall be never the longer; For you ſhall die before me, and yet ſhall not have the honour to die for the cauſe of God; and you ſhall be an example to all apoſtates.' Having ended his ſpeech, and the prieſt going out of priſon, he was preſently ſlain by two gentlemen, who formerly had a quarrel to him. Philbert hearing of it, profeſſed that he knew of no ſuch thing before, but ſpake as it pleaſed God to guide his tongue. Philbert being condemned, and had to execution, they laboured to drown his voice by ſounding of trumpets, and ſo in the midſt of the flames, praying and exhorting the people, he rendred up his ſoul unto God.

Anno 1558. Nicholas of Joanvile, a young man that had lived at Geneva, coming into France to get up ſome money that was owing to him, was betrayed by a lady, apprehended and condemned, and being carried in a cart to execution, his father met him and would have beaten him with a ſtaff, but the officers not ſuffering it, were about to have ſtricken the old man; the ſon ſeeing it, cryed to them to let his father alone, ſaying, That he had power over him to do to him what he would. At the place of execution he had an iron ball put into his mouth; and ſo he patiently took his martyrdom in Joanvile.

About the ſame time a company of the faithful of about three or four hundred were met together at an houſe in Paris, in the beginning of the night, to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper: Some prieſts getting intelligence of it, gathered many of that faction together, and came, and beſet the houſe, making an outcry that the watch might come and apprehend them, ſo that in a ſhort time moſt of the city of Paris was up in arms, ſuppoſing that there had been ſome conſpiracy. The people following the noiſe, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, they grew into a great rage, ſeeking to murder them, and thereupon ſtopped the ſtreets and lanes with carts, and made fires that none might eſcape them; but through God's mercy, before this tumult began, the faithful had finiſhed their adminiſtration and prayers, with as much quiet as ever they had done. And now ſeeing this ſudden danger, they were ſomewhat amazed; whereupon the paſtors of the congregation exhorted them, and fell to prayer: After which, conſidering the cowardlineſs of the multitude, it was reſolved that ſuch as had weapons ſhould adventure through the preſs; which being put in practice, the admirable power of God appeared, in that notwithſtanding the fires, and ſtopping of the paſſages, yet they all eſcaped ſafe, only was one beaten down with ſtones, and ſlain; The reſt, which wanted weapons, being about one hundred and twenty, ſtayed in the houſe with the women and children, ſome of which leaped into gardens, where they remained till the magiſtrates came: The women, which were all perſons of good quality, ſave ſix or ſeven, perceiving their danger by reaſon of the fury of the people, went up into the windows, ſhewed their innocency, and deſired that they might be tried in an ordinary way of juſtice; yet there they were incloſed by the rabble for ſix or ſeven hours; At laſt came the kings attorney with many ſerjeants and officers, who with much ado appeaſing the people, entred into the houſe, and their ſeeing the quality of the perſons, and their innocency the attorney much pitied them, yet carried them to priſon in the little caſtle: But as they went, the furious multitude plucked and haled the gentlewomen, tore their garments, pulled their hoods from their heads, and all beſmeared their faces with duſt and dirt.

In priſon they were uſed no better; for the villains and thieves being let out of their holes, and ſtinking caves, theſe lambs of Chriſt were put into their rooms. Then followed the cruel and ſlanderous reports of the fryars, who in their ſermons railed upon them, told the people that they were aſſembled to make a banquet in the night, after which, putting out the candles, they went together Jack with Jill, after a filthy and beaſtly manner: They charged them alſo with ſedition, as if they conſpired againſt the king, &c. And theſe curſed defamations were no ſooner vented, but they were ſpread abroad far and wide, yea in the court itſelf, and the cardinal of Lorraine procured a certain judge to come to the king, who teſtified that he found in the houſe divers couches, upon which they intended to commit their whoredoms and adulteries, which much enflamed the king againſt them.

Theſe things made the enemies to triumph exceedingly, and on the contrary, the brethren which eſcaped, were full of perplexity, and lamentations, ſorrowing not ſo much for themſelves, as for the impriſonment of their friends; yet they much comforted themſelves in the conſideration of their own wonderful deliverance. They upon debate alſo reſolved, Firſt, 'That all of them ſhould humble themſelves before God in their own families. Secondly, That they might ſtop the falſe rumors, to write two apologies, one to the king, and another to the people. Thirdly To write conſolatory letters to their friends in priſon.'

The apology to the king was written and conveyed privily into his chamber, where it was met with and read openly before the king and his nobles; yet this prevailed little, for their adverſaries ſuggeſted to him that all was falſe, and a pretence to hide their wickedneſs: But that to the people did very much good, and ſo did their conſolatory letter to their friends in priſon.

The adverſaries all this while did beſtir themſelves to bring them that were in priſon to execution, and procured a commiſſion from the king to certain judges to haſten their trial. But it fell out by God's providence, that at this time the Proteſtant princes of Germany were met at a colloquy at Worms, to whom divers learned men reſorted from Geneva, requeſting them to ſend their ambaſſadors to the French king, in the behalf of theſe poor Chriſtians thus impriſoned: By whoſe mediation, and the king's other buſineſs, who was now in war with the king of Spain,

Spain, many of them were delivered, yet ſome of them were executed before the coming of the ambaſſadors.

Among them were Nicholas Clivet, and one Granvelle, both of them elders of the congregation, who ſtoutly defended the truth againſt the Sorbonne doctors, afterwards patiently reſigned up their ſouls to God in the cruel flames. Alſo a young gentlewoman of about twenty three years old, which came from Gaſcoigne to join herſelf to the church at Paris, was brought forth with the former, and endured many conflicts with the judges and Sorboniſts; who when ſhe was urged to recant, ſaid, 'That ſhe had learned her faith from the word of God, and therefore therein ſhe would live and die: Her neighbours teſtified againſt her that there was much ſinging of pſalms in her houſe, and that ſometimes they had ſeen abudance of people come out of it, and that at the death of her huſband no prieſt was called for, *&c.* But preſently after, two of theſe witneſſes fell out, and one ſlew the other with a knife.

The cardinal of Sens much haſtened this gentlewoman's death, that he might have her eſtate. When ſhe was condemned, ſhe had her tongue cut, as the two former were ſerved. Going to execution, ſhe dreſſed herſelf like a bride, being that day to be married to her ſpouſe Jeſus Chriſt; ſhe went to the fire without ever changing countenance, and ſo quietly yielded up her ſpirit to God.

Divers others of this congregation ſuffered in the like ſort, the reſt, at the mediation of the prince elector Palatine, and the Proteſtant Switzers were releaſed.

In other parts of France alſo ſundry faithful Chriſtians were impriſoned, cruelly racked, had their tongues cut out, and finally were burnt, concerning whom becauſe I find nothing extraordinary, I have forborn to mention them.

Anno 1559. The king of France, Henry the II. coming into the parliament in Paris, there was one Anne du Bourg, a noble counſellor, a man of ſingular underſtanding and knowlege, bred and nurſed up in the boſom of the church of Chriſt, who made a bold ſpeech before him, wherein he rendered thanks to almighty God, for moving the king's heart to be preſent at the deciſion of ſo weighty a cauſe as that of religion was, humbly intreating him to conſider well thereof, being the cauſe of Chriſt himſelf, which of good right ought to be maintained by princes, *&c.* But the king, inſtead of hearkening to his good advice, was ſo far incenſed againſt him, that he cauſed him to be apprehended by the count of Montgomery, conſtable of France, and to be carried to the priſon, proteſting to him in theſe words, 'Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt;' and preſently after he ſent a commiſſion to the judges to make his proceſs.

During his impriſonment there was a godly woman, who was priſoner alſo in a chamber juſt over againſt his, who at her window, ſometimes by words, other ſometimes by ſigns, did much encourage him to perſevere conſtantly in the truth, whereby he was ſo comforted, that when ſome of his friends perſuaded him to recant, he ſaid, God forbid, 'For a woman hath taught me my leſſon, how I ought to carry myſelf in this buſineſs;' He was often examined about ſundry points of religion, and being once aſked whether he had conferred with any one about them, he anſwered, 'That he had conferred with his books, eſpecially with the holy ſcriptures'.

Having drawn up a confeſſion of his faith, he intended to preſent it to the parliament: But ſome advocates that belonged to that court, who pretended a great love to him, laboured to draw him to make another confeſſion, not contrary to the truth, but in ſuch ambiguous terms as might ſatisfy his judges, who would not ſtand ſtrictly to examine it; Du Bourg long reſiſted, but at laſt was prevailed with to draw up ſuch a confeſſion, ſuppoſing it ſufficient that himſelf knew his own meaning: So ſoon as this his confeſſion came into the hands of his judges, great hopes were conceived of his enlargement; but when the Chriſtian congregation had gotten a copy of it, they were much grieved; whereupon they ordered maſter Auguſtine Marlorate, a learned and godly miniſter, to write a large diſcourſe concerning the duty of ſuch as were called to bear witneſs to the truth of God before magiſtrates, wherein he ſet down God's threatnings and judgments againſt ſuch, as either directly or indirectly deny the truth, exhorting him more highly to prize the glory of God than his own liberty; the truth of his goſpel than a ſhort and tranſitory life, ſhewing that he ought not now to give over, having made ſo happy a beginning and progreſs in his Chriſtian courſe: that the fame of his conſtancy was ſpread, not only through France, but all Chriſtendom over: That he had been a means to confirm many weak ones, and cauſed others to enquire after the means of ſalvation: That all mens eyes were fixed on him to enquire by what means he gat out of priſon, ſo that, if through fear and faint-heartedneſs, he ſhould enterpriſe ought that ſhould contradict his firſt profeſſion, he would give much ſcandal and offence, and therefore he exhorted him to give glory to God, to edify his church; telling him, that then he might aſſure himſelf, that God would neither leave nor forſake him.

Theſe letters brought Du Bourg to a ſight of his ſin, for which aſking pardon of God, without any further delay he wrote to the judges, retracting his laſt, and proteſting to ſtand to his firſt confeſſion; ſo that ſhortly after he was condemned.

In the mean time great feaſts were preparing in the court, for joy of the marriages that ſhould be of the king's daughter and ſiſter: The day whereof being come, the king employed all the morning in examining the preſident, and other counſellors of the parliament againſt Du Bourg, and other his companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine, intending to glut his eyes in ſeeing their execution, and then went to dinner.

After dinner the king being one of the defendants at the tilting, which was near the priſon where Du Bourg and his fellows lay, entered the liſts, and behaved himſelf valiantly, breaking many ſpears againſt count Montgomery and others, whereupon he was highly commended of the ſpectators, and all thinking that he had done enough, deſired him to give over with praiſe: but he being puffed up with their commendations, would needs run another courſe with Montgomery, who kneeling on his knees craved pardon, refuſing to run againſt him; the king being eagerly ſet on, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and put the ſpear into his hands; Montgomery thus enforced, addreſſed himſelf to the courſe, and the king and he meeting together, brake their ſpears, and the king's helmet falling down at the ſame inſtant, one of the ſplinters of Montgomerie's ſpear entered juſt into his right eye, and ſo pierced his head that the brains were periſhed; which wound, deſpiſing all means of cure, killed him within eleven days, whereby his hope of ſeeing Du Bourg burnt was fruſtrated, and thereupon Du Bourg his execution was deferred for ſix months longer: at the end whereof, he having conſtantly perſevered in the confeſſion of his faith, was firſt degraded, and the next day carried out to execution: the judges appointed ſix or ſeven hundred horſe and foot well armed, to guard him; he was firſt hanged, and then his body was burnt to aſhes.

Preſently after, divers others were burnt in Paris, and in many other places for their religion; many alſo were maſſacred as they paſſed along the ſtreets for not doing reverence to the images, which were then newly ſet up in the corner of every ſtreet; ſuch alſo as refuſed to contribute money to buy wax candles to burn before them, it coſt them their lives. Notwithſtanding which cruelties, thoſe of the religion increaſed daily, both in zeal and number in all parts of the realm.

This much incenſed the duke de Guiſe in his government of Dauphine, whereupon he ſent Mangiron, a cruel man, and a great enemy to the Proteſtants, with charge wholly to root them out; This Mangiron firſt played his part very ſubtilly; but at laſt he fell upon Valence, ſacking the houſes of the Proteſtants, as if he had taken the town by aſſault; and the more to ſtrengthen him in his miſchief, he had many troops of horſe, and ſome lanciers ſent him: Truchon alſo, preſident of Grenoble, caſt ſixty of the chieſeſt of the Proteſtants into priſon at Valence, whilſt Mangiron pillaged thoſe of Montelimart, to whom he had promiſed and ſworn to do no wrong.

Truchon cauſed two miniſters at Valence to be beheaded, and three of the principal citizens to be hanged; the

laſt

reſt he puniſhed with great fines, whippings, and baniſhments.

At Roan he hanged two men, whipt one, and afterwards ſent him to the gallies.

Anno 1559. In Provence, a godly gentleman was traiterouſly maſſacred for his profeſſion of religion.

Thoſe of the religion, ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of all human aid, reſolved in all their dangers inſtead of ſeeking to man for help, to pray to God, to hear his word, to continue in true obedience unto it, living in great love and concord one with another, whereby abundance of papiſts were ſo edified, that by whole troops they left the maſs, and made open profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion.

Anno 1561. There happened a great mutiny in the city of Paris, raiſed by ſome prieſts, which rang a bell while thoſe of the religion were hearing a ſermon: From which proceeded wounds, murders, and impriſonments; four of the Proteſtants were hanged to pleaſe the people, and the reſt paid a fine.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Perſecution in the time of the Civil Wars.

ANNO 1562. The duke de Guiſe paſſing towards Paris, and coming near to Vaſſy, underſtanding that the bell rang to a ſermon, which was to be preached in a barn, in which place there were aſſembled about twelve hundred men, women, and children, he preſently went with all his troops to the barn, and entring it, they cried out, 'Death of God, kill, kill theſe Hugunots;' Then did ſome of them ſhoot at thoſe which were in the galleries, others had their head cleft in twain, others had their arms and hands cut off, ſo that the walls and galleries of the barn were dyed with the blood of the ſlain: The duke with his ſword drawn, ſtood amongſt them, charging his men to kill without ſparing, eſpecially the young men: Some of theſe godly perſons getting upon the roof, hid themſelves there; but at length ſome of this bloody crew ſpying them, ſhot at them with long pieces, whereby many of them were ſlain, falling down from the roof like pigeons. Then they fell to murdering of them all without diſtinction; the poor ſaints of God made no reſiſtance, only praying unto God; and every one running to ſave himſelf, as it pleaſed God to direct him, many men and women were ſlain; others being ſore wounded, eſcaped, which died ſhortly after; the poor man's box was taken and emptied. The miniſter in the beginning of the maſſacre ceaſed not to preach ſtill, till one diſcharged his piece againſt the pulpit: Then falling upon his knees, he intreated the Lord to have mercy upon him, and upon his poor perſecuted flock; and ſo coming down from the pulpit, attempted to eſcape, but by the way he received divers wounds, whereupon finding himſelf as he thought mortally hurt, he cried, 'Lord, into thy hand I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of truth;' yet before he was ſlain, ſome took him and carried him before the duke, who ſaid to him, 'Who made thee ſo bold thus to ſeduce the people?' Sir, ſaid the miniſter, 'I am no ſeducer, but have faithfully preached the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt to them.' Then did the duke curſe and ſwear, ſaying, 'Death of god, doth the goſpel teach ſedition?' And calling the provoſt, he ſaid, 'Take this Varlet and hang him upon a gibbet;' Then was the miniſter delivered to two pages, who baſely abuſed him: The popiſh women alſo threw dirt at him, and could ſcarce be reſtrained from tearing him to pieces. He was kept cloſe priſoner, none being ſuffered to bring him neceſſaries; and he was oft threatned to be ſown up in a ſack and drowned; yet at laſt, through God's mercy, he was releaſed, at the earneſt requeſt of the prince of Portion. The pulpit was broken down, the ſlain ſtript ſtark naked, and ſo the duke departed with his bloody troops, ſounding his trumpets as if he had obtained a great victory.

When he came to Paris, he with the conſtable and Marſhal of ſaint Andrews, ſeized upon the king, defaced and overthrew the places where they of the religion uſed to aſſemble, which ſo encouraged the popiſh party, that in every place they ſo abuſed thoſe of the religion, as the moſt cruel barbarians would have been aſhamed to do the like. This cauſed a civil war, wherein the duke of Guiſe, having taken Roan, ſacked it for three days ſpace, and executed many of the citizens.

Not long after he went to Orleans, boaſting that within twenty four hours he would win the town; and neither ſpare man, woman, nor child in it, and that he would ſo deſtroy the town that the memory of it ſhould be extinct for ever; but man purpoſes, and God diſpoſes; for the ſame night there was a young gentleman named John Poltrot, who watching his opportunity, ſhot him with his piſtol laden with three bullets, whereof he ſhortly after died; and Poltrot declared at his death, that he did it to deliver France, and eſpecially the city of Orleance from the violence of the duke of Guiſe; after whoſe death peace was ſhortly after concluded between the queen-mother and the Proteſtants.

But before this peace took place, thoſe of the religion ſuffered much in ſundry parts of the realm.

In Paris they were perſecuted cruelly, the popiſh people being wholly ſet upon blood, and the parliament there ſparing neither great nor ſmall that fell into their hands, either of that city, or ſuch as were brought thither upon appeal, or ſummons.

At Senlis many godly Chriſtians ſuffered much, ſome were beheaded, ſome murdered in a popular tumult, ſome were whipt, ſome impriſoned, ſome fined, and others ſent to the gallies, not ſparing the ſimple women. Yet through God's mercy, ſome eſcaped, amongſt whom was one John Gardens and his wife, who lived with his wife and child in the fields, at length determined to go back into the city, caſting themſelves upon God's providence; but when they came into the ſuburbs, they met ſome who bade the ſoldiers to put them to the ſword. The woman kneeling down, begged of the ſoldiers, that if they muſt needs die, they would kill her child firſt, ſaying, that ſo ſhe ſhould die with the more comfort; which ſpeech of hers ſo wrought upon the ſoldiers, that they ſpared all their lives.

In Chalons there was a godly miniſter, called Fournier, apprehended and ſpoiled of all that he had: they ſtripped him alſo of his apparel, inſtead whereof they put on a threadbare cloak, and ſo carried him away in a cart, by reaſon of an hurt he had gotten in one of his feet: by the way, they did nothing but jeer and ſcoff at him, and every moment he was in danger of his life; the rude people alſo had almoſt pulled him in pieces; but it pleaſed God that he was preſerved by thoſe who had deſigned him to death. When he came to Munchon he was caſt into priſon, and after a while there came a captain to him with many ſoldiers, who mixing mocks and threatnings together, ſware that within three hours he ſhould be hewn in pieces. After them came in ſome of the judges, commanding the jailor to load him with irons, ſaying to him, 'You are no better I am ſure than St. Peter, whom they laid in irons: but if you have as much faith as he, God will then deliver you as he did him, by ſending an angel to you. I will not, ſaid Fournier, compare myſelf with ſaint Peter; yet it is not twelve years ago, ſince for preaching the ſame doctrine that Peter did, I was impriſoned at Thouloufe, and there was admirably delivered. And though Peter was delivered out of priſon, yet in the end he glorified God by his death; and if I ſhould be counted worthy with him to ſuffer for the truth, may it not be ſaid that I have the like precious faith with ſaint Peter?' When they were gone, the jailor forbore putting bolts upon him, becauſe of his ſore leg, yet did he put him into a ſtraiter priſon.

Afterwards the duke of Guiſe being made governor in that place, he was put to the torture, where firſt they ſtrained his thumbs ſo hard with a ſmall cord, that blood came forth: then turning his arms behind his back, they hoiſted him up with a rope put betweem his thumbs, twitching him up and letting him down five or ſix times: they tied alſo great ſtones to both his great toes, and letting him hang till his ſpirits failed; then they let him fall with ſuch violence upon his face, that he was grievouſly hurt thereby. Then was he thrown into priſon, and they would not ſuffer him to have a chirurgion to cure him of the

the gaſhes which the cords had made in his fleſh even to the bare bones: ſo that his torment and anguiſh was very great, neither could he lift his hands to his mouth, which he was likely to loſe the uſe of. But it ſo fell out by God's providence, that after he was condemned, news coming of the duke of Guiſe his death, his enemies began to tremble, and ſome of his judges coming to him in priſon, aſked him, 'If he did not bear them ill will? He anſwered, That men of his profeſſion and religion ought not to bear malice to any, being enjoined by God to love and pray for thoſe that perſecute them; Shewing alſo, That whatſoever troubles had befallen him, were none other but ſuch as God had foreordained for the ſetting forth of his own glory, for which he eſteemed himſelf moſt happy; yet he warned them to lay to heart the wrong that they had done him, leſt the vengeance of God did ſooner or later overtake them for it.' The next day Bulſi, one of his perſecutors, having received letters from the conſtable of France to releaſe him, ſwore that he ſhould be delivered indeed, but into the hands of the multitude.

But it pleaſed God that juſt at that time there came by, the prince of Portion with his German ſoldiers, which were for the Proteſtants, who ſent word that they would not leave ſo much as a houſe ſtanding except they would deliver Fournier; this ſo affrighted his enemies that they releaſed him out of priſon, protected him from the violence of the multitude, and conveyed him in ſafety to the prince: There he was kindly welcomed and entertained, all grieving for the miſeries which he had endured, and two days after he preached before the prince and his followers; and the day after at the inſtant requeſt of the proteſtants of Virty, he went to them to preach and baptize their children, and ſhortly after was called to Ver, where he gathered a congregation, and ſpent ſome time amongſt them with wonderful fruit; but by reaſon that he was ſo extreamly weakned by his ſtrait impriſonment and tortures, (being above fifty years old,) he ſoon after finiſhed his courſe, and quietly reſigned up his ſoul unto God.

At Amiens, all Bibles, New Teſtaments, and pſalm books were ſought for and openly burnt, as alſo the miniſter's pulpit. Then did the Guiſians proceed to killing ſome of the Proteſtants, and caſting them into the river; ſome they ſhot to death, and others they hanged.

At Abbeville they ſlew the lord of Haucort, with divers others; one Beliart they dragged along the ſtreets with his face downwards, and then drowned him in the river.

At Meaux the Proteſtants were the ſtronger party, and therefore continued the free exerciſe of their religion for a while: But the parliament of Paris gave judgment againſt them, and expoſed them to the ſpoil of ſuch as would undertake it: Then a company of ſoldiers entring the town, diſarmed the citizens, and ſlew about four hundred of the religion. Then Monſieur de Boiſy entring with more ſoldiers committed a thouſand villanies; women and maids were raviſhed in the open market-place and ſtreets; ſome were beaten and hailed to maſs, children were re-baptized: others married again; houſes were pillaged and plundered: Some that fled into the fields died with hunger and cold. Many men, women and children, were maſſacred and drowned; infants were daſhed againſt the walls, and ſome others were hanged. The executioners running into divers places, committed a world of miſchief; and divers prieſts amongſt them ſlew ſome of the Proteſtants with their own hands.

At Troys, Bibles and divinity books were rent and torn in pieces; they of the religion were murdered, and their houſes ſacked; eighteen men were hanged; women were dragged through the ſtreets, and caſt into the river; and infants were pulled from their mother's breaſts, and re-baptized.

At bar the popiſh enemies entring the town, committed ſuch cruelties as never were ſeen, eſpecially againſt women and little children; ſome of their breaſts they cut open, pulled out their hearts and gnawed them with their teeth, rejoicing that they had taſted of an Huguenot's heart: A young counſellor they hanged at the requeſt of his own father; with moſt horrible blaſphemies they raviſhed women and girls.

Mounſieur de St. Eſteem, with his two brothers, were cruelly ſtabbed by their own couſin-german, their wives were ſpoiled of all they had, and led away priſoners.

The peaſants in ſome places committed infinite murders and miſchiefs againſt thoſe of the religion; Monſieur de Vigney with his wife and ſervants they maſſacred in his own houſe, which afterward they pillaged and ſpoiled.

In Crant, the peaſants entring the town, murdered many; one young child together with his father they burnt.

In Sens one hundred Proteſtants were cruelly murdered, and their naked bodies thrown into the river; one hundred houſes were plundered, the church where they preached was defaced.

At Auxerre one Coſſon was barbarouſly maſſacred; a fair young gentlewoman was ſtabbed and caſt into the river; many other outrages and robberies were committed.

At Nevers the miniſters were caſt into priſon, whereof one periſhed miſerably there; another miraculouſly eſcaped; children were re-baptized, marriages reiterated, and many houſes plundred.

The popiſh party entring Chaſtillon, left no kind of cruelty unexerciſed, neither upon women nor children, old nor young; yea not ſparing the women with child that were ready to be delivered.

At Guyen they uſed all the cruelty that poſſibly could be invented; and ſome Italians, in hatred of their religion, cut an infant in two pieces, and eat his liver.

At Montangis, there lived the lady Rene, dutches dowager of Ferrara, and daughter to king Lewis the XII. the duke of Guiſe ſent thither one Malicorn, a knight of the order, who entring the town, murdered ſome of the religion, and committed other outrages; then he proceeded ſo far as to threaten the lady to batter her caſtle with cannon-ſhot, if ſhe would not deliver up thoſe of the religion which were with her; to whom the princeſs bravely anſwered, 'I charge you, look what you enterprize; for no man in the realm can command me but the king only; and if you proceed to your battery, I will ſtand in the breach, to try whether you dare kill the daughter of a king; neither do I want means or power to be revenged on your boldneſs, even to the infants of your rebellious race.' This ſtout anſwer made Malicorn to pull in his horns and depart.

At Monlius, Monſieur de Montare uſed all extremity againſt the Proteſtants; and without any form of law he hanged up two artifice's, drave others out, and plundered their houſes, and murdered many.

At Mans two hundred perſons were put to death, men, women, and children: The houſes of the Proteſtants were pillaged; ſuch as were fled, were executed by their pictures, their goods confiſcated, and their children made uncapable of their offices and eſtates, yea of inheriting their lands. Some they beheaded; others they hung up; others they maſſacred, and being half dead, threw them into the river: Above an hundred and twenty men, women, and children were murdered in the neighbouring villages. One captain threw above fifty perſons in his fiſhpond to feed his pikes, and above as many more were thrown into ditches.

One godly man, a weaver, had his throat cut, and his mouth ſtuffed with the leaves of a New Teſtament which they found about him.

At Angers, they murdered a godly miniſter, caſt many into priſon, robbed the houſes of others, and ſlew ſuch as they found therein: In a merchant's houſe, finding many books of the holy ſcriptures, they openly burnt them in the middle of the town: One fair guilt Bible they hung upon an halberd, and carried it in proceſſion, ſaying, 'Behold truth hanged, the truth of the Huguenots, the truth of all the devils: Behold the mighty God, behold the everlaſting God will ſpeak;' and when they came to the bridge, they threw it into the river, crying louder, 'Behold the truth of all the devils drowned.'

Above eighty other perſons were executed. An aged gentlewoman of the age of ſeventy years was beaten to death with their piſtols; then drawn through the dirty ſtreets, and thrown into the river, terming her, 'The mother of the devil, that preached to the Huguenots.' A counſellor's wife that lay bed-rid was murdered; women and maids were raviſhed: Two young maids were raviſhed before their father's face, who was forced to look on

the while: All that were but ſuſpected to be of the religion, were maſſacred, and their houſes pillaged. A valiant captain, contrary to their faith given to him, they broke upon a croſs, and ſo they left him hanging in great miſery till he died.

Anno 1562. A decree was made by the parliament of Paris, commanding all catholics preſently to riſe in arms, to ſound the bells in every place, to deſtroy all thoſe of the religion without reſpect of quality, ſex, or age, to ſpoil their houſes, and utterly to root them out. This encouraged all ſorts of raſcals to riſe up in arms, forſaking their vocations, and to march againſt the Proteſtants.

In Ligueul they hanged up ſome, put out the miniſter's eyes, and then burnt him in a ſmall fire: In other places they committed infinite villanies; one young man they flayed alive; the village of Aze they burnt down and maſſacred thirty perſons therein. A godly miniſter was drowned, called John de Tour, at ſeventy five years old.

At Tours, one hundred and forty were murdered and caſt into the river; divers others were drowned, ſparing neither man, woman, nor child. The preſident being ſuſpected to favour them of the religion, was beaten with ſtaves, ſtript to his ſhirt, hanged up by one foot, his head in the water up to the breaſt, and whilſt he was yet living, they ript up his belly, pluckt out his guts, and threw them into the river; and ſticking up his heart upon the point of a lance, they carried it about, ſaying, 'It was the heart of the preſident of the Hugunots.

Shortly after came thither the duke de Monpenſier, who cauſed gibbets, wheels and ſtakes to be ſet up, whereupon many more, eſpecially of the richer ſort, were murdered to the number of ſome hundreds; when they put any man or woman to death, they entred their houſes, murdered their children, and took all their goods.

A poor woman, whoſe huſband was a little before drowned, having a young infant ſucking at her breaſts, and a beautiful daughter of about ſixteen years old in her hand; theſe bloody villains drew them to the river: There the woman on her knees prayed ardently unto God: Then took her infant, and ſhifting it in the ſun, laid it upon the graſs: In the mean while this helliſh rabble endeavoured, partly by threats, partly by fair promiſes to ſeduce the young maid; and one of them finer than the reſt, promiſed to marry her if ſhe would do it, ſo that the poor wench ſtood in a diſmay, which her mother perceiving, who was now ready to be thrown into the river, ſhe earneſtly exhorted her daughter to perſiſt in the truth; the daughter hereupon cried out, 'I will live and die with my mother, whom I know to be a virtuous woman; as for your threats and promiſes I regard them not, do with me what you pleaſe.' The mother was not yet dead when they threw in the daughter after, where making towards her mother, they mutually embraced each other, and ſo yielded up their ſouls into the hands of God.

Alſo in the ſame city there was a godly matron, called Glee, who was carried before the captain, where ſhe gave a reaſon of her faith, and confirmed it by evident teſtimonies of ſcripture: ſhe diſputed alſo with ſome fryars, whom ſhe ſo ſilenced that they had nothing to ſay, but *that ſhe was in a damnable condition.* 'It ſeems ſo indeed, ſaith ſhe, being in your hands; but I have a God that will not fail nor forſake me, &c.' Then was ſhe committed to priſon, where ſhe was much ſolicited to recant, but all in vain; for ſhe ſpake her mind freely, and comforted the priſoners which were in the ſame priſon for religion. News being brought her that ſhe was condemned to be hanged, when the rope was put about her neck, ſhe kneeled down, praiſing and magnifying the name of God, in that he ſhewed her ſuch mercy, as by this death to deliver her out of the troubles of this wretched world, as alſo for that it pleaſed the Lord to honour her ſo far as to die for his truth, and to wear his livery, meaning the halter; then ſhe brake her faſt with the reſt of the company, and giving thanks to God, ſhe exhorted them to be of good courage, and to truſt to the end in his free mercy, &c. As ſhe went to execution, a kinſwoman met her with her little children, perſuading her to recant, telling her that thereby ſhe might preſerve her life, and ſee thoſe her babes provided for; this meeting wrought ſo upon her motherly affection, as made her ſhed plenty of tears: but preſently taking new courage, ſhe ſaid, 'I love my children dearly, yet neither for love to them, nor for any thing elſe in the world, will I renounce my God or his truth. God will be a father to theſe my children, and will provide better for them than I could have done, and therefore to his providence and protection I commend and leave them.' At the place of execution having prayed to, and praiſed God with a chearful heart and voice, ſhe quietly reſigned up her ſpirit unto God.

The duke de Aumale in Normandy, took Pontea de Mer by ſubtilty, where he uſed all kinds of cruelty, eſpecially againſt the miniſter, maſter Brione; ſhortly after, Roan was beſieged, and two forts taken, wherein they put all to the ſword, the queen-mother in an impudent manner leading the king, who was but twelve years old, to ſhew him the naked bodies of the women weltring in their own blood; after divers aſſaults the city of Roan was taken, wherein the king's ſoldiers uſed all kind of monſtrous cruelty, maſſacring all they met: many Engliſh and Scots ſoldiers were hanged; the ſick and wounded were caſt into the river: divers miniſters were retreated into a ſtrong tower, which they yielded upon promiſe of ſafety, but contrary thereunto they were caſt into priſon; Auguſtine Marlorat, with three counſellers were condemned to be hanged, which was preſently executed, with many opprobrious ſpeeches againſt Marlorat; the ſackage of this town laſted four months together, in which ſpace divers were executed.

In Valougnes divers perſons of good quality were maſſacred, and the houſes of the proteſtants were filled with ſoldiers that did what they liſted therein. Amongſt other outrages they ſlew a godly miniſter, called Monſieur de Valougnes, whoſe body they ſtripped naked, dragged it up and down his houſe with many ſcorns and jeers; at laſt bringing it into the chamber where he uſed to preach to his people, they ſpurned his corps, ſaying, 'Now pray to God, and preach if thou canſt;' the prieſts that were preſent ſtuffed his mouth and wounds with the leaves of his bible ſaying to him, 'Preach the truth of thy God, and call upon him now to help thee.'

In Vire as they came from a ſermon, ſome were ſlain, ſome ſtoned, and a while after many were put to the ſword.

In and about Agen, Monluc killed and maſſacred many, two young children were roaſted.

In the caſtle of Reime, Monluc uſed great cruelty againſt thoſe of the religion, ſparing none, but murdering young children in their mothers arms, and then killing the mothers: Some other women they reſerved for their luſt, which they ſo abuſed, that (ſaith mine author) I abhor to write it. Above five hundred men were hanged upon gibbets, amongſt whom was a grave counſellor in his long gown and ſquare cap. One poor man they cut and mangled in ſeveral parts of his body, filling all his wounds with ſalt.

In the city of Blois there was a godly woman called Nichola, at whoſe houſe ſome holy people uſed to meet to pray, and confer together for their mutual edification and comfort. The murderers hearing of it, came ruſhing in, thinking to have found a miniſter preaching, but being diſappointed in their expectations, they dragged theſe good women out by the hair of the head, loaded them with many ſtripes, and then threw them into the river: but behold a ſingular providence! God ſo endowed them with ſtrength and ſkill, that they ſwam ſafely to the iſland: yet after a while ſome watermen finding them there, they ſtript them ſtark naked, and threw them again into the river, yet they ſtill ſought to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, and coming at laſt to the ſuburbs of Vienne, they were there moſt cruelly knocked on the head by the bloody papiſts. Monluc having defeated a party of the proteſtants under Monſieur Duras, he took divers priſoners, moſt of which he hanged, eſpecially the miniſters. Amongſt the priſoners was a captain called La-mothe, whom Monluc meeting with, gave him divers ſtabs with a dagger, and thruſt him through with a rapier, ſaying, 'Villain, thou ſhalt die in deſpite of God: but he proved a liar; for the man being carried away, though he had many mortal wounds, yet he was wonderfully cured, and lived after.

In

In Guillac, the murders committed upon the Proteſtants were many and horrible; and amongſt others this was one of their practices; there was by the city, the abbey of St. Michael, built upon a very high rock, under which ran a ſwift and deep river called Tar. Many of the Proteſtants they forced to go up to the top of this rock, whom they threw headlong down into the river; by the way there was another rock, upon which moſt of the bodies falling, were daſhed and broken all to pieces, and if any eſcaped with life into the river, they had their cuthroats waiting upon the river in boats to knock them on the head; amongſt others there was one Peter Domo, an apothecaries ſervant, who ſeeing them bent to murder him, requeſted that he might have leave to caſt himſelf down from the top of the abbey, provided that if God ſhould preſerve him in the fall, they would ſuffer him to eſcape with life: This they promiſed; whereupon having made his prayers to God, he fetched his leap from the top of the abbey, and flew ſo far, that miſſing the rocks under him, he fell ſafely into the river, and endeavoured to ſwim out with life; but theſe perfidious villains, contrary to their promiſe made, knocked him on the head and ſlew him.

In Souraize, there was one captain Durre, who with his ſoldiers going into the houſe of a godly widow, called Caſtille Roques, he cauſed her to be bound with cords, and a rope to be put about her neck, by which he hailed her up and down, almoſt ſtrangling her; then he aſked her, how often ſhe had played the whore with thoſe of her religion? She anſwered, 'That in their Chriſtian meetings they had no ſuch villanies committed. Durre fretting and fuming at this anſwer, took her by both the cheeks, and often daſhed her head with ſuch violence againſt the wall, that he had almoſt beaten out her brains; then he required her to give him the ſeven hundred pieces of gold which ſhe had hidden; ſhe told him that ſhe was a poor woman, and had only one French penny: This more enraged him; whereupon he drew her again about by the neck, and applied burning hot eggs to her arm-pits, till they were all bliſtered, bidding her in deriſion, to cry to her Father which was in heaven. She anſwered, 'I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet my God can hear me well enough, and when his pleaſure is, he will deliver me out of thy hand.' This made him ſo to blaſpheme, that the poor woman was more afflicted to hear his blaſphemies than with all her pain. Then did he call her Huguenote whore, telling her that theſe were but the beginnings of her ſorrows, except ſhe fetched him out her gold, which if ſhe refuſed, he would draw her cheeks and breaſts with lard, and ſo roaſt her quick, and afterwards throw her headlong from the higheſt ſteeple in the town. Well, ſaid ſhe, 'If you throw my body never ſo low, that ſhall not hinder my ſoul from aſcending into heaven:' This her courage and conſtancy did ſtill further enrage him; then did he open her mouth with his dagger, and crammed lime down her throat; after which he made her drink a glaſs of urine which himſelf had made before her, withal throwing the glaſs with the remainder into her face. After this he carried her to his quarters, where with ſtrange cruelties he intended to have ſlain her: But ſome of the neighbours pitying her ſad condition, redeemed her from him with ten crowns, and coveyed her to her houſe, where ſhortly after ſhe finiſhed her days.

Some other of theſe hell hounds, meeting with one Peter Roch, conſtrained him to dig his own grave, and then to try how it fitted him; which whilſt he was doing, they buried him alive.

In ſaint Marſans in Caſtillon, they took the wife of one Andrew Renaud, ſtripped her naked, and would have violated her chaſtity, which ſhe reſiſting, they whipt her moſt cruelly, wounded her with their ſwords, crowned her with thorns, and laſtly ſhot her to death.

They took alſo one Janetta Calvin, whom they carried into the city of Brignole, ſtripped her, whipt her cruelly, crowned her with thorns, and firſt ſtoned, and afterwards burnt her.

In Mont de Marſin, ſix of the principal men had their heads ſtricken off, others were executed divers ways: One was buried quick; and a young woman being purſued to be raviſhed, threw herſelf out of a window and died.

In Tholouſe the Papiſts fell upon the Proteſtants, hurt many, killed ſome outright, divers they threw into a well: Then did ſome counſellors proclaim, that they ſhould not ſpare to kill and ſpoil all them of the religion, for that they were licenſed by the king and pope. This ſoon ran thro' all the villages, and the papiſt's rang their bells; in Tholouſe were about thirty thouſand Proteſtants, ſo that there began one of the moſt horrible maſſacres that was in thoſe parts The priſons were preſently filled, and many were knocked on the head at the priſon doors becauſe they could hold no more: The river in a ſhort ſpace was covered with dead bodies; many were thrown into the ſtreets out at the windows: If any ſought to eſcape out of the water, they were preſently ſlain with ſwords or ſtones.

Some of the Proteſtants gat into the town-houſe, where they ſtood upon their guard, and at laſt it was agreed, that leaving their arms, they ſhould depart in ſafety; and ſo after they had received the ſacrament, commended themſelves to God with prayers and tears, they came forth; but contrary to the faith and promiſe made to them, the popiſh party ſeized upon as many as they could, whom they caſt into priſon; of ſuch as gat out of the city, ſome eſcaped to Montaubon, others in the way were ſpoiled and killed by the ſoldiers and peaſants.

At Carcaſſon thoſe of the religion being gone out of the town to hear a ſermon, when they returned, the gates were ſhut, and the papiſts ſhot at them, who afterwards iſſuing out againſt them, ſlew ſome, and hurt others: One they beat down, cutting off his noſe and ears, and pulling out his eyes; ſome they took priſoners, whom they hanged; one they beheaded, and put others to great ranſoms. One they took, blacked his face, hands and feet, and gave it out that he had a devil within him, then hanged him, and threw his body to the dogs; others they baniſhed, or condemned to the gallies.

In Limoux the papiſts uſed all manner of cruelty, deflouring women and very girls in a moſt deteſtable manner, the miniſter was ſlain, two gentlemen, and ſixty others were hanged. A widow of great account redeemed the virginity of her only daughter with a great ſum of money; but the villain that promiſed to defend her, raviſhed her in her mother's preſence, and then killed them both. Yea, after peace was proclaimed, fourteen, of the religion coming thither were all ſlain.

In Nonnay, Monſieur Chaumont having ſurpriſed the town, murdered many Proteſtants, ſpitting out infinite and horrible blaſphemies againſt God himſelf: A locksmith being commanded to do deſpite and blaſpheme God, becauſe he refuſed to do it, was preſently hewn in pieces; for the ſame cauſe another was brained with the butt end of a muſket. A naylor, becauſe he would not give himſelf to the devil, was drawn about his ſhop by the ears; then being laid on his anvil, they beat his head in pieces with hammers; yea all manner of cruelty was uſed that could be deviſed. Three of the principal in the town were thrown down from an high tower; many others were thrown down to make ſport: Some were burnt in their houſes, others thrown out at windows; others ſtabbed in the ſtreets: Women and maids were moſt ſhamefully handled. A young woman that was found hid in an houſe with her huſband, was firſt raviſhed before her huſband's face, then forced to hold a rapier; wherewith one thruſting her arm, made her kill her own huſband.

In Foix, many Proteſtants were caſt into priſon, of whom ſome had their arms and legs cut off, and then were beheaded; ſome burnt, ſome hanged, and others ſent to the gallies.

In Aurange they killed the Proteſtants without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality: Some they ſtabbed, others they threw upon the points of halberds; ſome they hanged, others they burnt in the churches; of ſome they cut off their privy members, ſparing neither old nor bed rid, nor the diſeaſed in the hoſpitals. Women and maids were killed, others hanged out at windows were killed by harquebuſhes, ſucking children maſſacred at their mother's breaſts; girls of five or ſix years old raviſhed and ſpoiled; the wounds of the dead were filled with leaves torn out of Bibles, thoſe in the caſtle yielding upon oath and promiſe of ſafety, were all ſtabbed, or thrown over the walls, being one hundred and ninety of them.

In

In Grenoble, they ſlew many of the religion, and others they caſt from the bridge into the river.

In Ciſterno, the men that were of the religion being fled, the popiſh party fell upon the women and children, whereof they ſlew three or four hundred: Some women with child were ript up, many were buried quick; ſome had their throats cut like ſheep; others were drawn thro' the ſtreets, and beaten to death with clubs.

In Beaune, they were bereaved of the exerciſe of religion, there were three miniſters impriſoned; many were driven out of the town to the number of eight hundred perſons, with women and children: Their houſes were filled with ſoldiers who made ſpoil of all; ſuch as were found in their houſes, were vilely abuſed, and ſome were ſlain.

In Maſcon the bloody perſecutors having apprehended a godly and learned miniſter called Bonnet Bor, who was of a very unblameable life, having ſerved twenty years in the miniſtry, and in that time had been put to his ranſom three times. They carried him along the ſtreets with a thouſand ſcoffs and ſcorns, ſmiting him with their fiſts, thruſting him up and down, and then made a proclamation, 'That whoſoever would hear this holy man preach, ſhould come to the ſlaughter houſe:' At which place, they again buffeted and mocked him two hours together. Hereupon he requeſted them, that before his death they would permit him to pray to God; then one ſtepping to him, cut off half his noſe, and one of his ears, ſaying, 'Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then we will ſend thee to all the devils.' And ſo this holy man kneeling down, prayed with ſuch fervency of ſpirit, that drew ſighs from ſome of the murderers: And afterwards directing his ſpeech to him that had cut off his noſe, he ſaid, 'Friend, I am now ready to ſuffer what thou haſt further to inflict upon me: But I intreat thee and thy companions to bethink you well of the outrages committed by you againſt this poor city; for there is a God in heaven, before whoſe tribunal you muſt ſhortly give an account of theſe your cruelties' A captain paſſing by, cried, 'Send that wretched man to the devil:' Which one of them hearing, took him by the hand, pretending to have him to the river to waſh off his blood; but when he came thither, he threw him into it, battering him with ſtones till he was drowned.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Hiſtory of the Maſſacre at Paris.

ANNO 1571. After the end of the third civil war in France, great means was uſed to draw the chief of the Proteſtants to Paris, under pretence of a marriage between the prince of Navar, and the lady Margaret, ſiſter to the king of France. But in the mean time, the papiſts in Roan murdered divers Proteſtants, as they came from a ſermon, and grievouſly beat others: This ſeemed much to diſpleaſe the king, and three or four were executed for the mutiny. Then were the articles of marriage agreed upon; the place for it, Paris, and the admiral ſent to by the king, to be preſent at the wedding; and to prevent all jealouſies, thoſe of the houſe of Guiſe were ſent away; whereat they ſeemed much diſcontented. The admiral was allowed to bring with him fifty gentlemen armed for his greater ſecurity. When he came to Paris, he was honourably received and conducted to the king, who called him his father, proteſting, That in all his life he had not ſeen any day more agreeable to his mind than that; wherein he aſſured himſelf to ſee the end of all troubles, and the beginning of firm peace and quietneſs in his realm. The queen-mother, and the reſt of the great courtiers, received him with greater favour than he expected. Then did the king ſend him one hundred thouſand franks out of his treaſury, for the loſſes which he had received in the wars, &c.

The admiral had divers advertiſements of the intended treachery; yet God ſo blinded him at that time, though a very prudent man, that he gave little heed to them. Yea, ſuch a general ſtupidity ſeized upon the Proteſtants, that their minds were very wavering, and few there were that ſhewed themſelves zealouſly bent to religion: But all, both great and ſmall, thinking deeply upon worldly matters, built them goodly caſtles in the air.

Then was the queen of Navar ſent for by the king of France to Paris, to prepare all things againſt the wedding: But preſently after her coming, ſhe fell ſick of a fever, made her will in a moſt Chriſtian manner, had much inward joy and comfort, and at five days end died, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from certain perfumes given to her: And after her death, the ſurgeons were not ſuffered to open her head, where the miſchief lay, whereby it was the better concealed.

The admiral was again advertiſed of his danger; but he, reſting upon the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and the providence of God, miſ-interpreted thoſe advices, as if they proceeded from men deſirous of new troubles. Many lords and gentlemen of the religion accompanied the king of Navar, and the prince of Conde to Paris.

The king of France, the better to delude the Proteſtants, ſpake openly, That he gave not his ſiſter to the king of Navar only, but, as it were, to the whole church of the Proteſtants to join with them in an indiſſoluble union, and as a tie to their peace and ſafety.

Auguſt 17. *Anno* 1572. The king of Navar, and the lady Margaret were married by the cardinal of Burbon, upon a ſcaffold, in the ſight of all the people, and that day was ſpent in banquets, dances, maſks, with a ſtrange mixture of proteſtants and papiſts together: But in the mean time the queen-mother with her privadoes, as alſo the duke of Anjou, with the Guiſes, conſulted about killing the admiral, and dividing the proteſtants.

Five days after, as the admiral came from the court, accompanied with about fifteen gentlemen, reading a petition as he went, one ſhot at him with a caliver; the bullet taking away his right forefinger, hurt him in the left arm. He that ſhot had a Spaniſh jennet at the back-door of his lodging, upon which, he immediately mounted and eſcaped. The door being burſt open, it was found that the caliver left behind, was brought to the houſe, the day before, by one Chally, ſteward of the king's houſe, and a great dealer for the duke of Guiſe: The admiral being conveyed to his lodging, ſhewed moſt admirable piety, patience, and conſtancy.

The king complained of the miſchief, ſwearing, and promiſing to execute ſuch juſtice upon the offender, that the admiral, and all his friends, ſhould think themſelves well ſatisfied. He cauſed alſo all the gates of Paris to be ſhut, ſwearing and blaſpheming, that he would not that they which had done the fact ſhould eſcape: He alſo appointed many lords and gentlemen, of the proteſtants, to lodge in the admiral's quarter, the better, as he pretended, to ſecure themſelves againſt any danger.

After noon the king went to viſit the admiral, and there, with many oaths and proteſtations, aſſured him of his love to him, care over him and them of the religion, and that he would ſeverely puniſh the authors of his preſent hurt. Preſently after the vidame of Chartres (John de Ferriers) adviſed the king of Navar, the prince of Conde, the admiral, and other chief lords of the religion, preſently to depart out of Paris, aſſuring them, that that blow was but the beginning of the tragedy which was ſoon to enſue; but they truſting to the king's word, reſted ſecure.

That day alſo, the king wrote to the ambaſſadors of foreign princes, and to the governors of all his provinces; how much he was offended at the admiral's hurt, how ſeverely he would puniſh it, yea, he deſired, That all the world might know how much he was offended at it; and the queen mother wrote the like.

In the mean time, the dukes of Anjou and Guiſe, employed ſome to go from houſe to houſe to take the names of all the proteſtants, and to return the catalogue to them; ſo that preſently after, they of the religion began to diſcover, that ſome bloody intentions were hatching againſt the admiral and his friends. For the king ſet a guard of fifty harquebuſhiers at the admiral's gate. Great ſtore of arms were carried into the Louvre, and about evening all the people were in arms.

The chief of the proteſtants hereupon aſſembled again in the admiral's lodging, where the vidame of Chartres adviſed as before, that they ſhould eſſay preſently to carry

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the admiral out of Paris, and that the reſt ſhould preſently diſlodge; yet all refuſed this counſel, reſolving to rely upon the king's word, who had promiſed them juſtice.

In the evening ſome proteſtant gentlemen proffered to watch with the admiral, but he would not ſuffer them: At night the duke of Guiſe ſent for the captain of the Switzers, ſhewing him his commiſſion to kill the admiral, and all his partakers, exhorting him and his men to be courageous in ſhedding of blood. At midnight the provoſt, theriffs, and captains of every ward had the ſame ſhewed them, with aſſurance, That through the whole realm the like ſhould be done to all the proteſtants, and that the watch-word for the general ſhould be, the tolling of the bell in the palace to be rung at the break of day, and the badge of the executioner ſhould be a white handkerchief tied on their arms, and a white croſs in their hats; the duke of Guiſe, and his aſſociates, were to begin at the admiral's lodging. Some of the proteſtants being awakened with the noiſe in the ſtreets of men running up and down in arms, and with torches, gat up to enquire what was the matter; but preſently the bell rung, and the duke of Guiſe with his cut throats haſted to, and knocked at the admiral's gates: He that opened them was preſently ſtabbed; the admiral hearing the noiſe, got out of bed, and joined with his miniſter (maſter Merlin) in fervent prayer, commending his ſoul into the hands of God. Then ſaid he, 'It is long ſince I diſpoſed myſelf to die; ſave yourſelves if it be poſſible, for you cannot ſave my life. I commit my ſoul into the hands and mercy of God.' Then did Merlin his miniſter, and the reſt get up to the top of the houſe, and crept out of the windows into the gutters to hide themſelves; yet moſt of them were ſlain in the next houſe. Then ſeven or eight men brake into the admiral's chamber, and one of them went to him with his naked ſword, offering him the point, to whom he ſaid, 'Young man thou oughteſt to reſpect my age and infirmity, yet ſhalt thou not ſhorten my life.' With that he thruſt him into the body, and all the reſt laid at him; ſo that he fell to the ground, where he lay gaſping. The duke of Guiſe below, called to them to throw his body out at a window, which they did: His face being all bloody, the duke of Guiſe wiped it, and looking on it, ſaid, 'Now I know him it is he;' and ſo kicked him on the face with his foot, whom all the murderers in France feared ſo much when he was alive.

Then went he out into the ſtreets, crying, 'Courage my fellows, we have here made a good beginning, let us now fall upon the reſt, the king commands it: It is his expreſs pleaſure, he commands it.' The admiral's head was ſent to the king and queen mother, and by them ſent to the pope and cardinal of Lorrain as a grateful preſent. The pope when he heard the news, ſet apart a day of public thankſgiving to God, in the church of St. Lewis, and publiſhed a bull of extraordinary indulgences to ſuch as ſhould pray for the heavenly aſſiſtance to the king and kingdom of France. Strada. The common people cut off the admiral's hands and privy members, drawing his body about the ſtreets three days, and then hung it up by the feet upon the gallows.

All the attendants of the king of Navar and prince of Conde which lay in the king's palace were maſſacred; the like was done to the lords and gentlemen that lay about the admiral's lodging, and then through all the city were the proteſtants murdered, ſo that that night and the two next days there were ſlain in Paris about ten thouſand perſons of all ranks, ages, and ſexes, yea, they ſpared not children in the cradle, nor infants in their mothers wombs. But to colour this their villany, they gave it out, that the Hugunots had conſpired to kill the king; they boaſted alſo that they had in one day done that, which proceſſes, ſentences of juſtice, and open war could not do in twelve years.

The lords and gentlemen were moſt inhumanely murdered, ſome in their beds, others on the roofs of their houſes, and in all other places whereſoever they were found.

There were at this time in Paris about ſixty thouſand men with piſtols, pikes, curtelaces, poinards, knives, and ſuch other bloody inſtruments, that ran up and down ſwearing and blaſpheming the ſacred majeſty of God, cruelly maſſacring all that they met with: The ſtreets were covered with mangled bodies, gates and doors defiled with blood; ſhoutings and howlings of the murderers, mixed with the cries and groans of the dying; the breaking open of doors and windows, with the noiſe of guns and piſtols, all which made an helliſh noiſe; multitudes of dead bodies were thrown into the Seine, which was dyed red with their blood.

The king certified the king of Navar and the prince of Conde of all that was done, ſaying, 'That he ſaved their lives upon condition that they ſhould renounce their religion, and turn papiſts.' The king of Navar deſired him not to force his conſcience, but to remember the alliance ſo lately contracted betwixt them: The prince of Conde with more zeal told him, that his body and eſtate were in his power to do with them what he pleaſed; but for his religion he was fully purpoſed not to forſake it, but to remain conſtant therein to the loſs of his life; he put the king in mind alſo that he had given his faith to him, and to thoſe of the religion, and therefore he hoped he would not falſify his oath, &c. This ſo enraged the king that he called him rebel, and the ſon of a rebellious perſon, with horrible threatenings that he ſhould loſe his head, if within three days he altered not his mind.

The king and his confidents perceiving that this maſſacre would not quench the fire, but rather ſtir up the proteſtants in other parts of the kingdom to defend themſelves; they preſently diſpatched away letters to the governors of towns, with expreſs commands to maſſacre all the proteſtants: yet at the ſame time the king wrote other letters, wherein he laid the fault of the murder of the admiral upon the duke of Guiſe; pretending that he had quieted all things in Paris, and intended that his edicts of pacification ſhould hold inviolably.

Upon the receipt of the firſt letters, the papiſts fell upon the proteſtants at Meaux, Trois, Orleans, and other places, and murdered them without all pity, beſides ſuch as were maſſacred in villages and fields, where they thought to ſave themſelves ſo that in a few weeks there were above thirty thouſand perſons maſſacred in France. But beſides this general account, ſome particulars deſerve remembrance, which are theſe that follow.

Monſieur de la Place, preſident of the court of requeſts, had a captain armed that came into his houſe, telling him that the duke of Guiſe, had ſlain the admiral at the king's appointment, with many other Hugunots, and that he was come to protect him in that common deſtruction, only he deſired a ſight of the gold and ſilver that was in his houſe: The lord de la Place amazed at his audaciouſneſs aſked him whether he thought there was a king or no? The captain blaſpheming, willed him to go with him to know the king's pleaſure; hereupon the lord went from him to ſecure himſelf; then did the captain rifle his houſe, taking above one thouſand crowns out of it: The lord would have ſecured himſelf in three ſeveral houſes, all which refuſed to entertain him, which cauſed him to go back to his own houſe again, where he found his wife very heavy, whom he rebuked, diſcourſed to her of the promiſes, told her that we 'muſt through many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God,' &c. which much comforted her: Then calling his family together, he made an exhortatation to them, went to prayer, and began to read a chapter in Job, with Calvin's expoſition upon it. Then went he to prayer again, reſolving to ſuffer all torments or death, rather than to do any thing that might be diſhonourable to God: Then came the provoſt-Marſhal with many archers to his houſe, pretending to ſecure him, and ſafely to convey him to the king, who would ſpeak with him; De la Place told him that he was moſt willing to do it, but ſaw it impoſſible (in regard of the horrible maſſacres committed every where) without apparent danger of his life; in brief, preſently after came the provoſt of merchants, who would needs alſo have him to the king, yet he would have excuſed it as before, but the provoſt would have no nay, wherefore reſolving upon death, which he ſaw he could not avoid, he embraced his wife, wiſhing her above all things, to continue in the fear of God, and ſo went on his way boldly; but in the ſtreet ſome murderers that attended there for his coming, with their daggers ſtabbed him, and then pillaged him, carrying his body

into a ſtable, and covering his face over with dung, and the next day they threw him into to river.

Peter Ramus alſo, the king's profeſſor in logic was not forgotten; the murderers breaking into the college of prieſts where he was, maſſacred him; and then caſt him out of the chamber window, ſo that his bowels iſſued out on the ſtones: then was his body trailed through the ſtreets, and whipt by certain young ſcholars, who were ſet on by their popiſh tutors to do it.

A godly young man going early abroad on the ſabbath morning, and hearing of the death of the admiral, and ſeeing the inſurrection, out of a ſingular child-like affection to his mother, he haſted home, informed her of the danger, ſecured her in a place of great ſecrecy; after which he ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, by prayer to fit himſelf for death, into which the murderers breaking with battle-axes and ſtaves, ſo loaded him with blows on the head, that he received his blood into his own hands; and when they had killed him, they threw him into the river.

Two miniſters belonging to the king of Navar were alſo murdered, and thrown into the river: God miraculouſly preſerving all the other miniſters in the city.

A jeweller being in bed with his wife, who at that time had the midwife with her, being near the time of her delivery, theſe bloody villains came knocking at the door, and in the king's name demanded entrance; the woman as ill as ſhe was, opened the door, whereupon ruſhing in, they ſtabbed her huſband in his bed; the midwife ſeeing that they were bent to murder the woman alſo, earneſtly entreated them to tarry at leaſt ſo long till the infant (which would be the twentieth child that God had given her) was born; but notwithſtanding her requeſt, they took the woman, and thruſt a dagger into her fundament up to the hilts; the woman finding herſelf mortally wounded, yet deſirous to bring forth her fruit, fled into a corn loft, whither theſe tygers purſuing her, gave her another ſtob, into the belly, and ſo caſt her out of the window into the ſtreet, and upon the fall, the child came forth of her body, the head foremoſt, gaping and yawning in a pitiful manner.

One of theſe murderers ſnatching up a little child in his arms, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to ſmile upon him; but inſtead of being moved to compaſſion, this villain, whoſe heart was harder than the rocks, wounded it with his dagger, and caſt it all gore blood into the river.

The king's letters being come to Meaux upon the ſame ſabbath, to Coſſet the king's attorney there, upon the ſight of them, he preſently went about to his cut-throats, warning them to come to him armed at ſeven o'clock at night, withal cauſing the gates of the city to be ſhut up; the hour being come, he with his partiſans went up and down, cruelly murdering the innocent ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, in which bloody employment they ſpent all that night: the next day they pillaged their houſes, and took above two hundred proteſtants more, and ſhut them up in priſon; the day after towards evening, Coſſet with his companions went to the priſon, where having a catalogue of the priſoners names, Coſſet called them out one by one, and then they murdered them, till they were weary: then they went to ſupper, that ſo they might breathe and refreſh themſelves; and then filling themſelves with wine, they went back to glut themſelves with blood alſo: they took with them butchers axes, that they might diſpatch them the more eaſily, with which, as they called them forth, they knocked them down and murdered them. Amongſt thoſe that were thus butchered, was an elder of the reformed church, who praying for his enemies, they laughed him to ſcorn; and becauſe he had a buff-coat on, which they were loth to ſpoil, they opened it before, and ſtabbed him into the breaſt.

Another was an ancient man that had been ſheriff of the city, him they were not content to kill out-right, but firſt cut off his noſe, ears, and privy members; then they gave him ſeveral ſmall thruſts into the body, toſſing him up and down, till through loſs of blood he fell down, calling upon the name of the Lord: and ſo with many wounds he was ſlain.

The king's letters came to Troys, the proteſtants were all ſhut up in priſon: then did the bailiff ſend for the common hangman to murder them; but he refuſed, ſaying, 'That his office was only to execute ſuch as were legally condemned:' and ſo went his way. Then was the keeper of the priſon ſent for, who being ſick, he ſent one Martin to know what the buſineſs was, to whom the bailiff imparted the matter, wiſhing him to murder all the priſoners; and that their blood might not run out into the ſtreet, he bade him make a great trench in the midſt of the priſon, and to cauſe certain veſſels to be ſet into it to receive the blood. This Martin going back with abhorrency of the fact, concealed it from the jailor; the next day the bailiff came to the priſon, and ſmiling, aſked the the jailor, 'If it was done?' but he, being ignorant of his meaning, aſked him, 'What ſhould be done?' hereupon the bailiff was ſo enraged, that he was ready to ſtrike him with his dagger, till he promiſed to perform his will: then did the jailor go to the priſoners, who were in the court recreating themſelves, and ſhut them up one by one in their ſeveral cells; which made them ſuſpect that they were deſtinated to ſlaughter; and therefore they betook themſelves to prayer. The jailor called his companions about him, acquainted them what was given him in charge, and cauſed them to ſwear to execute it: but when they approached to the priſoners, they were ſo ſurpriſed with fear, that they ſtood gazing upon one another, having not hearts to act ſo horrid a deed. Whereupon they returned to the jailor's lodge, and ſent for eight quarts of the ſtrongeſt wine, with other things, to intoxicate their brains. Then they took a catalogue of all their priſoners, and gave it to one Martin to call them forth in order. The firſt priſoner being called for, preſented himſelf with a chearful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord; then opened his breaſt to them, receiving the mortal ſtroke, whereof he died.

Another being called forth, one of them thruſt at him ſeveral times with the point of his halbard, wounding, but not killing him: whereupon the priſoner took the point of the halbard, and ſet it againſt his heart, ſaying with a ſtedfaſt voice, 'Here ſoldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart;' and ſo finiſhed his life.

The reſt were all murdered in the like manner; after which, the murderers made a great pit in the backſide of the priſon, into which they caſt the bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing; yea, one of them raiſed up himſelf above his fellows, whereupon they threw in earth, and ſo ſmothered him. But the bailiffs order of making a trench being not obſerved, the blood of the ſlain ran ſo abundantly out of the priſon door, that thence, through the channel, it ran into the river, and turned it into the colour of blood, which bred an horror in the very papiſts themſelves which ſaw it.

At Orleans the king's edict for obſerving the treaty of peace was ſolemnly publiſhed, which made thoſe of the religion very ſecure, whereupon above three hundred of them, men, women, and children, met together at a ſermon; but the ſame night came the king's letters for the maſſacring of them all: then did the major and ſheriffs raiſe the companies in arms to put it in execution. One of theſe murderers, with ſome of his companions, went to a noble counſellor's houſe, bidding themſelves to ſupper: the counſellor ignorant of their intent, made them good cheer; but when ſupper was ended, with horrible blaſphemies they murdered him, and then plundered his houſe.

About the ramparts of the wall, inhabited many of the religion, amongſt whom, all night was heard nothing but ſhooting of guns and piſtols, breaking open of doors, fearful out-cries of men, women, and children, that were maſſacred, trampling of horſes, rumbling of carts, that carried the dead bodies away, and the cryings out of the murderers that went up and down, howling out, 'Kill, kill them all and then take the ſpoil.'

This maſſacre continued all the week long, the bloody beaſts crying out to theſe whom they murdered, 'Where is now your God? what is become of all your prayers and pſalms now? Let your God whom you called upon, ſave you if he can.' Others ſang in ſcorn to them the forty third pſalm, 'Judge and revenge my cauſe, O Lord. Others, 'Have mercy on me, O God, *&c.*' Yet notwithſtanding all theſe taunts, the faithful died couragiouſly. In this maſſacre the papiſts boaſted, that they had ſlain above twelve:

twelve thouſand men, beſides women and children: ſome of them ſaid eighteen thouſand.

On Tueſday night ſome of theſe murderers came and knocked at the door of a doctor of the civil law, and when he opened it to them, they told him, 'That he muſt die,' whereupon he fell to prayer with ſuch ardency and affection, that they being amazed and over-ruled by a divine power, only robbed him and went away. The next day came ſome ſcholars to his houſe, deſiring to ſee his library, which he ſhewed them; then they aſked, ſome one book, ſome another, which he gave them; yet they told they were not ſatisfied, but they muſt kill him. Whereupon betaking himſelf to prayer, when he was done, he deſired them to kill him there, which they refuſed, forcing him out into the ſtreets, leading him by the ſchools; and there he again deſired them to kill him in that place, where he had taught ſo long, but they ſtill refuſed: and when they had led him a little farther, they knocked him on the head.

Others meeting with an apothecary who had brought phyſic to a patient, cut off one of his arms, and then had him forth into the mercat-place, where they murdered him.

A cook that had hid himſelf three days, was at laſt through hunger forced to come forth, and ſo was ſlain.

And to fulfil the meaſure of their cruelty, ſuch proteſtants as through fear revolted to them, they placed them in the fore-front of their companies, putting weapons in their hands, compelling them to give the firſt onſet, crying, 'Smite them, ſmite them; are they not your holy brethren and ſiſters? And if any refuſed, they preſently ſlew him.

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The murderers went up and down the city boaſting that they had dyed their white doublets red in the blood of the Huguenots; one bragging that he had killed an hundred, and ſome more, and ſome leſs: when the people went into the arch biſhop's houſe, and ſaw the ſlaughter that had been made there, though they were papiſts, yet they ſaid, 'that ſurely they were not men, but devils in the habit of men that had done this.' The dead corps were carried out, and lay ſpread like dung upon the face of the earth, and when they were about to throw them into the river, an apothecary told them that much money might be made of their greaſe, whereupon all the fat bodies were ſought out, and ripped up, and their greaſe ſold for three ſhillings a pound; which being done after many jeers beſtowed upon the dead carcaſes, ſome were tumbled into a great pit, others thrown into the river. The countries which lay below upon the river, were amazed to ſee ſuch multitudes of dead bodies to come down the ſtream, ſome with their eyes pulled out, others their noſes, ears, and hands cut off; and ſtabbed into every part of their bodies, ſo that ſome had no part of human ſhape remaining.

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into a ſtable, and covering his face over with dung, and the next day they threw him into to river.

Peter Ramus alſo, the king's profeſſor in logic was not forgotten; the murderers breaking into the college of prieſts where he was, maſſacred him; and then caſt him out of the chamber window, ſo that his bowels iſſued out on the ſtones: then was his body trailed through the ſtreets, and whipt by certain young ſcholars, who were ſet on by their popiſh tutors to do it.

A godly young man going early abroad on the ſabbath morning, and hearing of the death of the admiral, and ſeeing the inſurrection, out of a ſingular child-like affection to his mother, he haſted home, informed her of the danger, ſecured her in a place of great ſecrecy; after which he ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, by prayer to fit himſelf for death, into which the murderers breaking with battle-axes and ſtaves, ſo loaded him with blows on the head, that he received his blood into his own hands; and when they had killed him, they threw him into the river.

Two miniſters belonging to the king of Navar were alſo murdered, and thrown into the river: God miraculouſly preſerving all the other miniſters in the city.

A jeweller being in bed with his wife, who at that time had the midwife with her, being near the time of her delivery, theſe bloody villains came knocking at the door, and in the king's name demanded entrance; the woman as ill as ſhe was, opened the door, whereupon ruſhing in, they ſtabbed her huſband in his bed; the midwife ſeeing that they were bent to murder the woman alſo, earneſtly entreated them to tarry at leaſt ſo long till the infant (which would be the twentieth child that God had given her) was born; but notwithſtanding her requeſt, they took the woman, and thruſt a dagger into her fundament up to the hilts; the woman finding herſelf mortally wounded, yet deſirous to bring forth her fruit, fled into a corn loft, whither theſe tygers purſuing her, gave her another ſtob, into the belly, and ſo caſt her out of the window into the ſtreet, and upon the fall, the child came forth of her body, the head foremoſt, gaping and yawning in a pitiful manner.

One of theſe murderers ſnatching up a little child in his arms, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to ſmile upon him; but inſtead of being moved to compaſſion, this villain, whoſe heart was harder than the rocks, wounded it with his dagger, and caſt it all gore blood into the river.

The king's letters being come to Meaux upon the ſame ſabbath, to Coſſet the king's attorney there, upon the ſight of them, he preſently went about to his cut throats, warning them to come to him armed at ſeven o'clock at night, withal cauſing the gates of the city to be ſhut up; the hour being come, he with his partiſans went up and down cruelly murdering the innocent ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, in which bloody employment they ſpent all that night: the next day they pillaged their houſes, and took above two hundred proteſtants more, and ſhut them up in priſon; the day after towards evening, Coſſet with his companions went to the priſon, where having a catalogue of the priſoners names, Coſſet called them out one by one, and then they murdered them, till they were weary: then they went to ſupper, that ſo they might breathe and refreſh themſelves; and then filling themſelves with wine, they went back to glut themſelves with blood alſo: they took with them butchers axes, that they might diſpatch them the more eaſily, with which, as they called them forth, they knocked them down and murdered them. Amongſt thoſe that were thus butchered, was an elder of the reformed church, who praying for his enemies, they laughed him to ſcorn; and becauſe he had a buff-coat on, which they were loth to ſpoil, they opened it before, and ſtabbed him into the breaſt.

Another was an ancient man that had been ſheriff of the city, him they were not content to kill out-right, but firſt cut off his noſe, ears, and privy members; then they gave him ſeveral ſmall thruſts into the body, toſſing him up and down, till through loſs of blood he fell down, calling upon the name of the Lord: and ſo with many wounds he was ſlain.

The king's letters came to Troys, the proteſtants were all ſhut up in priſon: then did the bailiff ſend for the common hangman to murder them; but he refuſed, ſaying, 'That his office was only to execute ſuch as were legally condemned:' and ſo went his way. Then was the keeper of the priſon ſent for, who being ſick, he ſent one Martin to know what the buſineſs was, to whom the bailiff imparted the matter, wiſhing him to murder all the priſoners; and that their blood might not run out into the ſtreet, he bade him make a great trench in the midſt of the priſon, and to cauſe certain veſſels to be ſet into it to receive the blood. This Martin going back with abhorrency of the fact, concealed it from the jailor; the next day the bailiff came to the priſon, and ſmiling, aſked the the jailor, 'If it was done?' but he, being ignorant of his meaning, aſked him, 'What ſhould be done?' hereupon the bailiff was ſo enraged, that he was ready to ſtrike him with his dagger, till he promiſed to perform his will: then did the jailor go to the priſoners, who were in the court recreating themſelves, and ſhut them up one by one in their ſeveral cells; which made them ſuſpect that they were deſtinated to ſlaughter; and therefore they betook themſelves to prayer. The jailor called his companions about him, acquainted them what was given him in charge, and cauſed them to ſwear to execute it: but when they approached to the priſoners, they were ſo ſurpriſed with fear, that they ſtood gazing upon one another, having not hearts to act ſo horrid a deed. Whereupon they returned to the jailor's lodge, and ſent for eight quarts of the ſtrongeſt wine, with other things, to intoxicate their brains. Then they took a catalogue of all their priſoners, and gave it to one Martin to call them forth in order. The firſt priſoner being called for, preſented himſelf with a chearful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord; then opened his breaſt to them, receiving the mortal ſtroke, whereof he died.

Another being called forth, one of them thruſt at him ſeveral times with the point of his halbard, wounding, but not killing him: whereupon the priſoner took the point of the halbard, and ſet it againſt his heart, ſaying with a ſtedfaſt voice, 'Here ſoldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart;' and ſo finiſhed his life.

The reſt were all murdered in the like manner; after which, the murderers made a great pit in the backſide of the priſon, into which they caſt the bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing; yea, one of them raiſed up himſelf above his fellows, whereupon they threw in earth, and ſo ſmothered him. But the bailiffs order of making a trench being not obſerved, the blood of the ſlain ran ſo abundantly out of the priſon door, that thence, through the channel, it ran into the river, and turned it into the colour of blood, which bred an horror in the very papiſts themſelves which ſaw it.

At Orleans the king's edict for obſerving the treaty of peace was ſolemnly publiſhed, which made thoſe of the religion very ſecure, whereupon above three hundred of them, men, women, and children, met together at a ſermon; but the ſame night came the king's letters for the maſſacring of them all: then did the major and ſheriffs raiſe the companies in arms to put it in execution. One of theſe murderers, with ſome of his companions, went to a noble counſellor's houſe, bidding themſelves to ſupper: the counſellor ignorant of their intent, made them good cheer; but when ſupper was ended, with horrible blaſphemies they murdered him, and then plundered his houſe.

About the ramparts of the wall, inhabited many of the religion, amongſt whom, all night was heard nothing but ſhooting of guns and piſtols, breaking open of doors, fearful out-cries of men, women, and children, that were maſſacred, trampling of horſes, rumbling of carts, that carried the dead bodies away, and the cryings out of the murderers that went up and down, howling out, 'Kill, kill them all and then take the ſpoil.'

This maſſacre continued all the week long, the bloody beaſts crying out to theſe whom they murdered, 'Where is now your God? what is become of all your prayers and pſalms now? Let your God whom you called upon, ſave you if he can.' Others ſang in ſcorn to them the forty third pſalm, 'Judge and revenge my cauſe, O Lord. Others, 'Have mercy on me, O God, *&c.*' Yet notwithſtanding all theſe taunts, the faithful died couragiouſly. In this maſſacre the papiſts boaſted, that they had ſlain above

twelve

twelve thouſand men, beſides women and children; ſome of them ſaid eighteen thouſand.

On Tueſday night ſome of theſe murderers came and knocked at the door of a doctor of the civil law, and when he opened it to them, they told him, 'That he muſt die,' whereupon he fell to prayer with ſuch ardency and affection, that they being amazed and over-ruled by a divine power, only robbed him and went away. The next day came ſome ſcholars to his houſe, deſiring to ſee his library, which he ſhewed them; then they aſked, ſome one book, ſome another, which he gave them; yet they told they were not ſatisfied, but they muſt kill him. Whereupon betaking himſelf to prayer, when he was done, he deſired them to kill him there, which they refuſed, forcing him out into the ſtreets, leading him by the ſchools; and there he again deſired them to kill him in that place, where he had taught ſo long, but they ſtill refuſed: and when they had led him a little farther, they knocked him on the head.

Others meeting with an apothecary who had brought phyſic to a patient, cut off one of his arms, and then had him forth into the mercat-place, where they murdered him.

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and butchers knives, were ſent to effect it, who calling them out one by one, murdered them all, not permitting them ſo much as to ſpeak, much leſs to pray. The number of the ſlain was above three hundred, who were all ſtript ſtark naked, and their bodies left to the common view of all for two days together: Then were they, thus naked, thrown into pits one upon another, only the counſellors were hung up in their long gowns upon an elm in the palace yard; all their houſes were alſo ſacked and plundered.

At Bourdeaux when the news of the maſſacre of Paris came thither, the proteſtants were taking boats to go into a meadow to hear a ſermon; but the governor ſent and ſtayed them, yet under pretence of ſecuring them againſt the multitude; then were the gates guarded that none might eſcape, yet it pleaſed God that the miniſters were conveyed away, who afterwards took ſhip and came into England.

There was a Jeſuite that daily preached in that City, to ſtir up the Governor and People to maſſacre the Proteſtants, propoſing the example of the Pariſians to them. The Governor could not well tell what to do, but the Lord of Monpeſſat aſſured him that it was the king's mind that they ſhould all be murdered, and that he could not do a more acceptable ſervice to him; whereupon he, gathering the ſcum of the citizens together, commanded them to kill all the Proteſtants without ſparing one, and to give them an example, himſelf went to the lord of Obier's houſe, and murdered him in his own court; Then did they murder a country miniſter alſo that was come thither for ſhelter, together with the reſt of the Proteſtants, and afterwards pillaged their houſes: An old man that was a deacon of the reformed church, being at this time ſick in bed, they dragged him forth into the ſtreets, aſking him whether he would go to maſs, to whom he anſwered; 'I hope I ſhall not ſo far forget the eternal ſalvation of my ſoul, as for fear of death to prolong my life for a few days; for thereby, I ſhould buy a ſhort time of life at too dear a rate;' whereupon they inſtantly murdered him. It was lamentable to ſee the poor Proteſtants wandring up and down, not knowing where to hide themſelves; ſome were rejected of their own parents and kinſfolk, who would not open their doors to them; others were betrayed by their friends, and delivered into the hands of their murderers; yet ſome were hidden by their very enemies, whoſe hearts abhorred ſuch deteſtable outrage.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Seige of Sancerre, Anno Chriſti 1573.

YET in the midſt of theſe maſſacres and dangers, God provided ſome Pella's [places of refuge] for his people; as Rochel, Montalbon, Niſmes, Sancerre, Privas, *&c.*

Anno 1573. Sancerre was beſieged by the lord of Chaſtre, with an army, who planting his cannons, played inceſſantly upon the town, ſo that the ſtones of the wall, the pavement in the ſtreets, and the ſhivers of timber flew about continually, yet the mighty power and providence of God herein appeared, that none within the city were ſlain, but only one maid that was ſlain with the breath of a cannon bullet; yet were the ſtocks of muſquets ſometimes broken in the hands and on the ſhoulders of the townſmen, and themſelves not hurt; yea ſome had their coats, breeches and hats ſhot thro', and their bodies not hurt; yea ſome ſtones that were beaten off the wall, flew violently between a miniſter's legs, and hurt him not. Many were the aſſults given him to this town, yet ſtill the aſſailants were beaten back with great loſs.

The ſiege continuing long, the townſmen began to be in want, ſo that they were forced to eat their horſes, aſſes, and moles, which food laſted but a month; then they did eat all the dogs, cats, rats, mice, and moles, that they could get; and thoſe alſo being ſpent, they lived upon hides of beaſts, calves and ſheep ſkins: Then did they eat parchment, horſes and beaſts hoofs, horns, lanthorns, halters, and furniture for horſes, girdles of leather, herbs and wild-roots; and theſe being all ſpent, and no bread left in the city, ſuch as could get lintſeed, or any other ſeed, ground it, or beat it in a morter, and made bread thereof, as alſo of herbs mixed with bran if they could get it: This being ſpent they did eat bread made of ſtraw meal, powder of nut-ſhells, yea of ſlates, ſuet, old ointments and other old greaſe ſerved to make pottage, and with it alſo they fryed the excrements of horſes and men, which they did eat, yea the filth in the ſtreets was not ſpared.

In this extremity a poor labourer and his wife were taken and executed for eating the head, intrails, and brains of their daughter of three years old, that died of famine; they had dreſſed alſo the reſt of her body to eat at other times; and that which aggravated their fault was, that it was proved that that day there was given to them a little pottage made with herbs and wine, which might have ſatisfied them in that neceſſity: Such as went forth of the walls to ſeek relief, were either ſlain by the enemy, or lived upon ſprigs of vines, black berries, red ſnails, and herbs. Amongſt other ſad and lamentable ſpectacles, one was of a labourer and his wife found dead amongſt the vines, and two of their children crying by them, the leſſer being but ſix weeks old, which a charitable widow took home to her houſe and ſuſtained: Many died in this famine, ſome in their houſes, others fell down in the ſtreets, and gave up the ghoſt, moſt of the children under twelve years old died: Lamentable it was to hear the poor fathers and mothers mourning and weeping to ſee their miſery, and yet they could not relieve them: Nevertheleſs moſt of them did wonderfully encourage themſelves with the aſſurance of the grace of God, whereof there is this notable example.

A boy of five years old, languiſhing divers weeks, ran along the ſtreets, till nature failing him, he fell down in the preſence of his father and mother, who wept and lamented over him; and feeling upon his arms and legs, they were as dry as a ſtick; whereupon the child ſaid; 'Why do you thus weep to ſee me die of hunger? I aſk you no bread, mother, for I know you have none; but ſeeing it is the will of God that I ſhould die in this ſort, I muſt take it thankfully: Had not the holy man Lazarus hunger? Have not I read it in my Bible?' and ſaying ſo, he yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

That which preſerved all from being famiſhed, was this; there were yet ſix kine kept to give milk for ſome infants, and certain horſes of ſervice which were reſerved for an extremity; theſe were killed, and their fleſh ſold to comfort thoſe that lived. Alſo ſome little corn was brought into the town by ſtealth, which was ſold for two ſhillings and ſix pence a pound.

The war killed but eighty four perſons, but the famine killed above five hundred, beſides thoſe which were brought ſo low that they hardly recovered.

During theſe miſeries, divers ſoldiers, and ſome townſmen got out, chuſing rather to die by the ſword of the enemy, than by famine, of whom ſome were ſlain, others impriſoned, and executed.

So all hope of being ſaved in man's judgment failed to thoſe of Sancerre: For the king had ſworn that he would make them devour each other. 'But man's miſery is God's opportunity;' The King of kings found out a ſtrange means to deliver his people that put their truſt in him: Juſt at this time, by the ſollicitations of the biſhop of Valence, the Polonians had choſen the duke of Anjou, brother to the French king, king of Poland, and ambaſſadors were come to fetch him into that country, who hearing of this ſiege, ſolicited the biſhop of Valence to perform the promiſe, which he had ſworn to them in the name of his maſter, viz. To ſet at liberty all the towns of France that were moleſted for religion: By this means the poor Sancerreans, half dead for hunger, were delivered at the requeſt of theſe good men who came from a far country to be their deliverers, though their enemies had oft times threatened them with a general maſſacre; they were ſuffered to depart with their arms and goods, and ſuch as would ſtay, not to be queſtioned for any thing paſt; they had a promiſe alſo that the honour of women and maids ſhould be preſerved; and ſuch miniſters and others, as had fled thither for ſafety, had paſtors given them, and they were ſuffered peaceably to depart.

The

The Siege of Rochel, Anno 1573.

ABOUT the beginning of the ſame year Rochel was alſo beſieged; the townſmen often ſallied out, and there were very hot ſkirmiſhes betwixt them and the beſiegers; in one of which there came a young gentleman, who with horrible blaſphemy boaſted that he was one of the admiral's murderers, ſhewing his courtelace, which he ſaid, he brought from that conflict, with it threatening to ſlaſh the Rochellers; yet, when it came to trial, his heart fail ed, and he ran away; but one of the city ſoldiers purſuing him, ſlew him, ſtript him, and left his naked body in the field, the dogs tearing his face before next morning.

In one month's ſpace, the enemy diſcharged above thirteen thouſand cannon ſhot againſt the Rochellers, and made many aſſaults, wherein they ſtill went away with the worſt. Then came the duke of Anjou to the army to be the general: The ſiege having continued ſome months, the Rochellers began to want victuals, which famine after a while, much encreaſed upon them; but behold the admirable providence of God! when all other proviſion failed them, there came an infinite number of ſmall fiſhes never before ſeen in that haven, as it were yielding themſelves to the mercy of the poor people, who gathered them every day ſo long as the ſiege laſted, but preſently after the publiſhing of the edict for peace, they went away, and were never ſeen afterwards.

During this ſiege came the ambaſſadors from Poland to fetch their new king; by whoſe means a truce was granted to the Rochellers, and laſtly articles of peace were agreed upon, whereby the army was withdrawn, and Rochel enjoyed its privileges: Yet this is further very remarkable, That all the chief perſons that were employed in the maſſacre of Paris and other places, were drawn forth to this ſiege, by God, there to receive the reward of all their impieties, ſome of them being ſlain, and others receiving there thoſe wounds whereof they ſhortly after died; amongſt whom were the duke de Aumale, and Coſſeins marſhal of the field, that firſt entred the admiral's lodging; three maſters of the camp; divers great lords and gentlemen; above ſixty captains; as many lieutenants and enſigns, and above twenty thouſand common ſoldiers.

Anno 1574. King Charles himſelf, that was at leaſt the countenancer of all theſe horrible maſſacres, being in the prime of his youth, about twenty four years old, fell ſick of a langniſhing diſeaſe; his phyſicians let him blood and purged him but to no purpoſe; for by degrees he ſo faded away, as cauſed great aſtoniſhment to many. He long ſtruggled againſt his diſeaſe, but at laſt was fain to betake himſelf to his bed, and the two laſt weeks of his ſickneſs, much blood iſſued from divers parts of his body, and once he roiled himſelf in his own blood, and a little before he died, he deſired his mother to purſue his enemies to the uttermoſt, with great vehemency reiterating his ſpeeches; ſaying, 'Madam, I pray you heartily to do it;' and ſo he breathed forth his ſoul, May the thirtieth, *anno Chriſti* 1574.

I ſhall here add a few words alſo of the great miſeries which the people of God endured in Rochel, *anno Chriſti* 1628. expecting help from England, which proved but a ſtaff of reed, which whilſt they leaned upon, it ran into their hands: The city being beſieged by the king of France his army, the inhabitants were brought to ſuch extremity, that for want of other meat, the citizens and ſoldiers, having eaten up all the horſes, dogs, cats, rats and mice, lived two months with nothing but cow-hides and goat ſkins boiled; then did they eat up all the gloves, and whatſoever was made of leather; yea, the poor people cut off the buttocks of the dead, and did eat them. Young maids of fourteen or ſixteen years old, did look like old women of an hundred years old. All the Engliſh that came out after the ſurrender of the city, looked like anatomies. The prices of things were as followeth, a buſhel of wheat, twenty pounds: A pound of bread, twenty ſhillings: A quarter of mutton, above ſix pounds. A pound of butter, thirty ſhillings: An egg, eight ſhillings: An once of ſugar, two ſhillings and ſix pence: A dried fiſh, twenty ſhillings: A pint of French wine twenty ſhillings: A pint of milk, thirty ſhillings: A pound of grapes, three ſhillings, &c.

Anno 1593. There was one Margaret Pierron of the town of Sanſay in France, who by her maid ſervant was accuſed to the jeſuits, for not going to maſs, and for keeping a Bible in her houſe, in reading whereof was her whole delight: The jeſuits, complaining hereof to the magiſtrate, cauſed her to be apprehended, yet had ſhe ſome notice of it before-hand from her friends that adviſed her to flie from the danger: But God had a purpoſe that ſhe ſhould bear witneſs to his truth, ſo that ſhe was taken and caſt into priſon: after a while the judges ſent for her, ſaying, Margaret, 'Are you not willing to return home to your houſe, and there to enjoy your huſband and children? Yes, ſaid ſhe, if it may ſtand with the good will of God: Then, ſaid they, if thou wilt do but a ſmall matter thou ſhalt be at liberty; if, ſaid ſhe, it be not contrary to God's glory and and mine own ſalvation, you ſhall hear what I will ſay to you. No ſuch thing, ſaid they, for all that we require is but this, that a ſcaffold being ſet up in the chief part of the city, you ſhall there crave pardon, for offending the law, and fire being by, you ſhall burn your Bible in it without ſpeaking a word. I pray you my maſters, ſaid ſhe, Tell me, is my Bible a good book or no? Yea, ſaid they, we confeſs it is: Why then, ſaid ſhe, would you have me caſt it into the fire? Only ſaid they, to give the jeſuits content: Imagine it to be but paper, and then you may burn it, and you may buy you another Bible at any time, and hereby you may ſave your life.' Thus they ſpent above two hours in perſuading her, that thereby ſhe might do a leſs evil, and a greater good would come of it: But ſhe confidently anſwered, 'That by the help of God ſhe would never do it: What will the people ſay, ſaid ſhe, will they not ſay, yonder is a wretched woman indeed, that burns the Bible wherein all the articles of Chriſtian religion are contained? I will certainly burn my body rather than my Bible.

Then did they commit her cloſe priſoner, fed her only with bread and water, and her friends were debarred from coming to her; but when nothing could remove her from her conſtancy, ſhe was condemned to be ſet upon a ſcaffold, to have her Bible burnt before her face; herſelf to be ſtrangled, and her body to be dragged through the ſtreets to a dunghill, which ſentence ſhe underwent chearfully, and ſo ſlept in the Lord.

[*Collected out of the Hiſtory of the Tragical Maſſacres of France under Henry the* II. *Francis the* II. *Charles the* IX. *Henry the* III. *and Henry the* IV. *Tranſlated out of French.*]

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Perſecution of the Church of Chriſt in the Valtoline, Anno Chriſti 1620.

THE Griſon lords, who were the ſovereign magiſtrates of this country, had by ſundry decrees granted liberty to the proteſtants to exerciſe their religion freely: But when as the miniſter of Tell, with his congregation, were met together about the ſervice of God, the bloody papiſts riſing in arms, ſet upon them, ſlew one, and beat others ſo cruelly with ſtaves, that they were forced to deſiſt from their purpoſe: Shortly after they murdered ſome others, and conſpiring with ſome other bloody villains, they ſet guards upon all the paſſages of the valley, that ſo none of the proteſtants ſhould eſcape them; then ringing their bells, they raiſed all the country, and if any proteſtants ſtirred out of their houſes, they murdered them in the ſtreets: They alſo brake into the houſes of others, drew them out of their beds, and murdered them. Some of the proteſtants retired to the houſes of papiſts that were near of kin, or otherwiſe engaged to them, to ſecure themſelves, but there they were betrayed and murdered: Some they ſtrangled; ſome they ſhot: Of ſome they beat out their brains, and others they drowned in the river Alba.

A noble gentleman that had hid himſelf in the river, was found by them, who requeſted them to ſpare his life,

for his dear childrens ſake: But they told him that this was no time for pity, except he would abjure his faith, and ſwear by the pope's bull: 'Nay, ſaid he, God forbid, that to ſave this temporal life, I ſhould deny my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with his precious blood upon the croſs redeemed me at ſo dear a rate; and having through his grace ſo long freely and publicly profeſſed him, that I ſhould now hazard the loſs of eternal life, to which I was elected before the foundation of the world; I ſay God forbid.' Hereupon in a barbarous and ſavage manner they murdered him. They brake alſo into the palace of the governor, and murdered him; women and maids they deflowred; and of all the proteſtants in that part of the country, there were only three that eſcaped over the horrid and vaſt mountains of the Alps into Rhetia.

Theſe wicked villains having thus diſpatched the proteſtants in this place, they marched to another, coming juſt at the time when the proteſtants were at church hearing a ſermon: They were guided to the place by two fryars; the proteſtants ſeeing them coming, ſhut the church doors, barricadoing them up with benches: Theſe villains laboured to break open the door, but when they could not readily do it, they clambred up into the windows, through which they ſhot with their muſquets at the people, whereby they wounded and killed many. The miniſter being a man rarely endued with learning and piety, according to the ſhortneſs of time, exhorted them with lively reaſons to perſevere in the truth, notwithſtanding all the danger: But in the mean time theſe barbarous papiſts had forced open the door, where they fell to murdering of all without reſpect of quality, ſex or age: Some lords and gentlemen were here ſlain, the miniſter was ſhot to death; divers ladies and children got into the belfree to ſave themſelves; but theſe hell hounds ſet fire to the place, and miſerably burnt them all.

Theſe ſavage wretches having thus glutted themſelves with innocent blood in this place, marched to Sondreſs: The papiſts in that place hearing of their coming, went to the juſtice, proteſting that they would not ſuffer ſuch villanies to be committed amongſt them: Then did they beat their drums, ring their bells, and arm themſelves under pretence of ſecuring the proteſtants, who truſting to their promiſes, mixed themſelves amongſt them to ſtand for their own defence: Theſe popelings concealing their miſchievous intent, killed now one, then another, as if it had been by accident, ſo that though divers of them were ſlain, yet they found not out the myſtery of the practice: yet ſome, both men and gentlewomen ſought to eſcape, but all paſſages being ſhut up, they were met with and cruelly murdered. Then did they more openly diſcover their malice, killing the proteſtants wherever they met them: Hereupon ſome eighteen of the proteſtants, together with ſome ladies and young children got together; and the men being well armed, they marched cloſe together, repulſing their enemies, and at laſt came to a church in the mountain of Sondreſs, unto which place a miniſter, and ſome others, in all about ſeventy three men were gathered together, and after their prayers made unto God, they paſſed the valley of Malaneo, which was beſet by the enemy on two ſides; but ſuch as kept the paſſages, were by God's ſpecial providence, ſo aſtoniſhed that they fled away; and the proteſtants, though they were purſued to the tops of the mountains, yet did miraculouſly eſcape with ſafety.

Then did the peaſants join with theſe villains to rob and plunder the houſes of the proteſtants, and amongſt them, divers noblemens houſes richly furniſhed with great abundance; they ran up and down alſo through fields, woods and mountains, ſearching every buſh for the proteſtants; and as they found any of them, they preſently murdered them.

There was an honourable lady that not long before came out of Italy to enjoy her liberty of conſcience, whom they exhorted to change her religion, which ſhe refuſing, they adviſed her that yet at leaſt ſhe would do it out of a care of her young infant which ſhe held in her arms, which otherwiſe, together with herſelf ſhould preſently be ſlain: But ſhe with an undaunted courage anſwered, 'I have not departed out of Italy, my native country, nor forſaken all the eſtate that I had there, to renounce the faith which I had wrought in me by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yea I will rather ſuffer, if it were poſſible, a thouſand deaths: And how ſhall I have regard in this caſe to my infant, ſince God my heavenly Father ſpared not his own Son my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but delivered him to the death for his love to me, and ſuch ſinners as I am?' And ſo giving her child to one, ſhe ſaid, 'Behold my child, the Lord God, who hath care of the birds of the air, is much more able to ſave this poor creature, although by you it ſhould be left to theſe wild mountains:' Then unlacing her gown, ſhe opened her breaſt, ſaying, 'Here is the body which you have power to kill; but my ſoul, on which you have no power to lay your hands, that I commend to my God;' and ſo ſhe was preſently ſlain, and hewen in pieces: The infant being a lovely and ſweet child, they ſpared, and delivered it to a popiſh nurſe to be brought up.

Theſe miſcreants finding ſuch ſweetneſs by the plunder of the proteſtants, they ſpared none, plundering their houſes twice or thrice over: Some noble matrons had their rings pulled off their fingers; and if they refuſed preſently to draw them off, they would cut off either their hands or fingers from them. Some women with their children were dragged to the tops of high mountains, and threatened to be thrown down headlong with their children, if they would not promiſe to go to maſs; and though one amongſt them was found, that through terror, promiſed them to do it, yet did they throw her down with the reſt without all pity.

One Dominico Berto of ſixteen years old, they ſet upon an aſs with his face to the tail, and the tail in his hands for the bridle, and thus with many jeers they led him to the market place: Then they cut off his noſe, ears, and cheeks: then burnt many holes in ſeveral parts of his body with hot irons, continuing theſe torments till in that barbarous manner they had killed him. Yet through the wonderful goodneſs of God, ſome miniſters with their wives and children, by great travel, dangers and difficulties amongſt the craggy and high mountains, were delivered out of the hands of theſe bloody perſecutors.

Theophilus Meſſino was ſhot with a muſquet, but being not ſlain, they ſet open his mouth with a gag, filled it with gunpowder, and giving fire to it, tore his head miſerably; his ſon was ſlain with many wounds.

Another being wounded and ſtripped naked, was carried out and thrown into the woods; yet afterwards he got up and went home to his own houſe, where he had mountains of gold proffered him if he would turn papiſt; yet, through God's mercy, he continued faithful to the death.

A young gentleman, too much addicted to the vanities of the world, being earneſtly ſolicited to forſake the proteſtant religion, ſtoutly refuſed, whereupon they ſhot him with a muſket, and having lain a while, and then raiſing himſelf up, he beſought them to diſpatch him, that he might render his ſoul to his Creator.

Divers men and women were thrown down from bridges into the river Adda, and drowned for their conſtancy in the truth.

Some had their mouths ſlit up to their ears; others had the fleſh cut from their faces; others were ſlaſhed in other parts of their body till they died; and others were often put to the ſtrappado, and then hewn in pieces.

A noble virgin that was come to Sondres for religion's ſake, theſe villains took and carried her through the ſtreets with the greateſt ſhame and diſgrace that could be: They put a mitre of paper on her head, beſmeared her face with dirt, buffeted her on the cheeks, then exhorted her to call upon the ſaints; but ſhe ſmiling thereat, ſaid, 'My truſt and my ſalvation is only in my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and upon him only will I reſt; as for the virgin Mary, though ſhe be bleſſed above all women, yet is ſhe not omniſcient, and therefore knows not our requeſts; yea, ſhe herſelf had need of the merits of her own ſon, without which ſhe could not have been ſaved,' &c. They ſtill continued to ſcorn and deride her, ſhe manfully ſaid, 'I willingly endure all this as it becomes me to do, deſiring no better uſage, ſeeing the ſame was done to my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and to his apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy martyrs.' Then was ſhe carried away and murdered in the fields.

Some

Some miniſters and many other godly Chriſtians, men and women, noble and ignoble were murdered ſundry ways. Many hid themſelves in holes, and caves, and woods, out of which they durſt not come, but by night only to get them food; yet they were ſo watched, that many times they were murdered: others in thoſe places were famiſhed for want of food; others living upon roots, herbs, graſs, &c. contracted diſeaſes whereof they died, ſo that the mountains and woods lay ſcattered with dead carcaſſes every where.

Then came there a letter to theſe blood-ſuckers from a governor, that they ſhould with all their power, murder, ſtrangle, and maſſacre without all pity and mercy all the Lutherans whereſoever they were; whereupon theſe murderers having ſlain all in Tyrane, Bruſe, Tell, Soudres and Malenco, they went to Berbenno, where they preſently murdered ſundry perſons of good rank and quality, and that with great cruelty, contrary to their faith and promiſe given them; the like they did in Caſpano and Trahen, and divers other places, ſhewing neither pity nor favour to any: in one houſe they ſlew a man and his wife; and ſeeing an infant of three years old lying in a cradle, the child being a girl of a ſweet and amiable countenance, and ſeeming to ſmile upon them, they took her by the heels, and daſhed out her brains. Then did theſe villains march to Bruſe, where alſo they murdered many; ſhooting ſome, drowning others, ſtoning others, burning others, and grinding their very bones to powder: amongſt other, finding an aged matron of eighty years old, they much ſolicited her to hear maſs, wiſhing her to have reſpect to her age; to whom ſhe anſwered with a noble reſolution; 'God forbid that I, who now of a long time have had one foot in the grave, ſhould forſake my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath ſo long time preſerved me in the knowlege and profeſſion of his truth, and to put my truſt in creatures, and inſtead of his holy word to receive the traditions of men;' whereupon they inſtantly ſlew her.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Perſecution of the church in Scotland, which began Anno Chriſti, 1527.

MASTER Patrick Hamilton of an ancient and honourable family, called Abbot of Fern, as one hating the world, and the vanity thereof, left Scotland, and went into Germany, and the fame of the univerſity of Wittenberg being greatly divulged, thither he went, and became familiar with thoſe great lights and notable ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, Martin Luther, and Phil. Melanchthon, whereby he greatly encreaſed in godly knowlege and learning; from thence he went to the univerſity of Marpug, which was then newly erected by Philip Lantgrave of Heſſen, where he was intimate with other learned men, eſpecially with Francis Lambert, by whoſe inſtigation he was the firſt that there publicly ſet up concluſions to be diſputed of concerning faith and good works; by reaſon of his learning and integrity of life he was had in admiration by many: but the zeal of God's glory did ſo eat him up, that he could not reſt till he returned into his own country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began moſt abundantly to break forth, as well in public as in ſecret.

In proceſs of time the fame of his doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of James Beton, arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, who grew impatient that by this means the kingdom of darkneſs was diſturbed; and therefore he ſo laboured with Patrick Hamilton, that he gat him to St. Andrews, where, after divers days conference, he had his freedom and liberty, the biſhop ſeeming to approve his doctrine, acknowleging that in many things there needed a reformation in the church; but withal, fearing that their kingdom ſhould be endamaged, they laboured with the the king, who was then young and much led by them, to go to pilgrimage to ſaint Dotheſſe in Roſſe, that ſo by reaſon of his abſence no interceſſion might be made to him, for the ſaving the life of this innocent ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, who not ſuſpecting the malice that lodged in their hearts, remained as a lamb amongſt wolves.

The king being gone, upon a night, maſter Hamilton was ſeized upon by the biſhop's officers and carried to the caſtle, and the morrow after he was brought forth unto judgment, and was condemned to be burnt for the teſtimony of God's truth; the articles for which he ſuffered, were about 'pilgrimages, purgatory, prayer to the ſaints, and for the dead, &c.' And that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they cauſed it to be ſubſcribed by all thoſe of eſteem that were preſent, and to make their number great, they took the ſubſcription of very children if they were of the nobility.

Immediately after dinner the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution, yet moſt men thought that it was only to terrify him, and to cauſe him to recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of his ſervants, and for the manifeſtation of their beaſtly tyranny, had otherwiſe decreed: for he ſo ſtrengthened him, that neither the love of life, nor fear of that cruel death could once move him to ſwerve from the truth which he had profeſſed. At the place of execution he gave his ſervant that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and his other garments, ſaying, 'Theſe will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; after this of me thou canſt receive no commodity except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for though it be bitter to the fleſh, and fearful to men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none ſhall poſſeſs who denies Chriſt Jeſus before this wicked generation:' and ſo being tyed to the ſtake in the midſt of the coals and timber, they gave fire to ſome powder, which with the blaſt ſcorched his left hand and the ſide of his face, but neither killed him nor kindled the wood and coals; till they ran to the caſtle for more powder, and more combuſtible matter, which being at laſt kindled, with a loud voice he cried, 'Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit; how long ſhall darkneſs overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou ſuffer the tyranny of theſe men?' The fire was ſlow, and therefore put him to the greater torment; but that which moſt grieved him was the clamour of ſome wicked men ſet on by the fryers, who continually cried, 'Turn thou Heretic; call upon our lady; ſay, *Salve Regina*, &c.' To whom he anſwered, 'Depart from me and trouble me not thou meſſenger of Satan;' and ſpeaking to one Campbel, a fryer that was the ringleader, who ſtill roared on him with great vehemency, he ſaid to him, 'Wicked man, thou knoweſt the contrary, and haſt confeſſed the contrary to me; I appeal thee before the tribunal ſeat of Jeſus Chriſt;' after which words he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God, *Anno Chriſti* 1527. And within a few days after the ſaid fryer died in a phrenſie, and as one that deſpaired.

Anno 1534. The ſaid arch biſhop of St. Andrews, convented before him David Straton, a gentleman, and maſter Norman Gourlay; the firſt of theſe having a fiſher-boat that went to ſea, the biſhop of Murray demanded tithe fiſh of him, to whom he anſwered, That if they would have tithe of that which his ſervants caught in the ſea, they ſhould take it in the place where it was caught, and ſo cauſed his ſervants to throw the tenth fiſh into the ſea again; all this while he had nothing in him for religion. But when hereupon he was ſummoned to anſwer for hereſie, it troubled him exceedingly, and then he began to frequent the company of ſuch as were godly, and there appeared a wonderful change in him; ſo that whereas before he deſpiſed the word of God, now all his delight was in hearing of it read to him, and he was a vehement exhorter of all men to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He much frequented the company of the laird of Dun Areſkin, whom God in thoſe days had marvelouſly illuminated: hearing that text read (for he could not read himſelf) 'He that denieth me before men, or is aſhamed of me in the midſt of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my Father and his holy angels: at thoſe words, being ſuddenly as one revived, he fell upon his knees, and ſtedfaſtly lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, at length he burſt forth into theſe words, 'O Lord, I have been wicked, and juſtly mayeſt thou withdraw thy grace from me; but Lord, for thy mercy ſake, let me never deny thee or thy truth for fear of death or any corporal pain.' Being afterwards, together with maſter Norman brought to judgment in Holy Rood-houſe; the king himſelf

himſelf being preſent, much means was uſed to draw this David Straton to make a recantation; but he perſevered in his conſtancy, ſtill denying that he had offended, and ſo they were both condemned to the fire, and after dinner *anno* 1534. they were both firſt hanged, and afterwards burnt.

Not long after the burning of theſe two holy men; there was one Dean Thomas Forret, who uſed to preach every Lord's day to his pariſhoners, out of the epiſtles and goſpels as they fell in order: this was counted a great novelty, for none uſed to preach but the fryers, and therefore they envying him, accuſed him to the biſhop of Dunkelden for an heretic, and one that ſhewed the myſteries of ſcripture to the vulgar people.

The biſhop inſtigated by the complaint of the fryers called the ſaid dean Thomas before him, to whom he ſaid, 'My joy dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I muſt give you counſel how to govern yourſelf;' the dean thanked him, and then he proceeded, 'My joy dean Thomas I am informed that you preach the Epiſtle and goſpel every ſunday to your people, and that you take not your dues from them, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore my joy dean Thomas, I would have you take your dues, or elſe its too much to preach every Sunday; for by ſo doing, you make the people think that we ſhould do ſo alſo; its enough for you when you find a good epiſtle or goſpel, to ſet forth and preach the liberty of the holy church; and let the reſt alone.'

Thomas anſwered, 'My lord, I preſume none of my pariſhoners complain for my not taking my dues; and whereas you ſay it is too much to preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and wiſh that your lordſhip would do the like.' 'Nay, nay, Dean Thomas, ſaid the biſhop, let that be, for we are not ordained to preach;' 'Then ſaid Thomas, whereas you bid me preach when I meet with a good epiſtle and goſpel; I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones amongſt them, but when your lordſhip ſhews me ſuch, I will paſs by them.' 'Then, ſaid the biſhop, I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Teſtament was; and dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuiſe and pontifical. Go your ways, and let all theſe fancies be; for if you perſevere herein, you will repent you when it is too late.

'I truſt, ſaid Thomas, my cauſe is good and juſt in the preſence of God, and therefore I care not what follows thereupon; and ſo he went his way: but ſhortly after he was ſummoned to appear before the cardinal, by whom he was condemned and burnt for a chief heretic and teacher of hereſy.

But notwithſtanding all their bloody tyranny, the knowlege of God did wonderfully encreaſe in that kingdom, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in thoſe dangerous days was much uſed to the comfort of many, which ſo enraged the popiſh party, that *anno* 1538 there were burned in one fire four perſons of good quality.

The year after there were apprehended Jerome Ruſſel, a man of a meek and quiet nature, and Alexander Kennedy of about eighteen years old; theſe two poor ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt being brought before the archbiſhop and his aſſociates to judgment, Kennedy at firſt was faint, and would have recanted; but when all place of repentance was denied him, the Spirit of God (which ſeaſonably comes in with comfort,) began to refreſh him; yea the inward comfort began to burſt forth, as well in his viſage, as in his tongue and words: for with a chearful countenance and joyful voice, falling on his knees, he ſaid 'O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy that thou beareſt unto mankind, and to me a vile caitiff and miſerable wretch above all others! for even now when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my only Saviour, and ſo have caſt myſelf into everlaſting damnation, thou by thine own hand haſt pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppreſſed. Now I defie death, do with me what you pleaſe, I praiſe God I am ready:' then did they rail upon him and Jerome, who alſo ſaid unto them, 'This is your hour and power of darkneſs; now ſit ye as judges, and we ſtand wrongfully accuſed, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocency will appear, and ye ſhall ſee your own blindneſs, to your everlaſting confuſion. Go forward and fulfil the meaſure of your iniquity.' Shortly after they were condemned to die, and as they went to execution, Jerome comforted Kennedy, ſaying to him, 'Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain that we are to ſuffer is ſhort, and ſhall be light, but our conſolation ſhall never have an end. Let us therefore ſtrive to enter into our maſter and Saviour's joy, by the ſame ſtraight way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already deſtroyed by him for whoſe ſake we now ſuffer.' And thus paſſing chearfully on, they conſtantly triumphed over death and Satan, in the midſt of the flaming fire where they gave up their ſpirits to God.

Anno 1543. Cardinal Beton coming to Edinburgh, cauſed many godly perſons to be called before him, and when he could prove nothing elſe againſt them, he cauſed four men to be hanged upon ſuppoſition that they had eaten a gooſe upon a Friday: and a woman with her child ſucking on her breaſt to be drowned for refuſing to pray to the Virgin Mary.

Many others he cauſed to be baniſhed, others to be impriſoned at St. Johnſtons, amongſt whom was one John Rogers, a godly and learned man, that had fruitfully preached Chriſt Jeſus to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns, whom he cauſed to be murdered in priſon, and then thrown over the walls, giving it out, that by attempting to eſcape, he had broken his neck.

CHAP. XI.

The life of Mr. George Wiſeheart, or Wiſchard, who died Anno Chriſti, 1546.

GEORGE WISEHEART was born in Scotland, and brought up firſt at ſchool, from whence he went to the univerſity; after which he travelled into ſeveral countries, and at laſt came to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Bennet College; he was tall of ſtature, and of a melancoly conſtitution; he had black hair, a long beard, comely of perſonage, and well ſpoken, courteous, lowly, lovely, willing to teach, deſirous to learn. For his habit, he wore a frize gown, a black fuſtian doublet, plain hoſe, courſe canvas for his ſhirts, falling bands, &c. All which apparel he gave to the poor, ſome weekly, ſome monthly, ſome quarterly; ſaving a French cap that he wore, which he kept a twelve month. He was modeſt, temperate, fearing God, hating covetouſneſs. His charity was extraordinary, he forbore his food one meal in three, one day in four, that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging was upon ſtraw, and he had courſe new canvas ſheets, which when once foul, he gave away: he had by his bed ſide a tub of water, in which, in the dark night, he bathed himſelf; he taught with great modeſty and gravity, ſo that ſome about him thought him ſevere, and would have ſlain him; but the Lord was his deliverer: and he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them: his learning was no leſs ſufficient than his deſire of it; he was always ready to do good to his ability; both in his private chamber and public ſchools, he read divers authors, yea he always ſtudied how to do good to all.

Anno 1544. Some of the nobility of Scotland, coming to treat with king Henry the eighth, about the marriage between his ſon prince Edward, and their young queen Mary, at their return, maſter Wiſchard went with them into Scotland, being a man of admirable graces, and ſingularly learned both in divine and human ſciences; he firſt preached in Roſſe, and then in Dundee, where with great admiration of all that heard him, he went over the epiſtle to the Romans, till at the inſtigation of the cardinal, one Robert Miſle, a principal man there, and formerly a profeſſor of religion, inhibited him from preaching, requiring him that he ſhould trouble their town no more, for he would not ſuffer it; and this was ſpoken to him in the public place; whereupon he muſed a ſpace, with his eyes bent to heaven, and afterwards looking ſorrowfully upon the ſpeaker and the people, he ſaid, 'God is my witneſs that

that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea your trouble is more dolorous to me then it is to your ſelves: But I am aſſured that to refuſe God's word, and to chaſe from you his meſſenger, ſhall not preſerve you from trouble, but ſhall bring you into it: For God ſhall ſend you miniſters that ſhall neither fear burning nor baniſhment. I have offered you the word of ſalvation, with the hazard of my life, I have remained amongſt you: Now ye yourſelves refuſe me, and I muſt leave my innocency to be declared by my God; if it be long proſperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth: But if unlook'd for trouble come upon you, acknowlege the cauſe, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful; but if you turn not at the firſt warning, he will viſit you with fire and ſword;' and ſo he came down from the pulpit. Some noblemen being preſent, would have perſuaded him to ſtay, or to have gone with them into the country, but by no means would he ſtay till he had paſt the river Tay.

Then went he into the weſt-country, where he made offers of God's word, which was gladly received by many, till the biſhop of Glaſgow, by the inſtigation of the cardinal, came with his train to the town of Air to reſiſt Wiſchard: The earl of Glencairn and ſome other gentlemen hearing of it, came thither alſo with their retinue, and when they were all come together, the biſhop would needs have the church himſelf to preach in. Some oppoſed, but Wiſchard ſaid, 'Let him alone, his ſermon will not do much hurt, let us go to the market croſs,' and ſo they did, where he made ſo notable a ſermon, that his very enemies themſelves were confounded.

Wiſchard remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, preaching ſometime in one place, ſometimes in another, but coming to Machlene, he was perforce kept out of the church; ſome would have broken in, but he ſaid to one of them, 'Brother, Jeſus Chriſt is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and himſelf often preached in the deſert; at the ſea ſide, and other places. It's the word of peace God ſends by me: The blood of none ſhall be ſhed this day for the preaching of it;' and ſo going into the fields, he ſtood upon a bank, where he continued in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought ſo wonderfully by that ſermon, that one of the moſt wicked men in all the country, the laird of Sheld was converted by it, and his eyes ran down with ſuch abundance of tears, that all men wondred at it. Preſently news was brought to Wiſchard that the plague was broke out in Dundee, which began within four days after he was prohibited for preaching there, and raged ſo extreamly, that its almoſt beyond credit how many died in twenty four hours ſpace; this being related to him, notwithſtanding the importunity of his friends, he would needs go thither, ſaying, 'They are now in trouble, and need comfort; perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly eſteemed.'

Coming to Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great, and without delay he ſignified that the next day he would preach; and becauſe moſt of the inhabitants were either ſick, or employed about the ſick, he choſe the eaſt gate for the place of his preaching, ſo that the whole were within, and the ſick without the gate; his text was Pſal. cvii. 'He ſent his word and healed them,' &c. wherein he comfortably intreated of the profit and comfort of God's word, the puniſhment that comes by the contempt of it, the readineſs of God's mercy to ſuch as truly turn to him, and the happineſs of thoſe whom God takes from this miſery, &c. By which ſermon he ſo raiſed up the hearts of thoſe that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy that ſhould then depart, rather than ſuch as ſhould remain behind, knowing not whether they ſhould have ſuch a Comforter with them, yea or no. He ſpared not to viſit them that lay in the greateſt extremity, and to comfort them. He provided all things neceſſary for ſuch as could take food, the town being very bountiful to them, through his inſtigation. But whilſt he was thus buſying himſelf for the comfort of the afflicted, the devil ſtirred up the cardinal, who corrupted a deſperate popiſh prieſt, called John Weighton, to ſlay him. And on a day, the ſermon being ended, and the people departed, ſuſpecting no danger, the prieſt ſtood waiting at the bottom of the ſtairs with a naked dagger in his hand, under his gown; but maſter Wiſchard, being of a ſharp piercing eye, ſeeing the prieſt as he came down, ſaid to him, 'My friend what would you have?' and withal clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him; the prieſt herewith being terrified, fell down upon his knees, confeſſed his intention, and craved pardon; a noiſe being hereupon raiſed, and it coming to the ears of thoſe which were ſick, they cried, 'Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force;' and ſo they burſt in at the gate, but Wiſchard taking him in his arms, ſaid, 'Whoſoever hurts him ſhall hurt me; for he hath done me no miſchief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulneſs for the time to come:' And ſo he appeaſed them, and ſaved the prieſt's life.

When the plague was almoſt quite ceaſed, he took his leave of them, ſaying, 'That God had almoſt put an end to the battle, and that he was now called to another place;' For the gentlemen of the weſt had written to him to meet them in Edinburgh, where he ſhould diſpute with the biſhops, and ſhould be publicly heard, which he willingly aſſented to. But firſt he went to Montroſſe, to ſalute the church there, where he ſometimes preached, but ſpent moſt of his time in private meditation, in which he was ſo earneſt, that night and day he continued in it; during which time, the cardinal again conſpired his death, cauſing a letter to be ſent to him, as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnur, deſiring him with all poſſible ſpeed to come to him, for that he was taken with a ſudden ſickneſs: In the mean time he had provided ſixty men armed to ly in wait within a mile and an half of Montroſſe to murder him as he paſſed by that way. The letter coming to his hands by a boy, who alſo brought him an horſe to ride on, being accompanied with ſome honeſt men his friends, he ſet forwards; but ſuddenly ſtopping and muſing a ſpace he returned back again, which they wondring at, aſked him the cauſe; to whom he ſaid, 'I will not go, I am forbidden of God, I am aſſured there is treaſon: Let ſome of you go to yonder place and tell me what you find;' which they doing, found out the treaſon, and haſtily returning back, they told maſter Wiſchard of it, whereupon he ſaid; 'I know that I ſhall end my life by that blood-thirſty man's hands, but it will not be on this manner.'

The time approaching wherein he ſhould meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave and departed: By the way he lodged with a faithful brother called James Watſon of Inner Gowry: In the night time he got up and went into a yard; which two men hearing, privily followed him: There he walked in an alley for ſome ſpace, breathing forth many ſobs and deep groans, then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increaſed; then he fell upon his face: Thoſe that watched him, heard him weeping and praying, in which poſture he continued near an hour; then getting up, he came to his bed again. Thoſe which attended him, making as though they were ignorant of all, came and aſked him where he had been? But he would not anſwer them: The next day they importuned him again, ſaying, 'Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and ſaw your geſtures:' Then he with a dejected countenance, ſaid, 'I had rather you had been in your beds;' but they ſtill preſſing upon him to know ſomething; he ſaid, 'I will tell you; I am aſſured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me that now I ſhrink not when the battle waxeth moſt hot:' When they heard this, they fell a weeping ſaying, 'This is ſmall comfort to us; Then ſaid he, God ſhall ſend you comfort after me. This realm ſhall be illuminated with the light of Chriſt's goſpel as clearly as any realm ſince the days of the apoſtles; the houſe of God ſhall be built in it, yea it ſhall not lack in deſpite of all enemies, the top ſtone; neither will it be long before this be accompliſhed; many ſhall not ſuffer after me, till the glory of God ſhall appear and triumph in deſpight of Satan: But alas! if the people ſhall afterwards prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible ſhall the plagues be that ſhall follow.'

Then went he forward on his journey, and came to Leith, but hearing nothing of thoſe gentlemen that were to meet him, he kept himſelf private a day or two: At which time he grew very penſive, and being aſked the reaſon

ſon of it; he ſaid, 'What do I differ from a dead man, but that I eat and drink? Hitherto God hath uſed my labours for the inſtructions of others, and to the diſcloſing of darkneſs, and now I lurk as a man aſhamed that dare not ſhew his face?' Hereby they perceived that his deſire was to preach, whereupon they ſaid to him, 'It is moſt comfortable to us to hear you; but becauſe we know the danger wherein you ſtand, we dare not deſire it: But, ſaid he, if you dare hear, let God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him;' and ſo it was concluded that the next day he ſhould preach in Leith; his text was of the 'parable of the ſower,' Matth. xiii. The ſermon ended, the gentlemen of Louthian, who were earneſt profeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt, would not ſuffer him to ſtay at Leith, becauſe the governor and cardinal were ſhortly to come to Edinburgh, but took him along with them, and ſo he preached at Brunſtone, Languedine, and Ormſtone. Then was he requeſted to preach at Enereſk near Muſſelburgh, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongſt them Sir George Dowglas, who after ſermon, ſaid publicly, 'I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that I have been at this ſermon: But let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine, and the preacher to the uttermoſt of my power;' this much rejoiced thoſe that were preſent.

Amongſt others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray fryars, who, ſtanding at the church door, whiſpered to ſuch as came in: Which Wiſchard obſerving, ſaid to the people, 'I pray you make room for theſe two men, it may be they come to learn;' and turning to them, he ſaid, 'Come near, for I aſſure you, you ſhall hear the word of truth, which this day ſhall ſeal up to you either your ſalvation or damnation;' and ſo he proceeded in his ſermon, ſuppoſing that they would be quiet: But when he perceived that they ſtill continued to diſturb all the people that ſtood near them, he ſaid to them the ſecond time with an angry countenance; 'O miniſters of Satan, and deceivers of the ſouls of men! will ye neither hear God's truth yourſelves, nor ſuffer others to hear it? Depart and take this for your portion; God ſhall ſhortly confound and diſcloſe your hypocriſy within this kingdom; ye ſhall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations ſhall be deſolate'. This he ſpake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he ſaid, 'Theſe men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger;' and then he proceeded to the end of his ſermon.

Afterwards he preached in divers places, the people much flocking after him: In all his ſermons foretelling the ſhortneſs of time that he had to travel, and the near approaching of his death.

Coming to Haddington, his auditory began much to decreaſe; The cauſe, as it was conceived, was this; the earl Bothwell, who had great obſervance in thoſe parts, by the inſtigation of the cardinal, had inhibited both thoſe of the town and country from hearing him. Preſently after, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the weſt-country gentlemen, and having read it, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited upon him ſince he came into Louthian, to whom he ſaid, That he was a weary of the world, becauſe he ſaw that men began to be a weary of God: 'For, ſaith he, the gentlemen of the weſt have ſent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh.' John Knox wondring that he ſhould enter into conference about theſe things ſo immediately before his ſermon, contrary to his cuſtom, ſaid to him; 'Sir, ſermon-time approaches, I will leave you for the preſent to your meditations.' Then did maſter Wiſchard walk up and down about half an hour, his ſad countenance declaring the grief of his mind: At laſt he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very ſmall, he began on this manner; 'O Lord, how long ſhall it be that thy holy word ſhall be deſpiſed, and men ſhall not regard their own ſalvation? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there uſed to be two or three thouſand perſons at a vain and wicked play; and now to hear the meſſenger of the eternal God, of all the pariſh can ſcarce be numbred one hundred preſent. Sore and fearful ſhall be the plagues that ſhall enſue upon this thy contempt, with fire and ſword ſhalt thou be plagued; yea thou Haddington in ſpecial, ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſs thee; and you the preſent inhabitants ſhall either in bondage ſerve your enemies, or elſe you ſhall be chaſed from your own habitations, and that becauſe ye have not known, nor will know the time of your viſitation.

This prophecy was accompliſhed not long after, when the Engliſh took Haddington, made it a garriſon, enforced many of the inhabitants to flie; oppreſſed others; and after a while, a great plague breaking forth in the town, whereof multitudes died, the Engliſh were at laſt forced to quit it, whoat their departure burnt and ſpoiled a great part of it, leaving it to be poſſeſſed by ſuch as could firſt ſeize upon it, which were the French that came as auxiliaries to Scotland, with a few of the ancient inhabitants, ſo that Haddington to this day never recovered her former beauty, nor yet men of ſuch wiſdom and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

That night was maſter Wiſeheart apprehended in the houſe of Ormeſton, by the earl Bothwel, ſuborned thereunto by the cardinal. The manner was thus; after ſermon he took his laſt farewel of all his friends in Haddington; John Knox would fain have gone with him; but he ſaid, 'Return to your children, and God bleſs you; one is ſufficient for one ſacrifice:' Then went he to the laird of Ormeſton's with ſome others that accompained him. After ſupper he held a comfortable diſcourſe of God's love to his children; then he appointed the li. pſalm to be ſung, and ſo retired to his chamber.

Before midnight the houſe was beſet; and the earl Bothwel called for the laird of the houſe, and told him that it was in vain to reſiſt, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile with a great power; but if he would deliver Mr. Wiſchard to him, he would promiſe upon his honour that he ſhould be ſafe, and that the cardinal ſhould not hurt him: Mr. Wiſchard ſaid, 'Open the gates, the will of God be done; and Bothwel coming in, Wiſchard ſaid to him, I praiſe my God that ſo honourable a man as you, my lord, receive me this night; for I am perſuaded that for your honour's ſake you will ſuffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law? I leſs fear to die openly than ſecretly to be murdered: Then ſaid Bothwel, I will not only preſerve your body from all violence that ſhall be intended againſt you without order of law, but I alſo promiſe in the preſence of theſe gentlemen, that neither the governor nor cardinal ſhall have their will of you, but I will keep you in mine houſe, till I either ſet you free, or reſtore you to the ſame place where I receive you: Then ſaid the lairds, my lord, if you make good your promiſe, which we preſume you will, we ourſelves will not only ſerve you, but we will procure all the profeſſors in Louthian to do the ſame,' &c. Theſe promiſes being made in the preſence of God, and hands being ſtricken by both parties, the earl took Mr. Wiſchard and ſo departed.

Maſter Wiſchard was carried to Edinburgh; but gold and women eaſily corrupt fleſhly men; for the cardinal gave Bothwel gold: and the queen, that was too familiar with him, promiſed him her favour, if he would deliver maſter Wiſchard into Edinburgh caſtle, which he did; and ſhortly after he was delivered to the bloodthirſty cardinal: who, ſeeing that it was forbidden by their canon law for a prieſt to ſit as a judge upon life and death; he ſent to the governor, requeſting him to appoint ſome lay judge to paſs ſentence of death upon maſter Wiſchard.

The governor would eaſily have yielded to his requeſt, but that David Hamilton, a godly man, told him, that he could expect no better an end than Saul, if he perſecuted the truth which formerly he had profeſſed, &c. Hereupon the governor ſent the cardinal word, that he would have no hand in ſhedding the blood of that good man; the cardinal being angry, returned this anſwer, 'That he had ſent to him of meer civility, and that he would proceed without him,' and ſo to the great grief of the godly, the cardinal carried maſter Wiſchard to St. Andrews, and put him into the tower there; and without any long delay he cauſed all the biſhops, and other great clergy men to be called together to St. Andrews.

Feb. *ult.* 1546. Maſter Wiſchard was ſent for to appear before them, to give an account of his ſeditious and heretical doctrine, as they called it; the cardinal cauſed all his retinue to come armed to the place of their ſitting, which

which was the abby church, whither when maſter Wiſchard was brought, there was a poor man lying at the door, that aſked his alms, to whom he flung his purſe; when he came before the cardinal, there was a dean appointed to preach; whoſe ſermon being ended, Wiſchard was put up in the pulpit to hear his charge: And one Lawder, a prieſt, ſtood over againſt him, and read a ſcroll full of bitter accuſations and curſes, ſo that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and ſwallowed up Wiſchard quick: But he ſtood with great patience without moving, or once changing his countenance: The prieſt having ended his curſes, ſpit at maſter Wiſchard's face, ſaying, 'What anſwereſt thou? Thou runnagate traitor, thief,' &c. Then did maſter Wiſchard fall upon his knees, making his prayer unto God; after which he ſaid, 'Many and horrible ſayings unto me a Chriſtian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye ſpoken here this day, which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination,' &c. Then did he give them an account of his doctrine. Anſwering to every article as far as they would give him leave to ſpeak.

But they, without having any regard to his ſober and godly anſwers, preſently condemned him to be burnt. After which ſentence he falling upon his knees, ſaid,

'O immortal God, how long wilt thou ſuffer the rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly to exerciſe their fury upon thy ſervants, which do further thy word in this world, whereas they on the contrary ſeek to deſtroy the truth, whereby thou haſt revealed thyſelf to the world, &c. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true ſervants muſt needs ſuffer for thy name's ſake, perſecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this preſent world yet we deſire that thou wouldſt preſerve and defend thy church which thou haſt choſen before the foundations of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true ſervants in this preſent life.'

Then were the common people put out, the biſhops not deſiring that they ſhould hear the innocent man ſpeak, and ſo they ſent him again to the caſtle, till the fire ſhould be made ready; in the caſtle came two fryars to him, requiring him to make his confeſſion to them, to whom he ſaid, 'I will make no confeſſion to you, but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I will ſpeak with him;' then was the ſub prior ſent with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the ſub-prior wept, whom going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for maſter Wiſchard's life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, ſaying: 'We knew long ago what you were.'

The captain of the caſtle with ſome friends, coming to maſter Wiſchard, aſked him if he would break his faſt with them: yea, ſaid he, 'very willingly, for I know you be honeſt men:' In the mean time he deſired them to hear him a little; and ſo he diſcourſed to them about the Lord's ſupper, his ſuffering and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aſide all rancour and malice as becomes the members of Jeſus Chriſt, who continually intercedes for us to his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and bleſſing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, ſaying, 'eat this; remember that Chriſt died for us, and feed on it ſpiritually:' ſo taking the cup, he bade them 'remember that Chriſt's blood was ſhed for them,' &c. Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and ſo retired into his chamber.

Preſently came two executioners to him from the cardinal, one put upon him a black linnen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about ſeveral parts of his body, and ſo they brought him forth to the place of execution; over againſt which place, the caſtle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cuſhions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence fed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man: The cardinal fearing leſt Wiſchard ſhould be reſcued by his friends, cauſed all the ordnance in the caſtle to be bent againſt the place of his execution, and commanded his gunners to ſtand ready all the time of his burning; then were his hands bound behind his back, and ſo he was carried forth; in the way ſome beggars met him, aſking his alms for God's ſake: To whom he ſaid, 'My hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, who of his bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchſafe to give you neceſſaries both for your bodies and ſouls.' Then two fryars met him, perſwading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly ſaid, 'Ceaſe, tempt me not, I entreat you:' and ſo with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire: where falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated; 'O thou Saviour of the world have mercy upon me; Father of heaven I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands:' then turning to the people, he ſaid: 'Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, I beſeech you be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you ſee prepared for me; but I exhort you that you love the word of God for your ſalvation, and ſuffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart for the Word's ſake, which is your undoubted ſalvation and everlaſting comfort; I pray you alſo ſhew my brethren and ſiſters which have often heard me, that they ceaſe not to learn the word of God which I taught them, according to the meaſure of grace given to me, for no perſecution or trouble in this world whatſoever: and ſhew them that the doctrine was no old wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught mens doctrine, I had had greater thanks from men: but for the word of God's ſake I now ſuffer, not ſorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind: for this cauſe I was ſent into the world that I ſhould ſuffer this fire for Chriſt's ſake; behold my face! you ſhall not ſee me change my countenance: I fear not the fire; and if perſecution come to you for the word's ſake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the ſoul, &c.' Then he prayed for them which accuſed him, ſaying, 'I beſeech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have of ignorance, or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart; I beſeech Chriſt to forgive them that have condemned me this day ignorantly:' then turning to the people again, he ſaid, 'I beſeech you brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be aſhamed to do evil, and learn to do good, or elſe there ſhall come upon them the wrath of God which they ſhall not eſchew: then the executioner upon his knees, ſaid, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cauſe of your death;' and then he calling him to him, kiſſed his cheeks, ſaying, 'Lo here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office; and ſo he was tied to the ſtake, and the fire kindled.

The captain of the caſtle coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his ſin; to whom maſter Wiſchard ſaid, 'This fire torments my body, but no whit abates my ſpirits:' then looking toward the cardinal, he ſaid, 'He who in ſuch ſtate from that high place, feeds his eyes with my torments, within few days ſhall be hanged out at the ſame window to be ſeen with as much ignominy, as he now leans there with pride;' and ſo his breath being ſtopped, he was conſumed by the fire.

This prophecy was fulfilled, when after the cardinal was ſlain, the provoſt raiſing the town, came to the caſtle gates, crying, 'What have you done with my lord cardinal? Where is my lord cardinal? To whom they within anſwered, 'Return to your houſes, for he hath received his reward, and will trouble the world no more:' but they ſtill cried, 'We will never depart till we ſee him:' then did the Leſlies hang him out at that window to ſhew that he was dead, and ſo the people departed.

But God left not the death of this holy man long unrevenged: for the people did generally cry out of the cruelty uſed againſt him, eſpecially John Leſley, brother to the earl of Rothes, and Norman Leſley his couſin, fell foul upon the cardinal for it: but he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for all Scotland, ſaying, 'Tuſh, a fig for the fools, and a button for the bragging of heretics. Is not the lord governor mine, witneſs his eldeſt ſon for a pledge at my table? Have I not the queen at my devotion? Is not France my friend? Why ſhould I fear any danger? Yet he had laid a deſign to cut off ſuch as he feared and hated, which was diſcovered after his death by letters and memorials found about him. He kept himſelf for his greater ſecurity in his caſtle; and on a Friday night there came to the town of St. Andrews, Norman Leſley, William

liam Kirkaldy, John Leſley, and ſome others; and on the Saturday morning they met together not far from the caſtle, waiting till the gate was opened, and the draw bridge let down, for the receiving in ſome lime and ſand, to repair ſome decays about the caſtle, which being done, Kircaldy, with ſix more, went to the porter, falling into diſcourſe with him, till the Leſlies came alſo with ſome other company: the porter ſeeing them, would have drawn up the bridge, but he was prevented, and whilſt he endeavoured to keep them out at the gate, his head was broken, and the keys taken from him; the cardinal was aſleep in bed; for all night he had for his bed fellow, miſtreſs Mary Ogleby, who was a little before gone from him out at the poſtern gate, and therefore the cardinal was gone to his reſt.

There were about one hundred work-men in the caſtle, which ſeeing what was done, cried out, but without hurt, they were turned out at the wicket gate: then William Kircaldy went to ſecure the poſtern, leſt the cardinal ſhould make an eſcape that way: the reſt going to the gentlemens chambers, who were above fifty, without hurting them, they turned them all out at the gates; they which undertook this enterprize were but eighteen men. The cardinal being awaked with the noiſe, aſked out at a window what was the matter? Anſwer was made, that Norman Leſley had taken his caſtle: then did he attempt to have eſcaped by the poſtern, but finding that to be kept, he returned to his chamber, and with the help of his chamberlain fell to barricadoing up the door with cheſts, and ſuch things: then came up John Leſley and bids open the door: the cardinal aſked who was there? he anſwered John Leſley: the cardinal ſaid, 'I will have Norman, for he is my friend: content yourſelf, ſaid the other, with thoſe that are here:' and ſo they fell to breaking open the door: in the mean time the cardinal hid a box of gold under ſome coals in a ſecret corner. Then he ſaid to them, 'Will ye ſave my life?' John Leſley anſwered, 'It may be that we will.' 'Nay, ſaid the cardinal, ſwear unto me by God's wounds that you will, and then I will open the door: then ſaid John, 'that which was ſaid, is unſaid,' and ſo he called for fire to burn down the door, whereupon the door was opened, and the cardinal ſat him down in the chair, crying, 'I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt, ye will not ſlay me?' Then John Leſley and another ſtruck him once or twice; but maſter James Melvin, a man that had been very familiar with Wiſchard, and of modeſt and gentle nature, perceiving them both to be in choler, plucked them back, ſaying, 'This work and judgment of God although it be ſecret, ought to be done with great gravity:' and ſo preſenting him the point of his ſword, he ſaid, 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially of ſhedding the blood of that notable inſtrument of God, maſter George Wiſchard, who though he was conſumed by the fire before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it: for here, before my God I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any hurt thou couldeſt have done me, moveth me to ſtrike thee; but only becauſe thou haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt an obſtinate enemy againſt Jeſus Chriſt and his holy goſpel;' and ſo he thruſt him through the body, who falling down, ſpake never a word, but 'I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt, fie, fie, all is gone.'

The death of this tyrant was grievous to the queen mother, with whom he had too much familiarity, as with many other women; as alſo to the Romaniſts, though the people of God were freed from their fears in a great meaſure thereby.

Anno 1550. There was one Adam Wallace, a man that had no great learning, but was zealous in godlineſs, and of an upright life; him the biſhop of St. Andrews cauſed to be apprehended, and carried to Edinburgh, where after a while he was brought to judgment before duke Hamilton, Huntly, and divers others; the biſhops and their inſtruments accuſed him: firſt, that he took upon him to preach; to which he anſwered, 'that he never thought himſelf worthy of ſo excellent a vocation, and therefore never took on him to preach; yet he denied not, that in private places he uſed to read the Word, and out of it to exhort ſuch as were willing to hear him. 'Knave, quoth one, what have you to do to meddle with the ſcriptures?' 'I think, ſaid he, it is every ones duty to labour to know the will of God, and to get aſſurance of his ſalvation, which is to be found in the Old and New Teſtament.' 'What then, ſaid another, ſhall we leave to the churchmen to do?' To whom he anſwered, 'Their work is publicly to preach the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed with his own blood, as all true paſtors are commanded to do, &c.' The biſhops being angry hereat, cauſed his charge further to be read; as that he denied purgatory, praying to the ſaints, and for the dead. &c. To whom he anſwered, 'That he had oft read over the Bible, and yet found no mention of purgatory, nor command to pray to the ſaints, or for the dead; therefore I believe, ſaid he, they are but meer inventions of men, deviſed for covetouſneſs ſake.' Then did they aſk him what he thought of the maſs? he anſwered, 'I ſay as my Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, that which is greatly eſteemed before men, is abomination before God:' then cried they all out, Hereſie, hereſie, and ſo adjudged him to the fire. which he patiently underwent the ſame day upon the caſtle hill.

Anno 1553. Henry Forreſt was accuſed of hereſy, but when they brought him to trial, nothing could be proved againſt him, whereupon they ſent him to friar Langius to be confeſſed. The friar amongſt other queſtions, aſked him what he thought of Patrick Hamilton, who had been formerly burnt for religion? He anſwered, 'That he was a good man, and that his articles were to be maintained.' This wicked friar diſcovered his confeſſion, which was taken as a ſufficient proof againſt the poor man, who thereupon was condemned to be burnt. As he went to the place of execution, he complained of the friar who had betrayed him, ſaying, 'Let no man truſt the falſe friars after me; they are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men;' and ſo in the flames he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

Anno 1558. Andrew Oliphant accuſed one Walter Mill, formerly a prieſt; who being at prayer, Oliphant ſaid to him, 'Riſe up Sir Walter;' but when he had ended his prayers, he ſaid, 'My name is Walter: I have been too long one of the pope's knights. Then ſaid Oliphant, Thou keepeſt my lords too long here, therefore make an end. He anſwered, I muſt obey God rather than men:' When he was brought forth to judgment, they aſked him concerning prieſts marriage? He anſwered, 'It is God's ordinance, that they which cannot abſtain, ſhould marry. But you abhor it, vowing chaſtity, which you cannot keep, but take other mens wives and daughters:' Then they aſked him if there were not ſeven ſacraments? He anſwered, 'Give me two, and take you the reſt:' After other queſtions, they aſked him if he would recant? He anſwered, 'I am corn and not chaff; I will not recant the truth:' They then commanded him to go to the ſtake; But he ſaid, 'By the law of God I am forbidden to lay hands on my own ſelf, therefore do you put me into the fire, and you ſhall ſee my reſolution.' Having made his prayer to God, he ſaid to the people; 'Although I have been a great ſinner, yet it is not for that, but for God's truth contained in his word of the Old and New Teſtament that I now ſuffer; and God out of his abundant mercy doth honour me ſo far, as to make me, amongſt other of his ſervants, ſeal his truth with my blood; dear friends, as you would eſcape eternal death, be no more ſeduced with lies of archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, &c. But only truſt in God,' and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord; and was the laſt man that died for religion in Scotland.

[*Collected out of the Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland.*]

CHAP. XLI.

The Perſecution of the Church in Ireland, Anno Chriſti 1642.

THOUGH the barbarous cruelty uſed by the Iriſh againſt the Engliſh, go uſually under the name of rebellion, yet I rather look upon it as, and chuſe to call it a perſecution, becauſe their cruelties were exerciſed upon

on proteſtants only, ſo far as ever I could hear; neither were the Engliſh papiſts murdered, yea, they joined with the Iriſh in murdering of their brethren. Beſides, the jeſuits, prieſts, and friars were the chief inſtigators to theſe murders, ſtirring up continually all ſorts, both of the gentry and commonalty, to ſhow the utmoſt of their zeal therein; and when their deſign was ſo ſurely laid, that they thought it impoſſible to be prevented, they did in their public devotions recommend by their prayers the good ſucceſs of a great deſign, tending much to the advancement of the catholic cauſe: And that they might ſtir up the people with the greater animoſity and cruelty to put it in execution, they every where declaimed loudly againſt the proteſtants, ſaying, 'That they were heretics, not to be ſuffered any longer to live amongſt them; that it was no more ſin to kill one of them, than to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable ſin to relieve or protect any of them.'

They alſo with much acrimony repreſented the ſevere courſes taken by the parliament of England to ſuppreſs the Romiſh religion, and utterly to extirpate the profeſſors of it: They told them that in England they had cauſed the queen's prieſts to be hanged before her face, and that they held herſelf under a moſt ſevere diſcipline; and that the like cruel laws ſhould be made againſt popery in Ireland, &c.

When their plots were ripe for execution, we find their firſt proceedings againſt the Engliſh very various; ſome of the Iriſh ſtripping and expelling them; others murdering man, woman, and child without mercy; yet all reſolving univerſally to root out all the proteſtants out of Ireland; yea, ſo deeply malicious were they againſt the Engliſh proteſtants, that they would not endure the very ſound of that language, but would have all ſuch puniſhed as ſpake Engliſh; and the names of all Engliſh places they would have changed into the old Iriſh.

In many places they killed the Engliſh cows and ſheep, merely becauſe they were Engliſh: ſometimes they cut off their legs, or cut out a piece of their buttock, and ſo left them to live in pain: yea, in ſome places, what cattle they could not devour, they killed, and left in great multitudes ſtinking in the fields.

The prieſts gave the ſacrament unto divers of the Iriſh, upon condition that they ſhould neither ſpare man, woman, nor child of the proteſtants, ſaying, 'That it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in their blood.' One Halligan, a prieſt, read an excommunication againſt all thoſe, that from henceforth ſhould relieve or harbour any Engliſh, Scotch, or Welchman, or give them alms at their doors, whereby many were famiſhed to death. The fryars with tears exhorted them not to ſpare any of the Engliſh: they boaſted, that when they had deſtroyed them in Ireland, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of an Engliſh man under heaven.

They openly profeſſed, that they held it as lawful to kill a proteſtant, as to kill a ſheep or a dog. One of their prieſts ſaid, 'That it was no more pity or conſcience to take their lives or eſtates from them, than to take a bone out of a dog's mouth.

The day before this maſſacre was to begin, the prieſts gave the people a diſmiſs at maſs, with free liberty to go out and take poſſeſſion of all their lands, which they pretended to be unjuſtly detained from them by the Engliſh. As alſo to ſtrip, rob, and deſpoil them of all their goods and cattle; proteſtants being, as they told them, worſe than dogs, for they were devils, and ſerved the devil, and therefore the killing of ſuch was a meritorious act, and a rare preſervative againſt the pains of purgatory; for that the bodies of ſuch of them as died in this quarrel ſhould not be cold, before their ſouls ſhould aſcend up into heaven, ſo that they ſhould not need to fear the pains of purgatory; and this cauſed ſome of theſe murderous Cains to boaſt, after they had ſlain many of the Engliſh, that they knew that if they ſhould die preſently they ſhould go ſtraight to heaven.

The chief gentlemen of the Iriſh, when this perſecution firſt began, perſwaded many of their proteſtant neighbours, that if they would bring their goods and cattle to them, they would ſecure them from the rage of the common people; and hereby they got abundance peaceably into their hands, whereof they cheated the proteſtants, refuſing to reſtore them again: yet, ſo confident were the proteſtants at firſt of their good dealing in regard of former familiarity, that they gave the inventories of all they had; nay, digged up ſuch of their beſt things as they had hidden in the ground, and depoſited them in their cuſtody. They alſo gat much into their hands by fair promiſes and deep oaths and engagements, that if they would deliver them their goods, they would ſuffer them with their wives and children quietly to depart the country; yet, having got what they could, they afterwards murdered them.

Having thus ſeized upon all their goods and cattle, ranſacked their houſes, and gotten their perſons under their power; the next work was to ſtrip man, woman, and child ſtark-naked, and ſo to turn them out of doors, not ſuffering them ſo much as to ſhelter themſelves under buſhes or in the woods, ſtrictly prohibiting all the Iriſh, under great penalties, not to give them any relief as they paſſed in the high ways; and their great deſign herein was, that they on whom they would not lay their hands and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miſerably periſh through cold, nakedneſs, and want; and therefore if any of them gat any old rags to cover their nakedneſs with, they ſtripped them again and again, ſometimes twice or thrice over, the Iriſh women being veing very active herein, yea, they taught their very children to do the like; yea, they would not leave to the women ſo much as a ſmock or an hair lace: ſo that many of them being ſtarved, fell down dead in the high ways: others that got to any Engliſh town, by reaſon of famine and cold ſuffered by the way, died ſo ſoon as they came thither.

In the town of Colerain, of theſe miſerable people, that fled thither for ſuccour, many thouſands died in two days, ſo that the living being not able to bury them, laid the carcaſes of thoſe dead perſons in great ranks in waſte and wide holes, piling them ſo cloſe and thick as if they had packed up herrings together.

One Magdalen Redman depoſed that ſhe, and divers other proteſtants, amongſt whom were twenty two widows, were firſt robbed, and then ſtripped ſtark naked, and when they had in an houſe covered themſelves with ſtraw, the bloody papiſts threw burning ſtraw in amongſt them on purpoſe to burn them: then did they drive them ſo naked into the wild woods in froſt and ſnow, ſo that the ſnow covered their ſkins, where a long time it lay unmelted, and ſome of their children died in their arms with the extremity of the cold; and whereas ſome of theſe poor ſouls went toward the Burre for ſhelter, the cruel Iriſh turned them back again, ſaying, 'They ſhould go to Dublin;' and when they went towards Dublin, they beat them back, ſaying, 'They ſhould go to the Burre,' and ſo toſſed them to and fro, that ſome of them died: thoſe which through many difficulties gat to the Burre, many of them died there, and thoſe that ſurvived, lived miſerably by reaſon of their many wants.

Yet though theſe bloody villains exerciſed ſuch inhumane cruelties towards the poor proteſtants, they would commonly boaſt, that theſe were but the beginnings of their ſorrows; and indeed they made it good; for having diſarmed, the Engliſh, robbed them of their goods and cattle, ſtript them of their cloaths, and having their perſons in their power, they furiouſly broke out into all manner of abominable cruelties, horrid maſſacres, and execrable murders, ſo that it would make any Chriſtian's ear to tingle, and his heart to ake to hear the mention of them.

For there were multitudes murdered in cold blood, ſome whilſt they were at plough, others as they ſat peaceably in their houſes, others travelling upon the high ways; all without any manner of provocation given by them, were ſuddenly deſtroyed.

In the caſtle of Liſgool were about one hundred and fifty men, women, and children conſumed with fire. At the caſtle of Moneah were one hundred ſlain together. At the caſtle of Tullah, which was delivered to M'Guire upon compoſition, and faithful promiſes of fair quarter, as ſoon as he and his entered the court, they began to ſtrip the people, and moſt cruelly put them to the ſword, murdering them all without mercy.

At Liſſenskeath they hanged and killed above one hundred of the Scottiſh proteſtants, ſhewing them no more

favour than they did to the Engliſh. Yea, the country thereabouts being well planted and peopled, was in a moſt horrible manner quite deſtroyed. In the countries of Armagh and Tyrone, where the proteſtants were more numerous, their murders were more multiplied, and with greater cruelty, if it were poſſible, than in other places.

Mac Guire coming to the caſtle of Liſſenſketh, deſired in a friendly manner to ſpeak with maſter Middleton, who admitting him in, he firſt burnt the records of the county which were kept there: then he demanded one thouſand pounds which was in his cuſtody of Sir William Balfore's, which as ſoon as he had, he cauſed maſter Middleton to hear maſs, and to ſwear that he would never alter from it, and then immediately cauſed him, his wife and children to be hanged up: hanging and murdering above one hundred perſons beſides in that place.

At Portendown bridge there were one thouſand men, women and children carried in ſeveral companies, and all unmercifully drowned in the river, the bridge being broken down in the midſt, and the people driven and forced on, till they tumbled down into the water. Yea, in that country there were four thouſand perſons drowned in ſeveral places, the barbarous papiſts driving on the poor ſouls, when they had miſerably ſtripped them, unto the places of their ſufferings like ſwine; and if any were ſlack in their pace, they pricked them forward with their ſwords and pikes; yea, to terrify the reſt, they killed and wounded ſome: and when they were caſt into the river, if any eſſayed to ſwim to the ſhore, the rebels ſtood and ſhot at them.

In one place one hundred and forty Engliſh were taken and driven like cattle for many miles together. Other companies they carried out under pretence of ſafe conduct, thereby cauſing them to march chearfully till they had got them to ſome place fit for execution, and then murdered them there. One hundred and fifteen men, women and children they ſent with Sir Philem Oneale's paſs, till they had brought them to the bridge of Portendown, and then forced them all into the water: and ſuch as by ſwimming, or other means ſought to eſcape, they either knocked them on the head, and after drowned them, or elſe ſhot them to death on the water. One miſtreſs Campbell being forced by them to the river, and finding no means to eſcape their fury, ſuddenly clapped one of the chief of them in her arms, and ſo both tumbled into the river, they were drowned together. At another time one hundred and forty proteſtants being thrown in at the ſame place, as any of them ſwam to the ſhore, the bloody villains with the but ends of their muſkets knockt out their brains.

At Armagh, O Cane gat together all the proteſtants thereabouts, pretending to conduct them to Colraine: but before they were gone a day's journey, they were all murdered, and ſo were many others, though they had proteſtions from Sir Philem O Neale. The aged people in Armagh were carried to Charlemount, and there murdered.

Preſently after the town of Armagh was burnt, and five hundred perſons of all ſorts were there murdered and drowned. In Killoman were forty eight families murdered. In one houſe twenty two proteſtants were burned: in Kilmore all the inhabitants were ſtript and maſſacred, being two hundred families: ſome they ſet in the ſtocks till they confeſſed where their money was, and then maſſacred them: the whole county was common butchery, where many thouſands periſhed in a ſhort time, by ſword, famine, fire, water, and all other cruel manner of deaths, that rage and malice could invent.

To many theſe bloody villains ſhewed ſo much favour as to diſpatch them preſently, by no means allowing them ſo much time as to pray. Others they impriſoned in filthy dungeons full of dirt and mire, and there clapping bolts on their legs, ſuffered them to periſh at leiſure. One told John Cowder that they would kill him, but firſt bid him ſay his prayers, and when he kneeled down to pray, they preſently cut off his head. When ſome others upon their knees begged but leave to pray before they were ſlain, they would bid them bequeath their ſouls to the devil; others would aſk them, 'Why do you deſire to pray? your ſouls are already with the devil!' and ſo would immediately ſlaughter them. At Caſel they put all the proteſtants into a loathſome dungeon, where they kept them twelve weeks in great miſery. Some they barbarouſly mangled and left them languiſhing upon the high ways, crying out for ſo much mercy as to be diſpatched out of their pain; ſome they hanged up twice or thrice: others they buried alive. Some when they were half hanged, they caſt into pits, covering them with a little earth, where they ſent out moſt lamentable groans for a good while after.

In Queen's county, an Engliſh man, his wife, five children, and a maid, were all hanged together, then put into a hole; the youngeſt child being not dead, put up the hand, cried Mammy, Mammy, and yet without mercy they buried it alive.

Thomas Maſon in Langal was extremely beaten and wounded, yet his wife and ſome others carried him away, whereupon theſe villains cruelly hacked, ſlaſhed, and wounded them, and then dragged the ſaid Maſon into a hole, and there threw ſtones on him with the weight whereof they kept him under; there he lay languiſhing and groaning till his own wife, to put him out of pain, ſtopped his breath with her handkerchief.

At Clownes ſeventeen men were buried alive, yet ſo as their pitiful cries were heard afar off.

Some were deadly wounded, and ſo hanged upon tenter hooks. Some with ropes about their necks were drawn through the water. Some with ropes about their midles were drawn through woods and bogs.

In caſtle Cumber one of theſe cut-throats took two boys, wounded them, and hung them up upon a butcher's tenters. Some were hanged up, and taken down ſeveral times to make them confeſs their money, which when they had done, they preſently murdered them. Some were hung up by the arms, and then with their ſwords they made experiment how many blows an Engliſh proteſtant would endure ere he died. Some had their bellies ript up, and ſo were left with their guts running about their heels.

An ancient woman coming towards Dublin, was ſtript ſeven times in one day, and they bad her go and look for her God and bid him give her cloaths again.

In Kilkenny they cruelly beat an Engliſh woman, till they forced her into a ditch, where ſhe died: then they took her child, a girl of about ſix years old, ript her belly, and let out her guts.

One they forced to go to maſs with them, yet afterwards wounded him, ript his belly, took out his guts, and ſo left him alive.

A Scottiſh man they ſtripped and knocked on the head, who afterwards coming to himſelf, went into the town naked: then did they again take him and hewed him all to pieces; they alſo ript up his wife's belly, ſo that a child dropped out of her womb. Many other women great with child they hung up, then ript their bellies, and let the infants fall out. Sometimes they gave their children to be devoured of ſwine and dogs. One John Stone with his ſon, two ſons in law, and their wives, they took and hung them all up; and one of the young women being great with child, they ript her belly, took forth her child, and uſed ſuch beaſtly barbarous actions to her as are not fit to be mentioned. At the Newry they ript up a woman's belly that was great with two children, throwing them to be devoured of ſwine. Alſo another woman being delivered of a child in the fields, they which had formerly killed her father and huſband, killed her alſo with two of her children, and gave the new-born infant to be devoured of dogs.

In the county of Armagh they robbed, ſtripped, and murdered abundance of proteſtants, whereof ſome they burned, ſome they ſlew with the ſword, ſome they hanged, and ſome they ſtarved to death; and meeting miſtreſs Howard, and miſtreſs Frankland with ſix of their children, and themſelves both great with child, with their pikes they killed and murdered them all, ript open the gentlewomens bellies, took out their children, and threw them into a ditch. A young Scottiſh woman's child they took up by the heels, and daſhed the brains out againſt a tree; the like they did to many other children.

Anne Hill going with a young child on her back, and four more by her ſide, theſe cruel perſecutors pulled the child off her back, trod on it till it died, ſtripped herſelf and

and the other four children ſtark naked, whereby they died of cold.

Some others they met with, hanged them up upon a windmill, and before they were half dead, cut them in pieces with their ſkeins. Many other proteſtants, eſpecially women and children they pricked and ſtabbed with their ſkeins, forks and ſwords, ſlaſhing, cutting and mangling them in their heads, faces, breaſts, arms, and other parts, yet killed them not, but left them wallowing in their blood, to languiſh, ſtarve, and pine to death; and when they deſired them to kill them out of their pain, they refuſed; yet ſometimes after a day or two, they would daſh out their brains with ſtones or clubs, which they accounted as a great favour.

One goodwife Harvey at Kilkenny was forced to go to maſs, yet afterwards, together with her children, was ſtripped, and one of her daughters had her belly ripped that her intrails fell out; and herſelf was ſo beaten and wounded, that ſhe hardly eſcaped with life.

The caſtle of Liſgoole being ſet on fire by theſe mercileſs papiſts, a woman leaped out at a window to ſave herſelf from burning, but they preſently murdered her: The next morning her child was found ſucking at her breaſt, which they murdered alſo. And whereas many Proteſtants, with their wives and children fled into vaults and cellars to hide themſelves, they were all murdered there. One Jane Addis they ſtabbed, and then putting her child of a quarter old, to her breaſt, bid it *ſuck Engliſh baſtard*, and ſo left it to periſh there.

One Mary Barlow had her huſband hanged before her face, and herſelf with ſix children were all ſtript ſtark naked in froſt and ſnow, after which, ſheltring themſelves in a cave, they had nothing to eat for three weeks, but two old calves ſkins, which they beat with ſtones, and ſo eat them hair and all, her children crying to her rather to go out and be killed than to famiſh there.

In the cold weather many thouſands of proteſtants of all ranks, ages, and ſexes, being turned out ſtark naked, periſhed of cold and hunger; thouſands of others were drowned, caſt into ditches, bogs, and turf pits. Multitudes were incloſed in houſes, which being ſet on fire, they were burnt miſerably. Some that lay of fevers ſick they drew out of their beds and hanged them. Some men, women, and children they drove into boggie pits; and if any of them endeavoured to get out, they knockt them on the heads.

Some aged men and women, theſe Barbarians enforced their own children to carry them to the river where they were drowned; yea ſome children were compelled unnaturally to be the executioners of their own parents: Wives were forced to help to hang their own huſbands, and mothers to caſt their own children into the water, after all which, themſelves were murdered. In Sligo they forced a young man to kill his own father, and then hanged him up: In another place they forced a woman to kill her huſband; then cauſed her ſon to kill her, and then immediatly hanged the ſon; and this they did that they might deſtroy both ſoul and body. Yea ſuch was their deteſtable malice againſt the Engliſh proteſtants, that they taught their children to kill Engliſh children. One of theſe villain's wives was very angry with their ſoldiers, becauſe they did not bring the greaſe of a fat gentlewoman, whom they had ſlain, with them for her to make candles of.

The Iriſh women that followed the camp, egged on the men to cruelty, always crying out, *Kill them all, ſpare neither man, woman, nor child.* They took the child of one Thomas Straton, being about twelve years old, and boiled him to death in a cauldron. One goodwife Lin and her daughter were carried into a wood, where they firſt hanged the mother, and then the daughter in the hair of the mothers head. Some women and children of the Iriſh, meeting an Engliſh woman great with child, ſtript her to her ſmock, then pulled off her ſmock, and ſo rent and abuſed her, that the poor woman falling into labour, both ſhe and her child died under their hands.

In ſome places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the proteſtants, and ſo turned them out into the fields to wander up and down till they periſhed. The very women in ſome places ſtoned the Engliſh women to death, together with their children. One man they ſhot thro' both his thighs; then digging a hole in the ground, they ſet him in it upright upon his feet, and then filled up the hole, leaving out only his head, where they left him till he pined and languiſhed to death. Of another man they held his feet in the fire till he was burnt to death.

In Munſter they hanged up many miniſters in a moſt barbarous manner. One miniſter they ſtripped ſtark naked, and drove him thro' the town, pricking him forwards with darts and rapiers, and ſo purſued him till he fell down dead.

Neither did all the malice that they bore to theſe poor Chriſtians, end with their lives when they had ſlain them, but extended after death to the denying burial to their carcaſſes, caſting ſome into ditches, leaving others to be devoured of ravenous beaſts and fowls; yea ſome that had been formerly buried they digged up, and left them as dung upon the face of the earth.

Theſe barbarous villains vowed that if any parents digged graves to bury their children in, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves. They ſtripped one William Loverden naked, then killed him before his wife and children, cut off his head, and held it up for them to gaze at; and when his wife had buried him in his garden, they digged him up, and threw him into a ditch. Divers miniſters bones that had been buried ſome years before, they digged up, becauſe they were, as they ſaid, patrons of Hereſie.

Poor children that went out into the fields to eat weeds and graſs, they killed without all pity. And a poor woman, whoſe huſband was taken by them, went to them with two children at her feet, and one at her breaſt, hoping to beg her huſbands life; but they ſlew her and her ſucking infant; brake the neck of another, and the third hardly eſcaped: And which was a great aggravation of their wickedneſs, they exerciſed all this cruelty upon the Engliſh proteſtants who never provoked them thereto, yea that had always lived peaceably with them, adminiſtring help and comfort to them in diſtreſs, putting no difference betwixt them and thoſe of their own nation, and cheriſhed them as friends and loving neighbours. Notwithſtanding all which courteſies, they now ſhewed them no favour or pity. Alas, who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguiſh, bitterneſs, and perplexity that ſeized upon the hearts of the poor proteſtants, finding themſelves ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miſeries, which could poſſibly by man be inflicted upon human creatures. What ſighs and groans, trembling and aſtoniſhment! What ſhrieks, cries, and bitter lamentations of wives, children, ſervants and friends, howling and weeping, finding themſelves without all hope of deliverance from their preſent miſeries! How inexorable were all their barbarous tormentors that compaſſed them in on every ſide, without all bowels of compaſſion, or the leaſt commiſeration and pity! One Ellen Millington they put into a hole, faſtning her in with ſtones, and left her there to languiſh to death, braggiug how many of them went to ſee her kick and toſs in the hole. Yea they boaſted upon their ſucceſs, that that day was there one, and that ere long they would not leave one proteſtant rogue living, but would utterly deſtroy every one that had but a drop of Engliſh blood in them: Their women crying out, 'Slay them all, the Engliſh are fit meat for dogs, and their children are baſtards.' Yea ſo implacable was their malice, that they vowed that they would not leave an Engliſh beaſt alive, nor any of the breed of them. How grievous was it to any Chriſtian heart to hear a baſe villain boaſt, that his hands were ſo weary with killing and knocking down proteſtants into a bog, that he could not lift up his arms to his head! Another boaſted that he had been abroad and had killed ſixteen of the rogues. Others boaſted that they had killed ſo many, that the greaſe and fat which ſtuck upon their ſwords, might well make an Iriſh candle. Yea two boys boaſted, that at ſeveral times they had murdered and drowned thirty ſix women and children.

Theſe mercileſs papiſts having ſet a caſtle on fire, wherein were many proteſtants, they rejoycingly ſaid amongſt themſelves, *O how ſweetly do they fry!*

At Kilkenny, when they had committed many cruel murders, they brought ſeven proteſtants heads, amongſt which

which one was the head of a reverend miniſter, all which they ſet upon the market-croſs, on a market day, triumphing, ſlaſhing, and mangling them; and putting a gag into the miniſter's mouth, they ſlit up his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a bible before it, they bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough: it cannot be imagined with what ſcorn and deriſion they acted theſe things, and with what joy and exaltation their eyes beheld the ſad ſpectacle of the proteſtants miſeries; what greedy delight they took in their bloody executions.

An Engliſh woman, whom they had ſtripped ſtark naked, gat a little ſtraw, which ſhe tied about her middle to cover her nakedneſs; but theſe impudent villains ſet fire to it, boaſting what brave ſport they had, to ſee how the fire made the Engliſh jade to dance.

At Kilmore they put many proteſtants, men, women, and children together in a thatched houſe, and then ſet fire on it, boaſting of the lamentations and out-cries that they made whilſt they were in burning, and how the children gaped when the fire began to burn them; taking pride, and glorying in imitating thoſe cries.

They took one miſtreſs Maxwel being in labour, and threw her into a river; boaſting that the child's arm appeared, and that it was half-born when the mother was drowned.

Theſe bloody perſecutors took great pleaſure and delight in their cruelty, and to encreaſe their miſery, when they butchered them, they uſed to ſay, 'Thy ſoul to the devil. One of them coming into an houſe with his hands and cloaths all bloody, made his boaſts, that it was Engliſh blood, and that his ſkein had pinked the clean white ſkins of many of them, even to the hilt thereof. When any of them had killed a proteſtant, many of them would come one after another, each of them ſtabbing, wounding, and cutting his body in a moſt deſpiteful manner, and then leave it naked to be devoured of dogs, beaſts, and fowls; and when they had ſlain any number of them, they would boaſt that they had made the devil beholde to them in ſending ſo many ſouls to hell.

But it is no wonder that they carried themſelves ſo towards theſe innocent chriſtians, when they ſpared not to belch out their execrable blaſphemies againſt God and his holy word.

In one place they burnt two proteſtant bibles, and then ſaid that it was hell fire they burnt. Other bibles they took, cut in pieces, and then burnt them, ſaying, that they would do the like to all puritan bibles. In the church at Powerſcourt they burned the pulpit, pews, cheſts and bibles belonging to it. Others of them took the proteſtant bibles, and wetting them in dirty water, did ſeveral times daſh them on the faces of the proteſtants ſaying, 'I know you love a good leſſon; here is an excellent one for you, come to morrow and you ſhall have as good a ſermon as this.' Others they dragged by the hair of the head into the church, there ſtripped and whipped them in a moſt cruel manner, ſaying, 'If you come to-morrow, you ſhall hear the like ſermon. They took the bible of a miniſter called Edward Slack, and opening it, they laid it in a puddle of water, and then ſtamped upon it, ſaying, 'A plague on it; this bible hath bred all the quarrel,' and that they hoped within a few weeks, all the bibles in Ireland ſhould be uſed as that was, or worſe.

They did moſt deſpitefully upbraid the profeſſion of the truth to thoſe bleſſed ſouls, whom neither by threats nor terrors, pains nor torments they could draw to forſake their religion. And though ſome by extreme torments were drawn to profeſs the change of their religion, yet did they find no more favour with theſe hell hounds, who with great ſcorn uſed to ſay, 'That it was fit to ſend them out of the world whilſt they were in a good mood.

At Glaſlow, a prieſt with ſome others, drew about forty or fifty Engliſh and Scottiſh proteſtants to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and then he told them that they were in a good faith, and for fear they ſhould fall from it and turn heretics, he with his companions preſently cut all their throats.

John Nicholſon and Anne his wife, being received into the protection of one Fitz Patrick, he laboured to perſwade them to go to maſs, and to join in the preſent maſſacre; but they proteſted, 'That rather than they would forſake their religion they would die upon the ſwords point;' then he would have had the woman burn her bible, but ſhe told him, 'Rather than ſhe would burn her bible, ſhe would die the death;' whereupon, the Sabbath morning after they were both of them cruelly murdered: but he that acted the villainy was ſo tormented in conſcience, and dogged with apparitions of them as he conceived, that with inward horror he pined away.

In the county of Tipperaray near ſilver works, ſome of theſe barbarous papiſts met with eleven Engliſh men, proteſtants, ten women, and ſome children, whom they ſtripped of their cloathes, and then with ſtones, pole-axes, ſkeins, ſwords, &c. they moſt barbarouſly maſſacred them all; this was done on a Sabbath evening, the day having been very fair and clear: but juſt at that time, God ſent a fearful ſtorm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail and rain, ſo that the murderers themſelves confeſſed, that it was a ſign of God's anger againſt them for this cruelty; yet they perſiſted in their bloody act, hacking, hewing, ſlaſhing and ſtabbing them, ſo that moſt of them were cut in pieces; they tying withs about their necks, they threw them into a hole which they made for the purpoſe; yet it pleaſed God, that one Scottiſh and an Engliſh man, though they had many grievous wounds, and were left for dead, after a while revived, and with much difficulty eſcaped with their lives: but as God ſhewed his great mercy in preſerving them, ſo he ſhewed his juſt judgment upon Hugh Kennedy, the chief of theſe murderers, who preſently fell into a moſt deſperate madneſs and diſtraction, neither reſting day nor night, till about eight days after he drowned himſelf.

In the county of Mayo, about ſixty proteſtants, whereof fifteen were miniſters, were upon covenant, to be ſafely conveyed to Galway by one Edmund Burk and his ſoldiers; but by the way this Burk drew his ſword, teaching thereby the reſt of his company to do the like; and ſo they began to maſſacre theſe poor proteſtants, ſome they ſhot to death; ſome they ſtabbed with their ſkeins; ſome they caſt into the water and drowned, the women they ſtript ſtark naked, who lying upon their huſbands to ſave them, were run through with pikes, ſo that very few of them eſcaped with life.

In the town of Sligo forty proteſtants were ſtript and locked up in a cellar; and about midnight a butcher, provided for the purpoſe was ſent in amongſt them, who, with his ax, knocked them all on the heads.

In Tirawly, thirty or forty Engliſh, who had formerly yielded to go to maſs, were put to their choice whether they would die by the ſword, or to be drowned? they choſe the latter, and ſo being driven to the ſea ſide, theſe barbarous villains with their naked ſwords forced them into the ſea; the mothers with their children in their arms wading to the chin, were afterwards overcome by waves, where they all periſhed.

But preſent death was counted too great a favour, and therefore of ſome they twiſted withs about their foreheads till the blood ſprung out at the crown of their heads: others they hanged, and let down ſeveral times, &c.

The ſon of maſter Montgomery, a miniſter, aged about fifteen years, met with one of theſe blood ſuckers, who formerly had been his ſchool-maſter, who drew his ſkein at him, whereupon they boy ſaid, 'Good maſter, whip me as much as you will, but do not kill me;' yet this mercileſs tyger barbarouſly murdered him without all pity. A Scottiſh man was firſt wounded, and then buried alive in a ditch.

In the town of Sligo, all the proteſtants were firſt ſtript, and robbed of all their eſtates: afterwards they were ſummoned to go into the goal, and ſuch as refuſed were carried in; and then about midnight, they all were ſtripped ſtark naked, and there moſt cruelly and barbarouſly murdered with ſwords, axes, ſkeins, &c. ſome of them being women great with child, their infants thruſt out their arms and legs at their wounds; after which execrable murders, they laid the dead naked bodies of the men upon the naked bodies of the women in a moſt immodeſt poſture, where they left them till the next day to be looked upon by the Iriſh, who beheld it with great delight: alſo Iſabel Beard, great with child, hearing the lamentable cries of thoſe that were murdered, ran forth into the ſtreets, where ſhe was barbarouſly murdered, and was found the next day with the

the child's feet coming out of the wounds in her ſides; many others were murdered in the houſes and ſtreets: but by God's juſt judgment the river of Sligo, which was before very full of fiſh, whereby many were nouriſhed, for a long time after it afforded no fiſh at all. A prior alſo that had a hand in the murder of Iſabel Beard, and of caſting her into the river, preſently fell mad.

About Dungannon were three hundred and ſixteen proteſtants in the like barbarous manner murdered: about Charlemount above four hundred: about Tyre two hundred and ſix.

One Mac Crew murdered thirty one in one morning: two young villains murdered one hundred and forty poor women and children that could make no reſiſtance: an Iriſh woman with her own hands murdered forty five.

At Portendown bridge were drowned above three hundred. At Laugh were drowned above two hundred: in another place three hundred were drowned in one day. In the pariſh of Killamen there were murdered one thouſand and two hundred proteſtants.

Many young children they cut into quarters and gobbets: eighteen Scottiſh infants they hanged upon a clothier's tenterhooks. One fat man they murdered, and made candles of his greaſe: of another Scottiſh man they ript up his belly, took one end of his ſmall guts, tied it to a tree, and forced him round about it till he had drawn them all out of his body, ſaying, 'That they would try whether a dog's or a Scotchman's guts were the longeſt.'

By the command of Sir Philem O Neale, maſter James Maxwell was drawn out of his bed, being ſick of a fever, and murdered: and his wife being in child-birth, the child half born, they ſtript her ſtark naked, drove her about a flight's ſhoot, and drowned her in the black-water; the like, or worſe they did to an Engliſh woman in the ſame town. They took one maſter Watſon, and cutting two collops out of his buttocks they roaſted him alive. Of a Scottiſh woman great with child they ript up her belly, cut the child out of her womb, & alſo left it crawling on her body.

Maſter Starkey, ſchoolmaſter at Armagh, being above one hundred years old, they ſtripped ſtark naked; then took two of his daughters being virgins, whom they ſtripped ſtark naked alſo, and then forced them to lead their aged father under the arms a quarter of a mile to a turf-pit, where they drowned them all three, feeding the luſts of their eyes, and cruelty of their hearts with the ſame object at the ſame time.

In ſome places they ſhewed the like cruelty to the Engliſh beaſts, which they would not kill out-right, but uſed to cut collops out of them, delighting to hear their roaring, and ſo the poor cattle would ſometimes live two or three days in that torment.

To one Henry Cowal, a gallant gentleman, they profered his life, if he would marry one of their baſe trulls, or go to maſs, but he choſe death rather than conſent to either. Alſo to one Robert Ecklin, a child about eleven years old, they profered his life if he would go to maſs, but he refuſed, ſaying, 'That he ſaw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own.'

Many of the proteſtants they buried alive, ſolacing themſelves in hearing them ſpeak to them, whilſt they were digging down old ditches upon them.

They uſed alſo to ſend their children abroad in troops, armed with long wattles and whips, wherewith they uſed to beat dead mens bodies about their privy members, till they beat them off, and then would return very joyful to their parents, who received them, as it were in triumph for their good actions.

If any women were found dead, lying with their faces downwards, theſe brutiſh perſons uſed to turn them on their backs, viewing and cenſuring every part of them, eſpecially thoſe parts that are not fit to be named, which alſo they abuſed ſo many ways, and ſo filthily, as chaſte ears would not endure the naming thereof.

They brake the back bone of a young youth, and ſo left him in the fields; and ſome days after he was found, having, like a beaſt, eaten all the graſs round about him; yet neither then would they kill him out-right, but removed him to a place of better paſture, wherein was fulfilled that ſaying, 'The tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.'

In the county of Antrim they murdered nine hundred fifty four proteſtants in one moring, and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county. Near Liſnegarvy they forced above twenty four proteſtants into a houſe, and then ſetting fire on it, they burned them all, counterfeiting their outcries in deriſion to others.

Sir Philem O Neal boaſted that he had ſlain above ſix hundred at Garvah; and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munterlong. In other places he murdered above two thouſand perſons in their houſes, ſo that many houſes were filled with dead bodies.

Above twelve thouſand were ſlain in the high ways as they fled towards Down. Many died of famine; many were ſtarved to death for want of clothes, being ſtript of all in a cold ſeaſon: Some thouſands were drowned. So that, in the very province of Ulſter there were about one hundred and fifty thouſand murdered by ſundry kinds of torments and deaths.

Theſe bloody perſecutors themſelves confeſſed, that the ghoſts of divers of the proteſtants which they had drowned at Portendown bridge, were daily and nightly ſeen to walk upon the river ſometimes ſinging of pſalms, ſometimes brandiſhing naked ſwords, ſometimes ſcreeching in a moſt hideous and fearful manner; ſo that many of the popiſh Iriſh which dewelt near thereabouts, being frightd herewith, were forced to remove their habitations further off into the country.

The popiſh Engliſh were no whit inferior, yea rather exceeded the natural Iriſh in their cruelty againſt the proteſtants that lived amongſt them, within the pale, being never ſatisfied with their blood till they had ſeen the laſt drop thereof.

Anne Kinnard teſtified, that fifteen proteſtants being impriſoned, and their feet in the ſtocks, a popiſh boy being not above fourteen years old, ſlew them all in one night with his ſkein. Another not above twelve years old, killed two women in another place. An Engliſh papiſt woman killed ſeven men and women of her neighbours in one morning. And it was uſual for the papiſts children to murder the proteſtants children, and ſometimes with their wooden ſwords, ſharp and heavy, they would venture on people of riper years.

An Engliſh woman, who was newly delivered of two children, ſome of their villains violently compelled her in her great pain and ſickneſs to riſe from her bed, and took one of the infants that was living, and daſhed out his brains againſt the ſtones, and then threw him into the river of Barrow; the like they did by many other infants: Many others they hanged without all pity.

The lord Mont Garret cauſe divers Engliſh ſoldiers that he had taken about Kilkenny to be hanged, hardly ſuffering them to pray before their death; they died very patiently, and reſolutely in the defence of the proteſtant faith; and one of them, being an Iriſh man, had his life offered if he would turn papiſt, but he rather choſe to die, and ſo was executed with the reſt.

Some of theſe perſecutors meeting a poor young girl that was going to ſee her friends, they firſt half-hanged her, and then buried her quick.

One Fitz Patrick enticed a rich merchant, that was a proteſtant, to bring all his goods into his houſe, promiſing ſafely to keep them, and to redeliver them to him. But when he had thus gotten them into his poſſeſſion, he took the merchant and his wife, and hanged them both: The like he did to divers others.

Some Engliſh mens heads that they had cut off, they carried to Kilkenny, and on the market day, ſet them on the croſs, where many, eſpecially the women, ſtab'd, cut, and flaſhed them, every one accounting themſelves happy that could but get a blow at them.

One of the heads being a miniſter's, a woman ſtruck ſo hard with her fiſt, that the ſame night her hand grew black and blue, and ſo rankled, that ſhe was lame of it a quarter of a year after: Another woman that looked on theſe heads with much rejoicing, preſently after fell ſo diſtracted, that neither night nor day ſhe could reſt, but cried out continually that ſhe ſaw thoſe heads before her eyes.

One Engliſh proteſtant, ſaying, 'That he would believe the devil as ſoon as the pope' they preſently hanged him up in an apple tree till he died.

A poor proteſtant woman with her two children going to Kilkenny upon buſineſs, theſe bloody miſcreants baited them with dogs, ſtabbed them with ſkeins, and pulled out the guts of one of the children, whereby they died: and not far off, they took divers men, women, and children, and hanged them; and one of the women being great with child, they ripped up her belly as ſhe hanged, ſo that the child fell out in the cawl alive. Some after they were hanged, they drew up and down till their bowels were torn out.

How many thouſands of proteſtants were thus inhumanely murdered by ſundry kinds of deaths in that one province of Ulſter we have heard before: what the number of the ſlain was in the three other provinces, I find not upon record; but certainly it was very great; for I find theſe paſſages in a general remonſtrance of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the province of Munſter. 'We may (ſay they) compare our woe to the ſaddeſt parallel of any ſtory; our churches are demoliſhed, or which is worſe, profaned by ſacrifices to idols: our habitations are become ruinous heaps: no quality, age, or ſex privileged from maſſacres, and lingring deaths, by being robbed, ſtript naked, and ſo expoſed to cold and famine. The famiſhed infants of murdered parents ſwarm in our ſtreets, and for want of food, periſh before our faces, *&c.* And all this cruelty that is exerciſed upon us, we know not for what cauſe, offence, or ſeeming provocation it is inflicted on us, (ſin excepted) ſaving that we were proteſtants, *&c.* We can make it manifeſt that the depopulations in this province of Munſter, do well near equal thoſe of the whole kingdom, *&c.*

And thus in part we have heard of the mercileſs cruelties which the bloody papiſts exerciſed towards the proteſtants: let us now conſider, at leaſt ſome of God's judgments upon the Iriſh, whereby he hath not left the innocent blood of his ſervants to be altogether unrevenged. Some particular inſtances have been mentioned before: as alſo the apparitions at Portendown bridge which affrighted them from their habitations, concerning which it is further teſtified, that by their own confeſſion, the blood of thoſe that were knocked on the head, and then thrown into the river at that bridge, remained for a long time upon the ſtones, and could not be waſhed away: as alſo that oft times they ſaw apparitions ſometimes of men, ſometimes of women riſing breaſt-high above the water, which did moſt extremely ſcreech and cry out for vengeance againſt the Iriſh that had murdered them there.

Catherine Coke teſtified upon oath, that when the Iriſh had barbarouſly drowned one hundred and eighty proteſtants, men, women, and children, at Portendown bridge, about nine days after ſhe ſaw the apparition of a man bolt upright in the river, ſtanding breaſt high, with his hands lift up to heaven, and continuing in that poſture from December to the end of Lent, at which time ſome of the Engliſh army paſſing that way, ſaw it alſo, after which it vaniſhed away.

Elizabeth Price teſtified upon oath, that ſhe and other women whoſe huſbands and children were drowned in that place, hearing of thoſe apparitions, went thither one evening, at which time they ſaw one like a woman riſe out of the river breaſt high, her hair hanging down, which with her ſkin, was as white as ſnow, often crying out, 'Revenge, revenge, revenge,' which ſo affrighted them, that they went their way.

Divers proteſtants were thrown into the river of Belterbert, and when any of them offered to ſwim to the land they were knocked on the head with poles; after which their bodies were not ſeen of ſix weeks: but after the end thereof, the murtherers coming again that way, the bodies came floating up to the very bridge where they were.

Sir Con. M'Gennis with his company, ſlew maſter Turge, miniſter of Newry, with divers other proteſtants, after which the ſaid M'Gennis was ſo affrighted with the apprehenſion of the ſaid maſter Turge his being continually in his preſence, that he commanded his ſoldiers not to ſlay any more of them, but ſuch as ſhould be ſlain in battle.

A young woman being ſtript almoſt naked, there came a rogue to her, bidding her give him her money, or he would run her through with his ſword. Her anſwer was 'You cannot kill me except God give you leave,' whereupon he ran three times at her naked body with his drawn ſword, and yet never pierced her ſkin, whereat he being confounded, went his way and left her: this was atteſted by divers women that were preſent and ſaw it.

But beſides theſe forementioned judgments of God which befel them for their inhuman cruelties; we may obſerve how the hand of God hath been out againſt them ever ſince, and that in a ſpecial manner, by emaſculating and debaſing their ſpirits; whereby it hath come to paſs that ordinarily a few Engliſh ſoldiers have chaſed multitudes of them, and generally in all the battles and fights that have been betwixt them, they have always been beaten; though the odds was great on their ſide: and as they made themſelves formerly drunk with the innocent blood of the unreſiſting proteſtants; ſo now God hath given them their fill of blood in jealouſy and fury. Many thouſands of them have periſhed by the ſword of war: and how heavy hath the hand of God lain further upon them this preſent year 1650. in that terrible and univerſal plague that hath been ſcattered all over the nation, whereby many thouſands more of them have periſhed, and God is ſtill fighting againſt, and probably will continue their deſtruction, till they either ſhall be truly humbled for their horrid ſins, or be utterly conſumed from the face of the earth!

Amen; 'Even ſo come Lord Jeſus, come quickly.

These particulars were atteſted upon Oath by ſundry perſons before Commiſſioners appointed to take their Examination.]

CHAP. XLII.

A Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Waldenſes from the Year 1560. ending with the late Perſecution in the valleys in Piedmont.

ANNO CHRISTI 1561. the duke of Savoy publiſhed an edict in favour of the Evangelical churches in the vallies of Piedmont, wherein he granted an indemnity to the people of the valleys of Angrognia, Bobio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, Rora, Tagliaretto, and La Rica di Boneti at the end of La Torre, St. Martino, Peroſa, Roccapiatta, and St. Bartholemew, from all former actings; and reſtored them into his favour, as if they had never acted any thing againſt his highneſs; receiving them into his ſafeguard and protection: he granted them alſo to have preaching aſſemblies, and other miniſterial offices according to their religion in their wonted places, *&c.*

But in the year 1565. Another edict was publiſhed, at the inſtigation of the popiſh party, whereby all men who lived in the Duke of Savoy's dominions, and would not conform to the Romiſh religion, where enjoined to come and declare the ſame to their reſpective magiſtrates within ten days after the publication thereof and two months after to leave the country, having one years time given them to diſpoſe of their goods moveable, and unmoveable, during which time they ſhould enjoy the revenue therof, *&c.*

The tidings of this cruelty ſo wrought upon the hearts of the proteſtant princes of Germany, that they ſent an embaſſy to the Duke of Savoy to intercede in their behalf: amongſt whom the prince elector Palatine was exceeding zealous, ſending one of his counſellors of ſtate, a perſon of ſingular worth, to the duke of Savoy, to mediate in their behalf; at whoſe return, the prince being informed by him of the unworthy dealing of that court, and finding that notwithſtanding all their fair promiſes, they did not at all ceaſe from perſecuting theſe poor people, he wrote a very ſmart and patheical letter to the ſaid duke, challenging him for breach of promiſe to himſelf and the other German princes, in that he ſuffered his miniſters ſtill to perſecute and baniſh thoſe poor innocent people, merely upon the account of religion, concluding that ſuch ſeverity was neither pleaſing to God nor man; neither (ſaith he) 'Is it the way to bring men to the true know-

lege

leg of God, which ſhould be done by perſuaſions, and ſcripture proofs, not by perſecutions, &c. Wherefore I pray your higheneſs that you will give us an evidence of that love which you have for us, by delivering thoſe poor people who are now in the gallies, and by recalling thoſe who have been lately baniſhed, as you promiſed by letters. Have compaſſion upon ſo many poor wandring exiles, deprived of all their goods and eſtates: call them home, and reſtore them to their habitations; and grant them, and the other inhabitants of your higheneſſes countries the public exerciſe of their religion, which they prefer before their neceſſary food: free them from their falſe accuſations, that they may live in peace under your higheneſs' government, &c. If your higheneſs will grant me this requeſt, I doubt not but you ſhall experimentally find the favour and bleſſing of God, and you ſhall oblige us to you in all things: If otherwiſe, you will both provoke God to lift up his hand againſt you, and eſtrange from you the affections of thoſe who deſire to do you pleaſure and ſervice. &c. dated 1566.

Now that you may ſee upon what occaſion the prince wrote this letter, you are to underſtand that Caſtrocaro (one of their popiſh governors) being extremely troubled that the prince elector's ambaſſador had obtained ſeveral promiſes at the court for the poor peoples advantage, did immediately after the ſaid ambaſſador's departure, publiſh through the valley of Lucerna, two ordinances: by the one he commanded all the inhabitants throughout his government, that were not natives, to depart within a day after the publication thereof, upon pain of death, and confiſcation of their goods: by the other he prohibited upon the ſame penalty thoſe of the reformed religion, inhabiting Lucerna, Bubbiana, Campiglione, and Fenile, to hear ſermons at St. Giovanni; and for their not ſubmitting, he impriſoned and tormented a great number of them in the caſtle of La Torre, which dealing made poor people to make their addreſs to the ducheſs of Savoy, who pitying their condition, wrote to the ſaid Caſtrocaro in their behalf, commanding him in the duke's name to ſet at liberty the impriſoned, and to ceaſe to moleſt them in the enjoyment of their ancient habitations and privileges.

This letter ſtopped the fury of Caſtrocaro for the preſent: but it was far from working any change of affections in him, as was evident by his after-actings: for in the year 1571, he did ſo incenſe the governor of Bobio againſt the poor inhabitants of that valley, that he did not only grievouſly moleſt them upon all occaſions as they came under his clutches, but alſo wrote bitter letters to the duke againſt them, improving the uttermoſt of his parts and power for their ruin and extirpation: and certainly Caſtrocaro had then effected his deſign, had not the ducheſs, upon the joint ſupplications of the Evangelical churches, very effectually interpoſed for them, and procured the continuation of their juſt and undoubted privileges.

Anno 1571. Many of the poor proteſtants of the vallies were grievouſly moleſted under pretext that in the former war of France againſt thoſe of the religion, they had joined themſelves to the proteſtant troops. But king Charles the ninth being moved with compaſſion towards them, wrote a letter to the duke of Savoy in their behalf, requeſting him to receive them with gentleneſs into his grace and favour, and to re-eſtabliſh them in their eſtates, &c. The ſubject of which letter was not only ſatisfactory to thoſe for whom it intereeded, but alſo to all other faithful ones of the vallies, out of the great hopes they had of future tranquillity. But it endured no longer than till their enemies had an opportunity of moleſting them, which they greedily embraced upon the news of the horrible maſſacres in France.

For Caſtrocaro did thereupon ſo threaten the poor proteſtants, that they retired themſelves, with their families, and moveables, to the tops of the neighbouring mountains, and into all other places where they hoped for ſafety: but the duke of Savoy not approving the cruelties exerciſed againſt the proteſtants in France, ſent to thoſe his ſubjects, who were thus withdrawn, commanding them to return to their houſes, and habitations, promiſing that they ſhould ſuffer no prejudice, nor incur the leaſt danger thereby. Neither indeed were their ſufferings great afterwards, ſo long as madam the ducheſs was living, who was a refuge to them upon all occaſions.

After the death of this princeſs, which happened *Octob.* 19. 1574. The popiſh party came forth like lions, improving the uttermoſt of their endeavours to devour and deſtroy this poor people upon all occaſions: but the goodneſs of God was ſo great towards them, that they always found ſome conſiderable friends about the duke, who inclined his heart to gentleneſs and moderation: But after the death of this Philibert Emanuel, who died *Aug.* 30. 1580. Charles Emanuel his ſon, having invaded the marquiſate of Saluces, monſieur L' Eſdiguieres by way of retaliation, ſeized upon the vallies of Piedmont: But the French army was no ſooner gone home, than there was a rumor ſpread throughout the vallies, that the duke was reſolved to take this occaſion to extirpate all the proteſtant churches, becauſe they had taken an oath of fidelity to the French king, neither was it groundleſs: For the thing was really propounded in the duke's council, but it pleaſed God ſo to order affairs, that the leading men amongſt them did not at all approve of the buſineſs: Yea, the duke himſelf did extreamly mitlike it: And after he had retaken Mirebuc, he did not a little revive the ſpirits of the repreſentatives of the proteſtants of Lucerna, who met with them at Villaro on purpoſe to aſſure his higheneſs of their fidelity, and to beg the continuance of his grace and favour, to whom (in the preſence of a great number of his lords) he returned this anſwer: 'Be but faithful unto me, and I will be ſure to be a good prince, nay a father unto you; and as to the liberty of your conſcience, and the exerciſes of your religion, I ſhall be ſo far from innovating any thing againſt thoſe liberties in which you have lived unto this preſent, that if any offer to moleſt you, have recourſe to me, and I ſhall effectually relieve and protect you.'

Theſe words being ſpoken in ſuch a preſence, and in ſo obliging a manner, were very advantagious to the poor peoples intereſt: For ſome time after, they ſerved to counterballance the threats of their fierceſt enemies: Yet were there ſome amongſt the popiſh party that thought it an unpardonable ſin to ſuffer them to live one year in peice, and on the contrary an acceptable ſervice to moleſt them, either by ſecret ſtratagems, or by open violence.

Such was the condition of this poor people from the year 1595. to the year 1602, at which time all the maſters of families in the valley of Lucerna, profeſſing the proteſtant religion, were cited to appear before count Charles of Lucerna, the govornor Ponte, the archbiſhop Broglia, and others, and were by them commanded in the duke's name, either to go to maſs, or to quit Lucerna, and all their pretenſions thereto, without the leaſt hopes of ever obtaining favour to return, or in caſe of diſobedience, to prepare themſelves for inevitable miſchiefs and calamities: which threats were preſſed with ſo much violence, that it cauſed many of the poor creatures to ſubmit, at leaſt ſeemingly, to the change of their religion, though many others of them were the deepliер rooted by theſe ſhakings.

From Lucerna the aforenamed lord's removed their ſeat to Bubiana where they found the reformed ſo ſtiff in their principles, that they could not remove them an hair's breadth from the ſame, wherefore they cauſed the chief of them to be ſummoned to appear at Turin, thinking that the duke's preſence might prevail more with them than all their threatning ſpeeches: The perſons thus ſummoned were Mr. Valentine, and Mr. Boules his brother, with one Peter Moreſe, and Samuel Falc, who were brought one after another before his higheneſs: Mr. Valentine was the firſt, whom the duke perſuaded to embrace the Roman catholic religion, and to draw others to do the like, promiſing him great rewards and preferments if he obeyed, &c. To this maſter Valentine anſwered, 'That next to the ſervice of God, he had no greater deſire than to obey, and pleaſe his higheneſs, in whoſe ſervice he would willingly adventure his perſon and eſtate, when ever there ſhould be occaſion: But as for his religion which he knew to be true, and confirmed by the word of God, he could not abandon it without diſobeying God, and wounding his own conſcience, ſo as never to enjoy any comfort in his ſoul afterwards: And therefore he humbly intreated his high-

highneſs to be ſatisfied with what he could do with a good conſcience; and to leave him to the liberty of his religion which he valued above his life:' The duke replied, 'That he alſo doubted not of the truth of that religion which he profeſſed, and that ſuch as embraced it, ſhould find how much they had gratified him in ſo doing, yet would he not force the conſcience of any man, and ſo he gave them leave to depart.'

CHAP. XLIII.

The Marquiſate of Saluces deſcribed, with its ſeveral troubles and Perſecutions.

THE marquiſate of Saluces is on the ſouth ſide of the vallies of Piedmont, containing in it ſeveral cities, and conſiderable vallies, very fruitful in all ſorts of fruits. Its moſt northerly valley is that of the Po, where the famous river Po hath its riſe, and ſource; one only mountain ſeparates this from the valley of Lucerna on the north ſide: in this valley were thoſe ancient churches, *viz.* Pravillem, Biolets, and Bietone, who retained the purity of chriſtian religion for ſeveral hundreds of years, and lived in great union with their neighbouring churches.

Anno Chriſti 1561. The church of Dronier, which was one of the moſt flouriſhing, underſtanding that the public exerciſe of the reformed religion was permitted in France, obtained letters from the king's council to Sieur Lovis of Birague, governor of that country in the duke of Nevers abſence, whereby he was ordered to provide for the petitioners a convenient place for the public exerciſe of their religion: but not long after, their adverſaries, by their importunity, prevailed ſo far that the ſaid letters were revoked: this occaſioned the ſaid church to ſend monſieur Francis Galatee, their miniſter, into France, with ſome others, to recover (if it were poſſible) their former privileges. But this falling out in the time of their troubles in France, all that they could obtain, was only bare promiſes. In the mean time they received many hortatory and conſolatory letters from the chief miniſters in the churches of France, and amongſt others from thoſe of Grenoble, Lions, *&c.* to perſuade them to patience, and perſeverance in that truth which they had embraced; which accordingly they did, notwithſtanding all the malice and ſubtilty of their adverſaries: ſo that their churches were continued and upheld, convenient order being had for the preaching of the word, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, exerciſe of their diſcipline, *&c.* only there wanted in ſome places liberty of having general aſſemblies, and public ſermons.

For the better ſafety of their miniſters in the places that were moſt dangerous, one paſtor had the charge of the faithful in ſeveral cities and commonalties, which rendered their reſidence and exerciſes leſs viſible to the adverſaries: hereby the goſpel (through God's mercy) made a very conſiderable progreſs at Dronier, Verzo, and ſome other places of more note. The church of Aceil in the valley de Mairi was extraordinary peopled, and enjoyed more liberty than the others, by reaſon of the ſituation of the place: but Satan the enemy of Chriſt's church and kingdom, perceiving ſuch a growth of the reformed religion in thoſe places ceaſed not to employ all his power and policy to hinder the ſame; and therein he made uſe of inſtruments for the effecting of it, *viz.* Firſt the Anticodemites, whoſe ringleader was Baronius, who lived at Valgrane and thereabouts, accomodating himſelf to the times: for when the church had reſt and eaſe, he wrote ſtrange things, and cried out of the abuſes in popery: but in times of perſecution he uſually played the hypocrite, and laboured to draw others to do the ſame, by which means he had a multitude of followers, and amongſt them, the lord of Valgrane, and Maximilian de Saluces, who ſet his name to Baronius to add luſtre to his writings againſt the miniſters, reproaching them for that they would not give way to any diſſimulation in their diſciples, whereby they expoſed them to great extremities. This lord had ſome learning and knowlege of the truth; but to avoid the bearing of the croſs, he thought it convenient to diſſemble, and condemned thoſe who any way gainſaid the papiſts. Yet monſieur Gelidio, miniſter of Aceil, oppoſed them both, very learnedly in ſeveral letters that he wrote unto them: So did monſieur Truchi, miniſter of Dronier, together with other paſtors of the neighbouring places, demonſtrating both by ſcripture teſtimonies, and by the example of the primitive church, that they had done nothing but what they ought to do, and what every faithful Chriſtian was bound to, and conſequently that the opinion of Baronius and his followers, was pernicious to the church in times of perſecution.

The other inſtruments that Satan made uſe of to the prejudice of the church, were the Romon clergy, with their paſſionate proſelytes, who would fain have done to theſe godly Chriſtians, as their brethren in iniquity had done to their neighbours in the dukedom of Savoy, *viz.* Baniſh, impriſon, kill, and confiſcate the goods of the proteſtants: But (thro' God's mercy) they were hindred by the king's edicts, confirming to thoſe his ſubjects of Saulces a peaceable habitation, without being moleſted for their conſcience and religion, or queſtioned for any thing they did in their private houſes (provided they abſtained from the public exerciſe of it) by which means their miniſters had opportunity of aſſembling in ſmall companies, baptizing, marrying, comforting the ſick, and inſtructing every one in particular; which provoked their adverſaries to bend themſelves chiefly againſt the miniſters, thinking that if they could find out any means to extripate them, they ſhould eaſily prevail upon the common people, having none to animate and inſtruct them.

Accordingly they publiſhed an edict of *Octob.* 19. 1567. in the name of the duke of Nevers, governor for the king on this ſide the mountains, enjoyning all of the religion there inhabiting or abiding, that were not the king's natural ſubjects, to depart, together with their families within the ſpace of three days, and never to return thither to inhabit, paſs, or otherwiſe to abide without a ſpecial ſafe conduct, upon pain of life, and confiſcation of their goods.

Now the greateſt part of the miniſters not being natural ſubjects to the king, by this edict were to quit the marquiſate, or to obtain a ſafe conduct, or laſtly to incur the penalty: A ſafe conduct they could not obtain, and yet they thought themſelves bound in conſcience not to abandon their people; wherefore continuing with their congregations, two of them were apprehended and impriſoned, *viz.* Monſieur Francis Truchi, and monſieur Francis Soulf, where they were detained four years, four months, and odd days, the poor people being not able by any means to obtain their deliverance, tho' they continually ſollicited de Birague their governor, and others that had undertaken the management of theſe affairs; yet the Lord was ſo pleaſed to reſtrain the power their enemies that they could not take away their lives; yea, by degrees they obtained for them a more ſpacious and convenient priſon than that whereunto they were at firſt confined.

To procure their full deliverance the churches of the marquiſate ſent their ſupplications to the king by the aforeſaid miniſter Galatee, and another; who ſet out *July* 27. 1571. and went as far as Rochel to implore the interceſſion of the queen of Navar, as alſo to intreat the aſſiſtance of divers others in ſeveral places: And the great patrons of the reformed religion diſputed their caſe before the king, and in the end obtained letters under the king's own hand for their enlargement, *Octob.* 14. 1571. which was accordingly effected; but it was four months after before it could be done.

When Sieur Galatee returned, he was overjoyed, as well for the proſperous ſucceſs of his negotiations, as for the great hopes of a profound peace, founded upon the ſmooth promiſes of his majeſty, and upon the alliance which he had made by the marriage of his ſiſter to the king of Navar, who profeſſed the reformed religion. But this joy laſted but from the month of *May* 1572. to the beginning of September, at which time there arrived the lamentable news of the maſſacre of many noble perſons, and multitudes of others who were moſt inhumanly murdered in divers places of France, to the great aſtoniſhment of all the faithful in thoſe parts.

About the ſame time there arrived letters from the king to the governor Birague, by which he was required to have

have an eye, that at the arrival of the news of what happened at Paris, they of the religion ſhould make no combuſtion; remitting the reſt of his pleaſure to thoſe inſtructions which he had ſent him by the bearer, the contents whereof were, that he ſhould put to death all the chief of the proteſtants within his juriſdiction, whoſe names he ſhould find in the roll that ſhould be preſented to him.

Birague having received this command, together with the roll aforementioned, was much troubled, and immediately called his council together, whom he acquainted with the king's orders: Whereupon ſome were of opinion that they ſhould be immediately executed: But others, ſeeing the king in his late patents, not many months before, had enlarged the miniſters that were impriſoned, and had ordered that thoſe of the reformed religion ſhould not be any ways moleſted for their conſcience ſake; as alſo upon conſideration that nothing had occurred ſince that time worthy ſuch a change, they therefore thought it ſufficient to ſecure the perſons of ſuch as were enrolled, and to defer execution for a while, and in the mean time to inform the king that they were perſons of honour, faithful to his majeſty, living peaceably with their neighbours, and inoffenſive in their lives: Adding, that in caſe his majeſty was reſolved that they ſhould be put to death, there was yet time enough to execute his pleaſure therein.

This advice Birague approved of, and accordingly apprehended ſome, but others eſcaped, and concealed themſelves: And in the mean time he diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, to inform him as aboveſaid, and to know his further pleaſure. This meſſenger met with another at Lions, by whom the king had ſent to Birague to advertiſe him, that in caſe his former order was not already executed, he ſhould deſiſt from it, and only have a ſpecial care that thoſe of the religion ſhould make no inſurrection, or have any public exerciſes.

But they of the reformed religion in the marquiſate were not a little troubled when they heard of the cruel maſſacre of their brethren in France without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality, inſomuch as divers of them fled; many papiſts alſo ſecretly cauſed the families of their kindred and friends of the religion to retire their families and themſelves till ſuch time as Birague had publiſhed the king's pleaſure, after which they returned by little and little; and though their public exerciſes were prohibited, yet they were well ſatisfied with the aſſurance of their lives, and eſtates, beſides that they had the liberty of private exerciſes in their families.

This was the condition of the proteſtant churches in Saluces during the time that it was under the dominion of the king of France, which continued to the year 1588. at which time the duke of Savoy took the poſſeſſion of it, who for a while after ſuffered them to enjoy their privileges in general: But in particular, ſome of the chief members of the church of Dromier, being cited to Turin, were ſo befooled with ſubtile artifices, that one part of them promiſed to go to maſs, which gave a conſiderable blow to the ſaid church, yet it loſt not its courage in general, altho' the great failings of the former encouraged their adverſaries to attempt the like upon others by both words and letters.

Anno Chriſti 1597. The duke of Savoy wrote his letter to them, wherein he told them how deſirous he was that all his ſubjects in the marquiſate of Saluces ſhould embrace the Romiſh religion, and finding that his exhortations had prevailed with ſome, he hoped that they would have the ſame effect upon the reſt, deſiring that laying aſide their heretical obſtinancy, they would embrace the true religion out of reſpect to God's glory, and their own good, making large promiſes to ſuch as ſhould ſubmit, and telling them that it ſhould return to their great advantage.

The churches of the marquiſate having received this letter, they anſwered, *Firſt*, That they returned his highneſs many thanks for that he had ſuffered them to enjoy their religion hitherto as he had found them in the year 1588. when he took poſſeſſion of the marquiſate. *Secondly*, They humbly intreated him to continue to them the ſaid benefit, as alſo to grant them his protection, ſeeing that they knew that their religion was founded upon the Holy Scriptures, according to which they ordered their lives and converſations, ſo as none had any juſt occaſion of offence: and conſidering that even the Jews and other enemies of Chriſt were ſuffered to live in peace, and to enjoy their religion, they hoped that thoſe which were found chriſtians, faithful to God, and loyal to their prince, ſhould not be denied the ſame privilege.

After this anſwer they lived a while in peace, and the duke took a voyage into France, after which followed a war, ſo that they continued as aforetime: but after the exchange of the marquiſate was eſtabliſhed upon him, his ſoft letters were turned into ſharp edicts, wherein he commanded all thoſe of the religion within the marquiſate, that every one ſhould go, and declare to his ordinary magiſtrate within the ſpace of fifteen days, whether he would renounce his religion, or go to maſs or no; which if they would do, they ſhould not only enjoy their habitations, and eſtates, but many other favours alſo: but if they reſolved to perſiſt in their religion, they were enjoined to depart out of his highneſſes dominions within the ſpace of two months, and never to return without expreſs permiſſion, and that upon pain of death, and confiſcation of all their goods: yet they were permitted within the ſaid term of two months to tranſport their goods as they ſhould think meet.

This unexpected edict being publiſhed through the marquiſſate, July 1601. much troubled thoſe of the reformed religion, who immediately ſent deputies to his highneſs to obtain a revocation, or at leaſt a moderation of it; and indeed they had ſome hopes given them by divers perſons of quality, ſo that many of the poor people reſting upon this broken reed, let ſlip much of the ſaid prefixed time without preparing for their departure, whereby they were the more amazed when they underſtood, not many days before the time was expired, that all hope of favour was now wholly taken away; yet moſt of them prepared for their departure; ſome recommending their goods to their kindred and friends who remained in the country, others leaving all they had at random, except what they could carry with them to ſerve for their preſent neceſſities.

In theſe two months ſpace they who were reſolved to depart, were continually ſet upon by their friends and kindred, with all manner of perſuaſions to divert them from their purpoſes, eſpecially when they preſented themſelves to the magiſtrate to give in their anſwer in writing: for then they were cauſed to ſtand in a certain pew in public view, where the magiſtrates had either monks, or other eccleſiaſtics, who ceaſed not to urge them by all poſſible arguments and motives thereby to ſhake their faith and conſtancy: amongſt others, a certain capuchin fryar, called Philip Ribot, who a little before had been employed in the ſame manner in the valley of Peroſa, being now employed in this place, ran up and down, uſing all ſubtilties imaginable, eſpecially among thoſe who through feebleneſs of age, weakneſs of ſex, or want of eſtates, might probably make them more eaſy to be ſeduced: they cauſed them alſo to be brought before the magiſtrate one by one, that ſo the conſtancy of ſome might not encourage others: yea, hardly were huſbands permitted to declare for their wives and children; and they ſo ſifted the tender ones, that it was hard for them to eſcape without making ſhip-wreck of their faith and religion: and to promote their deſign, they prohibited all upon pain of death, not to diſſuade others from revolting. Yet through God's mercy, they were ſo fortified in their ſpirits, that moſt of them withſtood the tentations, and went forth as providence guided them, not knowing whither they went. Some ſteered their courſe beyond the Alps to France, Geneva, and other places: others retired themſelves into the valleys of Piedmont, and remained there without trouble, though the edict required that they ſhould depart out of his highneſſes dominions.

In the beginning of this perſecution, the adverſaries fearing ſome reſolute union among theſe poor perſecuted ſouls, to prevent any combuſtion, they gave it out in the churches of the mountains, that though the edict was general, yet the intention thereof was only to unlodge thoſe in the lower plains, in the great villages, and other public places: and that ſuch as inhabited amongſt the mountains might be ſure to live in peace and quiet: this indeed was

a cauſe that at the firſt there was not ſuch an univerſal union amongſt thoſe of the reformed religion that were deſtinated for ſlaughter, as they could have deſired: but this fraud at length appearing, occaſioned a more cloſe union amongſt them: neither was it without cauſe; for at laſt they ſpared thoſe in the mountains no more than thoſe of the plains; only that they made no enquiry after the church of Pravillelm, and the quarters thereabouts; who thereupon truſting to the ancientneſs of their poſſeſſion: troubled not themſelves to make any declaration to the magiſtrate, or to prepare themſelves for their departure, as if the edict had not at all concerned them: neither indeed were they diſturbed till all the reſt were departed out of the province, and ſcattered in ſeveral places. But at length they were given to underſtand, that ſeeing they had not yielded obedience to the edict, they were liable to the puniſhment therein appointed: and therefore ſome warned them to have a care of themſelves, both in general, and each particular: hereupon they repaired to the Syndicks of the communalty, requeſting them to intercede for them, ſhewing the reaſons why they conceived not themſelves concerned by the edict, and therefore they had not offended out of any malicious intention.

The Syndicks accordingly made many journeys about this buſineſs, but brought back nothing but ſad and uncomfortable meſſages; ſo that at laſt they were forced to flee. One part of them (the men having ordered their families which they left in their houſes) retired into the weſtern mountains: thoſe who were fit to bear arms (being about two hundred) with their arms retired into the Caſtellenie of Caſteau Dauphine which was near at hand: but thoſe of Dauphine, and who were leſs diſpoſed, retired themſelves into their higheſt foreſts.

Yet before their departure they declared to their popiſh neighbours, that being forced to retire themſelves by reaſon of the threats which were given againſt them for their religion; and being unable to take their families along with them, they intreated them to take care of them; withal telling them, that they would make a ſudden return, either of the good or evil that ſhould be done to their relations, either by themſelves, or by their permiſſion. This ſo prevailed with the papiſts, that either out of fear, or for ſome other reaſons, they ſo far ſollicited, and prevailed with their ſuperiors, that the others had liberty of returning to their ancient habitations without being moleſted, and that for many years together.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Artifices and wicked practices uſed to conſume and deſtroy the Faithful in the Valleys of Piedmont.

THE popiſh clergy having ſeveral perſons under pay, whoſe buſineſs it is to kindle ſtrifes and quarrels amongſt the proteſtants, and to engage them in ſuits of law one againſt another: and when they ſee them reduced to poverty and deſpair, they ſecretly offer them all the favour imaginable, provided that they will either openly revolt, or remain as ſpies amongſt their brethren to betray them: and the better to diſpoſe them hereto, they aſſure them that they ſhall get a full victory over their enemies, in caſe they will employ ſome churchmen to recommend their affairs to the judges, who in all public employments are preferred before the proteſtants, and made their ſuperiors, that ſo they may over-rule them as they liſt.

The popiſh clergy alſo, knowing that young men are apt to be in love, which captivates reaſon, they propound to them by their emiſſaries, a match with ſome papiſt, whoſe portion and other advantages, they amplify by officious lies, and ſo they inveigle ſome poor ſouls, ſometimes without, and ſometimes againſt the conſent of their parents, and friends: and if any amongſt the proteſtants be ſo wicked as not to regard the admonitions of their miniſters and elders, ſo that they are forced to excommunicate them, theſe monks and prieſts perſuade them to embrace the Romiſh religion, where they ſhall be protected againſt ſuch as purſue them for their crimes; yea, they promiſe that they ſhall be ſet over them in all public offices, by which means they may have power in their hands to be revenged of them. This was the practice of the monks in the year 1640, 1641, *&c.* even towards ſome who were manifeſtly convicted of witchcraft, who, revolting to popery, had their lives ſpared, and were ſet at liberty; yea, they often rewarded them with money, merchandizes and other things, withal exempting them from all manner of taxes; and when the proteſtants complained hereof, the duke of Savoy indeed gave them a favourable anſwer by his edict, dated in June 1649. but they could never obtain the putting of it in execution.

But of all the means uſed for theſe laſt ſixty years to root out, and ruin the proteſtant churches in the valleys of Piedmont, there hath been none like that of the miſſionaries eſtabliſhed by pope Clement the VIII. *Anno Chriſti* 1596. For the monaſtries of theſe fire brands have ever been ſo many citadels in the valleys, wherein very many wicked inſtruments have been harboured, who never ceaſed to contrive miſchief by their lies, calumnies and ſlanders wherewith they have filled the ears of the magiſtrates and princes, who have always given more credit to them, than to the true complaints of theſe poor people in their own juſt defence, whereupon they have publiſhed many bloody edicts againſt them: and though the proteſtants reiterated their humble ſupplications to his highneſs, and therein declared their own innocency, and the boldneſs of thoſe miſſionaries, which was grown to ſuch a heighth as was altogether intolerable, yet have they prevailed nothing; and that which makes theſe monks the more confident, is, that they know they are not to be puniſhed by any magiſtrate for whatſoever they ſay or do againſt the proteſtants; no not when they ſteal away their children from them; whereas the proteſtants are put to death if they ſpeak but the leaſt word againſt the miſſionary prieſts, or but go about to diſſuade any, though of their own families from turning papiſt. Yea, by the duke's edict, any one witneſs is ſufficient againſt a proteſtant, and a reward of an hundred crowns is promiſed to any that will come and witneſs againſt them, whereby all thoſe are encouraged, who either out of revenge, envy, or covetouſneſs, ſhall report ſuch falſe things againſt them as by the Romiſh fryars they ſhall be directed to.

By vertue of this edict the monks have made bold upon all occaſions both in the ſtreets, yea in the very churches, and that in the ſermon time to ſet upon the proteſtant miniſters, with all the moſt baſe, vile, and unſufferable ſpeeches they could poſſibly deviſe, knowing that no man durſt either cenſure their zeal, or witneſs againſt them for what they ſaid or did againſt the proteſtants, for fear of the ſevere penalties ordained againſt the favourers of heretics. Nay, if their abuſive carriage could but draw any word out of the miniſters, or out of another man's mouth that did not pleaſe them, they had their hired witneſs in a readineſs to bring the miniſter, or other proteſtant to the ſtake, and that without redemption.

Theſe men got an edict from madam royal, of Jan. 16. 1642. having made her believe that the papiſts were compelled to contribute towards the maintenance of the proteſtant miniſter's, with ſome other ſuch like fictions; upon which they obtained an order for the officers, called caſtellani, to give the miſſionaries all the writings they ſhould demand of them: by means whereof they uſurped power over the ſaid caſtellani, and ſo over the poor proteſtants, compelling the caſtellani to make moſt unjuſt ordinances againſt theſe poor people. As for example: When the queſtion is concerning their habitation, the miſſionaries do perſuade them that come to witneſs the truth, that ſo to do, is to favour the heretics, whereby they will fall irrevocably under the cenſure of excommunication; whereas it is a meritorious work to witneſs againſt them by ſuch officious lies as are ſuggeſted to them by the popiſh clergy: nay, the judges themſelves durſt not paſs a righteous ſentence, when it reflected in the leaſt upon the catholic party. And that they may have the opportunity of negociating with the proteſtants, they procure of his highneſs every year, the aſſignations of grain, and other impoſitions; that ſo they of the reformed religion, being obliged to make their payments to the publicans, they may have the advantage to ſhew favour, and give ample rewards to ſuch as will comply with their ſuperſti-

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tious idolatry, and to lay heavy burdens upon the backs of thoſe that are true to their principles.

Mention might here be made of their frequent falling into the ſaid valleys with troops of armed men, under pretence of quartering them there; whereby they have miſerably ſurprized, and made a prey of them: as likewiſe the cunning ſtratagems which they have uſed in all their treaties, which have been as full of jeſuitical equivocations, as of lines and ſentences, following therein their old maxim, 'That faith is not to be kept with heretics.'

To this may be added their diligent ſearch, and ſtrict enquiry after all proteſtant books and writings, which they commit to the fire with much devotion, leaſt they ſhould diſcover their rotten principles, and the wickedneſs of their actions to the world.

Another ſtratagem they have to allure men to revolt, wherein are proffers of great rewards made, and publiſhed in the prince's name; as may be ſeen in the duke's own letter, wherein are theſe words. 'To encourage the heretics to turn catholics, it is our pleaſure, and we do hereby expreſsly command, that all ſuch as ſhall embrace the Holy Roman faith, ſhall enjoy an exemption from all, and every tax for the ſpace of five years commencing from the day of their converſion, &c. Which term of five years he hath ſometimes lengthened out to ten or fifteen years; whereas indeed the burden that they took off from theſe revolters, they laid upon the backs of thoſe that perſevered in their religion, the better to break and deſtroy them.

But as if all this were too little to compaſs their ends, the duke erected a congregation for extirpating the heretics, who were to judge concerning the rights of the proteſtants. Their meeting place was in the arch-biſhop's houſe, the biſhop himſelf being preſident, with the duke's confeſſor, and divers others, every one of them hired by the court of Rome, to undermine the liberties of the proteſtant churches, by robbing them of their ancient privileges under ſundry pretences, and falſe informations. And the better to diſguiſe their proceedings, they uſually incenſe the duke by grievous accuſations, and ſo procure grievous edicts from him againſt the poor proteſtants. Theſe were they who procured from Charles Emanuel, *anno* Chriſti 1602. An edict, wherein he enjoyns the proteſtants upon pain of death to baniſh from amongſt them, all manner of ſchools both public and private, (as Julian the apoſtate had formerly done to extirpate the chriſtian religion) and by another edict of Dec. 18. 1622. He forbade them to receive any ſtrangers amongſt them that ſhould be either miniſters or ſchool-maſters, as alſo from ſending their youth into foreign ſchools ſuſpected of Hereſie. He alſo degraded all manner of proteſtants from public offices either great or ſmall: In another edict, all proteſtants were commanded either to go to maſs, or depart within two months after the publication thereof: and by another edict the ſame was commanded, and but fifteen days given them.

Another order was given out, Nov. 18. 1634. enjoining the proteſtants of Campiglione, to leave that place within twenty four hours, and that upon pain of death, which was executed without mercy. The ſame was done *anno Chriſti* 1655. by Gaſtaldo, who gave no longer than twenty four hours to thoſe of the valleys of St. Martino and Peroſa, to depart upon pain of death; and to thoſe that lived beyond Pelice, but three days.

Many times when theſe miſſionary fathers could not poſſibly perſuade his royal highneſs to an open perſecution againſt the generality of the proteſtants, then they uſually tormented them one by one upon ſundry falſe pretences, whom they delivered up to the inquiſitors, who contrary to all forms of juſtice, forthwith condemned them, without ſo much as hearing them, or letting them know their accuſers.

Anno Chriſti 1622. They took one Mr. Sebaſtian Baſan, and after the inquiſitors had cruelly tempted and tormented him for the ſpace of fifteen months, they burned him alive at Turin, Novem. 23. 1623. where he died, ſinging the praiſes of God in the midſt of the flames.

Anno 1655. The miſſionary fathers ſtole away very many of the proteſtants children in the time of the maſſacre; whom they would not afterwards reſtore, though his highneſs had promiſed it by his patent; which practice is the moſt execrable of all the Turkiſh tyrannies: yet there is this difference, that the Turks do ſo only to their own ſubjects, whereas the pope's miniſters do it to thoſe over whom they have not right at all. Two inſtances may be given (amongſt many others) of the ſubtile inſinuations of the Jeſuits to withdraw men from the truth; there were two miniſters, the one Mr. Peter Gros, the other Mr. Francis Aguit, with whom they had thus prevailed: but the Lord in mercy ſhewing them the greatneſs of their ſin, they made a public recantation in a full congregation, Auguſt 28. and 29. 1655. at Pinache in the valley of Peroufe, wherein they teſtified their extreme ſorrow for their defection through infirmity, from the true religion, during the time of their impriſonment at Turin, together with their abjuration of popery, which they conclude thus:

'Do not think us unworthy your holy communion, although we have been an occaſion of offence: ſuffer us to pour into your boſoms a torrent of tears to deplore our condition, and to aſſure you in the anguiſh of our ſouls, that our grief is greater than we can expreſs: help us by your holy prayers to the Lord, and publiſh our repentance in all places where you conceive our ſin hath been, or ſhall be known, that ſo it may be evident to all the world, that from the very bottom of our ſouls we grieve and ſorrow for it, and that in the preſence of God, and of his holy angels, and in the ſight of thoſe who have been witneſſes of our converſion, we do abjure, and deteſt the maſs, the authority of the pope, and in general all ſorts of beliefs, and worſhips dependent upon them; we recant whatſoever we may have pronounced to the prejudice of the evangelical truth, and promiſe for the future, through the grace of God, to perſevere in the profeſſion of the reformed religion to the laſt moment of our life, and rather to ſuffer death, and torments than to renounce that holy doctrine that is taught in our church according unto the word of God: even as we ſwear, and promiſe, with our bended knees upon the earth, and our hands lifted up to the eternal, our Almighty God and Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As we deſire his aſſiſtance to do this, even ſo help us God: Amen.

The Motives of the late Perſecution in the Valleys of PIEDMONT, anno Chriſti 1655. *with the Publication of that bloody Order of* GASTALDO, *and the flight of the Proteſtants in the midſt of Winter.*

THE chief officers and gentry of Savoy, are moved to endeavour the extirpation of the reformed party, chiefly for theſe cauſes: 1. That by evil entreating the reformed churches, they may conſerve the papal authority, of which they have oft-times ſo much need, to cover and cloke their inceſtuous marriages contracted by diſpenſations from the pope: and thus they became engaged to maintain popery, for fear of being declared guilty of inceſt. 2. Becauſe the courtiers, for perſecuting the reformed party, are rewarded with prebendaries, biſhopricks, abbeys, and priories, eſpecially ſuch as are members of the council for extirpating heretics. 3. Under this pretext, the poor people of the valleys become a prey to the ſaid courtiers, who daily rob, and ſpoil them, extorting the beſt part of their livelihood by ſundry ſubtle devices. 4. The gentry of Lucerna (who are very poor) promote this work all they can, by perpetual calumnies againſt them, rendring themſelves by ſuch good offices capable of meriting, & receiving thoſe penſions which are aſſigned them by the court of Rome for that purpoſe. 5. For this end of late, they have made the gentlemen of the reſpective valleys ſubordinate to the monks, and maſs-prieſts, who teach and appoint them what to do, as to the bearing of falſe witneſs againſt their neighbours, ſowing diſcord amongſt them, murdering of ſome, procuring the aſſaſſination of others, ſtealing, and carrying away their children, &c. without the performance whereof they refuſe to pay them their yearly penſions. 6. But the chief ground of all, why the court of Savoy ſtrives to extirpate this poor people, is, the deſign that they have to wreſt Pignorollo out of the hands of the king of France, to which the habitation, and liberty of thoſe people are a great hindrance: for they, inhabiting the neighbouring parts of Pignorollo, both in the plain and mountains, cannot, upon the account of conſcience, be brought to make any agreement with the Spaniſh

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party for aſſaulting, and ſurpriſing that place: hence the court of Savoy ſeeks all manner of occaſions to root them out, eſpecially thoſe of Lucerne, Fenile, Bobio, Campiglione, Bricheras, and St. Secundo, which are near Pignorolio, and to deprive it thereby of all ſorts of commodities which it receives from the vallies, which alone doth furniſh it with more than all the neighbouring vallies which belong to the duke. Now if theſe people were extirpated, and others put in their places, men forward to execute their deſigns, they might eaſily ſeize on Malange, a narrow paſſage above Pignorolio, on that ſide which looks towards France, where a very few perſons would be able to hinder the French armies from relieving Pignorolio.

Upon theſe, and the like grounds the court of Savoy hath ſought their deſtruction, though its true, that in all the perſecutions which they have raiſed againſt them, eſpecially in this laſt, 1655. thoſe ravening wolves approached in ſheeps cloathing, the better to deceive, and deſtroy the innocent lambs of Chriſt. For theſe evangelical churches had, long before that fatal year, cleared themſelves of all thoſe calumnies which the council for the extirpation of heretics, (to the end that they might enjoy their promiſed penſions) had caſt upon them. Yea, his royal highneſs had now given an ample teſtimony of his being fully ſatisfied in this point, and by an authentic decree publiſhed *anno Chriſti* 1649. had confirmed all former conceſſions; which confirmation was again renewed *anno* 1653 confirming the grants made to them in the years 1603. and 1620. without any addition, or diminution, amplification, or reſtriction whatſoever.

Now as theſe poor people ſought for an interination of theſe grants, his royal highneſs, knowing that the delay thereof proceeded not from any negligence of their part, but was occaſioned by the multitude of troops that were then quartered upon them, whereby they could not poſſibly have convenience of aſſembling, *&c.* out of his goodneſs towards them, he declared by an edict, of May 19. 1654 that his intention was that they ſhould enjoy the conceſſions as effectually as if they had been interinated, upon condition that they did procure the interination thereof within three months following. So that till this time of May 19. 1654. none can ſay that thoſe of the reformed religion had committed any thing whereby to be deprived of the benefit of their conceſſions; yet contrary to all their expectations, ſhortly after, *viz.* January 25. 1655. this infamous order was publiſhed by Andrew Gaſtaldo, doctor of the civil law: Mr. auditor ordinary, *&c.* that every head of a family, with its members of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree or condition ſoever, none excepted, inhabiting and poſſeſſing eſtates in the places of Lucerna, Lucernetta, St. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana, and Fenile, Campiglione, Bricheraſſio, and St. Secondo, within three days after the publication thereof ſhould withdraw and depart, and to be with their families withdrawn out of the ſaid places, and tranſlated into the places and limits tolerated by his highneſs, during his pleaſure, as namely, Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, Rorata, and the country of Bonetti, under pain of death, and confiſcation of houſes and goods, ſituated or being out of the ſaid limits; provided, if they make it not appear to us within twenty days following that they are turned catholics, or that they have ſold their goods to the catholics. And that it was not the mind of his royal highneſs by any act whatſoever to enlarge the ſaid limits: but on the contrary, he declares by theſe preſents, that the ſaid acts are meer uſurpations, contrary to the intention as well of his orders, as of his magiſtrates, publiſhed to that end; and that therefore the tranſgreſſors have incurred the puniſhment therein contained: beſides, in the aforeſaid places favourably tolerated, he wills that in every one of them ſhall be celebrated the holy maſs, forbidding thoſe of the pretended reformed religion any ways to moleſt, either by deed or word, the miſſionary fathers, or their attendants, much leſs to diſſwade any that would turn catholics, under the ſame pain of death, giving it in charge particularly to the miniſters of the ſaid pretended religion, inviolably to obſerve the ſame, upon pain of anſwering it in their proper names, *&c.*

It's eaſy to conjecture the miſerable inconveniences of a flight in the midſt of winter, eſpecially to ſuch a people amongſt whom were many aged and decript, many ſick and diſeaſed, beſides a multitude of women big with child, or newly brought to bed, together with a number of tender infants, yet all forced to fly, and none being in capacity to ſuccour another. Yet did theſe bloody beaſts in the moſt violent and rigorous winter ſeaſon chaſe and drive out of their houſes all on a ſudden thoſe poor people, who ſcarce had cloaths to cover their nakedneſs, much leſs were they provided to reſiſt the extremities of cold and hunger; thinking hereby either to force them to change their religion, or to cauſe them to die in the craggy rocks and ſnowy mountains; yea, they were ſo ſubtilly malicious as to chuſe thoſe very days, when by reaſon of the multitude of violent waters in the plain, and of ſnow upon the mountains, they judged it impoſſible for thoſe ſilly ſheep ever to eſcape.

But theſe poor people, conſidering that the apoſtacy propounded was the way to eternal damnation, choſe rather to follow Chriſt in bearing his croſs, and to hazard their temporary lives, rather than to loſe their ſouls for ever; yet that they might leave no lawful means unattempted, they preſently diſpatched their deputies to the governor, to repreſent to him the ſtrangeneſs of this command, to force them with their families, to abandon their ancient habitations; as alſo that it was impoſſible for ſo many ſouls as they were in number, to ſubſiſt in the ſaid place, to which by the edict they were confined, they being ſcarce ſufficient to ſupply in any ſort thoſe that inhabited them: As likewiſe, that this command was contrary to all their former conceſſions, upon which account they proteſted and apealed to his royal highneſs. But the governor, knowing well the intention of the council for the extirpating of heretics, would neither admit of the one or of the other. Hereupon the poor people, ſeeing they could obtain nothing of him, entreated him to grant them at leaſt ſome time to have recourſe to the duke by humble ſupplications; but this alſo was dénied, unleſs they would draw up their petition by a model which he ſhould preſcribe, which indeed was prejudicial both to their juſt rights and conſciences. Theſe poor people (I ſay) ſeeing this, to the end that they might remove all pretext for accuſing them of rebellion, under that colour to ruin and deſtroy them; hoping alſo that at laſt they might find ſome means to lay their griefs at the feet of his royal highneſs, and that his clemency and juſtice would in the end re-eſtabliſh them in their ancient habitations, they choſe rather to ſuffer this violence; and therefore recalling their proteſtation, thereby to teſtifie their profund reſpect to their prince, they quitted their houſes, and goods, and retired with their families, their wives and children, great and ſmall, young and old, whole and ſick; yea, halt, lame and blind; dragging after them ſuch as were infirm by ſickneſs or age, through rain, ſnow, ice, waters, and a thouſand difficulties.

Oh think with yourſelves, what bitter tears, what wringing of hands, what ſmiting upon the breaſts, what mourning, ſighings, and lamentations there were in the families of theſe miſerable and diſtreſſed creatures, who were now reduced to the utmoſt of extremities; Before them, were a multitude of violent and roaring waters, on each hand moſt barbarous and ſnowy mountains; behind them, men, ſevenfold worſe than the Egyptians, ready to butcher and deſtroy them; yet recommending themſelves, ſouls and bodies to God's protection, they are reſolved to undergo the worſt of temporary miſeries, rather than by denying their religion, to damn their ſouls.

This their conſtancy and reſolution was no ſmall comfort to other churches, and a matter of great aſtoniſhment to their perſecutors: The rather conſidering the great advantages they might have purchaſed by quitting their religion; as pardon for all crimes, liberty if in priſons, exemption from all manner of taxes, *&c.*

They were no ſooner departed from their houſes, but a number of thieves and robbers entred them, ſpoiling and pillaging whatever the people had left behind them, pulling down their houſes cutting down all their trees, and turning their habitation into a deſolate wilderneſs; of which violence the poor people complained to the duke, and received from him ſuch an anſwer, that they apprehended his intentions were, not that they ſhould wholly quit

quit their houſes till their cauſe might be heard and judged; in confidence hereof, they ſometimes returned to their houſes to guard them from theſe robbers, and to huſband their ground, that ſo they might have where-withal to pay their taxes; yet for this they were branded with rebellion, tho' they had neither taken up arms, nor acted any other hoſtility, every one living peaceably without giving any cauſe of offence.

Gaſtaldo having thus driven theſe poor people from their ancient inheritance, without legal citing them, hearing their plea, or giving them the leaſt time to provide for ſo ſad a flight; their laſt refuge was to have recourſe to the Lord by fervent prayers, and to their prince by humble ſupplications; which was done, not only by thoſe that were driven from their houſes, but by the other churches of the reformed religion, the cauſe being common to them all. But alas! they found both his and all other his miniſters ears ſtopped to their woful cries; neither could they obtain ſo much as admittance into the preſence of his royal highneſs.

Amongſt other cunning artifices uſed by their malicious adverſaries to imbitter the ſpirits of his highneſs, and the dutcheſs his mother, againſt theſe poor proteſtants, this was one; John Reſſan, preſident of the province of Pignorolio, having for many years born a deadly ſpleen againſt the popiſh prieſt of Fenile, hired one to aſſaſſinate him; and then by his ſecretary he ſpread it abroad all over the country that the proteſtants were the authors of the murder, who yet, five days before were driven out of Fenile, which report flew far and near, being entertained as an undoubted truth by thoſe papiſts who lived far off, it increaſed alſo with carriage, tho' upon the place the author of this murder was well known; ſo that by all their reports they were not able to faſten any blemiſh in the mind of the dead prieſt's friends and kindred, nor to hinder them from apprehending both the maſter and his ſecretary; by which means the innocency of the reformed party was ſo cleared to the world, that the marqueſs of Pioneſſa, in his letters, wherein he ſought all the devices he could to lay ſomething to their charge, never mentions this for fear of blemiſhing the credit of all the reſt.

Shortly after one Berru baſely murdered Peter Rovier, conſul of Meun; and then fled to Pignorolio, where he was met by the aforeſaid Riſſan, who was lately returned from Turin, where he had been impriſoned for the former murder, and now had his liberty no otherwiſe than upon good ſecurity, becauſe the ſaid Berru and ſome others had taken their oaths againſt his ſecretary (De Agot) and himſelf, for being guilty of the aforementioned aſſaſſination; But after ſome private conferences had between them, Riſſan ſo wrought upon that wretched Berru, by gifts and promiſes, that he was perſuaded to return back with him to Turin, and there not only to retract his former oath, but to ſwear that he had been ſollicited thereto by two paſtors, Leger and Mechelin, as alſo by Antonio, and Francis Danna, chief elders of the church of St Giovanni; by means of this deviliſh retraction and calumny, Riſſan and his ſecretary were diſcharged in the very heat of the war between the papiſts and proteſtants, ſo that they had the opportunity, of forging what lies they pleaſed againſt the proteſtants both at Lucerna and Turin, without the leaſt contradiction, which accordingly they did to the purpoſe; for at Lucern there were publiſhed at the ſame time two perſonal citations againſt the ſaid Leger, Mechelin, and Danna; and as for Berru, he was alſo at the ſame time, as a recompence for his perjury, diſcharged, and ſet at liberty, tho' he had been convicted of two murders, the one the aforementioned, and the other at St. Giovanni, upon one Giovanni Bertot, a proteſtant. After this baſe action, he came to the ſaid Leger, and many other paſtors of the vallies, and chief men, and leaning upon his ſtaff, and bemoaning his condition, he proteſted to them that he could ſcarce ſtand upright, by reaſon of the many blows which he had received from the Papiſts to force him to forſwear himſelf againſt the ſaid Leger and the reſt; but as he could not in conſcience do ſo wicked an act, ſo he had withſtood them to the utmoſt; telling them plainly, who ſo urged him, that he would rather be torn with wild horſes than do it, and that they thereupon ſeeing his conſtancy, had beaten him moſt unmercifully, and then caſt him out into the open ſtreets, where he had miſerably periſhed, had not a certain Jew pitied him, and took him up, as he was grovelling on the ground, and ready to give up the ghoſt.

In the mean time the treaty of peace being concluded at Pignorolio, Aug. 1655. Mr. Leger and the reſt againſt whom the proceſs had been made, as againſt criminals, ſtaying a while at Pignorolio, chanced to hear of it, and thereupon went preſently to the prefect Riſſan, entreating him to tell them if it were true that Berru had thus accuſed them; Riſſan made them ſuch a doubtful anſwer, that they judged it high time to have immediate recourſe to the ſenator Perraſſino, beſeeching him to declare to them the truth of the whole matter, and to appoint them a ſet time and place to make their juſtification: hereupon he told them plainly, that Berru had accuſed them for ſuborning him to ſwear falſly againſt de Agot, and his maſter; and withal he ſhewed them a copy of the citation againſt the ſaid Leger, and the reſt of his accomplices, which was to baniſh them out of the duke's dominions, if they did not appear perſonally at Turin to anſwer to ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be propoſed to them about that buſineſs. Upon this Sieur Leger, by the aſſiſtance of David Leger, a miniſter, handled the matter ſo, that the ſaid Berru was ſhortly after apprehended, as he was lurking in the highways, with a purpoſe to murder the ſaid Leger upon the firſt opportunity. This wretch being thus apprehended, uſed all the devices imaginable to have got out of their hands; though they aſſured him, that all that they intended was, only to make him verify what he had already confeſſed before a full aſſembly of their miniſters and others. Leger being aſſured that Berru was in ſafe cuſtody, went and declared the whole matter to the ſenator Perichvini, and to Referendano Tarquin, yea, and to Riſſan himſelf, who was on a ſudden not a little ſurprized at it; afterwards he told it to the French ambaſſador, and to the ambaſſadors of the Evangelical Cantons, and with much ado he got leave to bring the ſaid perjured perſon to Pignorolio, where he hoped to obtain leave of coming face to face againſt him in open juſtice, importuning all the duke's miniſters of juſtice, and the French and Switzers ambaſſadors for their interceſſion, the laſt whereof openly proteſted, that in caſe of refuſal, they would complain that juſtice was denied them; yet could they prevail no further, but that there ſhould be a letter written to Turin about it: from whence, after a while, they had an anſwer, that nothing could be done in it; and ſo Leger was fain to content himſelf, that he and the reſt that had been accuſed were declared as perſons altogether innocent, and clearly acquitted from the accuſation that Berru had made againſt them.

Upon this and the like feigned accuſations, the deputies of theſe poor people and their ſupplications were miſerably rejected at the court of Savoy: for when they inſtantly beſeeched the chief miniſters of ſtate at Turin, that they might be admitted into the duke's preſence, there to caſt themſelves at his feet, the Council for extirpating of Heretics would not ſuffer them to have audience of his highneſs, and contrary to all equity they uſurped the cogniſance of this buſineſs, which belonged not to them, they being of the adverſe party; nay, they were not ſuffered to come in perſonally before them to plead their own cauſe, but were forced to ſend in their procurator Gibellioni, a papiſt, who knowing that excommunication is the certain puniſhment of all thoſe that any way favoured the heretics, durſt not ſpeak a word till he had fallen down on his knees and begged leave of the archbiſhop, who was preſident of that council; and the concluſion was, that thoſe of the valleys were commanded to make no more requeſts to his royal highneſs, unleſs they would ſend deputies with procuration, and power to accept and promiſe all that ſhould be ordered them; yet they (like the importunate widow) ſent again their deputies to Turin, with their requeſts, and with order to endeavour to get audience of his royal highneſs; they alſo, beſide other interceſſions, inſtantly requeſted Madam Royal to have pity on them, and to procure the ſame for them; they wrote alſo other letters to divers princes of the blood to mediate for them about the ſame; but all in vain, for they could get no anſwer from any of them; and the marquiſs of Pioneſſa ſlighted their ſupplications, thirſting violently after the blood of theſe poor creatures yet that

he might not openly diſcover the black deſign of the Council for extirpating of Heretics, before the hour of its execution, he diſguiſed his anſwers to them in ſuch doubtful terms, that though he gave them but cold comfort, yet he left them notwithout ſome glimmering hopes, at leaſt, of a day of audience for the hearing of their complaints, that ſo during this interval of time, all things might be in a better readineſs for the day of ſlaughter, as you ſhall hear in the next chapter.

CHAP. XLIV.

A Narrative of the Bloody cruelties which were exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants of the Valleys of Piedmont during the heat of the late Maſſacre in April, Anno 1655.

UPON Saturday April 17th, 1655. whilſt the deputies of the proteſtants were by the ſubtilties of Pioneſſa, detained at Turin, as you heard before, there arrived a great army at St. Giovanni, which was now, with La Torre, and all the lower parts unpeopled, and in a ſad and lamentable condition; this army continued there for ſome hours, and in the duſk of the evening fell into La Torre, where they met with none of the proteſtants, only about eight or ten perſons, not thinking of an enemy, were ſeeking up and down for ſomething to ſatisfy their hunger; but ſo ſoon as they came near to the convent, they were ſaluted with a volley of ſhot, which killed Giovanni Combe, and hurt Peter Roſtain, whereupon the reſt ſeeing the danger, fled for their lives.

The next day being the Sabbath, the enemy ranged about through the commonalties of La Torre, and Giovanni, plundering and pillaging all before them; and the day after their number being encreaſed to about fifteen thouſand, they ſet upon the proteſtants in ſeveral quarters amongſt the little hills of St. Giovanni, and La Torre. But the poor people being prompted thereto by the law of nature, ſtood upon their own defence, and the enemy was vigorouſly oppoſed on every ſide; in one place by captain Jahier, and in other places by the officers of St. Giovanni, Angrognia, Roccapiata, and their troops. Tueſday April 20th. The popiſh army made three ſeveral attempts to take away the bell of St. Giovanni, and to burn the church; but thoſe of the poor people in arms did ſo couragiouſly reſiſt them, that they were driven to a ſhameful retreat, with the loſs of about fifty of their men; and had not their cavalry defended the plain, they had been utterly routed: but of the proteſtants party there were only two ſlain, upon whoſe dead bodies they baſely revenged themſelves.

Wedneſday the 21ſt, Which was the fatal day to the proteſtants, the marquiſs of Pianeſſa held the deputies of the valley of Lucerna in parley till noon, and then entertained them with a large dinner, and ſent them away with many fair promiſes, that there ſhould be no hurt done to any, except to thoſe of St. Giovanni and La Torre, as being the places ſpecified in the order of Gaſtaldo; but for the reſt, if they would but quarter a few troops as a token of their obedience, and that but for a ſhort time, they might be fearleſs of the leaſt inconvenience. Hereupon the agents of Angrogna beſtirred themſelves to perſuade their own party from making the leaſt reſiſtance; the ſame did the agents of Villaro and Bobio: but no ſooner were thoſe troops entred, but they put all to fire and ſword, ſlaying all they met with that had but the likeneſs of mankind, and that in the moſt barbarous manner they could poſſibly deviſe: as you may ſee by this extract of a letter written by ſome of thoſe poor proteſtants, wherein they thus write: "The army having gotten footing, became very numerous by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants, who hearing that we were given for a prey to the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury: to theſe were added a great number of out-laws, priſoners, and other offenders, who thought hereby to have ſaved their ſouls, and filled their purſes: we were forced alſo to receive five or ſix regiments of the French army, beſides ſome Iriſh (to whom as it was ſaid, our country was promiſed) and ſeveral other troops of highwaymen, and vagabonds, under a pretence of coming into the valleys only for freſh quarters.

"The multitude being licenced by Pianeſſa, encouraged by the monks, and led by our wicked neighbours, fell upon us with ſuch violence on every ſide, and in ſo treacherous a manner, eſpecially in Angrognia, Villaro and Bobio (to whom Pianeſſa had plighted his troth, that if they would but quarter one regiment, they ſhould be ſecure from all harm) that in a moment of time all was turned into a confuſed heap, and the inhabitants conſtrained after ſkirmiſhes that they made in the way, to fly for their lives, together with their wives and little children; and that not only the inhabitants of the plains, but of the mountains alſo, who had otherwiſe been certainly betrayed and ſurprized. Yet was not all their diligence ſufficient to preſerve very many of them from deſtruction; for in many places they were hemmed in on every ſide, that there was no way left for their flight, but they were moſt inhumanly maſſacred.

"In one place they moſt cruelly tormented one hundred and fifty women and children, and afterwards chopped off the heads of ſome, and daſhed out the brains of others againſt the rocks: multitudes of priſoners they took; and ſuch of them from fifteen years of age and upward, who refuſed to go to maſs, they hanged up ſome, and nailed the feet of others to trees, with their heads hanging downwards, all which they conſtantly endured. Mr. Groſs, one of the paſtors, with ſome of his family they ſent to Turin: they made ſuch havock of all, that there were neither any cattle or other proviſion left in the valley of Lucerna: yea, in the commonalties of St. Giovanni. La Torre, *&c.* a franciſcan fryar and another prieſt ſet fire on houſes, and churches, that they left not one of them unburnt. In theſe deſolations the mother was bereaved of her ſweet child, the huſband of his dear wife. Thoſe who were richeſt amongſt us are forced to beg their bread; yea, they are weltring in their own blood, and deprived of all outward comforts; and whereas there were ſome churches in St. Martino, that were always formerly as a ſanctuary to the perſecuted, they are now commanded to quit their dwellings, and every ſoul of them preſently to depart without any reſpite, and that under pain of death.

"The pretence of theſe ſtrange maſſacres and cruelties are, that we are rebels to the duke's commands in not performing a pure impoſſibility by immediate departing from our habitations in Bubiana, Lucerna, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, St. Giovanni, and St. Secondo. As alſo for our frequent petitioning his royal highneſs to take pity upon us. To conclude, Our beautiful and flouriſhing churches are left deſolate, and that without remedy, unleſs the Lord work miraculouſly for us, *&c.*"

The truth is, the cruelties which were there executed would exceed the belief of any man, were they not ſo fully proved, by the formal atteſtations of eye witneſſes, by the woful cries of ſo many deſolate and poor wretches who have been miſerably robbed of their relations, houſes, lands, and all other comforts; yea, by the formal oath of one of the chief commanders of the army that acted theſe cruelties, ſigned with his own hand in the preſence of two authentic witneſſes, and the voluntary confeſſion of one of the ſoldiers, who told ſome of his comrades that many times, during the heat of the maſſacre, he had ſurfeited with eating the boiled brains of the proteſtants.

The Declaration of Monſieur du Petit Bourg, firſt Captain of the Regiment of Grandey, ſubſcribed with his own hand at Pignerol, Nov. 27th, 1655. in the preſence of two other Commanders.

"MONSIEUR du Petit Bourg being commanded by prince Thomas to go and join myſelf with the marquiſs of Pianeſſa, who was then at La Torre; upon my departure I was requeſted by the ambaſſador to ſpeak to the marquiſs, and to uſe my endeavour to accomodate the troubles which were amongſt thoſe of the religion in the valleys of Piedmont, which accordingly I did, entreating him with much earneſtneſs that he would give way there-

unto

unto, and I doubted not but I ſhould be able to effect it: but he refuſed this my requeſt, and that divers times, notwithſtanding all the endeavours I could poſſibly uſe to perſuade him thereto; and inſtead of the leaſt mitigation, I was witneſs to many great violences, and extreme cruelties exerciſed by the Bandets, and ſoldiers of Piedmont upon all ſorts, of every age, ſex, and condition, whom I ſaw maſſacred, diſmembered, hanged up, burnt, and raviſhed, together with many horrid confuſions, which I beheld with horror and regret: and without any diſtinction of thoſe that reſiſted, and ſuch as reſiſted not, they were uſed with all ſorts of inhumanity, their houſes burnt, their goods plundered; and when priſoners were brought before the ſaid marquiſs, I ſaw him give order to give them no quarter at all, ſaying, His highneſs was reſolved to have none of the religion within his dominions. And whereas in his declaration he proteſts that there was no hurt done to any but during the fight, nor the leaſt outrage committed upon any perſons that were not fit to bear arms: I will maintain that it is not ſo, having ſeen with my eyes many perſons killed in cold blood; as alſo women, aged perſons, and young children, miſerably murdered, *&c.*"

The atteſtation divers perſons of honour, and integrity, who were for the moſt part eye, and ear witneſſes of the enſuing barbarous cruelties which were exerciſed upon divers members of the evangelical churches in the valleys of Piedmont in the late maſſacre 1655.

Sarah Raſtignole des Vignes, about ſixty years, being overtaken by divers ſoldiers, was commanded to ſay her prayers, and when ſhe had done, they bade her ſay Jeſus Maria, which the poor woman refuſing, one of the ſoldiers thruſt a ſickle into the lower part of her belly, and ript her up to the navel, and then dragged the poor creature upon the ground, being half dead, till another came and cut off her head; the daughter in law of this poor woman who hid herſelf in the ſnow for two days after without any ſuccour, was an eye witneſs hereof.

Martha Conſtantine of Giovanni, after ſhe had ſeen ſeveral others moſt cruelly put to death, was herſelf, firſt raviſhed, and afterwards had her breaſts cut off, and part of her privities by ſome of the ſoldiers, who fryed them, and ſet them before ſome of their comrades, making them believe they were tripes, but when they had eaten a good part, they told them what they were, which cauſed a quarrel amongſt them; and they that had eaten them were ſo ſick, that ſome of them died ſoon after. This was certified by a papiſt to one Andrea Javel of Einachia.

A man of Thraſſaniere being taken priſoner, received divers ſtabs in the ſoles of his feet, and in the ears by two of the ſoldiers, who afterwards cut off his privy members, and then applied a burning candle to the wound, frying it with the flame thereof, that ſo the blood might be ſtopped, and the torments of that miſerable creature prolonged. Then tore they his nails off with burning pincers to force him to renounce his religion: but when nothing would do, they tied one of his legs to a mule, and dragged him through the ſtreets till he was almoſt dead, and then binding a cord about his head, they twiſted it with a ſtaff till his eyes and brains dropped out, and then they caſt his careaſs into the river.

Peter Simmond of Angrogna about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels together, and ſo violently thrown down a fearful precipice, but by the way, falling upon a cragged branch of a tree, he there hung in a moſt languiſhing condition for divers days together (a moſt lamentable ſpectacle to behold) being neither able to help himſelf, nor capable of receiving help from others, the precipice being inacceſſible.

Eſay Garcino of Angrogna, of ninety years old, had firſt his body cut and hacked in ſmall pieces, and then his head chopped off.

The wife of Daniel Armand of La Torre, had her body torn and cut in pieces, and the parts of it ſtrewed along the high way, and hung upon the hedges.

Captain Pola of Plancalier took two poor women of La Torre, and with his fauchine ript up their bellys, and left them groveling upon the ſnow in this ſad and lamentable condition till they died.

The ſoldiers of Bagnols cut off firſt the noſe, then the fingers, and laſtly the hands of a very old, and decrepid woman, and ſo left her languiſhing in this woful condition, not having ſo much as an hand to feed herſelf with, till ſhe died.

They took alſo many little children, and tender infants, and flung them down the ſteep rocks, whereby they were daſhed to pieces.

Magdalen Bertino of La Torre they ſtripped ſtark naked, tied her head between her legs, and threw her down one of the precipices.

Mary Reymondet of La Torré, a lame woman, was found in a cave with all her fleſh ſliced off from her bones, and chopt as ſmall as herbs to the pot.

Magdalen Pilot of Villaro being exceeding decrepit, and blind with old age, was cut in pieces in a cave near Caſtelus.

Anna daughter Giovanni Charboniere of La Torre had a long ſtake thruſt into her privities by ſome of the ſoldiers, who each man in his turn carried her upon their ſhoulders till they were weary, and then ſtuck the end of the ſtake into the ground, and ſo left her hanging in the air: a terrible ſpectacle to every one that paſſed by.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin of La Torre being taken priſoner, eſcaped miraculouſly, having firſt ſeen three of his children torn in pieces limb from limb before his eyes, and the fourth, being about ſix weeks old, ſnatched out of the mother's arms, ſtripped of its ſwadling cloaths, and its brains daſhed out againſt the rocks.

Jacob Perrin, an elder of the church of Villaro, and David his brother being taken priſoners in their beds, were carried to Lucerna, and caſt into the marquiſſes priſon, where they were moſt barbarouſly and cruelly handled, the bloody ſoldiers ſtripping off the ſkin of their arms and legs in long ſlices like leathern points, till the fleſh was left quite bare: after which they were miſerably ſtarved to death in the ſame priſon, and their careaſes left to rot there.

Giovanni Pelanchion, a young man about twenty five years old, having been taken priſoner, made an eſcape; but being taken by the ſoldiers, they tyed one of his legs to the tail of a mule, and ſo dragged him through all the ſtreets of Lucerna; and becauſe the poor wretch ſometimes lifted up his hands and head, through pain and anguiſh that he ſuffered by the grating of his body againſt the ragged ſtints, the bloody and mercileſs villains battered and bruiſed his body with ſtones and brickbats, crying 'That he was poſſeſſed with the devil which kept him from dying.' After which they cut off his privy members, and crammed them violently down the poor creature's mouth, and down his throat to ſtop his breath, and at laſt chopt off his head, and ſo drawing him to the river's bank, they left him there unburied.

Magdalen, the daughter of Peter Fontana, a beautiful girl about ten years old, being taken by ſome of theſe lecherous brutes, becauſe her body was uncapable of being forced in an ordinary way, they tore her in ſo inhuman a manner, that afterwards ſhe was found half dead, wallowing in her own blood.

A poor woman apprehending her danger, having a ſucking child in the cradle, took the child and cradle upon her head, and fled: ſome of the ſoldiers ſeeing her, purſued; and ſhe perceiving that ſhe was like to be overtaken, left her cradle in the way, ſuppoſing that thoſe butchers could not have ſuch hearts of adamant as to hurt her innocent babe, and ſo hid herſelf in the cleft of a rock not far off: but theſe hell hounds finding the infant in the cradle, took it out, and tore it in pieces, and afterwards finding the mother, they firſt raviſhed her, and then cut off her head, and left her dead body upn the ſnow.

At Villa Nova the daughter of Moſes Long, about ten years old, as ſhe was flying upon the ſnow, ſome ſoldiers of Piemont took her, broached her upon a pike, and roaſted her alive with a fire made upon a broad ſtone; and after a while they cut off a ſlice of her fleſh, intending to have eaten it; but finding it not well roaſted, their ſtomachs would not ſerve them to eat it.

Jacoba

Jacopo Michellino, one of the chief elders of the church of Bobio, being taken priſoner, had his two hands tied to his privy members, and ſo hung upon a gate in a ſhameful poſture; but the ſhame was nothing to the torments, the whole weight of his body hanging upon ſo tender a part, which cauſed moſt exquiſite and almoſt incredible pain: and this they did to force him to renounce his religion: but when this prevailed not, they took him down, and carried him away amongſt other priſoners: and afterwards having with incredible conſtancy endured a world of other cruelties, he at laſt exchanged this life for a better.

Peter Gros, during the time of his impriſonment, ſaw two of theſe poor proteſtants of La Sarcena, hanging in a moſt hideous manner, merely by their privy members, and their hands being tied behind them, till their very bowels were almoſt torn out, and ſo at laſt they died with horrible pain and anguiſh.

Giovanni Roſtagnal of Bobio, being eighty years old, had his noſe, ears, and other parts of his body cut off, and ſo he was left languiſhing upon the ſnow for a long time, till at laſt he gave up the ghoſt.

Daniel Salvagio and his wife; Giovanni Durant, Daniel Revel, Lodwick and Bartholomew Durant, all brothers, and Paolo Reynaud, being taken by the ſoldiers, had their mouths and throats ſtuffed with gunpowder, and then ſetting fire to it, their heads were all torn to pieces.

Jacob Di Rone, a ſchoolmaſter of Roas, being ſtript ſtark naked, after they had torn off his nails with pincers, and made a thouſand holes in his hands with a dagger's point, they dragged him by a cord faſtened about his middle, through the bourge of Lucerna, and at every ſtep he took, one ſoldier on one ſide cut off a piece of his fleſh with a fauchin, and another on the other ſide gave him a great blow with a ſtaff, crying, 'What ſayeſt thou now barbet? wilt thou go to maſs?' To which the poor creature with admirable conſtancy, as long as he was able to ſpeak, anſwered, 'Much rather death than the maſs; diſpatch me quickly for the love of God.' A while after came a notorious cut throat, who as ſoon as he ſaw him, cried out, 'Lo here is the miniſter of Roras,' withal giving him a deadly blow athwart the head with a backſword: from thence they dragged him to the bridge, and cutting off his head, they threw him into the river of Pelis.

Paolo Garnier of Roras being taken by theſe murderers, they firſt violently pulled out his eyes, then cut off his privy members, thruſting his yard into his mouth, and in this poſture they expoſed him to public ſcorn for ſeveral days together; afterwards in a moſt inhuman manner they ſlead him alive, and then cutting his ſkin in four parts, they hung it in the windows of four of the principal houſes of Lucerna.

Daniel Cardon of Roccappiata being taken by ſome of the ſoldiers, they cut off his head, took out his brains, and frying them in a pan, eat them up; they cut open his breaſt alſo, and were taking out his heart to fry and eat that, but that they were frightened by ſome of the poor people's troops that were coming that way.

Margaret Revel of La Carterre, aged eighty five years; Mary Di Pravillerm; aged ninety years, and blind, of S. Giovanni were taken and in a moſt barbarous manner were both burned alive.

Madona Lena, aged eighty years, and blind, and Jeanna Batzan, aged ninety years, both of La Torre, were uſed in the like cruel manner, and burned.

A widow of La Torre, who had lain very ſick for three years together, was taken by ſome of theſe bloody villains, together with one of her daughters, and were drawn upon a carr through the ſtreets of La Torre; and as they paſſed along, ſome of theſe blood hounds ſtabbed their bodies with pitchforks, others bruiſed them with ſtints and ſtones and then they threw them into the river of Angrogna, where they threw ſtones and bats at them till they died.

Paolo Giles of La Torre, as he fled for his life, was ſhot into the neck by one of them, after which they ſlit his face through the chin and noſe, and when they had ſlain him, they left his carcaſe to be eaten by the dogs.

Some of theſe murderers having taken eleven men at Garcigliana, heated a great furnace red hot, forced theſe poor creatures to throw one another into it, and when it came to the laſt man, they themſelves threw him in alſo.

Theſe ſons of blood purſued and hunted out multitudes of theſe poor proteſtants amongſt the rocks and mountains, by the traces of their bleeding legs and feet, which were cut and mangled with the ice and ſtints which they met with in the way, and having found them, baſely murdered them.

Michael Gonet of Lucernetta, aged ninety years at leaſt, was burnt alive by the mountains of Bobio, whither he had fled to hide himſelf.

Bartholomew Frache of Fenile, was taken by the ſoldiers, and after they had ſlaſhed and mangled his legs, they thruſt a poiſoned knife through his heels, and in this woful plight they dragged, and threw him into the common priſon at Turin, where he lay in continual torment till he died.

Giovanni Baptiſta Oudri, an old man, was cruelly murdered at La Sarcena, after he had been barbarouſly abuſed by them.

Magdalena La Peire, a woman of about thirty five years of age, being purſued by theſe villains, and knowing what meaſure ſhe ſhould meet with if ſhe fell into their hands, choſe rather to throw herſelf down a dreadful precipice, whereby ſhe died.

Margaret Revella, aged about eighty five years, together with Marie Di Pravillerm, about ninety years old, and blind, were both burnt alive.

Mary Davy was baſely murdered by them.

Michael Bellinio, with Anna Di Pol Bochiardino, and a ſervant of theirs, were beheaded.

The daughter of Peter Mallonat, a counſellor of ſaint Giovanni, together with her brother, an infant of eight months old in her arms, were rolled down a ſteep hill, and two days after they were found dead upon the ſnow.

One Giovanni, with his wife and child, were hurled down a mighty rock, the mother holding the child in her arms, and three days after they were found dead; only the child was alive, and claſped ſo faſt in the dead mother's arms, that they had much ado to get it out.

Joſeph Chiaret, having received a wound in the ſlight, was flayed alive, and the greaſe taken out of his body: the like was done to Paolo Carniero.

Mattheo Turin was maſſacred at Lucernetta, and his body devoured by dogs.

Margaret Saretta was ſtoned to death, and her dead body caſt into the river.

Cypriano Buſtia was cruelly ſtarved to death, and his body caſt to the dogs.

Antonio Bertino, had firſt his noſe, paps, and privities cut off, and then his head cleft in twain.

Two children were firſt murdered, and then burnt to aſhes.

Joſeph Pont was firſt wounded in his back, and then had his body cut off in the middle.

Daniel de Maria being found in a place where he had hid himſelf, and lay ſick, had firſt two of his children murdered before his eyes, and then himſelf barbarouſly ſlain.

Judith, a widow of eighty years old, was dragged up and down upon the ground, and at laſt had her head cut off.

Three infants of Peter Fine were ſtifled in the ſnow.

A maid that was an innocent, was firſt ſtript naked, and then had a long ſtake driven through her belly, whereof ſhe died.

Luce the wife of Peter Beſſon, being near the time of her lying down, as ſhe fled for her life, was ſo affrighted with the ſhrieks of ſome that were maſſacred, that ſhe fell in travail upon the mountains where ſhe was, and afterwards was found dead with the new born infant, and two other ſucking children lying by her.

Francis, the ſon of maſter Gros a miniſter, being taken had his body cut into ſmall gobbets, whilſt he was alive, and that in the preſence of his wife; and then they took two of his ſmall children, and moſt inhumanely murdered them.

The Sieur Thomas Margher being forced to fly from his houſe, being an elder of La Torre, was miſerably ſtarved to death with hunger and cold.

Judith

Judith Ravelin, with her ſeven children, were all barbarouſly murdered in their beds.

Anna, a widow of ſeventy five years old, was cut in pieces by the ſoldiers.

The wife of Gaſpar Fayol, being taken, was forced to labour hard for them by cutting down the corn, and at laſt as ſhe was ſo at work, they came behind her, and cut off her head.

Jacob Roſſeno refuſing to ſay Jeſus Maria, was firſt cruelly beaten with cudgels, and clubs; and having received ſeveral ſhots in his body, they at laſt clave his head.

Two children, both of them dumb, were moſt unmercifully murdered.

Suſanna, the daughter of Puolo Giacquin, reſiſting a ſoldier that would have raviſhed her, and by chance puſhing him down a rock, was hewed in pieces by others of them.

Giovanni Pullius, a poor peaſant of La Torre, being taken by the ſoldiers, after all manner of reproaches, and ſcorns caſt upon him by the fryars, and others, in words, and actions, was by the command of the marquis of Pioneſſa dragged by the hangman to a place near the convent, where the marquis commanded the hangman to place the ladder againſt a tree, and to prepare for his execution, at which time the monks and prieſts ceaſed not to uſe all the arguments which the devil and their own wicked wits could poſſibly furniſh them with, to ſhake the faith and conſtancy of this poor creature; yet could they not prevail: yea, by all his geſtures, and expreſſions he ſhewed the inward joy of his ſoul that he was 'counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt:' and though they oft preſſed him to remember the ſad eſtate that he ſhould leave his children and family in, yet he always anſwered, 'That it was his hearty prayer to Almighty God that his children might follow their father's ſteps, and die like himſelf:' whereupon the prieſts, ſeeing all their labour loſt, aſſiſted the hangman to end this poor man's life, and haſted to turn him off the ladder.

Sieur Paolo Clement, an elder of the church of Roſſana, was ſhortly after brought by the monks and prieſts to this ſame place, and ſhewed the dead body of the other, thinking thereby to ſcar him from his principles, and profeſſion: but he anſwered them with an undaunted courage, 'That they might kill the body, but could never be able to prejudice the ſoul of a true believer.' He told them alſo, 'That God would aſſuredly avenge the innocent blood that they had ſpilt:' and ſo having by ſome ejaculations prepared to reſign up his ſoul unto God, he deſired the hangman to do his work: three or four days after, the the marquis of Pioneſſa coming that way, one of the ſoldiers diſcharged a muſquet at his dead body, whereupon thereguſhed out a ſtream of freſh blood, which the marquiſs obſerving, ſaid to ſome about him, 'That blood cries for vengeance:' afterwards they took both theſe dead bodies, and hung them up naked by one foot near to the La Torre and when any priſoner of the proteſtants paſſed that way, they forced him or her to go and kiſs their privities, that they might put alike ſcorn both upon the living and dead: but by reaſon of the multitude of bullets that were ſhot thorough them by the ſoldiers, they at laſt fell to pieces.

Daniel Rambaut of Villaro, having a numerous family, was taken, and carried to Payſana with divers others, of his neighbours, where he was caſt into priſon, and after a while was importunately ſet upon by the monks and maſs prieſts, both with promiſes, and threats, to pronounce Jeſus Maria; and when they could not prevail, the tormentors firſt cut off his fingers one by one, and then his hands, and laſtly gave him a deadly wound in the ſtomach, and then they dragged his carcaſe to the river's ſide, and left it to be devoured by dogs, and wild beaſts.

Peter Cabriolo being taken by the ſoldiers, they hung a great quantity of gunpowder about his body, and then giving fire to it, tore him all to pieces.

Antony the ſon of Samuel Calieris, a dumb, and innocent creature, was inhumanely butchered as he was ſitting by the fire ſide.

Peter Moninat, and his wife, lying both of them extreme ſick, were murdered by the ſoldiers, who finding in the ſame houſe one of their children, a poor infant, lame and impotent, they cut off its legs, and ſo left it in that that miſerable plight: they had alſo another poor girl, who had been dumb from her cradle, which not long after was found ſtarved to death for want of ſuſtenance.

Daniel Benech of Villaro was taken by the ſoldiers who cut off his noſe, ears, and other parts of his body, till they had ſlain him, and then they left the mangled pieces upon the hedges, and buſhes in the ſame place. Two of his children were alſo ſtifled in the ſnow.

Mary the widow of Daniel Pelanchion of Villaro, being taken by the ſoldiers, after they had baſely abuſed her, they almoſt ſhot her to death, and then threw her into the river: but this poor woman being not quite dead, with much pains, and hard ſhifts, got out of the river again, hoping to be ſomewhat revived by the warm ſun which ſhe laid her down in: but ſome of theſe bloody villains ſpying her, they faſtened a rope to her feet, and dragged her to the bridge, where they hung her up by the legs, and ſo ſhot her to death, afterwards leaving her ſtark naked upon the rock.

Mary the wife of Daniel Monino was taken by the ſoldiers, who having broken her jaws in pieces, they gave her a deep cut in the neck, ſo that her head was half off, and ſo they left her in that languiſhing condition, till after extreme torments endured for divers days together, ſhe at laſt yielded up the ghoſt.

Mary the widow of David Nigrino (a poor beggar of Villaro) together with her daughter, who was an innocent, were both inhumanely maſſacred in the village of Bozza, and their dead bodies were thrown into the woods.

Suſanna the widow of Samuel Blas of Villaro, was by the ſoldiers baſely abuſed at their pleaſure, and afterwards they ſhut her up between two ſtone walls, where ſhe was miſerably pined to death.

Suſanna the wife of Jacob Calvio being ſorely wounded by the ſoldiers, after which, flying into a barn to hide herſelf, the ſoldiers perceiving it, ſet fire on the barn, and burnt her to aſhes.

A child of Daniel Bertino, who had been dumb, and an innocent from the womb, was burnt in a barn at Balmedaut.

Paolo Armand, being extreme ſick and weak, was by theſe barbarians hacked in pieces.

Andrea Bertino, a very old, and lame man, had his breaſts cut off, and then was cruelly murdered by theſe bloody villains, who to teſtify their malice againſt him for his conſtancy in religion, after he was dead they cut out his bowels, and with their halberds hacked his body in pieces.

Daniel the ſon of David Michialino, being taken by the ſoldiers, after much other cruel uſage, had his tongue pulled out with great violence and torments.

Conſtantia Bellione had her body hacked, and mangled in moſt parts thereof, and then was ſhot to death with ſeveral bullets in her bowels; and after ſhe was dead, they cleft herhead with a hanger.

Judith Mondon was beaten to death in a ſavage manner with clubs and ſtaves.

David Paglias, and Paolo Genre endeavouring to fly, each of them having a little infant in his arms, being at laſt tired, and out of breath, were overtaken by the ſoldiers, and both men and infants inhumanely murdered.

Micheli Genre, a young prince of Bobio, was thrown off the bridge of La Torre, where, as he was praying with his hands lifted up to heaven, he was partly ſtoned, and partly drowned.

David Armand was knocked, and beaten about the head with an hammer till he died.

Jacob Baridano, being taken priſoner at Villaro, and from thence carried to La Torre, after the tormentors had ſufficiently, and cruelly afflicted him with burning matches between his fingers, his lips, and other parts of his body, till with intolerable pain he died, they cauſed his dead corps to be carried out by two of his fellow-priſoners, and by them to be thrown into the river Pelice: but thinking that too honourable a burying place for an heretic, they forced them to fetch it out again, and to lay it on the rivers brink, where, after they had expoſed the ſame to all manner of ignominies, it was at laſt eaten up by dogs.

Margaret the wife of Joſeph Garniero, having received

a ſhot in one of her breaſts, as ſhe was giving ſuck to her little child with the other, was yet ſo courageous that with many pathetical expreſſions ſhe exhorted her huſband to endure the croſs with patience, and to hold out to the end; neither did ſhe deſire any favour of the murderers, but only that they would ſpare the life of her innocent babe: which accordingly they did: but withal gave the mother another ſhot in her body whereof ſhe died, and afterwards the infant being found alive in the dead mother's arms, was miraculouſly preſerved.

Iſaiah Mondon having a long time hid himſelf in the cleft of a rock, where for many days together he had nothing but a few leaves of unwholeſome herbs to eat, was at laſt found out by the ſoldiers, and moſt unmercifully handled by them: from thence they drave him towards the town of Lucerna, being almoſt half head: at laſt, when the poor creature could march no further, he fell down upon his knees, and beſeeched them to diſpatch him ſpeedily, which accordingly they did; for partly with their ſwords, and partly with their piſtols, they put an end to his miſerable life, crying out in a ſcoffing manner, 'Kill the barbet, kill the barbet, who refuſeth to become a chriſtian.

Giovanni Barolino and his wife were caſt alive into a pool, and often plunged, and thruſt under the water with ſtaves, and pitch forks, and at laſt were diſpatched with ſtones and brick bats.

Mary Revel receiving a ſhot in her body, fell down in a manner dead, yet afterwards ſhe recovered ſo much ſtrength as to get upon her knees, and as ſhe was praying to God, the bloody enemies diſpatched her.

Giovanni Salvagiot as he was returning from Bagnol, after the peace was concluded, as he paſſed by a chappel, becauſe he put not off his hat, and made obeiſance thereto, was murdered, and his body left unburied.

Giovanni Gayo, and divers other men, women, and children hid themſelves in a cave, where for a time they continued in ſafety: but at laſt were diſcovered by ſome of theſe blood hounds; whereupon they fell upon their knees and begged their lives of them, moſt of the murderers having been their neighbours, and familiar acquaintance, and ſuch as had pretended great friendſhip to them: but the mercies of theſe men proved extreme cruelty: for the kindeſt ſalute they could afford their old acquaintance was with ſwords, muſquets, and piſtols; which the poor people perceiving, and not deſiring to behold the lamentable miſery of each other, they kneeled down in a ring, and thruſt their heads into fern, and ſuch like ſtuff as they had prepared to lie upon, in which poſture they were all miſerably ſhot to death, and their dead bodies afterwards horribly mangled, and cut in pieces.

Jacob Barrel and his wife having been taken priſoners by the earl of St. Secondo, were three or four days after carried forth: and having firſt cut off the woman's breaſts, they ſhot them to death.

Antony Guigo went to Periero with a purpoſe to change his religion; but it pleaſed God ſo to touch his heart, that he repented of the reſolution and fought to make an eſcape: but as he was flying ſome troops of the marquiſs of Galeas caught him, and uſed him moſt cruelly becauſe he would not yield to go to maſs: and as they carried him priſoner towards Praly, paſſing by a precipice, the poor man to avoid his tormentors, leaped down from the rock, and ſo was daſhed in pieces.

Very many others there were which might here have been inſerted, whereof ſome were drowned, ſome burnt, ſome ſlain with the ſword, ſome ſhot to death, ſome ſtarved, ſome ſmothered in the ſnow, ſome pined, ſome killed with ſtaves, ſome cut in pieces: but I am weary with reckoning up their names, and I ſuppoſe the reader alſo is tired with theſe cruelties; yet are their names written in red letters in the kalendar of heaven, though their popiſh adverſaries would have them written in the duſt; and whoſoever deſires to ſee more, may find a large catalogue in *Mr. Moorland's Hiſtory of the Perſecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont.*

CHAP. XLVI.

A true Narrative of the War in the Valleys of Piedmont, between the Popiſh and Proteſtant parties upon the occaſion of the Maſſacre.

IN the former chapter you have a faithful narration of what cruelties were exerciſed againſt the reformed party in the valleys of Piedmont from the firſt arrival of the marquiſs of Pianeſſa's forces at St. Giovanni, which was April 17th, 1655. to the 21ſt, of the ſame: by which time they had made ſuch havoc of theſe poor people, that there was now only the little commonalty of Roras which was left entire, and untouched: but that they alſo might in all things be made like unto their ſuffering brethren of the other churches, and that it might appear that the deſtruction was deſigned to be univerſal, the earl of Chriſtophle upon that very day, being April 21ſt, ſent three hundred ſoldiers ſecretly by the way of Villaro, to ſurprize them of Roras, and to put them all to the ſword: this party being got upon a little hill called Rumer, belonging to Roras, it pleaſed God that they were met with by ſome ſoldiers belonging to captain Joſhua Gianavel (whom God raiſed up at that time as a choice inſtrument for the preſervation of the poor ſcattered remnant of his people.) Theſe ſoldiers being but ſeven or eight of them, yet having been before hand placed in ambuſcado at a convenient poſt to prevent the inroad of the enemy, they fired upon them, and plyed them ſo hard, that many of them were killed upon the place, and the reſt, ſuppoſing by the great number of bullets that flew about their ears, that the men in ambuſcado were ſix times more in number than indeed they were, they fled back in great diſorder, and confuſion, which the others perceiving, they fell upon their rear, and chaſed them at leaſt three quarters of a league amongſt the rocks, and woods, doing notable execution upon them in their flight.

The members of this little church of Roras, to take away all occaſions of exceptions, preſented their complaints to the marquiſs of Pianeſſa, who, that he might have the better opportunity to deceive, and ſurprize them, anſwered, That thoſe of his ſoldiers that went to Roras, were but thieves, robbers and outlaws, that herein had wholly diſobeyed his orders; adding, that they had done him a ſingular favour in driving them out of their country; and that he would take a courſe to prevent their being diſturbed for the future: and hereupon he publiſhed an order, whereby he ſtraitly charged his ſoldiers, not to give them any further cauſes of complaints, nor to moleſt them in any kind hereafter. Yet perfidiouſly, the very next day he ſent a party of five hundred choſen men to put his firſt bloody deſign in execution.

As theſe men were paſſing over a little hill of Roras, they were ſo ſaluted by eleven muſqueteers of the proteſtants, and ſix men with ſlings under the conduct of captain Gianavel, who had divided them into three ſquadrons, that the enemy was ſoon put to flight: and this poor handful of deſpicable men purſued them for a whole league, ſlaying a very great number of them, without the loſs or hurt of any one of themſelves, which ſhews the admirable providence of God in preſerving, and proſpering thoſe that fight his battles.

The marquiſs of Pianeſſa, though he had failed this ſecond time, yet was reſolved to make a third attempt; and ſtill to deceive them, he made new promiſes, and proteſtations that no injury in the world ſhould be offered them, and that in regard of the interceſſion of the earl of Chriſtophle, their lord and baron, he would protect, and defend them: yet the very morrow after he ſent a party of ſeven hundred men, who firſt ſeized upon, and ſecured all the paſſes, that none might eſcape their bloody hands, and then moſt barbarouſly burnt, and deſtroyed whatſoever they met with through all the commonalty of Roras.

Hereupon ſeventeen houſekeepers, whoſe hearts God had marvellouſly ſtrengthened, and encouraged for their poor brethrens preſervation, ſeeing what they muſt expect, and that nothing but death, and deſtruction waited for

for them, unleſs ſome admirable providence prevented it: As alſo calling to mind thoſe ſingular deliverances which God had vouchſafed to his ancient people of the Jews in their greateſt ſtraits; they unanimouſly reſolved to caſt themſelves with their lives and eſtates into the hands of the ſame God, reſting upon his gracious promiſes, and freely ſubmitting to his good will and pleaſure for the iſſue of their undertaking. The captain of this valiant party was the aforeſaid Gianavel, who marching up with this little band, ſuddenly ſurprized, and dexterouſly carried away their court of guard with their centinel from off a little hill where they were placed: At which bold attempt, the enemy being not a little amazed, withdrew from the place where they were, reſolving to march thro' a little meadow, and ſo to get to Villaro or La Torre: But being not nimble enough, the others met with them at Piampra, and there ſlew many of them, without the loſs of any one of their own, and took from them all the cattle, and other things which they had plundered from the neighbouring places.

Pianeſſa ſeeing all his deſigns thus fruſtrated, and that his ſpecious promiſes were but as ſo many watchwords to bid theſe poor people to ſtand upon their guard; he ſpeedily ſent to all thoſe of Lucerna, Bubbiana, Barges, Bagnol, Famolas, Cavors, and the adjacent places, who were able to bear arms, to come and join with a good part of his own army, to environ theſe poor people on every ſide. But God, who infatuates mens counſels as he pleaſeth, tho' the time of their Rendezvouſe was punctually aſſigned them, yet they came two hours too late; all except the troop of Bagnol, which was conducted by one Mario, a notorious perſecutor, and an inveterate enemy to the reformed churches: This Mario with his ragged regiment of thieves, outlaws, and a great number of Iriſh rebels, aſſaulted this poor people on the upper and lower part of the canton of Rumer, who were not above ſeventeen in number; yet the Lord was pleaſed ſo to encourage them, that they preſently gat upon the top of the mountain, and there after a long ſkirmiſh forced their enemies, tho' full of fury and malice, yet to give back, and to flie as far as the cliff called Pairo Capello; In which fight and purſuit they killed above ſixty of them, and wounded many more, and many of them being laden with plunder, as they fled amongſt the Precipices of the rocks, fell down, and were daſhed in pieces. Thoſe of them that were ligh'er, and nimbler, gat ſafe to Pairo Capello; but when they came there, they found greater difficulties to conteſt with than before; for being cloſely purſued and compaſſed in on every ſide, they were forced to take the ropes wherewith they had bound up their plunder, and tying them to ſhrubs, to ſlide down the rocks by them, and to fall into the river that ran below; but by reaſon of the violence of the torrent, and the great confuſion that was amongſt them, one falling on the neck of another, and ſuch as could not ſwim, catching hold of them that could; the greateſt part of them were there drowned. Captain Mario alſo amongſt the reſt threw himſelf into the river, and had not ſeveral of the ſoldiers that could ſwim excellent well, ventured their lives to fetch him out, he had gone with the reſt to receive preſent pay from the devil.

This captain Mario, having thus eſcaped, was carried to Lucerna in his ſhirt, without either hat or ſhoes, as a man at his wits end; and ſhortly after he fell into a deſperate diſeaſe, whereof he died: But before his death he oft cried out in a moſt deſpairing manner, that he felt a grievous burning in his bowels, as a juſt judgment upon him for having burnt ſo many innocent perſons, and their habitations.

The proteſtants after this gallant action, being ſomewhat weary with their hard ſervice, as they were marching back to refreſh themſelves, they ſpied another company of murderers coming from Villaro, whereupon forgetting their wearineſs, they placed themſelves in Ambuſcado. When the enemy drew near the place, they perceived ſome of them; but not being able by their colours to diſcern of what party they were, they called to them for *THE WORD*; The proteſtants anſwered not, but beckoned to them to come nearer, which they did in a careleſs poſture, ſuppoſing them to be friends, and when they came near, the others ſuddenly diſcharged upon them, and ſlew many of them upon the place, and the reſt they purſued near to La Torre, and Villaro. After which ſignal victory, captain Gianavel rallied his men upon an high ground not far off, and in the very ſight of his enemies, he cauſed them to kneel down, and with a loud voice to give thanks unto the Lord for this very great mercy in their deliverance.

Three days after, the marqueſs of Pianeſſa, being highly incenſed by this ſucceſs of the proteſtants, ſent to the people of Roras, expreſly charging them to change their religion, within the ſpace of twenty four hours, and that upon pain of death, and of having their houſes burnt to the ground; To which they anſwered, *That they would much rather chuſe death, than to obey any ſuch order.* The marqueſs vexed at this reſolute anſwer, preſently diſpatched away eight thouſand men, beſides the Militia forces of the neighbouring commonalties; who according to his order, were divided into three ſquadrons, the one to ſet upon the poor people on the ſide of Villaro, the other upon the mountains of Bagnol, and the third on that part which looks towards Lucerna; which accordingly they did, not only murdering man, woman and child, but exerciſing all manner of cruelties upon them, taking much pleaſure (like bloody villains) in torturing thoſe poor creatures, and in toſſing their little infants from off their pikes and halberds, and daſhing their brains againſt the rocks, whoſe cries would have melted an heart of Adamant, but theirs were harder; The number thus taken and ſlain was about one hundred twenty-ſix, the reſt almoſt miraculouſly eſcaped their bloody hands.

Having thus ſhewn their valour upon naked men, women and infants, and being glutted with the prey that they found in the country, they turned their houſes into aſhes; and ſuch as ſurvived, they ſent priſoners to Turin, amongſt whom was the wife and children of captain Gianavel, and ſo they marched back to Lucerna with great joy and acclamations.

Shortly after Pianeſſa wrote to captain Gianavel promiſing him great preferment if he would change his religion; otherwiſe, threatning that his wife and children ſhould be burnt: He alſo promiſed a great ſum of money to any that ſhould bring him the ſaid Gianavel either alive or dead. To this captain Gianavel preſently anſwered, 'That there was no torment ſo violent, nor death ſo cruel, that he did not much prefer before the abjuration of his religion; and that all theſe promiſes and threats did but the more fortifie him and ſtrengthen his faith: And for his wife and children, he told the marqueſs that tho' he had gotten them into his power, yet he could but kill their bodies; and as for their ſouls, he recommended them, together with his own, into the hands of God, in caſe it ſo happened that he ſhould fall into his power.'

This captain Gianavel having gotten together a ſmall party of men upon part of the Alps called La Pella des Jamies, May 22. went out in the evening to a place about three leagues off, not far from Bubiana, where he firſt ſought to God by prayer, and afterwards being informed of the number and ſtrength of the enemy, finding them too many to be attaked by ſuch a handful of men, he turned towards Lucernetta, where he was furiouſly aſſaulted by the garriſon of Lucerna, but he couragiouſly encountred them without the loſs of any one man, only himſelf was ſhot into the leg, by a ſoldier that had hid himſelf behind a tree, with a purpoſe to have ſlain him; but the captain perceiving whence the ſhot came, lame as he was, he made to the place, where he quickly diſpatched him for his pains.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, the Iriſh rebels in the marqueſs's army, thinking to make themſelves maſters of Bubiana, under a pretence of protecting them againſt the Barbets, the peaſants of the place perceiving their drift, took occaſion to quarrel with them, and after drove them out, killing a great number of them.

May the 26. 1655. Captain Gianavel wrote to captain Jahier and the reſt that were retired into Val Lucerna, to meet at a Rendezvous at Angrogna, which accordingly they did, and the day after, they marched together to a place in the plain called Garcigliana, thinking to have entred the town; but they met with a great party of horſe and foot, yet they diſputed it with them a long time, but being

being overpowered, they were forced to retreat; though they got ſix yoke of oxen, and many other ſmall cattle, and ſome priſoners, and that with the loſs of only one man in the retreat.

May 28. They marched to St. Secondo, where, having firſt kneeled down, and prayed for a bleſſing upon their undertaking, encouraging one another, they attacked the place with incredible valour; and the better to ſecure themſelves againſt the their enemies, who had lodged and fortified themſelves in houſes, they got planks, barrels, and ſuch other things as they met with to keep off the bullets, which were poured out upon them out of thoſe houſes, and ſo quickly made themſelves maſters of the doors of thoſe houſes, to which immediately they ſet fire, and ſo forced their entrance, putting all the ſoldiers they found to the ſword; and no marvel, for they had been extremely provoked to this rigour by the others cruel uſage of their wives and children: beſides every room of thoſe houſes was filled with the plundered goods of the proteſtants; yet did they not meddle with either women or children.

Then did they ſet fire on the town, and plundered the churches, which they found full of their own goods and cattle, and carried away ſeven of their maſs-bells.

At this time they ſlew about four hundred and fifty of their enemies, and amongſt others, a whole company of Iriſh rebels, who choſe rather to be burnt than to crave quarter. Of the proteſtants there were only ſeven ſlain, and ſix or ſeven more ſlightly wounded, whereof they ſoon recovered.

Monday, June 4. The captains Jahier, Laurentio, Gianavel, Genolt, Benet, and other officers of the proteſtants, went to Angrongia, and having called a counſel of war, they concluded the next day to alarm the enemy at Briqueras, and St. Giovanni: and accordingly the captains Laurentio and Jahier went by the way of Roccapiatta, that by the help of the thick woods wherein they ſhrouded themſelves, they might the better approach Briqueras, and having gotten upon a little hill near the town, captain Laurentio made there a ſtand to hinder any relief that might be ſent them from St. Secondo, and captain Jahier marching down, ſet fire on ſeveral houſes and barns.

At the ſight of this fire, they of Briqueras gave notice to thoſe of Cavors, Fenile, Bubiana, Campiglione, and other neighbouring places, whereupon the enemy quickly advanced towards them, and were as ſoon beaten back again: in the mean time there came a party of about twenty horſe and ſtood at St. Secondo, leſt the reformed party ſhould ſally out that way, really believing that they had a deſign upon Briqueras: but captain Jahier marched with his company by the way of St. Giovanni, and captain Laurentio went an higher way, yet both met at the place appointed, where captain Gianavel was engaged with the enemies from Lucerna, and La Torre, againſt whom he had defended himſelf very ſtoutly: then did captain Jahier charge them on the flank, and captain Laurentio on the front, ſeaſonably interpoſing his company in that place where the enemy had thought to have ſurrounded captain Gianavel, ſo that the popiſh party was ſoon routed, leaving one hundred men behind them, beſides many that were wounded, the reformed party having but one ſlain upon the place.

June 2. Three hundred of the enemies went from La Torre to fetch a convoy into the fort of Mirebuc, ſituate between the frontiers of Dauphine, and Piedmont: but captain Gianavel being at Malbec, though he had but nine ſoldiers with him, fell upon them, and fought a great while with them to the great aſtoniſhment of his enemies: but at laſt was forced to retreat without the loſs of a man, only four were ſlightly wounded.

Afterwards captain Gianavel with a ſmall party marched to La Pellas des Guichets, from whence he ſent to ſome that were retired into Villaro, requiring that all thoſe of the reformed religion ſhould within twenty four hours come out of the ſaid place where maſs was celebrated, and that upon the pain of being dealt with as enemies; and that ſuch as through weakneſs had abjured, and would perſiſt in their abjuration, ſhould depart thence upon the ſame penalty. Hereupon all the papiſts fled preſently out of Villaro, and the proteſtants came in to captain Gianavel, and ſuch of them as were able to bear arms followed him cheerfully: the reſt contributed according to their abilities towards the maintainance of him, and his troops. Thoſe which through frailty had abjured their religion went over the mountain into the valley of Queires; yet not long after they returned like ſo many wandering ſheep to the true ſhepherd of their ſouls, and teſtifying their repentance, were again received into the boſom of the church.

After thoſe of Lucerna were retreated, the captains Jahier, and Gianavel, with ſome other officers, called a council of war, wherein they reſolved to ſally out, and if it were poſſible, to ſurpriſe thoſe of La Torre, moſt of which were Iriſh. But the enemy having timely notice was ſo prepared, that they killed ſome who had paſſed the bridge at Angrognia, which ſo encouraged them that they thought to have encloſed all the ſmall body of the proteſtants, and to have cut them all off: but after many aſſaults to no purpoſe, they were forced to retreat to La Torre with the loſs of very many of their ſoldiers, beſides many others that were dangerouſly wounded.

The next day the captains, Jahier, and Gianavel went before La Torre, againſt whom many of the ſoldiers came out; but not ſallying forth in a full body, they were ſlain upon the place, which their captains ſeeing, they thought fit to ſend out no more: whereupon the proteſtants retreated towards Angrognia, to a place called La Verne, where a few houſes were yet left unburnt.

The next day was ſpent in the review of their army, and holding a counſel of war, where they reſolved to ſend a party againſt the commonality of Cruſol, the inhabitants whereof had made incurſions upon them, and committed many outrages in the beginning of the maſſacre: and accordingly they marched all night, being four hundred ninety and five men, and paſſing La Torre undiſcovered, a little after midnight they arrived at Cruſol, where they took four hundred head of cattle, ſix hundred ſheep and goats, with much other booty, and that without the leaſt reſiſtance: for the inhabitants of Cruſol, being terribly affrighted, had caſt themſelves into the mouth of a moſt fearful rock, whence they could not be gotten out; and ſo the proteſtants returned over one of the Alps to Villaro, where, arriving the next day towards evening, they divided the ſpoil amongſt the ſoldiers.

Preſently after their departure, the enemy from Lucerna, Cavors, Briqueras, and other places to the number of eight hundred, having heard of their deſign againſt Cruſol, marched to their relief: but finding that they had gone too far to be overtaken, they reſolved not to loſe their labours, and ſo fell a plundering the poor people (though their friends) much worſe than the proteſtants had done, and afterwards falling out among themſelves about dividing the ſpoil, they deſtroyed one another inſtead of doing hurt to the reformed party.

The very ſame day that this enterprize was againſt Cruſol, the enemy at St. Secondo advanced to burn the reſt of the houſes at Roccapiatta, and being advanced as far as to the little hill of Angrognia, they thought to have ſurpriſed the reſt of the forces left under the command of captain Laurentio, and captain Jahier's brother: but they, having timely intelligence of it, marched preſently to the top of the mountain with one half of the ſoldiery, leaving the other half under the command of captain Bennet of St. Germano, who alſo with all poſſible expedition, took upon the ſaid little hill with ſeventeen of his men, and placed the reſt in Ambuſcado. But the enemies hearts miſgiving them, they ſhamefully retreated, at which time they took one Giovanni Pietro Ragio as he was coming from Pinachia, and binding his head with a cord, they ſtrained it with ſuch violence, that they made it ſink into his brains, and ſo they ſent him to Turin, where he ended his days ſhortly after by a languiſhing, and miſerable death.

Eight days after, captain Gianavel, having waited three whole days at Angrognia for the coming of captain Jahier that with joint-forces they might aſſault the town of Lucerna, when he came not, he reſolved to aſſault it himſelf, and ſo marching all night, he arrived at Lucerna by break of day. His firſt work was to cut off the pipes that conveyed water into the town, and brake down the bridge that no relief might come to them from Bubiana, Barges, and Bagnol; then did he aſſault the town, and quickly

defeated

defeated two of the out-guards: but the regiment of Monſieur de Morelles, and divers others being got into the town the night before, he was conſtrained to give over the enterprize, and to retreat, whereas if captain Jahier had come in time, and joined with him, probably they had carried the place.

June 8. Captain Gianavel being left alone at Angrogna only with his own company, and ſome few others, was aſſaulted early in the morning by the ſoldiers of La Torre and others, one part of them getting upon the top of the mountain, and the other part going the lower paſſage to poſſeſs themſelves of the gate of Angrogna by the way of St. Bartholomew, intending ſuddenly to fall upon captain Gianavel and his ſmall company, having already devoured them in their hopes: but it pleaſed God that at the ſound of the trumpet, when all ſhould have fallen on, captain Gianavel ſoon awaked; and having firſt ſought unto God by prayer, he fell upon the enemy, and gat the advantage of the place from them, and after a ſhort diſpute, forced them to turn their backs, though there were at leaſt two thouſand five hundred of them, and all the captain's company was not above three hundred, yet did that handful of men purſue them as far as the deſcent of Angrogna, into the woods, and ſteep places of the rocks, where they ſlew a very great number of them.

Captain Gianavel ſeeing it impoſſible to think of any further attempt for the preſent, entreated captain Jahier to give over that day, and to refreſh himſelf and his ſoldiers: but he being at that time more paſſionate than prudent, refuſed his good counſel, and picking out one hundred and fifty choice men, ſweetly took his leave of captain Gianavel (little thinking that it ſhould be his laſt) and ſo marched down into the plain, where he burnt ſeveral of their houſes who had formerly burnt, and deſtroyed ſo many of the proteſtants, bringing away with him a good booty of cattle, and other goods.

This valiant captain hitherto had been ſo ſucceſsful in all his attempts, thinking in the cloſe of the day to crown all his former undertakings, as he was now near the execution of his deſign; lo a ſquadron of horſe ſurrounded him and his forty five men (for at this time he had no more with him) at a country houſe, not far from Oſſac, and though he and his men did all that could poſſibly be expected from them, killing three captains, with the commander in chief of that ſquadron, beſides many others, yet he at laſt and thirty five of his followers, all loſt their lives: and the enemies in great triumph, cut off captain Jahier's head, and the heads of his ſons, and carried them to Turin, preſenting them to the duke and his mother, who rewarded them with ſix hundred ducatoons for their good ſervice therein.

Captain Jahier deſerves to be renowned, eſpecially for his great piety, and zeal for the ſervice and honour of God, and the preſervation of his poor afflicted church and members. He was of ſo undaunted a ſpirit, that the terrors of death, and the moſt cruel torments could never affright him. He was bold as a lion in his enterprizes, but meek, and humble as a lamb in the midſt of his victories, always lifting up his hand towards heaven, from whence he acknowleged all his help to come, and always recited fit and comfortable paſſages out of the ſcriptures (wherein he was admirably verſed) for the encouragement of all his followers, and the ſtrengthening of their faith upon all occaſions. As to his outward parts, and accompliſhments, he was a man of a ſound underſtanding, and good judgment, and above all, of a wonderful active ſpirit, which had he but uſed with moderation, he had been hardly to have been paralleled.

The death of ſo great a commander, and the wound of captain Gianavel, in that juncture of time did not a little ſtartle the proteſtants: but neceſſity often puts inconſiderable men upon bold enterprizes: for theſe poor men did not deſpond, nor loſe courage, but aſſembling ſhortly after in a mountain of Angrogna, they deſcended into the plain, where twice they were aſſaulted with violence, the laſt of which was by a dangerous ambuſcado, where the enemies were at leaſt ſix thouſand, and they not above one hundred: but God of his infinite goodneſs ſo encouraged their hearts, and guided their hands, that they ſlew very many of their enemies, and amongſt them many principal officers, whereas the reformed party loſt only Michael Bertino, a ſerjeant of Angrogna, and had but one common ſoldier wounded. The ſon of the ſaid Bertino ſeeing his father fall dead at his feet, was ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he immediately ſtepped into his father's place with theſe words, 'Though my father be dead, yet be of good courage my fellow ſoldiers, for God is a father to us all.'

Monday following they had a very ſharp diſpute at La Torre, and about Tagliaretto, where they killed and wounded a great number of their enemies, without the loſs of any of their own men. Indeed in this time the enemies reaped their corn in the plains of St. Giovanni, but they could not carry it away but with the loſs of many of their lives.

About the ſame time there came to the proteſtants one Monſieur Andrion, a major of a regiment of horſe, with two other gentlemen that were ſtrangers, who were followed with ſome volunteers, whoſe friendly viſit to their poor afflicted brethren, and their good advice in ſuch a juncture of time, was taken (as it deſerved) very kindly; and God made it a ſingular means to uphold the fainting ſpirits of ſome weak brethren, who ſeeing others come in 'to help the Lord againſt the mighty,' went on with a great deal more chearfulneſs, and alacrity: and theſe ſtaid with them till the peace was concluded at Pignerol.

July 11th, 1655. Sieur John Leger, paſtor of the church at St. Giovanni, who deſerves to be remembered for the great pains, and many ſervices performed by him in the behalf of the churches of the valleys, having notice that the enemies were of opinion that he was come back from his journey with arms and money, and ammunition, and thereupon preſuming that they would ſuddenly make ſome notable attempt to prevent what they ſo much feared, he went to colonel Andrion, and preſſed him to put his deſign in execution.

The poor people had as yet no ſtanding army: but the bands of each commonality were quartered at a great diſtance the one from the other; and certainly they had been cut off every man of them within a few days, had not their centinels been very watchful; and above all, if captain Chairforan had not on the one ſide timely diſcovered the enemy, and the poor people on the other ſide been exceedingly heartened to the battle by the great valour, and ſingular conduct of the Sieurs Andrion, Michelin, and Leger.

The enemy was very numerous, having been lately reinforced with many troops. They encamped themſelves within half a league of the reformed party, and early in the morning they divided themſelves into four brigades, three whereof fell upon the proteſtants with a marvelous reſolution in three ſeveral places at once: the fourth ſtood ſtill, ready to ſuccour their friends if there were need. The fight continued at leaſt four hours without intermiſſion, and was the ſharpeſt that ever was fought in the open field: and that which made the enemies more fierce, was, their hopes to have beaten back the proteſtants from their poſt called the Caſtellas, which if they could have effected, they had been certainly maſters of the valleys Peroſa, St. Martino, and Lucerna: but the poor people having lifted up their hearts by earneſt ſupplication to the Lord of hoſts (as they uſed to do upon all ſuch occaſions) major Andrion, and the two other captains which he had brought with him, gave forth ſuch orders as were neceſſary, encouraging their men exceedingly, ſo that without moving a foot, they kept their ground, all ſave a few, who were either quite tired, or faint for want of food, or that wanted powder, or flints in their fire-locks: but theſe, the ſieurs Mochelin and Ledger employed in rolling down great ſtones upon their enemies heads as they came to attack them, which proved very ſucceſsful, doing much execution upon the enemy, and cauſing them to abate much of their fury; and whereas in the beginning of the fight they cried always, 'Advance, advance, ye relicts of Jahier;' the proteſtants now began to cry as faſt, 'Advance, advance, ye relicts of St. Secondo,' and withal they ran upon thoſe murderers as ſo many lions, and cauſed them to turn back, and fly towards La Torre and Lucerna

as faſt as they were able, leaving behind them fifty five upon the place, and about forty that were killed in the flight, beſides many others who were carried either dead, or dangerouſly wounded, to Lucerna. Themſelves confeſſed that in this encounter they loſt at leaſt three hundred men, amongſt which were many officers of a Bavarian regiment.

When ſuch multitudes of dead, wounded, and dying men were brought into Lucerna, the Syndick, who was indeed a papiſt, but not ſo ſuperſtitious as many others, ſaid to ſome, 'Hitherto the wolves devoured the barbets; but now the barbets devour the wolves:' Which words being reported to monſieur Marolles, the commander in chief in Lucerna, he threatened to impriſon him, and to give him the Strappado for them, which ſo terrified the poor man, that he preſently ſickened, and within a few days died.

Two days after this great fight, the enemy being much enraged for their great loſs, ſpread themſelves all over Angrognia, and began to ſet the corn on fire, which being ſeen by the company of la Torre, who at that time were upon the mountain of Tagliaretto, they ſpeedily gave notice to thoſe of ſaint Giovanni, and Angrognia, who haſted thither, and charged them ſo fiercely, that they forced them to flie, and to leave moſt of their ammunition behind them: And in the mean time captain Belin aſſaulted the town of la Torre, killed the centinel, and ſoldiers upon the works, and gave the town ſuch an hot alarm, that moſt of them fled towards the river of Pellice; and probably if he had had a few more men with him, he had at that time made himſelf maſter of la Torre.

July the eighteenth, the general of the proteſtants gave order to fall upon the town of la Torre, which accordingly was put in execution. Captain Belin gave the firſt onſet, who being followed with many other officers, and ſoldiers, they quickly made a conſiderable breach in the garden-wall next to the Convent, which ſo encouraged the reſt, that they, fell on with an invincible reſolution, and in a ſhort ſpace burnt both the Convent, and moſt of the town down to the ground. Thoſe in the fort finding themſelves hardly beſet, began to parley about ſurrendering of it upon honourable terms: But ſome horſe coming ſeaſonably to their relief from Lucerna, which the proteſtants might have prevented if they had been ſo careful as they ſhould have been, they were fruſtrated of attaining their deſires.

Beſides theſe, there were divers other battles fought in divers places, where the reformed party had conſiderable advantages againſt their enemies, but for brevity ſake they are here omitted.

CHAP. XLVII.

A brief account of the Interceſſors to the Duke of Savoy in the behalf of theſe poor People, and the ſucceſs thereof.

UPON the firſt publication of that terrible order of Gaſtaldo, which was a forerunner of the maſſacre, the proteſtant Cantons of Switzerland, being their neighbours, and therefore could ſooneſt take notice of it, wrote their letters to the duke of Savoy in the poor peoples behalf. To which the duke of Savoy ſhortly after gave a complemental, but cold anſwer, which was little better than a plain denial of their requeſt, and mediation.

April the 29th, being the Lord's day, news of the horrible maſſacre was brought to the council of Zurick, who immediately gave order for a public day of humiliation through all their territories as alſo for making a collection for their relief; reſolving to give notice of this doleful news to their proteſtant friends; and amongſt others, they wrote to the ſtates general of the united provinces, acquainting them with the ſad condition of this poor people, intreating them to conſider of ſome expedient for the accommodating their affairs.

May the fifth, they ſent monſieur Gabriel Weis, captain general of Bern as their deputy to the duke of Savoy, who in very reſpectful terms requeſted him to re-eſtabliſh thoſe who had ſurvived the maſſacre in their ancient priviledges, the free exerciſe of their religion, and for the enlargement of their priſoners, delivering him a letter to the ſame purpoſe. The anſwer which the duke (or rather his mother) gave, was, that they were not obliged to give an account of their actions to any prince in the world, yet out of reſpect to the amity which they had compacted with his maſters the Cantons, they had given order to the marqueſs of Pianeſſa to acquaint them with the truth of thoſe affairs: And ſhortly after when major Weis ſpake with the marqueſs, he laboured to juſtify all his proceedings, and to lay the load upon the backs of the poor people, proteſting that he never intended to force their conſciences, and that all the reports about ſuch ſtrange cruelties exerciſed towards them were mere forgeries, &c.

Major Weis replied that the maſſacre was ſo notorious, that it could not be denied, and that their right of habitation in thoſe places was founded upon juſtice, being granted to them by the duke's predeceſſors, and purchaſed by them of the preſent duke for ſix thouſand ducatoons. The marqueſs anſwered, that all thoſe grants were upon condition that the Romiſh religion ſhould be freely exerciſed amongſt them, which yet they would never ſuffer. Mr. Weis ſtill preſſing this ſad condition, and the neceſſity of finding an expedient for accommodation, &c. the marqueſs deſired him to apply himſelf to the poor people, and to cauſe them to deſiſt from hoſtility, which would be the way to obtain favour from the duke, and no marvel though he moved this: For about this time (through God's mighty aſſiſtance) theſe poor people began ſo to prevail, that their enemies began to fear what the ſucceſs might be, and therefore the marqueſs laboured to get the ſword out of their hand by ſuch a ſtratagem as this.

Major Weis went to Peroſa, propounding theſe things to the poor people; who returned humble thanks to the Cantons for what they had already done in their behalf; and ſaid, that if the ſix evangelical Cantons would engage that the treaty ſhould be carried on upon honeſt and honourable terms, they were ready to hearken to it; otherwiſe they were reſolved never to truſt thoſe who had ſo oft deceived them, and whoſe principle was, 'That faith is not to be kept with heretics.'

With this anſwer maſter Weis returned, and ſued for the enlargement of the priſoners, or that at leaſt he might be ſuffered to ſpeak with them: But neither the one nor other would be granted; whereupon he returned to his maſters, and upon his report to them, being diſcouraged from any farther proceedings, they reſolved to expect what would be done by other princes, and ſtates.

May 1655 Letters were brought to Oliver, lord protector of England, of this doleful news, whereupon he invited all the people of England to ſeek the Lord by humiliation, and prayer, and withal, moved them to a liberal contribution for the ſuccour of theſe poor ſouls. He ſent alſo maſter Samuel Morland as his envoy to the king of France, and duke of Savoy to mediate on their behalf. He wrote alſo to the king of Denmark, to the ſtates of the united provinces, and to the evangelical Cantons of the Switzers, requeſting all their mediations in the behalf of theſe poor people.

May the twenty ſixth 1655. maſter Morland ſet out on his journey, and June the firſt he came to the king of France at la Ferre, to whom he delivered the lord protector's letters, wherein he ſolicited his majeſty to improve his power, and intereſt with the duke, that the cruel order of Gaſtaldo might be recalled, and the poor people reſtored to their ancient liberties, and habitations. The king of France three days after returned an anſwer to the lord protector's letter, and maſter Morland proceeded in his journey to the court of Savoy, and arrived at Rivole, where the court was, June 21. and demanded audience as the lord protector's envoy, which accordingly was granted: And at his appearing he made a ſpeech in the behalf of the poor people, and delivered the lord protector's letter.

Madam royal, the duke's mother anſwered, That ſhe could not but extreamly applaud the ſingular charity of his highneſs the lord protector towards their ſubjects, whoſe condition had been preſented to him ſo exceeding ſad, and lamentable, as ſhe perceived by Mr. Morland's

diſcourſe

diſcourſe it was; yet withal ſhe could not but extreamly admire that malice ſhould proceed ſo far as to clothe their father-like chaſtiſements of their rebellious ſubjects with ſo black a character, thereby to render them odious to all their neighbouring princes, and ſtates with whom they deſired to keep a good underſtanding, eſpecially with ſo great and powerful a prince as the lord protector. Adding that ſhe doubted not but when the truth of all paſſages ſhould be made known to him, he would reſt ſatisfied with the duke's proceedings. Yet for his highneſs ſake they would pardon their rebellious ſubjects, and grant them ſuch privileges, and graces, as ſhould ſhew to the lord protector how great a reſpect they bore both to his perſon, and mediation: And withal Mr. Morland was requeſted to go to Turin, where by the dukes order he was entertained with all outward demonſtrations of civility, and reſpect imaginable during his abode there.

Mr. Morland after a while preſſed for his diſpatch, and had it, and ſo, according to the lord protector's order, he went to Geneva.

There was collected in England and Wales towards the relief of theſe poor ſouls, the full ſum of thirty eight thouſand, ninety ſeven pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and three pence, the greateſt part whereof was at ſeveral times tranſmitted to them; and what remained, being about nine thouſand pounds, was put out to intreſt, that ſo both the principal, and the improvement might be diſpoſed of for their beſt advantage: And further to ſhew what effects the lord protector's interceſſion had, I find that preſently after, the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, the States of the United Provinces, the prince elector Palatine, the elector of Brandenberg, the duke of Wittenberg, and many other proteſtant princes and ſtates did either by their letters to the duke of Savoy, or otherwiſe, declare their deep reſentment of the bloody maſſacre, eſpecially the landgrave of Heſſen wrote moſt zealouſly in their behalf. They had alſo many conſolatory letters written to them from ſundry particular churches, *viz.* From Franckfort, Zurick, Hanaw, Fluſhing, Middleburg, *&c.* and large contributions according to their reſpective abilities. Divers commiſſioners alſo were ſent from England and Holland to join with thoſe of the Evangelical Cantons for the procuring a well-grounded peace for thoſe poor people: But before they came, the Switzer ambaſſador had concluded a treaty with the French ambaſſador; and betwixt them, they had huddled up a peace, the woful effects whereof theſe poor people were quickly ſenſible of; and to this day they labour under heavy burdens laid upon their ſhoulders by their Popiſh Taſkmaſters: They forbid them all manner of traffic for their ſuſtenance: They rob them of their goods, and eſtates: They drive them from their ancient habitations, and force them to ſell their birth right for a meſs of pottage: They baniſh their Miniſters, that the ſhepherds being gone, they may the more eaſily devour them: They raviſh their young women and maidens: They murther the innocent as they paſs along the high-ways upon their occaſions: They continually mock and revile them, and threaten another maſſacre, ſevenfold more bloody than the former: Thro' the malice and ſubtilty of their popiſh adverſaries their vallies are no other than a dungeon, to which the fort of La Torre ſerves as a door, whereby at their pleaſure they may let in a troop of murderers utterly to deſtroy and extirpate thoſe innocent people: And notwithſtanding all thoſe large ſupplies that have been ſent them from England, and other States, yet ſo great are the neceſſities of thoſe poor hungry creatures, and ſo grievous are the oppreſſions of their popiſh adverſaries, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatſoever is given them, that ſome of them are yet ready ever and anon to eat their own fleſh for want of bread: their miſeries are more ſad, and grievous than can be expreſſed: they are dying, even whilſt they live: when that which was collected for them is once ſpent, they muſt inevitably periſh, unleſs the Lord in whoſe hands are the hearts of princes, ſhall incline the heart of their prince to pity theſe his poor, harmleſs, and faithful ſubjects, who are ſo far from thoughts of rebellion, that could they but enjoy the freedom of their conſciences in peace, they would be the firſt that would be ready to ſacrifice their lives for the good, and ſafety of his royal highneſs,

How long Lord, holy, juſt, and true, &c. REV. 6. 10.

If any deſire to ſee a fuller account of theſe things, together with the Letters and Tranſactions about them, they may find them fully and faithfully ſet down by Mr. Samuel Morland in his Hiſtory of the Evangelical Churches in the Vallies of Piedmont.

CHAP. XLVIII.

A brief Deſcription of Piedmont, and the Vallies thereof.

PIEDMONT is ſo called, becauſe it is ſituated *a pede montium*, or at the feet of the Alps which ſeperate Italy from France: It is but a little ſpot of earth, yet very pleaſant, and of incredible fruitfulneſs. It is bounded on the eaſt with Millan, Montferrat, and the common wealth of Genoa: On the ſouth is the Mediterranean ſea: On the weſt and north part, it hath the Alps for a bulwark, by which it is ſeparated on the weſt ſide from Provence, and Dauphine; and on the north from Savoy, and the country of Valley. It is almoſt all covered with high mountains, and watered with four great rivers, viz. Po, Tanaro, Stura, and Dora, beſides which, there are about twenty eight rivers more, great and ſmall, which render it exceeding fruitful in cattle, wine, corn, hay, nuts, and many other fruits in great abundance.

The principal vallies are, on the north part thoſe two, Aoſta, and Suſa; on the ſouth ſide Stura, and ſome others: And in the midland, Lucerna, Angrogna, Roccapiatto, Pramol, Peroſa, and St. Martino. The valley of Pragela hath been, and ſtill is a part of Dauphin as far as La Capella, which is ſituated at the lower end thereof, and divides it from Peroſa; which was the ordinary paſſage of the French armies into Italy.

Theſe vallies, eſpecially that of Angrogna, Pramol, and St. Martino are ſtrongly fortified by nature, by reaſon of their many difficult paſſages thro' rocks and mountains: As if from the beginning it had been deſigned by the all-wiſe God to be as a cabinet, wherein he would keep ſome rare jewels.

Thoſe vallies of Piedmont which have been for ſome hundreds of years inhabited by the Waldenſes, are Lucerna, Peroſa, and St. Martino. Lucerna contains fifteen miles in length: The higheſt communalities thereof, viz. Bobio, Villaro, and La Torre are for the greateſt part mountains: But Lucerna, St. Giovanni, Fenile, Campiglione, and Garigliana, tho' they have both on the north and ſouth ſide a little of the mountains, yet they extend themſelves into a very fair plain.

Angrogna is but a little valley on the north ſide of Lucerna, as alſo Rorata, and Vallon, which are on the ſouth ſide of Lucerna wholly within the mountains: So is alſo Roccapiatta, and Pramol, which are incloſed between the vallies of Lucerna and Peroſa.

The communalty of La Torre took its name from an high tower which ſtood upon a little hill near Bourg: But Francis the firſt, king of France, conſidering how prejudicial it might be to the affairs and intereſt of France, and the ſafety of Pignorole, he cauſed it to be demoliſhed. But the duke of Savoy rebuilt it, *Anno* 1652. which afterwards ſerved as a ſlaughter-houſe of many poor innocent ſouls.

Bricheras, which is joined to the valley of Lucerna, is on the Eaſt of Angrogna, and ſaint Giovanni, and on the ſouth of Roccapiatta, almoſt all in the plain.

Peroſa, and St. Martino are on the north of Lucerna, Angrogna, and Roccapiatta, ſituated in ſuch ſort that the valley of Peroſa is at the lower end, and on the eaſt are the valleys of St. Martino, and Pragela.

The valley of Peroſa is about ſix miles long; and it is diſtributed, part in the mountains, and part in the plains, and very fruitful hills. At the lower end of it are the communalities of Porte, St. Germano, and Villaro: in the middle,

middle, Pinachia, and in the higher part that of Peroſa, where is the city and citadel of Peroſa, whence the valley takes its name.

The valley of St. Martino is eight miles in length, on the weſt of the valley of Peroſa, included between the valleys of Lucerna, and Cluſone, in the higheſt part of the Alps, which border upon the valley of Queyras, containing eleven commonalities; *viz.* Rioclaret, Faet, Rodoreto, Salſa, Macel, Maneglia, Chabrans, Traverſes, Bovile, and St. Martino, which gives the name to this valley. This indeed is the pooreſt, yet the ſtrongeſt of all by reaſon of its ſituation.

In theſe valleys before the late horrid maſſacre 1655. there were fourteen churches of the proteſtants which compoſed two claſſes, or colloques, and thoſe two claſſes, one ſynod for the eccleſiaſtical government. The one was the colloque of Lucerna conſiſting of the churches of St. Giovanni, La Torre, Villaro, Bobi, Rorata, and Angrogna. to which was annexed that of Roccapiatta, which is between the valley of Lucerna, and Peroſa, ſituated upon thoſe little hills which ſeparate the two valleys.

The other was the colloque of the valley of Peroſa, and St. Martino, containing four churches in the valley of Peroſa, *viz.* Villaro, St. Germano, which made but one church, Pinachia, La Capella, and Pramoth in the valley of St. Martino, were three churches, *viz.* Villa Seca, Maneglius, Praſi.

The church of St. Giovanni contains within it a very fair plain, and little hills, very fruitful, and abounding with corn, vines, cheſnuts, figs, olives, and other fruits, but it wants paſtures, and woods, ſo that they have not many cattle, but only ſome oxen to till the ground, and and to carry their wine to Turin, and other places to ſell. This church hath annexed unto it Lucerna, Lucernetta, the vineyards of Lucerna, Fenile, Bubiana, and Bricheras. In the city of Lucerna the third part of the inhabitants were proteſtants. In Lucernetta, and the vineyard of Lucerna, almoſt all the inhabitants profeſſed the reformed religion time out of mind.

Fenile is lower on the other ſide of the river Pelice towards the ſouth, being a more fat and fertile ſoil than any place in St. Giovanni, in all ſorts of fruit and grain.

Bubiana, as to the plain, is like to Fenile, and nearly adjoining to it: but the proteſtants have often been driven out of it, ſo that what they poſſeſſed was moſtly in hills, where they have little corn, and wine, but abundance of cheſnuts: ſo that the inhabitants, which were about fifty families, were generally poor, living by their hard labour, and by their profit which they made of wood, which they carried to ſell to the towns of Bubiana, and Lucerna.

The hills of Bricheras, where there have been always proteſtant families, are like thoſe of St. Giovanni.

The church of La Torre is the ſame for ſituation and quality with that of St. Giovanni, containing one plain, where is the town of La Torre, and hills adorned with the ſame kind of fruits as thoſe of St. Giovanni.

The church of Villaro adjoins to that of La Torre, but is a little higher towards Dauphine, containing a little plain where is the town, and the hills adorned with vines, and cheſnuts.

The church of Bobio is near to that of Villaro, being a a little higher towards the mountain on the weſt, but as fertile as that of Villaro: and being environed with many mountains, and having fat paſtures, the inhabitants had many oxen, and kine, and ſmaller cattle, together with milk and wool in abundance; as alſo they had many cheſnuts, which being cleanſed, and dried, they ſold, or exchanged for other commodities.

The church of Rorata is a little valley, ſituated on the other ſide of the river Pelice, on the weſt of Lucerna, being bounded by the mountains of Villaro. It abounds in paſtures, and is very fruitful, eſpecially in cheſnuts.

The church of Angrogna is north-weſt to that of ſaint Giovanni, towards Peroſa, in a mountainous country; but fruitful in cheſnuts, corn, and paſtures, environed with fruitful mountains, which yielded good paſtures in the ſummer ſeaſon.

The church of Roccapiatta contains four parcels, *viz.* that of Roccapiatta, St. Bartholomeo, Peruſtine, and La Inverſo delle Porte. In theſe three latter there grew abundance of rich wines, cheſnuts, and other good fruits. In Roccapiatta they have corn, paſture, and fruits, but no wine.

The church of Villaro, and St. Germano is ſituated in the loweſt part of Peroſa, about a mile from Pignorolio: the weſt and north part of Villaro on this ſide the river Cluſone, belong to the king of France, and St. Germano to the duke of Savoy on the other ſide of the ſaid river, which running through the whole length of the ſaid valley, ſeparates the king's territories from thoſe of the duke's. Theſe two places of Villaro, and St. Germano contain a little plain on both ſides the river, the reſt is in hills, yielding corn, wine, and fruits.

The church of Pinachia is within the French dominions, adjoining on the weſt part to that of Villaro, and contains a fair, and beautiful plain, on the north ſide fenced with pleaſant hills: on the weſt is the town, and fort of Peroſa; on the ſouth, the river Cluſone, and ſome hills, but ſcarce any plain at all. It abounds with corn, wine, nuts, graſs, and other fruits.

The church of La Capella is on the weſt of that of Pinachia in the upper end of the valley of Peroſa; on the weſt it joins the valley of Pragela (which belongs to the king of France:) on the eaſt is the citadel of Peroſa: it hath ſeveral very fruitful hills in it. It hath annexed to it Pomare, and Inverſo del Peroſa, and ſome other villages, called Le Mean, making a little commonalty at the foot of the valley of Pragela.

The church of Parmol is ſituated on a mountain between the valleys of Lucerna, and Peroſa, at the feet whereof grow a few vines, and good fruits: in the higheſt part is corn, and much wood, and paſture ground.

The church of Villa Secca is at the loweſt part of the the valley of St. Martino, where there is almoſt no plain but where the river Germanaſco takes its courſe; the hills which lie ſouth from the ſaid river are very cold, ſo that there grow no vines: but thoſe on the north which lie open to the ſouth ſun are hot, and ſo many vines. In general, its tolerably fruitful in corn, fruits, and paſture.

The church of Maneglia which is on the weſt part of Villa Secca, comprehends three little commonalties, *viz.* Maneglie, Machel, and Salſa: all are in a mountainous place, but exceeding fruitful in corn, paſture, *&c.* except only in the higheſt places thereof.

The church of Prali is ſituated in the uppermoſt part of the valley of St. Martino, and contains two commonalties, *viz.* Prali, and Rodoret, bounded on the ſouth by the Alps, and the valley of Lucerna; on the weſt by the valley Queyras in Dauphine; and on the north by the valley of Pragela: here is nothing but hay and graſs.

Generally in all theſe churches (except on the tops of the mountains) there are are plenty of fruits, eſpecially of cheſnuts, and in ſome places there are vaſt ſpaces of ground yielding almoſt nothing elſe: As in the little hills of Bubiana, and along the valley of Lucerna, and in the ſouth parts of the valley of Peroſa: ſo that the inhabitants in thoſe places, dry and cleanſe great quantities of them, part whereof they keep for their own uſe, and the reſt they ſell, or exchange for corn, and that, quantity for quantity, with the inhabitants of the plain, it being a great part of their food in Piedmont. They alſo dry theſe nuts in an oven, or on a kilne, and make thereof an excellent ſort of biſcuit, which they firſt ſtring as they do their beads, and ſo hang them up in a moiſt place the better to preſerve them. Theſe they frequently make uſe of inſtead of maqueroons, and ſuch ſweet-meats.

CHAP. XLIX.

A Relation of the Diſtreſſed State of the church of Chriſt, profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion in the Great Dukedom of Lithuania:

Preſented to the view of all Compaſſionate Chriſtians.

THE fatal and bloody Tragedy, which, with a great deal of confuſion, hath been acted on the theatre of Europe, near upon forty years, or upwards, having daſhed moſt potent kingdoms, nations, and provinces, one againſt another, hath at laſt (with more ſeverity, becauſe latter) reached our Sarmatian climate, and therein that moſt flouriſhing kingdom of Poland, but eſpecially the great dukedom of Lithuania, and the provinces belonging thereunto; wherein it hath ſo ruined, and deſtroyed many magnificent, and populous cities, leſſer towns, and villages without number; that there are not ſo much, as any marks left, where they ſtood before.

This is now the twelfth year, ſince the higheſt, and moſt righteous judge of all unrighteous nations, having baniſhed peace from our country, hath, in his fierce anger, called for the many perfidious, cruel, ſwift, and mighty nations, to execute his judgments againſt us. And theſe, not having been in the leaſt provoked by us, but only thirſting after our fortunes, and blood, have waſhed their cruel hands therein, and are not ſatisfied therewith, but to the ſpoiling of the goods have added moſt exquiſite torments upon the bodies of the true profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

In the year 1648. when the firſt rebellion of the Coſſacks broke forth, to whom the Tartarians readily did aſſociate themſelves, the nobility was ſought out, with much diligence, by the furious rebels, to be ſlaughtered; and all ſuch, as were not of the Greek religion, were moſt ignominiouſly put to death, without any diſtinction; where were many numerous congregations of the reformed proteſtants, whoſe miniſters were not ſpared alſo.

And the cruelty of the furious Coſſacks was ſo barbarous, that the Tartars themſelves tho' their aſſociates would not be guilty of ſo much innocent blood; but compaſſionately did reſcue as many, as they could, out of their hands.

Many had their ſkins pulled over their ears, whilſt they were alive. Others had their hands, and feet, cut off. Some had their bowels taken out, alive. Others had their ſhin bones bored thro'. To ſome they poured melted lead in at the wounds, which they made in their heads, or bodies. Their eyes were plucked out: There is no numbering of thoſe that were hanged. And it was accounted a great mercy, if any had his head cut off with a ſword, or if they were ſent away as pepetual ſlaves to the Turk. Poor parents, and huſbands, were forced to look on, whilſt their wives, and daughters were raviſhed.

This was the miſerable condition of our country, and church, for ſeveral years together, during the civil wars. But afterwards, when we all begun to hope for better things, there fell a new, and more ſtrange calamity upon us, when we were almoſt conſumed before. For the perfidious Moſcovite, having taking notice of the diſtraction, and devaſtation, which by the juſt hand of God, befel us; and that the ſtrength of Lithuania, was, by continual inteſtine wars, decayed, he preſently took an opportunity to invade it; and to that effect, having found out ſome pretenſes, he came with an army of two hundred thouſand men, and aſſociated to himſelf ſixty thouſand of the rebellious Coſſacks; who carried all before them, like a flood, ſpoiling, burning, deſtroying all that they met with, ſacking the ſtrong holds, and cities, not leaving one corner in all Lithuania unſearched. Never was greater tyranny before. There was no regard of tears and lamentations: no pity ſhewed to committed in thoſe parts yielding perſons; all, without diſcretion, were cut to pieces. The common multitude were ſlaughtered out of hand; but the gentry, and nobility were carried away; and upon deliberation, were either hanged, or burnt alive. Every corner being filled with maſſacres, made the blood run, like ſtreams thro' the ſtreets of towns, and cities.

But the condition of the miniſters of Chriſt was moſt miſerable; for as many, as were taken, were, with moſt exquiſite torments, put to ſeveral kinds of death.

Adrian Chyliſky, a man moſt conſpicuous both for his old age, as alſo for his piety, and learning, whereby he deſerved eminently of the church of Chriſt, being ſurprized at his own houſe, had his hands and legs tied together, and then roaſted alive, leiſurely by degrees, there being but ſome chips, and ſtraw, gathered about him. Two of the ſame name a father, and a ſon, called Smoliſky, both miniſters of Chriſt, near Vilna, the chiefeſt city in Lithuania, had their heads moſt cruelly ſawed off with a ſickle. Another miniſter, in a town called Holowczyn, whoſe name was Slawiſkie, had a new torment put upon him: For they cut him by pieces, ſo long as he lived. Many other miniſters were amongſt the high mountains expoſed bound, and naked, to the ſnow, and extream cold air; which made their noble ſouls forſake their miſerable tabernacles. And by this kind of death, this laſt winter, there were deſtroyed about fifteen hundred innocent ſouls; who, ſeeking for ſhelter, were in their flight over-taken. Thoſe, that were moſt healthy, or ſtrong, were ſent away to be made ſlaves; but others were either flayed alive, or cut into pieces. The number of thoſe, that were thus miſerably put to death, as alſo the ſeveral kinds of torments, which poor innocent creatures were put to, no hiſtory can deſcribe.

In this juncture of affairs, all the miniſters of Chriſt were forced to forſake their dwelling places. And there is above forty, of whom it is not known, what kind of death they ſuffered: But that they are dead, is certain; becauſe they are not found, nor were they carried into captivity. The churches, for the moſt part, as far as the enemy could reach, were deſtroyed by fire: All the bells were carried away; ſo that there are but few left in the whole dukedom. The deſolate fields, and water only were left, as witneſſes of the inſolency of a barbarous enemy; for all dwelling places, and woods were pulled, and cut down, and burnt to aſhes.

One would think, that the land had been by this time chaſtiſed ſufficiently, and that the ſharp rod of our correction ſhould have been broken: But God was not yet pleaſed to put a period to our calamities; for every year our country had a new enemy raiſed upon it, and ſo that little, which the former had left, the ſucceding enemy devoured: For in the year 1655. the multitude of our enemies was augmented, by the coming of the Swede; whoſe armies, by reaſon of the vicinity of theſe three provinces, Boroſſia, Courland, and Lieſland, which they had in their power, have, for the ſpace of five years, afflicted our country alſo. And, without any reſpect of the proteſtant religion, they uſed us as enemies: And, by their coming into the country, they made us liable to be more hated by thoſe of the Roman religion, than before; altho' after that all the popiſh armies had forſaken their king, and that his ſacred royal majeſty had withdrawn himſelf out of his kingdom, by reaſon of the power of the enemies, who preſſed all places, and being abſent for a very long time in Sileſia, yet the Lithuanian churches, all that time, remained ſtill conſtant, and faithful to their gracious king.

All this came upon us, undoubtedly, becauſe of the ſins of our country; yet the wrath of God did ſtill burn againſt us; for, a while after, he did ſend another enemy, out of another corner, to wit, the prince of Tranſylvania; in whoſe army, beſides the Hungarians, and Tranſylvanians, there were Moldavians, Valachians, Servians and other eaſtern barbarous nations, who came with great hopes, that they ſhould be enriched with our fortunes, and goods.

This brought a new calamity upon that which remained; for they made havoc of all, waſted, and deſtroyed all without diſtinction. The churches, that remained, they robbed; the houſes they rifled, and burnt; the people were driven into baniſhment; and thoſe that could not fly, were murdered.

It cannot be ſufficiently lamented, much leſs uttered, what

what in ſuch long continuance of our troubles, amongſt ſo many eaſtern, weſtern, northern, and other enemies, our native country, the church, and every member thereof, have ſuffered. The dead, and the unborn, were then accounted bleſſed: The weaker ſex was reputed as the moſt infortunate: for we have ſeen many illuſtrious, and noble families ſo exhauſted, and brought to extremity; that they have not had bread to eat. We have ſeen noblemen, and matrons, virgins, and children of great parentage, mancipated under the pleaſure and ſervitude of the Muſcovians, Tartarians, Coſſacks, and others; under which both they, and many miniſters of the goſpel to this day do groan heavily.

In conſideration of theſe extremities, which indeed are extraordinary, we cannot but adore the juſt judgments of God thus poured upon us by reaſon of our ſins, and deplore our ſad condition: and the more by reaſon of the ſmall hopes of reſtitution, or deliverance from ſuch a deveſtation. For, though we are brought very low already, having been made ſubject to many waſtings, great terrors, and troubles, as having had death before our eyes continually; yet there is ſtill matter of new troubles at home, eſpecially to thoſe, that deſire to ſerve God in ſimplicity, and purity: to this particularly one calamity followeth another, as the waves, in a tempeſtuous ſea, come one upon another.

Our very neighbours do hate, and perſecute the remnant of us ſtill, with as much eagerneſs, as our foreign enemies did: they deprive us of our churches yet remaining: thoſe lands which were given for the maintainance of miniſters, and ſchools, they gave away, as if they had been their own: our miniſters are baniſhed; and ſuch as remain, are beaten and miſuſed; the threatnings of our total exilement are encreaſed. In a word, all the reformed proteſtants are accounted as the offſcouring of the world and the original cauſe of all the troubles, which are hitherto befallen to the country. Hence it is, that they are hated, abuſed, threatened more and more: and whatſoever may be found odious amongſt men, all that is put upon them, for to make their calamities the greater.

We do not queſtion, but that all that ſhall read, or hear of theſe things, and have the leaſt ſpark of chriſtian charity left in their hearts; or take to heart the afflictions of Joſeph, will take compaſſion on us being affected with the truth of that worſhip, doctrine, and godlineſs which did ſhine amongſt us, even in the midſt of our troubles.

For our parts, we have no other recourſe, but to the goodneſs of our God, and the ſympathy of the members of his church; and therefore following the practice of the apoſtles of Chriſt, and the example of the churches in the Palatinate, Bohemia, and others; which being in the ſame condition, ſome few years ago, implored the aid of their fellow members of the reformed proteſtant church, we do likewiſe make our recourſe to your goodneſs and charity. For we are perſuaded, that God hath in theſe times made theſe kingdoms, and churches more happy and flouriſhing than others; that they might be a place for a refuge, and a port of ſafety for thoſe, that ſuffer ſhip-wreck for the name of Jeſus elſewhere.

Look therefore, we beſeech you, upon us, as objects of pity, and for the love of God, for the ſacred bonds of unity in Chriſt Jeſus, ſtretch forth your hands, that the vineyard of the Lord may not be utterly deſtroyed. Send ſeaſonable comforts to thoſe that are comfortleſs: ſtrengthen the hands of the feeble; ſupport the weak; ſupply the wants of the needy with your liberality; not doubting, but that the Lord, who is the rewarder of all good deeds, and who takes all the works of charity, beſtowed upon the members of his militant church, as if they had been beſtowed upon himſelf, will be your ſufficient reward, and at the great day of accounts will put you in mind of ſuch works for your eternal comfort. Theſe are the prayers, and deſires of thoſe, who in the name of all the Lithuanian churches, have ſent their meſſenger to you, who ſolicits this in their name, as having been an eye-witneſs, in many places, of their diſtreſſed condition, and partaker of their evils.

John de Kriano Krainſki.

CHAP. L.

Of the late Perſecution of the Church of CHRIST *in* POLAND, *anno* Chriſti, 1656.

THE all-wiſe and holy God, whoſe ways of providence are always righteous, though often ſecret, and unſearchable, hath made it the conſtant lot, and portion of his people in this world to follow his ſon in bearing his croſs, and ſuffering perſecutions. For 'they that are born after the fleſh,' do perſecute 'them that are born after the ſpirit.' But ſcarce have any ſort of the churches enemies more clearly followed the pernicious way of Cain herein, than that the antichriſtian faction of Rome 'That mother of harlots and abominations,' whoſe garments are dyed red with the blood of ſaints, which they have always cruelly ſhed, and made themſelves drunk with. And amongſt thoſe choſen and faithful witneſſes, the Lord ſeemeth very ſignally to have raiſed up thoſe chriſtians, who (though diſperſed in divers countries) have been commonly known by the name of Waldenſes, who, for ſome centuries of years have lived amongſt their enemies as lambs amongſt wolves, to bear their teſtimonies to the truths of Chriſt, againſt the apoſtaſies, and blaſphemies of Rome; for which they have been 'killed all the day long, and accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter.

One part of this little flock, and remnant which the Lord hath left, and reſerved, are ſcattered partly in the valleys of Piemont, of whoſe tragical ſufferings you have had a faithful account in a precedent chapter: the other part of this poor, but precious remnant, have been diſperſed in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, whoſe ſufferings, together with the Lord's ſignal providences about them, are now ſpoken of, as they have been related to the lord protector O. C. and the ſtate here by two godly perſons delegated by thoſe perſecuted churches, which are now the ſad monuments of their enemies rage, and of the Lord's ſparing mercy.

Theſe ſometime flouriſhing churches were by degrees worn out by the conſtant undermihings, and open outrages of the antichriſtian party; being firſt driven out of Bohemia into Poland: and then after their taking root, and ſpreading in Poland into a numerous company, they were forced out of their chiefeſt cities there, and at laſt by the jeſuited and enraged popiſh army, were perſecuted in their few hiding places with fire and ſword.

Their miniſters were tortured to death by moſt exquiſite and unheard of barbariſm, by cutting out of the tongues of ſome, pulling out the eyes, and cruelly mangling the bodies of others. Yet did not their rage and brutiſh cruelty reach only the miniſters, but to private perſons alſo; yea, even to women, and to young children, whoſe heads they cut off, and laid them at their dead mothers breaſts.

Nay their rage brake out, not only againſt the living, (not one of whom they ſpared that fell into their hands) but alſo againſt the dead, plucking the bodies of honourable perſons, and others out of their graves, tearing them to pieces, and expoſing them to public ſcorn.

But their chiefeſt eye-ſore, and object of their fury was the city of Leſna, which after plundering and murdering of all whom they found therein, they burnt to aſhes, and laid it in the rubbiſh. Only the Lord in mercy having alarmed the city by the report of their enemies approach, the greateſt part of the inhabitants (being three famous churches) ſaved themſelves by flight, and are now wandering up and down in Sileſia, the marquiſate of Brandenburg, Luſatia, and Hungary, poor, deſtitute, afflicted, and naked; the relation whereof you have in this enſuing narrative written in Latin by ſome of themſelves, and called Leſnæ Excidium.

CHAP. LI.

The Hiſtory of the Deſtruction of LESNA *faithfully related.*

LESNA, a city of Great Poland, almoſt thirty years ago began to be famous both far and near; but now being ſuddenly and utterly razed hath nothing left beſide the name and fame thereof. For the fuller diſcovery of this

this buſineſs from the beginning, we muſt briefly relate the original and progreſs of this town.

When above ſeven hundred years ago, Miecziſlaus, then duke of Poland, took to wife the daughter of Boleſlaus duke of Bohemia, and together with her received the Chriſtian faith, it happened that amongſt thoſe of the Bohemian nobility that accompanied him, there was one Peter de Bernſtein, whom, becauſe he was a perſon endowed with many virtues, Miecziſlaus was willing to detain him in Poland, and to that end beſtowed upon him rich poſſeſſions, the chief whereof was a village called Lezſyna, (*i. e.* a grove of haſle-trees) upon the very confines of the lower Sileſia, being ſituate twelve miles from Wratiſlavia, five from Glogaw, and ten from Poſnania. From this place therefore of his reſidence, Peter de Bernſtein taking the riſe of his denomination, according to the cuſtom of the nation, he and all his poſterity were called Lezſcynii, and were afterwards admitted to all ſorts of dignities in the realm; ſo that of this family there were never wanting ſome or other that were captains, governors of caſtles, palatines, marſhals, chancellors, biſhops, or archbiſhops, even to this day: and beſides this, for their noble management of affairs in ſeveral embaſſies to the Roman emperor, they were adorned with the title of earls of the empire, which they ſtill enjoy. But Leſzcyna itſelf, begun by little and little to change its name, and by contraction was called Leſſna, and their neighbour Germans called it Liſſa. This village, ſomething above one hundred of years ago had the dignity and title of a market town granted to it by the famous king Sigiſmund, and tradeſmen were invited thither out of the neighbouring Sileſia, and ſo the uſe of the German tongue was brought in together with them.

As for religion, it was reformed in Leſna about the ſame time, by the moſt illuſtrious count Andrew, Palatine of Bernſtein, according to the rites of the Bohemian confeſſion, which it hath retained to this day, and became as it were the metropolis of the churches of that confeſſion, throughout all the greater Poland. And when, after the year 1620. a very ſharp perſecution was raiſed againſt the profeſſors of the goſpel in Bohemia; and not long after the miniſters and nobility were baniſhed, they were fain to ſeek refuge in Poland, whom that moſt pious nobleman, the lord Raphael de Leſna, palatine of Belſe, received under his protection, appointing Leſna, Woldava, and Baranovia for their places of refuge. But for as much as the greater part did ſeat themſelves at Leſna becauſe of the nearneſs thereof, and not long after a far greater company flocked thither out of Sileſia (for there alſo the butchery of ſouls grew wonderful fierce, in the years 1628. and 1629.) it came to paſs that Leſna, by the addition of many ſtreets, grew into a large city, having three market places, four churches, a large ſchool, above twenty ſtreets, one thouſand ſix hundred houſes, two thouſand freemen of the city, and abundance of other company. There was built alſo a very fair church for the ſervice of God according to the rites of the Auguſtane confeſſion, which had over it three paſtors, learned men; and a ſchool for the mother tongue with ſome ſchool maſters, beſides the free ſchool, which had a learned man of the forementioned confeſſion appointed over it, by the title of prorector.

The citizens alſo having ordered themſelves according to the beſt policy they could, there were found out handſome ways for a public revenue that made no noiſe, and were little felt, and without any man's damage or burden, ſo that they were able for ſome years to maintain workmen for the compaſſing of the city about with a bulwark and trench, and for the building of gates with walls and fair turrets: and laſtly, there was built a very fair court-houſe in the middle of the market place of the old city; there was ſcarce the like in all great Poland, except at Poſnania. In a word, civility, trading, merchandize (for all things were here bought and ſold) and religion did ſo flouriſh here, that this city did not come behind any city in Poland for its admirable pleaſantneſs. All this was matter of joy, not only to thoſe pious Chriſtians that were fathered out of ſeveral places for the goſpel's ſake, and here gathered together under the protection of God, but to others alſo that came hither from all parts, as ſtrangers: but it galled the enemies of the goſpel extreamly, ſo that it made them leave no deſign unaſſayed for the overthrow of this city of refuge for the godly.

At the firſt (Annis 1628, and 1629.) they made uſe of ſeveral accuſations and ſlanders to king Sigiſmund the III. ſuggeſting to him that it was a confluence of all ſorts of men that were enemies and traitors to his majeſty; that it was good to nip them in the bud, &c. But through the prudence of that great ſenator, the lord of the place, whoſe wiſdom went beyond their envy, and who knew well enough how to counter-work all malicious projects of that kind, all thoſe their battering rams were at that time uſed in vain.

But, *anno* 1653. after that the Swedes were broken by the emperor's army in Germany, and were driven out of Sileſia, new plots were hatched at Glogaw to ſend out one or two of the emperor's regiments, who ſhould ſuddenly invade Leſna, ſack the town, and put the inhabitants to the ſword, or at leaſt ſcatter them. But it pleaſed God ſo to order it, that this plot was diſcovered by ſome of themſelves two days before the appointed time, and ſo vaniſhed into ſmoak, though the ſmoak of their devices did not yet ceaſe to riſe. For after the death of the moſt illuſtrious prince palatine of Belſe, when his eſtate was divided among his ſons and heirs, and the county of Leſna fell to the illuſtrious lord Boguſlaus, his third ſon, then newly returned from travelling, the plotters were not wanting ſo to lie in wait to enſnare this candidate of great wiſdom and vertue, that after they had wearied him for ſome years with the promiſes of honours, (unto which there was no door of entrance but by entertaining the Roman catholic religion) at laſt they enticed him to profeſs popery. But however they heaped many honours upon him, procuring him ſome captainſhips, afterwards the generalſhip of great Poland, and laſtly the arch-treaſurerſhip of the realm, yet could they not procure his hatred of the profeſſors of the goſpel, and the diſſipation of his ſubjects, which was the thing they hoped for; but he ſtill preſerved entire to his Leſna thoſe privileges both civil and religious, which his father, of bleſſed memory, had promiſed, offered, or confirmed to them. They attempted therefore this other device: the biſhop of Poſnania ventured to redemand the old pariſh church, becauſe it was of ancient foundation, and pretended that it might not any longer be left to the uſe of heretics. The lord treaſurer anſwered, That his grandfather (Andrew palatine of Brenſtein) had built another church for the catholics (whoſe number was very ſmall in the town, ſcarce ever above three or four citizens) to exerciſe their religion in, and endowed it with revenues to that purpoſe, that the greater number of citizens might enjoy the greater church. But all was in vain, though he doubled the maintenance of the Roman pariſh prieſt: For *anno* 1652. they brought the lord count before the tribunal of the realm, where the cauſe muſt needs go againſt him, the very ſame perſons being accuſers, witneſſes, and judges; yet he obtained that this church ſhould not ſuddenly be taken away from his ſubjects the inhabitants of old Leſna, until they had built themſelves a new one. This building they preſently ſet about with the help of foreign churches: (according as they were in a capacity to help, things being every where in confuſion) but when the adverſaries ſaw that it went on apace, and that this was like to be bigger than the other (for ſo great now was the multitude of citizens of this confeſſion, that the old church was not able to contain them) they began again to mutter and threaten, 'That this might not be endured, that the heretics ſhould have a bigger church than the catholics; that they did not build this alſo for the catholics &c.

At length the irruption of the Swedes into Poland, (*anno* 1665.) gave them the long wiſhed for occaſion of oppreſſing and rooting out, not only the Leſnians, but alſo all the profeſſors of the goſpel (or as they were wont to be called, the 'Diſſenters from the Roman religion') throughout Poland. For although the papiſts themſelves had tranſacted with the Swedes at their coming out of Pomerania (in the agreement of Uſcia) and had delivered to them expreſſly and by name the chief cities, Poſnania, Kaliſch, Frauſtat, Meſeritz, and Leſna, and the reſt, af-

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ter ſome weak reſiſtance, had yielded themſelves up to the Swedes, yet while the king of Sweden was ſlowly, and as it proved, dangerouſly buſied in Pruſia, they took counſel together for the reſuming of their arms, to fight for the liberty of their country, and the catholic religion (as they call it) to drive the Swedes out of the country, and to root out all the diſſenters in groſs.

That this their purpoſe might make the quicker progreſs, and be ſet on the more ſtrongly, there were jeſuits and monks ſent out every way, to intimate theſe things to the multitude, and to encourage them to ſo glorious an undertaking, compelling thoſe that were ſlow with the thunderbolt of excommunication, and promiſing the relaxation of the pains of purgatory, and eternal rewards to them that were forward. To this end king Caſimire being recalled out of Sileſia, they commanded the nobility to flock to him, and to give the king of Sweden a meeting in his return out of Boruſſia. The commonalty alſo they ſtirred up againſt the profeſſors of the goſpel, making themſelves their furious leaders; and ſuch was their ſucceſs, that in lower Poland a great number of families (it is not yet known how many, becauſe the furious tumult ſtill continues) almoſt within the compaſs of a month (in February and March) were miſerably butchered; men and women, young and old being murdered without diſtinction, all, ſave ſuch as could eſcape in the neighbouring parts of Hungary, and ſo ſave their lives by flight. But the nobility of the greater Poland, moſt of them having retired themſelves into Sileſia, began their to gather themſelves into ſmall companies, in the beginning of April, and to break forth; by whoſe coming, the reſt being encouraged, made a great ſlaughter of the Swedes that were garriſon'd in the ſmall towns, ſo that general Muller was fain to go forth with an army of Swedes to reſtrain them.

As for Leſna, the hereditary lord thereof, the treaſurer of the kingdom, was gone into Boruſſia, to ſalute the king of Sweden, ſome way to take care for the ſafety of his country: But about the beginning of April he returned to Leſna without ſeeing him, the king then being full of action, and ranging up and down. This buſineſs procured much more envy both to himſelf and the city, as if he had plotted with the Swedes againſt his country, having never been true and faithful either to the church or his country: therefore they breathed out flames, and bleached out threats ſo much the more fiercely both againſt him and his city. However there were not wanting ſuch as by private meſſages gave him hope of pardon, if he would but withdraw himſelf from them, as afterwards he did. But the enemies prepared themſelves to deſtroy that ſo populous a city by force (if they could) or elſe by flames, furniſhing themſelves with many ſorts of weapons for that purpoſe.

Of this doing although the inhabitants of Leſna had notice by ſeveral meſſengers, yet a fatal ſecurity prevailed with them to think that there was no fear of ſuch an enemy as was not furniſhed either with infantry or artillery for ſuch a deſign. Upon eaſter day a party of Poles broke into ſome territories (belonging to an eminent profeſſor of the goſpel) near Leſna; for whom they made diligent ſearch, but finding that he was from home (for he had retired himſelf to Leſna for religion ſake) they plundered all his moveable goods, and took his ſervant (Martin Multz, a Bohemian) and hanging a great ſtone about his neck, threw him into the river that ran by, and ſo drowned him.

On the third holy day in Eaſter the report was very hot that the Swedes had loſt all, and that the king was ſlain: upon which account, when the lord treaſurer did betake himſelf to Wratiſlavia in Sileſia, the citizens of Leſna were ſomething afraid, although the commanders of the Swedes that were there in garriſon (being three colours of horſe) did encourage them; as did alſo the adminiſtrator of the city and county of Leſna, who requiring a new the oath of fidelity from the citizens, did promiſe them to ſtay with them, and bid them be of good courage. Being lifted up with this hope, and drawn on with the promiſes of new auxiliary forces to come very ſuddenly to them, they promiſed themſelves all manner of ſecurity, ſo that no man took any care to get out of the *town* or to carry any thing of his goods to a ſafer place: yet they kept ſtrong guards night and day, ſometimes the third part of the citizens, and ſometimes half being upon duty. The Swediſh horſe alſo ever and anon made excurſions to ſee what the enemy was a doing, and whether they were near. But they never brought back any other news, but that were no footſteps or ſigns of any enemy appearing: Yea, even that very day in which the Poles came in the afternoon, the Swedes returned with good booty, but not a word of the enemy.

But about three days after, upon Thurſday, April 27. an army of the Polonian nobility, mixed with a rout of peaſants, ſhewed themſelves unexpectedly out of the the woods, and anon they drew forth into the open field, and ſo ſet themſelves within ſight of the city, about five or ſix furlongs from the ſuburbs. When this was perceived, the alarm was given, and the citizens haſted to their arms, and placed themſelves on the walls; yet not knowing who they were, and with what intent they came, and wondering much, why, according to the cuſtom, they did not ſent forth a trumpeter. (For that which they did bruit abroad afterwards, and many perhaps believed, that the Leſnians gave the occaſion of hoſtility by killing their trumpeter, is juſt nothing: Heaven and earth will bear witneſs that this was deviſed meerly to colour over the hainouſneſs of the fact:) At length they began their work with firing a brick kiln, that ſtood not far from the ſuburbs. Then the Swediſh troopers (about one hundred and fifty in number) which were already mounted and gone out of the city, going a little farther, encountered with the enemy in little ſkirmiſhes, for the ſpace of two hours; in which many of the Poles, and ſome of the Swedes were ſlain. But while the Swedes were earneſt with the citizens for ſome help, as it were to defend the ſuburbs from further burning, ſome were drawn forth (about ſeventy of the younger citizens) who mixed themſelves raſhly and confuſedly among the horſemen; which when the Poles ſaw, they feigned a flight, returning towards the wood: but as ſoon as they perceived that they had drawn them far enough from the walls, they wheeled about, ſome fetching a compaſs to come behind the Leſnians, and ſo to get between them and home, and the reſt returning ſtraight upon them, fell on in a full body. The Swediſh horſe when they ſaw this, turned their backs, leaving the foot to the mercy of the enemy; but the Poles followed them ſo cloſe at heels, that two colours (about four hundred men) paſſed through the ſuburbs to the very gate, and wanted but little of entering the city itſelf with them, had not ſome good confident fellow, ventured to ſtep in between, and bar the gate againſt them, while others of the citizens ſent a ſhower of bullets among them, and ſo beat them back: ſo the Poles being glad to ſtop, yea, and retire (juſt at ſun ſet) ſet fire on the outward parts of the ſuburbs, and burnt ſome granaries and windmills, thereby making the whole night light to us; while themſelves returned through the wood to Oſeczno, which the Germans call Storckneſt. The city being thus filled with fear, ſpent the whole night without ſleep; the men in watching upon the the walls, and the women in gathering themſelves together in the market places and churchyards, and other open places, and there wearying heaven with pſalms and prayers to God.

When the morning came and no enemy appeared, the citizens went forth and fetched in the ſlain to bury them; among whom were found about forty citizens, but above a hundred of the Poles, and among them their chief commander himſelf, Cresky, who formerly had taken pay under the Swediſh general Banier, and was accounted moſt expert than the reſt: in the mean time it was hotly reported that the adminiſtrator of the country and many of his retinue were wanting and gone; whereupon the courage of the citizens began to fail, and they went to the ſenate, to deſire leave to ſend away their wives and children, that if the enemy ſhould come again they might be the more courageous in defending themſelves, not being daunted with the outcries and tears of the women. Some diſſuaded them with good reaſons, ſaying, that thoſe that ſhould be ſent forth under pretence of convoying the reſt in ſafety, would not return again, and ſo the reſt of the citizens ſhould be left in greater fears; that the Spartans of old were wont to take their wives and children to the way

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with them, that having them in their eyes, they might fight the more ſtoutly for their ſafety. But all was in vain, though the Swediſh commanders alſo endeavoured to hinder the flight of the richer ſort, which they could not do, being overcome with the cries of the multitude. There were ſome eccleſiaſtics alſo who deſired leave to depart for a few days, becauſe that the antichriſtian fury was bent chiefly againſt them: but the ſenate left it to their conſciences, whether in ſuch a caſe they could leave the people then when they would moſt need inſtruction and comfort; eſpecially if wounded and dying. But the others perſiſted in their importunity, and there went out before noon about three hundred waggons, which were all that could be got in the city.

After this there followed ſome quietneſs, with hopes that the enemy would return no more, having found by experience how well able the Leſnians were to defend themſelves and theirs; and perhaps they had never returned indeed (as it was known afterwards) had they not been encouraged by that flight of the citizens: for two days after the twenty eighth of April, there was a letter delivered to the conſul from the commanders of the Poliſh forces, in which they demanded the ſurrender of the city, and gave them hope of good uſage; but if they would not embrace that offer, they then threatened to deſtroy them with fire and ſword, having now ſuch an addition of foot ſoldiers, that they were able to take the city by ſtorm. They added moreover that they had received a letter from the lord treaſurer, wherein he intreated them to ſpare his Leſna upon their ſubmiſſion, ſaying, that he had already given them a command to ſet open their gates. If ever there were indeed any ſuch command, it muſt needs have been ſuppreſſed by ſome one, ſo that the citizens never knew of it: otherwiſe they would have provided a little better for the ſafety of themſelves and their goods. But ſo it muſt needs be, that our ſins (through others treachery) ſhould be brought to puniſhment.

This meſſage of the Poles to the ſenate, did wonderfully daunt the citizens; for theſe things were not kept ſecret, but before the conſul could call together the ſenate and the commanders of the ſoldiery, the report thereof had run through the whole city, as alſo that there was very little gunpowder left, and they had not wherewithal to defend themſelves; ſo that the citizens being taken with a panic fear, caſt away their weapons and courage together, and betook themſelves to flight; eſpecially when preſently after, they who were on the guard, diſcovered the body of the enemies coming the ſame way they came before; for they forſaking every man his ſtation, haſtened home, adviſing their wives, children, and neighbours to fly; themſelves leaving their weapons upon the walls, or at the gates; or afterwards caſting them away in the fields, that they might not be a burden to them. When the Swediſh ſoldiers ſaw the citizens thus in a maze and running away, they alſo ſoon mounted, not to meet the enemy (as before) but to run away too from the face of the enemy.

Then followed the ſenate in ſuch a trembling fit of fear, that every one ran out at the gate that was next him, or over the very forts and ditches; ſo that in one hours ſpace, a moſt populous city was left deſtitute of inhabitants: Save a company of ſick and aged people, and a few others that could not ſo ſuddenly get away, or for ſome other cauſe were neceſſitated to await the iſſue. But all haſtened to thoſe mooriſh woods, by which Poland is parted from Silefia, in ſuch confuſion, that when the neareſt paſſes (towards Thorlang and Kroſken) were not wide enough, they tumbled by troops to other paſſes (Striswik, Brybiſch, and Hundſloch) that were more remote. The Swediſh troops went to Fraunſtadt, and from thence, taking the garriſon along with them, towards Meſeritz: but the paſſage thro' the moors was very difficult, in regard that the company crouding one upon another, as if the enemy were juſt at their heels, did not only many of them ſtick in the deep mud (in vain crying out for help to thoſe that paſſed by, every one being ſolicitous only for his own preſervation) but were alſo mired and loſt! here children loſt their parents, and parents their children, wives their huſbands, and one friend another: ſo that they could ſcarce find one another again; in two, three, and four days time.

The enemy by a trumpeter, who was ſent to Poſnania gate enquired what the citizens meant to do; to whom John Kollechen a learned citizen, and well acquainted with many of the nobility (in confidence whereof, having ſent away his wife he adventured to ſtay) came forth and anſwered, 'That the gates ſtood open, the Swediſh enemies were gone, and the reſt of the citizens ſtood to their courteſy, and deſired their favour.

A little after that, came the illuſtrious Grzymaltowſky, with many of the nobility to the ſame gate, and when the aforeſaid Kolechen, with another in his company, had gone out to them and ſcarcely perſuaded them that the city was forſaken, and that there was no treachery; they went in, and when they were diſpoſed in the next fair houſes, they were entertained with a noble ſupper (which was prepared to ſweeten them a little, if it might be) and had plenty of wine out of Dugloſſes cellar, who was a rich ſenator.

At laſt when they were half drunk, they ſet upon Kolechen with threats, and would have made him their priſoner, but that he eſcaped wonderfully out of their hands, and ſaved himſelf by flight. But they durſt not ſtay all night in the city, for fear the Swedes and citizens ſhould ſet upon them unawares out of ſome ambuſcado; and ſo they returned to their own company, and in the morning with many hundred waggons they came back, killing all they met, and ſetting themſelves to plunder the city. Here then you might have ſeen ſtrange examples of barbarous cruelty on the one ſide, and blockiſh folly on the other. For though no man made reſiſtance, yet like mad dogs they ſlew upon all that either came out, or were drawn out of the holes wherein they had hid themſelves. Of ſome they pulled out their eyes; of ſome they cut off their noſes and tongues; of others they cut off their hands and feet; others they ſtabbed and ſlaſhed, and ſo butchered them with innumerable wounds, that it could not be known who they were: and, which was more, they ſpared not his highneſs, prince Frederick, Landgrave of Haſſia, though dead, whom they had ſlain half a year before at Coſtena, and who was decently embalmed by the Leſſians, and kept laid up in the chapel of the New Church upon a ſcaffold, till he might be tranſported to his own country: they firſt rifled his coffin, which was handſomely adorned, taking away his ſilver and guilt keys, and all the ſilk that was about it; then they ſet upon the prince's corps, and took away his ſilk robe, lined with ermines, and ſo left him once again naked, and lying on the ground. But (after the burning of the city, his body being found in the ſame place, untouched by the fire) he was cloathed again by the ancient Leſnians, and put up in his coffin, and buried in a certain place, where he is ſtill honourably kept. But that mad rabble ſhewed abundance of folly in this, that whereas they might have made Leſnia their neſt (the Swedes having garriſoned themſelves in the ſtrongeſt places of the province) or at leaſt might have gathered together the richeſt of the plunder; (for there was ſuch abundance of victuals, wares, houſhold ſtuffs of all ſorts, and treaſure that was brought hither from all places, as to a place of ſafety, that a thouſand waggons could ſcarce have carried it away in many days) yet ſuch was their over-eager deſire of their deſtroying this hated city, that the very ſame day, yea before noon, they ſet fire to the city and ſuburbs in every ſtreet, (for the waggons which they brought with them were not empty, but loaded with torches, pitch, ſtraw, and ſuch other combuſtible matter) and ſo cruelly deſtroyed that moſt pleaſant city, together with all that abundance of all ſorts of things that was in it.

This fire laſted three whole days, and there were thoſe that took care that nothing ſhould eſcape it; for when the new buildings of the new churches did not eaſily take fire, they brought ſtraw, pitch, and dry wood, and put under the roofs and the inſide of the ſteeples, and ſo forced them to take fire: and they came again upon the third day (1ſt May) and whatſoever was left they ſet fire to again. They burnt alſo the very wind mills, whereof there were ſeventy about the city; and a very pleaſant park of the counteſſes, which lay cloſe by the caſtle; that every place might be

filled with ſpectacles of cruelty, and at length it might come to be ſaid, *En cineres ubi Leſna fuit!*

Where faireſt Leſna ſtood of old,
Now nought but Aſhes we behold!

The citizens ſadly beholding theſe flames ſome miles off, ran thither next day by troops; whether out of a deſire of quenching the fire, (if it were poſſible) (or elſe to ſave ſomething out of the flames; (for moſt through fear had gone away empty handed) but the enemy came upon them; and although they ſtoutly defended themſelves, and ſlew many of their enemies, yet many of themſelves were ſlain; and many others alſo on the days following, when ſome villages that belonged to the country of Leſna, and were inhabited by profeſſors of the goſpel, were in like manner burnt down. There periſhed in theſe flames many aged and ſick people, that could not get away; beſides ſuch abudance of houſes, houſhold-ſtuff of all ſorts, precious wares, corn, (many thouſand buſhels whereof were brought hither) libraries and other things, that the loſs would amount to many tuns of gold; and many thouſands were thereby reduced to mere beggary. But that which was ſaddeſt of all, was, that the church of the faithful, that was here gathered together out of divers places and countries, to enjoy the pure worſhip of God, was ſo utterly overthrown, that it cannot but cry out with Sion of old, when it was raſed by the Babylonians, Lam. i. and 3. 'O all ye that paſs by, behold and ſee, if there 'be any ſorrow, like unto my ſorrow, wherewith the 'Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger! 'For he ſent a fire into my bones, and it prevaileth a'gainſt me; he hath made me a deſolation, ſo that I am 'not able to riſe up; my children are deſolate, becauſe 'the enemy prevailed. Sion ſpreadeth forth her hands, 'and there is none to comfort her. I called for my lovers, 'but they deceived me. Mine enemies chaſed me ſore, 'like a bird, without cauſe. They have cut off my life in 'the dungeon. Thou dreweſt near in the day that I called 'upon thee: thou ſaidſt, fear not; it is of the Lord's 'mercies that we are not conſumed, becauſe his compaſ'ſions fail not.'

It muſt not be concealed what wonder happened the firſt day of the city about evening, at Czirna (which is the firſt town of Sileſia, next to Leſna, about two miles diſtant) ſome of the Leſnians went out to look upon the ſad ſmoak of their country; and as they were looking, there fell from the clouds which carried the ſmoak over Sileſia, together with the ſoot, a leaf of burnt paper, which when they took up, they found to be a leaf of the Bohemian Bible, containing the ſixth, and part of the ſeventh chapters of Matthew; where theſe words of Chriſt came firſt to ſight, 'With what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall 'be meaſured again;' with many other of Chriſt's exhortations to truſt in the fatherly providence of God. This leaf was preſented to the lord of the place; and a Leſnian phyſician, who was there by chance, that read and interpreted it, and divers others, can bear witneſs to the truth hereof; and the lord of the place laid it up among his rarities! what now ſhould Sion do, but cry out under the cruel oppreſſion of the enemy, 'Render unto them a recompenſe, O Lord, according to the works of their hands,' Lam. iii. 64. And indeed God began to revenge his peoples wrongs the fourth day after, when they furiouſly aſſaulted Coſtena, a town four miles from Leſna, where they were often repulſed ſtoutly by the Swediſh garriſon; and having ſuffered a great ſlaughter (about five hundred of them being wanting) they were forced to retire in great confuſion. The like alſo they met withal at Kaliſſia, and other places, being ſlain and put to flight by the Swedes. Herein it happened unto them much after the ſame manner, as it did to Tilly formerly when he had ruined Magdeburg; the God of vengeance manifeſting himſelf the avenger of his people: And now they begin to acknowlege and upbraid one another with their folly; the nobles, in that they have ſpoiled their mart and treaſury; and the clergy, in that it is happened otherwiſe than they intended. For their purpoſe was, utterly to ruin the heretics (as they term them) with their neſt; but now that they ſee the neſt ſpoiled, and the birds ſaved, it is much more matter of grief and vexation than of joy to them. For here God performed what he promiſed of old to Baruch, 'I will give thee' (in the midſt of thy countries ruins) 'thy life for a prey,' Jer. xlv. 5. So God gave to thouſands of his worſhippers, who were ſnatched out of the midſt of thoſe ruins, their life for a prey, having ſet bounds to the fury of the devil, which he could not paſs; as he did of old, when he gave Job into his hands, as to all that he had, but ſo, that he ſhould ſpare his life. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord. Truly we have cauſe to ſay with David, Pſalm cxxiv. 'If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us, then they had ſwallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us; then the waters had overwhelmed us, the ſtream had gone over our ſoul; bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth: our ſoul is eſcaped, as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowlers; the ſnare is broken, and we are eſcaped; our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.' Oh the wonderful providence of our God! which then ſaves when he ſeems to have forſaken, and then makes alive where he ſeems to have killed. 'We had been undone, if we had not been undone;' we had been undone in our lives, thoſe furies gathering together ſoon after, in far greater troops, if we had not been undone in our eſtates, which were left to them for a prey by our flight (which the fatherly providence of God, foreſeeing greater evils, procured, by ſending that fright among us.) Bleſſed be the name of the Lord again and again: we notwithſtanding, with other afflicted ones, in what nation ſoever, whom that proudeſt Babylonian flood of waters ſeeks to ſwallow up, will not ceaſe to cry, 'How long, O Lord, will thou be angry with thy people? How long ſhall thy jealouſy burn like fire? O remember not againſt us former iniquities; let thy tender mercies ſpeedily prevent us,' &c. Pſalm lxxix. And with the ſouls of thoſe that were ſlain for the word of God, that lie under the altar of Chriſt's merits, for whoſe faith we were killed, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth!' Rev. vi. 9, 10.

The delegates of theſe poor perſecuted proteſtant churches coming over into England, to move for a contribution towards the relief of their diſtreſſed brethren, publiſhed this enſuing narrative.

CHAP. LI.

The utmoſt fury of Antichriſt againſt the Proteſtants or Reformed Church of the Bohemian Confeſſion in Poland, ſet down in a brief, but faithful, Narrative, and according to the truth of the matter.

THE ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe who in the cradle was beſprinkled with the blood of a protomartyr, hath always brought forth into the world, men like Abel, or Stephen, that ſo there might never be wanting ſome to cry from the earth unto God, and that the wounds of that roſe which lies among the thorns of perſecution might not be concealed. Every age, and every year in each age, and every month and day in each year, hath produced new inundations of blood unto this day; and yet the little flock of the Lord hath always encreaſed under perſecutions, one while here, another there, ſhifting their ſeats and habitations.

While it pleaſed God by the means of Wicklef to kindle the light of the goſpel in Great Britain, John Huſs aſſerted the truth of Jeſus Chriſt in the midſt of the thick darkneſs of popery in Bohemia, many thouſands being ſtirred up by God to receive it, who deſpiſing all the cruelty of tyrants, received it with joy, until by God's aſſiſtance they took rooting in the kingdom, and grew up into flouriſhing churches. In a ſhort time after, antichriſt breathing out his fury, the truth was baniſhed out of Bohemia, and the confeſſors being driven out, tranſplanted the goſpel into Poland; where being favourably entertained by king Sigiſmond, they in a ſhort time encreaſed to ſo great a number, that being little inferior to the papiſts, they were able to boaſt of an equal authority and privileges with them. Hence it came to paſs that the kings at their coronations

ronations were wont, not only to promiſe, but ſolemnly to ſwear protection to ſuch as diſagreed from the Roman religion, and therefore they proceeded not to open perſecutions, ſave only in thoſe cities where the jeſuits had ſeated themſelves in power, to wit, Cracovia, Poſen. Lubin, Vilna, &c. where, by their diſciples, and by ſtirring up the common people to fury, the churches of the reformed profeſſors were a good while ago demoliſhed, and divers miniſters cruelly maſſacred.

Nevertheleſs the malice of the enemies being no whit allayed, they were many ways afflicted, firſt indirectly, afterwards by pretences under colour of law, until thoſe churches being worn out by degrees, and overthrown, were not many years ago reduced to a very inconſiderable number, eſpecially when as in the reign of the late king, the enemies being confident they might do any thing, brought things to this paſs at length, that there were no more than twenty one congregations remaining in the greater Poland, and thoſe alſo ready to periſh. But among theſe twenty one remaining churches, the chief, and as it were the mother of them all, was that of Leſna, which was divided into three congregations, the Bohemian, the Polonian, and the German; each of which had their own paſtors, but the communicants jointly were about two thouſand: Therefore it was that this church was in the firſt place expoſed to the enemies malice, and of late deſigned to the ſlaughter, as well by reaſon of its being very much frequented and grown famous, as alſo becauſe of the ſynod there uſually celebrated, as likewiſe there was a famous univerſity and printing-houſe, and books frequently publiſhed to the world.

When therefore in the year 1655. the Swediſh army out of Pomerania drew near to the borders of Poland, and the nobility were ſummoned to arms, according to the cuſtom of the country, it came to paſs that the papiſts brake forth into many furious expreſſions, crying out, That the heretics had invited the enemy, and therefore they were firſt of all to be put to the ſword and extirpated; which reports, though moſt falſly ſcattered abroad (for the ſearcher of the heart and the reins knoweth, that we never ſo much as dream'd of it) yet they eaſily found credit among the ſworn enemies of the goſpel, who ſought nothing more than our ruin. Hereupon they who firſt conſulted to agree with the Swediſh army, being terrified by its power, concluded about the ſurrender of all great Poland into the king's protection, and namely, the royal cities of Poſen, Caliſſen, Meſerick, &c. to which alſo Leſna was expreſly added: In a little time after they endeavoured to caſt off the Swediſh yoke, and turned their arms not againſt the Swedes, but firſt againſt our evangelical profeſſors, as conſpiring with the Swedes upon the account of religion, and none of them ſcrupled to take revenge upon them.

They firſt of all ſet upon thoſe of Leſna, with reſolution of putting all to the ſword, and deſtroying that heretical city by fire, and they had effected both, unleſs God, by ſending ſome perſons before, who by ſignifying the coming of the enemy, and with what intent they came, had poſſeſt the citizens with a panic fear, ſo that leaving all their eſtates, they every man fled; and thus within the ſpace of one hour, a moſt populous city abounding with all manner of wealth, was left without inhabitants, who in a miſerable condition wandered then into the neighbouring woods and mariſhes into Sileſia. But the Poliſh nobility with their army, entring the city, did what they pleaſed, ſlaying a number of decrepit old people, and ſick perſons that were not able to ſave themſelves by flight; then the city itſelf was firſt plundered, and afterwards ſo deſtroyed by fire for three days together, that no part of it remained but rubbiſh and aſhes. In what manner they would have handled the citizens, eſpecially their paſtors, they ſhewed by their heroic actions performed in other places, by the moſt ſavage ſlaughtering of divers miniſters of the church, and other faithful members of Chriſt, of both ſexes; for of all that they laid hold on, they gave not one man quarter, but very cruelly put them to death with moſt exquiſite tortures. They endeavoured to force maſter Samuel Cardus, paſtor of the church of Czuertzinen, to renounce his religion, after they had taken him, and miſerably handled him with all manner of cruelty; but he, ſtoutly reſiſting, they firſt put out his eyes, and led him about for a ſpectacle, then they pulled off his finger-ends with pincers; but he not yet condeſcending to their mad fury, they found out a new kind of torment, poured molten lead into his mouth, and at length while he was yet half alive, they clapt his neck between folding doors, and violently puling them together, ſevered his head from his body.

They took John Jacobides, paſtor of the church of Dembnic, and Alexander Wartens his colleague, and another that was in company with them, as they paſſed thro' the town of Lubin, and hurrying them up and down for divers hours, and grievouſly handling them after the manner of tyrants, then laſt of all they cut their throats with a razor, threw them headlong, while they were yet breathing, into a great pit, which had been before-hand prepared for theſe martyrs, and ſtifled them by caſting down dung and dirt upon them. They a great while purſued Andrew Oxlitius, a young man deſigned for the miniſtry, whom, after long ſeeking, they at laſt found in the open field, and in the end, having taken him, they cut off his head with a ſcythe, chopping it into ſmall pieces, and the dead carcaſe alſo they ſlaſh'd in a barbarous manner. The ſame fate befel Adam Milta, a citizen of Leſna: But they more grievouſly handled an old man of above ſeventy years, whoſe name was Simon Priten, and many others, whoſe names it were too tedious to relate. Of that barbarous execution which they did upon the weaker ſex, there were beſides other examples, horrid trophies of cruelty erected in the ſaid city of Leſna: a pious matron there, who was the mother of three children, not being able quick enough to leave the city, and being ſlain in the open ſtreet, they cut off her hands and feet, and cutting off her childrens heads, they laid two of them at her breaſts, and the third by her ſide. In like manner, another woman having her hands and feet cut off, and her tongue cut out, being incloſed and bound in a ſack, lived the ſpace of two days, making moſt miſerable lamentation. Grief forbids us to add more; for they behaved themſelves ſo furiouſly towards us, that there remains not an example of any one man ſaved of all thoſe that happened to fall into their hands.

It is notoriouſly known how that fury of theirs tyrannized alſo over the dead; ſome they dragg'd out of their graves and cut in pieces, as at Zichlin; others they expoſed naked for a public ſpectacle, as at Leſna; of which outragious action we had an example, even in the dead body of the moſt ſerene land-grave of Haſſia, which was drawn out of the grave, who was heretofore ſlain in a moſt barbarous and tyrannical manner at Koſcian, but buried by our friends at Leſna. The like was acted alſo upon the body of the moſt noble Arciſzevius, heretofore the valiant admiral of the Hollanders in Brazile, which was likewiſe dragg'd out of the grave, and being ſtript of the grave-clothes, was found after the firing of Leſna. There are divers other examples, which the Chriſtian reader may find in the book, entitled *Leſnæ Excidium*, faithfully written, and lately ſet forth in print; but they are ſuch examples only as are commonly known; for who is able to relate all things in particular? As burning men alive, drowning others with ſtones tied about their neck, &c.

Now Leſna being deſtroyed, the fury of the enemy proceeded to the perſecution of others, they in a ſhort time utterly demoliſhed all our congregations, not only driving away the paſtors, but alſo either burning or leaving moſt of the temples deſolate, as at Karmin, Dembnic, Skochy, Czrieuzin, &c. yea and the auditories themſelves were either ſlain (as in the town of Skochy, where there was a very flouriſhing church of the Bohemian exiles; ſixty perſons, both men and women were cruelly put to death) or elſe they were ſcattered abroad, ſo that there remained not one place wherein the worſhip of God may be celebrated. Lo, this is the moſt miſerable ſtate and condition of our churches; moreover our countrymen, to the number of five thouſand, beſides youths and children, being diſperſed in baniſhment (which hath now befallen moſt of us the ſecond time, eſpecially throughout Sileſia, as alſo through the Marck, Luſatia, Hungary, &c. find no comfort, but ſuch miſery, and are there expoſed to the hatred and envy of men. We that are paſtors dare not openly miniſter to our auditories with the word and ſacraments, but only in private meetings, or in woods among fenny places, God only

only ſeeing us, who is witneſs of theſe calamities, and our comfort in extremitie.

Indeed being thus deſtitute of all things, we lead a wretched life in baniſhment, being afflicted with hunger and nakedneſs, and are become next to the moſt miſerable Waldenſes, the greateſt ſpectacle of calamity to the Chriſtian world; For ſo it hath ſeemed good to that ſovergin wiſdom that governs all things, that we ſhould be inheritors of the croſs and perſecution of thoſe men from whom we have derived the original of our doctrine and external ſucceſſion: For truly we are the remaining progeny even of the Waldenſes, with whom being raiſed from the aſhes of bleſſed Huſs, and with whom combining into the ſame holy fellowſhip of the faith and afflictions of Chriſt, we have for two whole ages and more, been perpetually ſubject to the like ſtorms of calamities, until at length we fell into this calamity, greater than ever was known in the memory of our fathers, and which threatens us with utter deſtruction, unleſs God prevent it, this buſineſs conſtrains us to amazement and tears, greater than can be expreſt in words, to ſet forth our affliction and ſorrow: *If therefore there be any conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of love, if any fellowſhip of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies*, we deſire that this affliction of Joſeph may be recommended, eſpecially to all that are of the houſhold of faith. Let them not ſuffer thoſe to periſh whom the ſame faith, and the ſame Spirit of Chriſt hath joined with them in ſo near a relation; we beſeech them in the name of Chriſt, that they would rather make haſte to relieve thoſe who are ready to periſh, we being aſſured that we ſuffer this perſecution upon no other account, than for the confeſſion of the truth, from thoſe enemies, who have acted ſuch things as theſe are againſt us in times paſt, and are now at length by God's permiſſion, pouring out their fury upon us.

Seigned in the name of the ſaid diſtreſſed Churches, by their Delegates and now Exiles for the cauſe of Chriſt;

Adam Samuel Hartman, Paſtor of the church of Leſna in Poland, and Rector of the famous Univerſity there.

Paul Cyril, a late Member of the Univerſty of Leſna.

CHAP. LII.

A brief Repreſentation of the Proteſtant Cauſe in Germany. In what Caſe it hath been, ſince the peace of Munſter: and how it ſtood in the year 1657. And how it is now this preſent year 1659.

THE juſtice of the late civil wars in Germany, which were compoſed at the peace concluded in Munſter and Oſnaburg in the year 1648. was grounded upon this; That the proteſtants were neceſſitated to enter into a league or mutual union together, for the maintaining of their rights and privileges in the empire, againſt the infections thereof, and manifold diſturbances of their profeſſion, which contrary to former agreements at imperial Dyets, did befal unto them in many places by the popiſh and jeſuits practices, whereof they could obtain no redreſs by any peaceable treaties: Therefore finding that there was a deſign formed in the conclave, and by the houſe of Auſtria, to be put in execution, tending by little and little to wear out and deprive them of their liberties; They formed an union among themſelves, to ſtand upon the defence of their rights, and to oppoſe the power of the houſe of Auſtria, by whoſe means, both in Germany and in Bohemia, the jeſuits did drive on the deſign of rooting out proteſtants. The head of this union (who by his place was bound to appear in it) was the elector Palatine: But he being a ſoft man, of no experience in war, and beſet in his counſels and enterpriſes with ſuch as did betray him, the cauſe was ſoon overthrown; and by his overthrow, the intended perſecution againſt proteſtants to root them out, what by power, and what by policy, was openly carried on by the houſe of Auſtria; which moved the king of Denmark Chriſtian the IV. and after him the king of Sweden, to come upon the ſtage: The Dane was ſoon overthrown, but God gave ſuch ſucceſs unto the Swedes, to the Landgrave of Heſſen their aſſociate, and to the French; (who joined with them to ballance the power of Auſtria, after the elector of Saxony had made his peace at Prague with the emperor, and deſerted the proteſtant intereſt: That from the death of king Guſtavus, they continued the war with various ſucceſſes till the year 1648. at which time the Swediſh being maſters in Bohemia, and the emperor brought ſo low, that he ſaw little hopes to recover his ſtrength without a peace, he yielded to the conditions which the proteſtants and the French ſtood upon.

The Swediſh ſtood upon their ſatisfaction, and to keep a foot in the empire, to be able upon all occaſions to ſecure or help the proteſtant party; and the proteſtant princes they ſtood upon the ſetling of all things and of themſelves in their former rights and poſſeſſions, as before the war; and chiefly upon this point the reformed party, and the Landgrave of Heſſen, who headed them, ſtood that thence forward the reformed proteſtants (*alias* Ccalled calviniſts) ſhould have equal freedom and liberty of conſcience, for the exerciſe of their profeſſion in the empire, with the Papiſts and Lutherans. This condition being obtained, and a way determined to give the aggrieved parties in point of damage further ſatisfaction, armies were diſmiſſed, a new convention of ſtates was held at Nurenberg, to ſettle the remaining matters within the empire, which at Munſter and Oſnaburg could not well be handled, by reaſon of the treaty with foreign ſtates, and afterward a Dyet was called at Ratiſbon, to confirm all what formerly had been treated on and concluded, and to put the remainder of grievances in a way to be rectified: To which effect at the diſſolution or rather adjournment of the imperial Dyet at Ratisbon, a committee of deputies from all the ſtates of the empire, of equal number of both parties, (that is, ſo many of the proteſtants as of the popiſh party) were named to meet at Franckford, and prepare (by way of diſquiry of rights) the matters then remaining undecided, that at the next ſeſſion of Dyet, there might be a full deciſion and determination of them.

But before theſe delegates did meet, the elector of Metze did broach a new quarrel with the elector Palatine, tending to abridg him of much of his right, and to make him inconſiderable to the proteſtant party; but the king of Sweden, his couſin, (for he is a younger brothers ſon of the houſe Palatine) and the Landgrave of Heſſen his brother in law, did appear for him ſo far, that the emperor and the elector of Mentz fearing a new breach on his behalf, did leave him unmoleſted.

Soon after the compoſure of this quarrel, the committee of imperial deputies, met according to the appointment of the laſt Dyet at Ratiſbon, and they have continued at Franckford, debating and diſputing one with another concerning their reſpective rights, in the ſeveral caſes which remained undetermined. This meeting of deputies hath agitated matters in the years 1655——56——57. till theſe new affairs were come into conſideration, which the king of Sweden his war with Poland hath occaſioned. For from that time that he went into Poland and proſpered there, the deputies, altho' they did not diſolve their meeting, yet did in a manner alter the courſe of their treading one with another, as looking much upon the event of that war, till the death of the late emperor hath altered the ſcene, and a Dyet for the election of a new emperor hath been called.

The king of Swedens war with Poland, did alarm the popiſh party in Germany, and the houſe of Auſtria extreamly: And did terrifie the ſtates of the Low Countries, leſt if he ſhould be maſter of the Baltick ſea, their trade ſhould be thenceforward under his power, with whom they had no friendly correſpondence, by reaſon of ſome reciprocally conceived injuries, for which they could not truſt him. This moved thoſe of Holland who are the chief traders in thoſe ſeas, to ſtir up enemies againſt him, and openly to appear for, and correſpond with Dantzick to oppoſe him: And it is known to the Swediſh, that they have dealt underhand with the Muſcovite, with the Poliſh king, with the Auſtrians, and above board with the king of Denmark, to combine againſt him; by which means, after that he had conquered Poland, his forces were diſtracted, firſt to oppoſe the Muſcovite in Livonia, who

who beſieged Riga; and afterward to put himſelf in a defenſive poſture againſt the Auſtrians, who came to the aſſiſtance of the king of Poland; and laſtly to retire from Poland into Germany, to oppoſe the Daniſh forces, who had invaded his territories of Bremen.

Being come into Germany upon this deſign, he did conquer from the king of Denmark the laſt ſummer, all Holſten and Juland, and although by theſe conqueſts he was able to live in his quarters in the winter; yet his enemies being round about him on all hands, and he having neither money, nor convenient places to recruit his army in, it was expected, that in the ſpring, the combination of his enemies who compaſſed him about, would have ſwallowed him up: but God was pleaſed to appear for him, and direct him in a way to eſcape and overcome theſe difficulties: for in January laſt, he formed his deſign to aſſault the other territories of the Daniſh king; namely the iſlands which lie between Germany and the continent of Sweden and to that effect had prepared his men to march over into Fuenen, either by a bridge of ſhips if the ſea were not frozen ſo as to bear: or over the ice, if it ſhould be ſtrong enough: having then notice gotten, that towards the latter end of January the ice did bear, he took of horſe and foot not above ſix or ſeven thouſand, and therewith did march over the ſea into Fuenen, where the Daniſh king had placed his chief forces to defend the place And although ſome dangerous and dreadful accidents did befal him in that his march over the ſea, yet he went on and fought the Daniſh forces, who were more in number than he had with him, which on firm land ſtood in a readineſs to receive him, and beat them, took the chief commanders priſoners, and the ſpoil of the iſland, which is one of the richeſt that belongs to that kingdom.

Having made himſelf maſter of that iſland, he went forward to the next iſland over the ſea, called Langland, where he found a body of five hundred men to reſiſt him, but being charged, they were inſtantly defeated; ſo he went from thence to the next called Laland, and from thence to Falſter, and from Falſter to Zeland, the froſt ſtill continuing to make a bridge for him in all theſe marches. And from the time he came into Fuenen, till he entred Zeland, he ſpent only five or ſix days. In Zeland (where the king of Denmark was at Coppenhagen) Mr. Medows, the public miniſter of the ſtate, ſent from hence to reſide with the king of Denmark, came to him and deſired him to admit the king of Denmark to a treaty; this he condeſcended unto, and by the interpoſition of Mr. Medows, and of the French ambaſſador (for he would not admit the Holland's ambaſſador to be a mediator) the peace was concluded about the twentieth of February, after twelve days treaty. The conditions, that he reſtoreth to the king of Denmark all what he had taken from him in Germany, namely, Holſtein and Jutland, and the iſlands of Fuenen, Langland, Laland, Falſter, and Zeland; and in lieu thereof the king of Dumark quits unto him all his rights in the provinces of Haland and Schonen, and of Blicken, which are the contenent of Sweden, on the north ſide of the Sound; and dothmoreover ſurrender unto him the iſland of Bornholm, and the lordſhips of Bahuſen, and of Drunthen in Norway, which lie moſt convenient to cauſe the trade of Sweden to flouriſh. Some other conditions there are, but leſs conſiderable.

The peace being thus concluded and ratified by both kings, the king of Denmark feaſted the king of Sweden for certain days, and at ſeveral times both king were together alone for the ſpace of two or three hours at a time, whereby it is conceived that they have contracted a nearer and ſtricter alliance together, than the public treatiſe can mention. This being done, the king of Sweden went into his country; and hath convocated the ſtates of his kingdom at Gottenburg, to diſpoſe of his affairs with their advice, and to take up further reſolutions in time to come.

This unexpected and miraculous ſucceſs of the Swediſh king's enterpriſe, hath diſappointed all the counſels and plots of his adverſaries againſt him, for which he is obliged to none but unto God alone: and from hence his friends have juſt cauſe to gather, that God hath raiſed him out of his ſtraits, and redoubled his ſtrength to make further uſe of him towards the advancement of the common cauſe of proteſtants, in whoſe behalf he concluded the peace at Munſter, and which he thinks himſelf in conſcience and honour obliged to ſee maintained for the proteſtant intereſt; *tanquam altera pars paciſcens*, as in a letters of his to the emperor he did expreſs himſelf. So that it ſeems the proteſtant cauſe in Germany will find in him a protector of ſo much courage and reſolution, and conduct, as any that could be expected or deſired: and it is known to all that know him, that he is earneſtly bent to take away the differences, and advance the reconcilement of proteſtants within themſelves: and that he makes no difference between Lutherans (as they are called) and Calviniſts, but makes uſe of both alike, according to their abilities, as he finds them fitted for employment to foreign affairs: for within the kingdom of Sweden, no foreigners, and none but Lutherans, are to be admitted to the civil charges of truſt; others are employed in military charges, both there and elſewhere, according to their deſerts.

But preſently after the elector of Brandenburg was by ſubtile artifices withdrawn from the king of Sweden, and joined with the emperor, and the king of Poland againſt him: the king of Denmark was prevailed with to break his late made league, and the ſtates of the united provinces have joined with the Dane againſt him; and God having taken away his great friend Oliver, lord protector, he hath conflicted with many and great difficulties, and yet hitherto God hath upholden him from ſinking under them. What the iſſue will be, time muſt diſcover.

The Perſecutions of the Church of England, from the firſt planting of the Goſpel, to the end of Queen Mary's Reign.

CHAP. LIII.

The Perſecution of the Britiſh Church till the coming in of the Saxons.

Hiſtorians do not agree amongſt themſelves, neither of the time when, nor of the perſons by whom the goſpel was firſt planted in Britain. Nicephorus ſaith, that Simon Zelotes having preached long in the weſtern parts of the world, came at laſt into Britain, by whoſe miniſtry many in this iſland embraced the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, yet was Simon at length crucified by the heathens. Others ſay, that Paul, the great doctor of the Gentiles, when he was ſent by Feſtus to Rome, after he had made his defence before the emperor was diſmiſſed, whereupon he went into Spain, and afterwadrs into Britain, and preached the goſpel of Chriſt unto them. Dorotheus, and ſome others add, that Paul made Ariſtobulus, of whom he makes mentions, Rom. xvi. 10. the firſt biſhop of Britain: who having propagated the goſpel in this iſland, at laſt, with many of his diſciples, ſuffered martyrdom in the ſecond year of the emperor Nero. Others affirm, that Philip the apoſtle, being buſy in converting and baptizing many in France, ſent his entire friend, Joſeph of Arimathea with twelve other of his diſciples into Britain, where they laid the firſt foundation of the Chriſtian faith, after which divers other preachers coming hither, they much confirmed and propagated the ſame.

Tertullian, who lived in the ſecond century, ſpeaking how the goſpel was ſpread abroad by the miniſtry of the apoſtles, amongſt other places he reckons up thoſe parts of Britain to be ſubjected to Chriſt, which the Romans could never conquer. Origen in his fourth homily on Ezekiel, hath theſe words, *Britanniam in Chriſtianam conſentire religionem*: that Britain had embraced the Chriſtian faith.

Anno 180. or thereabouts, (though authors do not agree of the year exactly,) king Lucius reigned in Britain, who hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Chriſtians in divers places, ſent letters to Eleutherius biſhop of Rome, deſiring to receive the Chriſtian faith. The good biſhop hearing the requeſt of the king, and glad to embrace the opportunity, ſent to him two preachers, Fa-

It is by many ſuppoſed, that Glaſtonbury in the County of Somerſet, was the place where Chriſtianity was firſt Preached in Britain —— —— E. R. S.

ganus and Damianus, by whoſe faithful endeavours it pleaſed God that the king and many of his people were converted and baptized: the temples of idolatry, and other monuments of Gentiliſm were ſubverted: thus religion with true faith increaſed, and ſuperſtition with all the rites of idolatry decreaſed; many biſhops were ordained and ſet over the people, and all things ſettled in good order: after which, this godly king ſent again to Eleutherius for the Roman laws, according to which he deſired to govern his people; to which requeſt Eleutherius returned this anſwer, 'that for the Roman and imperial laws they might have their defects and faults, but the law of God could not:' Whereupon he adviſed him to ſtudy the ſcriptures, and out of them, by the council of his realm, to enact laws for the government of his kingdom; 'for, ſaith he, you are God's vicar in your kingdom, and therefore it behoves you to unite your people, to call them to the faith and ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt, to cheriſh and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them from all ſuch as would do them wrong, *&c.*

This faith thus received by the Britains, continued and flouriſhed amongſt them, by the ſpace of two hundred and ſixteen years, even till the coming of the pagan Saxons: but all this while the Roman emperors had not embraced the Chriſtian faith; whereupon much trouble and perſecution was raiſed up by them and their agents againſt the Chriſtian Britains, eſpecially after the death of king Lucius, who dying without iſſue, the barons and nobles could not agree about a ſucceſſor, ſo that whilſt they contended and ſtrove who ſhould have the crown, the Romans ſtepped in, and took the crown from them into their own hands, whereupon enſued great miſery, and ruin to the realm: ſometimes the idolatrous Romans, ſometimes the Chriſtian Britains reigned, according as God's providence ordered the ſucceſs of their wars.

The firſt remarkable perſecution that I meet with, was under Dioclеſian and Maximinian, at which time the rage of the heathens was ſo great againſt the Chriſtians, that in Britany and ſome other places there are ſeventeen thouſand martyrs reckoned up, that ſuffered for the name of Chriſt. In the time of this perſecution there was one of the clergy called Amphibolus, ſought for to be drawn to priſon, who to eſcape the fury of the adverſaries, hid himſelf in the houſe of Albane, a worthy citizen of Verulam, [now St. Albanes,] This Albane was for the preſent an heathen, but obſerving his gueſt, day and night to continue in watching and prayer, it pleaſed God ſo to work upon him by this example, that he began to hearken to the godly inſtructions and exhortations of this miniſter, and forſaking his blind idolatry he became a Chriſtian with his whole heart. At length the perſecutors had intelligence, that Amphibolus lay hid at Albane's houſe, whereupon ſoldiers were appointed to make diligent ſearch for him in that place: Albane hearing of their coming, apparelled himſelf in his gueſts and maſters clothes, offering himſelf to the ſoldiers, by whom he was bound, and carried before the judge, who at that time was ſacrificing to his idols: Albane being brought before him, the judge perceiving the fraud, ſaid unto him; 'foraſmuch as thou hadſt rather convey away the rebel and traitor to our gods, then deliver him up to the ſoldiers, that he might undergo due puniſhment for his blaſpheming of our gods; look what torments he ſhould have ſuffered if he had been taken, the ſame thou ſhalt ſuffer if thou refuſe to practiſe the rites of our religion:' Albane little regarded theſe threatenings; but being fortified with the ſpiritual armour of God, told him plainly to his face, That he would not obey his commandment: then ſaid the judge: 'Of what houſe and ſtock art thou? Albane anſwered, It matters not what ſtock I am, but if thou deſireſt to know my religion, be it known unto thee that I am a Chriſtian, and that I employ myſelf in the practice of their holy exerciſes. Then the judge demanded his name? My parents (ſaid he) named me Albane, and I honour and worſhip the true and living God that made all things of nothing: The judge being enraged hereat, ſaid unto him, If thou deſireſt to prolong thy life, come and ſacrifice to our gods; Albane anſwered, this ſacrifice that you offer to the devil profits you nothing, but rather purchaſeth for you eternal pains in hell fire.' The judge being more incenſed hereby, commanded the tormentors to beat him, thinking that ſtripes might prevail where words would not; but he ſhewed himſelf, not only penitent, but joyful in midſt of all his torments; the judge ſeeing that neither words nor blows could remove him from his conſtancy, commanded him to be beheaded. The executioner obſerving his fervent faith and prayers, fell down before his feet, caſting from him the ſword, deſiring rather to be executed for or with him, then to do execution upon him, and ſo was made a fellow of that faith, whereof before he was a perſecutor; the other officers were aſtoniſhed, and trembled to behold this ſtrange providence, but at laſt one of them took up the ſword, wherewith he cut off the martyrs head.

There ſuffered alſo about the ſame Aaron and Julius, citizens of Leiceſter, and many others both men and women, in ſundry places, who endured moſt cruel and bitter torments in all parts of their bodies, and at laſt, triumphing over all with invincible patience, reſigned up their ſpirits to almighty God; many others to avoid the rage and fury of their mercileſs perſecutors, fled into woods, and hid themſelves in mountains, and dens, and caves of the earth, waiting patiently till God ſhould free them by the deſtruction of their enemies.

About the ſame times alſo Augulus, biſhop of London, who was now grown very old, obtained the crown of martyrdom. Yea the rage of the adverſaries ceaſed not in the ſlaughter of the ſaints, but they ſought out the books of the ſacred ſcriptures, and burnt them publicly, churches were ſubverted, and Chriſtianity was almoſt extirpated out of the whole land.

But Dioclеſian and Maximinian, finding that after all their bloody butcheries, and the thouſands of innocent Chriſtians ſlain by them, the faith of Chriſt ſtill increaſed, being tired with ſhedding of blood, at laſt they deveſted themſelves of the imperial dignity, and Conſtantius, and after him Conſtantine the great, ſucceeding in the government of our Britain, the church here had peace, and the faithful Chriſtians, which in times of danger had hid themſelves in dens, and deſarts, came forth, and ſhewed themſelves abroad, repairing the churches formerly demoliſhed and thrown down to the ground, built others anew, attending the ſervice of God in peace, whereby the church flouriſhed, and the goſpel was mightly propagated: which bleſſed peace, through God's mercy continued till the Arrian hereſy, which overſpread a great part of the Chriſtian world, flew over into our Britain likewiſe, which cauſed new ſtorms and fluctuations in the church: but holy Conſtantine, by calling ſeaſonably the Nicene council, ſomewhat qualified and abated the animoſities of ſome, and the unbridled ſpirits of others. But ſhortly after the death of that good emperor, the Arrian hereſy began to revive, and the Britains which were always naturally given to affect novelties, too greedily embraced it; whereupon God raiſed up the Picts and Scots (two barbarous and heathen nations.) to be a great ſcourge to them and this kingdom, which had been often exhauſted of the flower of all her youth, upon ſeveral occaſions led away by the Roman emperors in all their wars, was now unable to defend herſelf againſt their violent irruptions: for which cauſe, for divers years together, the Britains were miſerably oppreſſed, and waſted by thoſe two nations; this occaſioned them to ſend their embaſſadors to Rome with lamentable complaints, requeſting, and begging aid, and aſſiſtance of them againſt theſe their cruel enemies: the Romans at laſt, moved with pity, ſent them a legion of ſoldiers, who encountring with the Picts and Scots, overthrew them, ſlew many, and drave the reſt out of the confines of the Britains, and withal adviſed them to build a wall from ſea to ſea croſs the land, which might keep out theſe evil neighbours: this was aſſented to, and the wall being finiſhed, the Roman ſoldiers returned home again.

As ſoon as the Picts and Scots heard thereof, they preſently in a number of boats landed on this ſide the wall, invaded the borders, over-ran the country, and bare down all before them.

Then did the Britains ſend now embaſſadors to Rome, who made grievous moan, imploring their aid, beſeeching them not to ſuffer their miſerable country utterly to be waſted, and deſtroyed by theſe barbarous heathens, *&c.*

Hereupon

Hereupon there is a legion of ſoldiers again ſent into Britain, who in harveſt time coming ſuddenly upon theſe deſtroyers, made a great ſlaughter of them, and ſuch as eſcaped, they chaſed by ſea into their own country; which being done, they told the Britains plainly, that it was not for their eaſe to take ſuch long, and tedious journeys for their ſakes; that they ſhould expect no more aſſiſtance from them, and therefore they exhorted them to arm, and exerciſe themſelves, that of themſelves they might be able to reſiſt theſe their enemies; and for their further encouragement they aſſiſted them in building a wall of ſtone eight foot broad, and twelve foot high, from the eaſt to the weſt ſea, juſt where the emperor Severus had formerly caſt up a trench, all which was done upon the public and private charges of the Britains. Alſo by the ſea ſide ſouthwards at the place where their ſhips lay at harbour, leſt their enemies ſhould land thereabouts, they built up bulworks at a competent diſtance each from other, all which being finiſhed the Romans bad them farewel, intending to return no more.

But God yet intended a further ſcourge to the Britains; wherefore as ſoon as the Picts, and Scots underſtood that the Romans had taken their final farewel, they came in great multitudes to aſſault the wall, which for a while was defended with faint hands, and trembling hearts by the Britains: but the Scots, with certain grapples that they had deviſed, pulled ſome part of it to the ground, and in other parts ſo aſſaulted the Britains, that they put them to flight, and in a barbarous manner followed, killed, and deſtroyed them more cruelly than ever they had done before: whereupon the Britains, being driven out of their habitations and poſſeſſions, fell to robbing and ſpoiling one another, increaſing their outward miſeries by their inteſtine diſcords, ſo that the whole country was brought to that extream poverty that they had no ſuſtinance but what they got by hunting, and killing of wild beaſts.

In the eighth year of the reign of Theodoſius junior, the Britains ſent to Rome again, ſetting forth their pitiful eſtate, complaining that the barbarous enemy drave them upon the ſea, the ſea again upon the enemy, ſo that death and deſtruction attended them on all hands: but the Romans having their hands full at that time, being ſcarce able to defend themſelves againſt the barbarous Hunnes under Attila, refuſed to ſend them any ſuccour, returning the embaſſadors without relief:

The Britains being thus fruſtrated of their hopes from Rome, and being forced thereto by famine, they took courage to themſelves, and began to ſeek unto God; and when all earthly hope failed, ſo much the more to put their whole truſt and confidence in God, who uſeth not to fail thoſe that truſt in him; and ſo from the hills and brakes where they lurked, they many times invaded their enemies, firſt refilling, and afterwards overthrowing them, which for many years before had lived upon the ſpoil of their country. The Picts hereupon began to keep themſelves quiet at home, ſave only that now and then they would make inroads into the land, ſo that ſhortly after the land enjoyed great peace and quietneſs, and the Britains falling to huſbandry, through God's bleſſing, the earth yielded ſuch abundance, that there was never the like plenty of grain ſeen before: but behold the wickedneſs of man's heart! the Britains enjoyed peace and plenty, they fell into all manner of looſe and licentious living, whereof all ſorts of lewd and abominable practices followed, eſpecially cruelty, hatred of the truth, and loving of lies, inſomuch that if any man were more humble and faithful embracers of the truth then others, the other would work them all the deſpite and miſchief that could be, as the common enemies of their country: and theſe ſins abounded, not only amongſt the laity but clergy alſo, and the chiefeſt of all ſorts gave themſelves over to drunkenneſs, pride, contention, envy, and ſuch other wickedneſs, utterly caſting from them the ſweet and eaſy yoke of Chriſt. Then did the Lord ſend a terrible peſtilence amongſt them, whereof ſuch multitudes died, that the living were not able to bury the dead, yet for all this they remained ſo hardened in their ſins, that neither their friends death, nor their own danger could mollify their obdurate hearts, or work them to a reformation of their wicked lives, whereupon a more grievous ſtroke of God's vengeance fell upon the whole ſinful nation; as in the ſequel will be made to appear.

CHAP. LIV.

The Perſecution of the Britiſh Church under the Heathen Saxons and Engliſh.

THE Britains being again infeſted with their old ill neighbours, they conſulted what was beſt for them to do in ſuch a ſtrait, and inſtead of turning to God with all their hearts, and reforming their wicked lives, they, with their king Vortigerne, reſolved to demand aid of the Saxons, to repel the fury of theſe northern nations, by which fooliſh counſel the Lord intended to plague this wicked people, as the ſtory following will evidently ſhew.

Anno 429. The Engliſh and Saxons being ſent for by the ſaid king into Britain, they landed in three long ſhips, and by the king's appointment, encountering with the Picts and Scots, they got the victory, whereof they ſent home word to their countrymen, withal informing them of the fertility of Britain, and of the cowardlineſs of the inhabitants: hereupon a far greater number of the Saxons, and better furniſhed for the war, arrived in Britain; and joining with the former band, they formed a ſtronger army then all the power of the Britains was able to overcome: theſe therefore by the Britains had a place allowed them to dwell in, upon condition that they ſhould fight for them againſt their enemies, receiving wages of the Britains for their pains: the chief captains of theſe Saxons were Hengiſt, and Horſus, and greater companies of thoſe people daily reſorting hither, they ſuddenly enter'd into league with the Picts, whom they had now driven further off, and began to turn their forces upon the Britains. And firſt they required more ſtore of victuals of them, ſeeking thereby to pick a quarrel with them, and threatening that if they did not preſently ſend them in more ſtore, they would break their amity with them, and ſpoil the country about them, and no ſooner was it ſaid but they performed it indeed: and thus by the hands of theſe pagans, God avenged the quarrel of his covenant upon his wicked people: and this fire of God's wrath being once kindled, he employed theſe idolaters, as once he did the Caldeans againſt the Jews, to ſcourge his apoſtatizing people, ſo that the deſtruction made by them in this land overſpread the whole iſland, none being able to reſiſt it.

All edifices both public and private were demoliſhed, the miniſters were ſlain while they were employed in the ſervice of God: the reverend biſhops, and their flocks were cruelly murdered, without reſpect to their dignity, neither were there any to inter their ſlaughtered bodies; ſome being purſued into the mountains were there murdered; others almoſt ſtarved with hunger, were fain to creep out of their caves and dens, and to buy their food at their enemies hands, by whom they were either preſently murdered, or deprived of their liberty for ever: others with heavy hearts left their native country, and fled beyond the ſeas: others being driven from houſe and home, wandred up and down in mountains, and woods, and deſert places, expoſed to hunger, cold, nakedneſs, and all ſorts of miſery, and to fill up the meaſure of their wretchedneſs, two hundred ſeventy one, or (as ſome ſtories ſay) four hundred and ſixty of the ancienteſt and chiefeſt barons and nobles of the land, were trained to Almſbury to meet with the chiefeſt of the Saxons about a treaty of peace, by whom they were moſt treacherouſly, and perfidiouſly all ſlain at a place called Stoneheng: by the which monuments it ſeems that the noble Britains were there buried.

Yet not long after the Britains began to take courage to themſelves coming out of their caves where before they had lyen hid, and with one conſent humbling themſelves before almighty God for their ſins, and calling upon him by fervent prayer, they choſe Ambroſius Aurelianus, a gentle-natured man, and of the ancient blood of the Romans to be their captain. This Ambroſius had a Britain to his mother,

mother, and was educated in the Chriſtian religion by Guitiline, biſhop of London: under him the Britain aſſembling themſelves, provoked the Saxons and Engliſh to fight, and (through God's mercy and goodneſs,) obtained a great victory over them, and from that day forward they obtained many other victories againſt the Saxons.

At laſt Ambroſius died of poiſon, and his brother Uter, ſirnamed Pendragon ſucceeded him, *anno* 497. who fighting againſt Octa and Coſa, the two chieftains of the Saxons, took them both priſoners, and brought them to London, there to be kept: but they, breaking priſon, fled into Germany for more aid; in the mean time there daily came over abundance of Saxons in ſeveral companies, with whom the Britains had divers conflicts and bickerings, ſometimes winning, ſometimes loſing, as the Lord in his wiſe providence ſaw fitteſt to order it.

At laſt came back Octa and Coſa with a great army out of Germany, and joined with the other Saxons againſt the Britains. Here began the miſeries of Britain afreſh, whilſt the idolatrous Saxons prevailed in number and ſtrength againſt the Chriſtian Britains, oppreſſing the people, demoliſhing their churches, murdering their biſhops and miniſters, ſparing neither age, ſex, nor perſon, but waſting Chriſtianity almoſt through the whole land: and, as an aggravation of their miſeries, their king Uter was ſick, and could not come forth in defence of his ſubjects; yet at laſt being ſore grieved with the lamentable deſtruction of his people, he cauſed himſelf in his bed to be carried into his camp; where God in mercy gave him a wonderful victory, Octa and Coſa being both ſlain in the battle; ſhortly after which victory Uter died of poiſon, as his brother had done before him.

Anno 516 Came in Stuph, and Wigarius, two other captains of the Saxons with a new army, who ſo violently aſſaulted the Britains, that they of the weſtern parts were not able to reſiſt them: then the providence of almighty God raiſed up for the Britains, king Arthur, the ſon of Uter, who obtained twelve great victories againſt the Saxons. Concerning this king Arthur many ſtrange ſtories are reported, which I omit as being moſt of them fabulous: but without queſtion under his reign, and ſome of his ſucceſſors the Britains enjoyed much peace and ſafety.

Yet when they were at peace with others, they again returning to their former ſinful courſes, fell to war amongſt themſelves. Notwithſtanding, having yet freſh in mind the late calamities which had been ſo heavy upon them, both miniſters, peers, and commons kept themſelves ſomewhat in order: but after their death, the generation which next followed little knowing, and leſs regarding the ſtorms paſt in their fathers days, and having reſpect only to the preſent proſperous eſtate and condition wherein they lived, fell to all manner of abominations: juſtice, and judgment were turned backward, and equity could not enter, and he that refrained from evil made himſelf a prey: inſomuch as Gildas, our ancienteſt hiſtoriographer complains, that they fell into all manner of wickedneſs, whereunto the nature of man is inclined, and eſpecially into that which is the overthrow of the beſt ſtates, *viz.* The hatred of the truth, and love of lyes, embracing evil inſtead of good; and receiving the devil under the notion of an angel of light: they alſo, as a further aggravation of their ſin, neglecting to preach the goſpel of Chriſt to the Engliſh and Saxons which inhabited in the land amongſt them: this haſtened the wrath of God upon them, ſo that they were chaſed out of their cities, and towns, and the land fell into the poſſeſſion of the Saxons, *anno Chriſti* 568. By whom the Chriſtian miniſters of the Britains were wholly driven out.

Thconus archbiſhop of London, and Thadeoſius archbiſhop of York, ſeeing their churches waſted, and their people ſlain, and diſperſed, left their ſeats in Britain, and fled into Wales.

The Saxons being thus poſſeſt of the land, divided it into ſeven kingdoms. Yet God left not their cruelty ſhewed to the Britains, and their uſurpation of their land long unpuniſhed: for theſe Saxon kings falling out amongſt themſelves, cruelly devoured each other, one warring againſt another till they were neither able to help themſelves, nor to reſiſt their enemies.

The goſpel was firſt received by king Lucius, *anno Chriſti* 180. from which time it continued in Britain four hundred and odd years: then by the Saxons it was almoſt extinct about forty four years, from whoſe firſt coming into this kingdom till their compleat conqueſt of the Britains were two hundred and forty years. In ſum, from Chriſt to Lucius were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the goſpel from Lucius to the entring of the Saxons were three hundred and two years; the decay of religion, to the reſtitution of it by Auſtin were one hundred and forty three years, whoſe coming into Britain was *anno Chriſti* 598. And the occaſion thereof was this.

Pelagius being biſhop of Rome, Gregory ſeeing ſome children in the market-place of Rome, being carried thither out of England to be ſold, and having fair and beautiful faces, Gregory demanded of what country they were, and underſtanding that they came out of England, and were heathens, he much lamented the caſe of the land, the inhabitants being ſo beautiful, and angelical, and yet ſubject to the prince of darkneſs; and aſking moreover of what province they were, it was anſwered, They were of Deira; 'Theſe people, ſaith he, are to be delivered *de ira Dei*, from the wrath of God:' And further underſtanding that their king's name was Alle; 'There, ſaith he, ought allelujah to be ſung to the living God.' He was alſo ſtrongly preſſed in ſpirit to go into England and to endeavour the converſion of theſe heathens; but Pelagius and the church at Rome would not permit it at that time; yet Gregory, after Pelagius his death, being choſen biſhop of Rome, and remembring his former intentions, he ſent Auſtin with about forty preachers more to undertake this work.

As Auſtin and his company was travelling towards England, a ſudden fear ſurprized their hearts, inſomuch that they made a ſtop, and ſent Auſtin back again to Gregory, deſiring to be excuſed from that difficult, and dangerous enterpriſe of converting a heatheniſh and barbarous people, whoſe language they neither underſtood, nor were able to reſiſt their rudeneſs: Gregory laboured to confirm, and comfort Auſtin againſt all diſcouragements, ſending him back again to his companions, and writing by him to them, to exhort, and perſuade them not to deſiſt from ſo godly an enterpriſe, telling them how acceptable their labours would be with God, and how advantageous to themſelves: and this letter ſo prevailed with them, that they came at length to the iſle of Thanet not far from Sandwich in Kent, near unto which place alſo was the palace of the king.

This king was Ethelbert, fifth king of that province, who a little before had married a Chriſtian French woman, to whom he had promiſed the enjoyment of her faith and religion.

Auſtin being thus arrived, he ſent ſome meſſengers, with their interpreters to the king, ſignifying that he, and his fellows, were come from Rome to bring to him, and his people the glad tidings of ſalvation; whereby they might eternally reign in heaven with the only true God for evermore, if they would hearken to the goſpel which they were ready to preach unto them. The king having heard ſomething before from his wife of this way, appointed a time when he would meet with Auſtin, who at his coming, preached unto him: after which the king told him, that the words which he ſpake were very fair: 'Yet, ſaith he, becauſe to me this way is uncouth, and new, I cannot ſuddenly depart from my country laws wherein I have been ſo long nurtred; yet ſince ye are come ſo far for my ſake, you ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhall be well intreated, having all things provided for you which are neceſſary for your comfortable ſubſiſtence: we alſo grant you free leave to preach to our people, and to convert as many as you can to the faith of your religion.'

Then went they to Canterbury, where the king had given them a manſion for their abode: there they continued preaching, and baptizing ſuch as through God's grace, were converted by their miniſtry. The king alſo at length, having well conſidered their manner of life, and moved with the miracles that God was pleaſed to work by them, heard them the more willingly, and at length through their miniſtry, and example in their holy lives, he was converted

converted and baptized *anno Chriſti* 586. and of his age 36. By whoſe example multitudes flocked to their miniſtry, and being baptized were daily added to the church of Chriſt. The king forced none to it, but did moſt eſteem and embrace thoſe of his ſubjects that did willingly offer themſelves.

Then did Auſtin ſend Laurence, one of his company, to Rome to Gregory to acquaint him with the ſucceſs that God had given them, and to ſeek for reſolution in ſundry doubtful, and difficult caſes: Gregory much rejoiced at the good news, and returned anſwers to all his queſtions: he ſent alſo to the church of England more coadjutors and helpers, Melitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffianus, with books, and ſuch other requiſites as he judged neceſſary for the Engliſh church. He writ alſo to Auſtin to encourage, and direct him in the proſecution of that great work which he was engaged in. He directed alſo concerning the idolatrous temples, which he adviſed not to be pulled down, but to be converted to the uſe of the Chriſtian congregations. He alſo warned Auſtin to take heed that he grew not proud, nor puft up by reaſon of thoſe miracles which God was pleaſed to work by his hands in converting the people of England, but rather to fear, and tremble, leſt being puft up by the outward works of miracles, he ſhould fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart, and therefore he adviſed him to repreſs ſuch ſwellings by thinking of his manifold ſins againſt God, for which he had more cauſe to be humbled, than to be puffed up for the other: telling him that all the elect of God cannot work miracles, and yet their names are written in the book of life, and therefore exhorted him not rejoice ſo much for his working miracles, as to labour to ſee his name written in the book of life, and that he ſhould remember that whatſoever miracle it pleaſed God to work by him, that it was not done for his ſake, but for the converſion and ſalvation of the Engliſh nation, *&c.*

He alſo directed another epiſtle to king Ethelbert wherein he firſt praiſeth God, then commends and encourageth the king, exhorts him to perſeverance in the holy profeſſion of Chriſt's faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the ſame, and in endeavouring the converſion of his people, the deſtruction of idolatry, and in ruling and governing his kingdom in all holineſs, after the godly example of that moſt Chriſtian emperor, Conſtantine the great. Laſtly, he comforts him with the promiſes of life, and ſalvation in the world to come, *&c.* And finally, intreats him to accept of ſuch preſents, and gifts as he had ſent unto him.

Miletus was eſpecially ſent by Gregory to convert the eaſt Saxons in Eſſex, and it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs his endeavours, that he converted Sigbert the king, who made him biſhop of London, and who (together with his uncle Ethelbert) built the church of ſaint Paul in London.

Afterward Auſtin with the aſſiſtance of Miletus, and Juſtus, ſent to, and gathered together all the Britain biſhops, and doctors, exhorting and charging them that they ſhould aſſiſt him in preaching of the word of God to the Engliſh men, as alſo to reform ſome rights amongſt themſelves, wherein they rather followed the eaſtern than the weſtern churches. The later the Britain biſhops refuſed without the aſſent of all them which uſed the ſame cuſtoms with themſelves.

After this alſo Auſtin gathered a ſecond ſynod, unto which came ſeven biſhops of Britain together with the ſageſt men of that famous abby of Bangor; but they firſt aſked counſel of an old wife, and holy man amongſt them, whether they ſhould be obedient to Auſtin or no? His anſwer was, 'If he be the ſervant of God, agree to him. But how ſhall we know that? ſaid they. He anſwered, If he be meek and humble, by that you may know that he is the ſervant of God. But how, ſay they, ſhall we know him to be humble and meek? by this, ſaid he, ſeeing you are the greater number; if he at your coming into the ſynod ſhall riſe up, and ſalute you courteouſly, by that you ſhall ſee his humility: but if he contemn and deſpiſe you, deſpiſe you him again.'

Being thus inſtructed they went to the ſynod, and at their entrance, Auſtin, after the Romiſh manner, keeping his chair, moved not at all: the Britains offended hereat, after ſome heat of words, roſe up, and departed in great diſpleaſure: whereupon Auſtin ſaid, That if they would not have peace with their brethren, they ſhould have war with their enemies, and if they refuſed to join with them in preaching of the goſpel to the Engliſh, they ſhould ſuffer death by their hands.

Surely both parties were much to blame in this buſineſs: Auſtin for his proud carriage, and the Britains for neglecting their duty upon private diſcontents to join with the other by preaching the goſpel, to ſeek the converſion of the idolatrous Saxons; and indeed God ſuffered them not long to go unpuniſhed for it: for ſhortly after, Ethelbert king of Northumberland being a pagan, and therefore hating the Britains, went with a great army againſt the city of Cheſter where Brockmail, the major of that place, raiſed an army to defend the Britains.

There was at this time at Bangor in Wales a great monaſtery, in which were many godly monks that lived by the ſweat of their brows and labour of their hands, that ſort of men being far unlike to monks in after ages. Out of this monaſtery the monks went to Cheſter, to pray for their friends good ſucceſs againſt the Saxons, and three days they continued in faſting, and prayer: Ethelfride the aforeſaid king ſeeing them ſo intent on their prayers, aſked what ſort of men they were? and being told that they prayed for his enemies: then ſaid he, 'Though they bear no weapons yet they fight againſt us, and with their prayers and preachings they perſecute us.' Wherefore after he had overcome the Britains, he commanded his men to fall upon theſe unarmed monks, of whom he martyred at that time eleven hundred, only fifty of them eſcaped with Brocmaile, all the reſt were murdered. But God left not their death long unrevenged; for this cruel king was not long after ſlain in the field by Chriſtian Edwin that ſucceeded in the kingdom.

Auſtin with his aſſociates continuing to preach to the Saxons, went ſo far as into Yorkſhire, where he converted and baptized ten thouſand perſons; and ſhortly after, finding his end to approach, he appointed Laurentius to be his ſucceſſor, and ſo quietly departed in the Lord, having continued in England about fifteen years.

King Ethelbert had a daughter called Ethelburg, whom he married to one Edwin, as yet a pagan. This Edwin being envied and hated by Ethelfride, of whom mention is made before, was forced to fly to Redwald, king of the eaſt Angles; which Redwald being over awed, and partly corrupted by bribes of Ethelfride, intended to betray Edwin to him; of which conſpiracy (as God would have it) Edwin was informed by a ſecret friend, who perſuaded him to fly, and ſave himſelf; to whom Edwin ſaid, 'Whither ſhall I fly that have already ſought for ſhelter almoſt in all the provinces of the realm? And if I muſt needs be ſlain, I had rather the king ſhould do it, than ſome other unworthy perſon.'

Afterwards being by himſelf alone, and ſolitary, there appeared one to him, who ſaid, 'I know well the cauſe of thy heavineſs; what wouldeſt thou give him that would deliver thee from this fear, and reconcile thee to Redwald again? I would, ſaid Edwin, give him all that ever I could make. And what, ſaid the other, if I make thee a mightier king than any of thy progenitors? Edwin anſwered as before. Then ſaid the other, and what if I ſhew thee a better kind and way of life than ever was ſhewed to any of thy anceſtors, wilt thou obey and do after my counſel? Yea, ſaid Edwin, with all my heart I will do it. Then the other laying his hand on his head ſaid, when this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of tribulation, and the promiſe which thou haſt made, and the words which I have ſaid unto thee.' And ſo he vaniſh'd out of his ſight.

Preſently after came his friend to him, bidding him be of good chear; 'For the heart, ſaid he, of king Redwald which formerly ſought they deſtruction, now by the mediation of his queen is turned; ſo that he is reſolved to keep promiſe with thee, and to protect thee whatever comes of it. Yea, not long after Redwald raiſed a great army, and in Edwin's quarrel went againſt Ethelfride, and gave battle to him upon the borders of Mercia: in which battle Ethelfride was ſlain, and Edwin was placed quietly in the poſſeſſion of Northumberland; yet all this while he remained a pagan, though Ethelburg his queen, a godly woman,

woman, and Paulinus the biſhop ceaſed not to ſtir up, and perſuade him to embrace the Chriſtian faith; but his nobles and counſellors diſſuading him, he was hard to be won. Then did the Lord bring a new affliction upon him, to humble, and bring him home unto himſelf, the occaſion whereof was this.

Quicelinus and Kinegilſus, kings of the weſt Saxons, envying and hating Edwin, ſuborned a cut-throat privily to murder him, who watching his opportunity when the king had but a few with him, ran at him with an envenomed ſword, but one of his ſervants ſuddenly ſtepped between the king and the thruſt, and ſo received the ſword thorow his own body, the king alſo being ſomewhat wounded by the ſword's point: the murderer being apprehended, confeſſed by whom he was ſet; and the king lay long ſick of the poiſoned wound before he was healed: but when he was almoſt well, he raiſed a great hoſt to go againſt the weſt Saxon kings, who had ſo baſely ſought his deſtruction, withal, promiſing unto Jeſus Chriſt, that if he obtained the victory, he would preſently be baptized: and whereas his wife was brought to bed of a daughter at that time, he cauſed it to be baptized, together with twelve more of his family. Then went he forth againſt his enemies, and thorow the power of Chriſt, obtained a great and glorious victory, vanquiſhing and putting the adverſe army to flight, and ſo returned home with honour and great joy; yet did the pomp and glory of the world ſo dazle his eyes, that he had little mind to perform his vow of being baptized, only he heard Paulinus preach, and gave over his idolatrous ſervices, but he told him, that he could not ſuddenly forſake the religion of his forefathers, nor be baptized but upon mature deliberation, and good advice of his council.

About the ſame time Boniface biſhop of Rome ſent to him and his queen ſome preſents, and hortatory letters to forſake his idolatry, and to embrace the Chriſtian faith; yet neither would this prevail with him, inſomuch as Paulinus ſeeing how he was hardened, and would not be perſuaded to be baptized, he poured out his prayers inceſſantly before God for his converſion: after which the former viſion ſhewed to Edwin, was revealed to him; whereupon Paulinus coming to the king at a fit ſeaſon, layed his hand on his head, aſking him, if he knew that token. The king remembring it well, was ſo affected, that he was ready to fall down at his feet: but Paulinus not ſuffering it, ſaid to him, 'behold, O king, you have vanquiſhed your enemies, you have obtained your kingdom, now perform your promiſe; which was to embrace the Chriſtian faith, and to be obedient unto our Lord Chriſt.' The king, after conſultation with his nobles, was himſelf with many other of his ſubjects baptized by Paulinus at York; and preſently after all the idols with their altars were caſt down, and deſtroyed.

Paulinus after this preached and converted many others in Yorkſhire, and other neighbouring counties, as far as Lincolnſhire, whom he alſo baptized into the Chriſtian faith, and added them to the church thereby.

Edwin having thus embraced, and eſtabliſhed the faith of Chriſt in his kingdom, was ſo careful in adminiſtration of juſtice and government of his people, that a ſingle woman loaden with gold might have travelled from ſea to ſea, and none durſt moleſt her. He alſo cauſed brazen diſhes to be chained by every fountain in the high-ways for the refreſhing of paſſengers.

King Edwin having after his baptiſm, lived ſix years in great peace: the devil enraged at the progreſs of the goſpel, raiſed up Cedwalla king of the Britains, and wicked Penda king of the Mercians to make war againſt him, and God, which doth not always proſper the better cauſe, ſuffered them to prevail, ſo that godly Edwin was ſlain in the battle, as Joſiah fighting againſt Pharaoh Necho. After which Cedwalla and Penda with his idolatrous Mercians raiſed a great perſecution againſt Edwin's Chriſtian ſubjects, ſparing neither age nor ſex, but in an inhumane manner butchering all: inſomuch as Edelburg the queen, and Euſted her daughter, with Paulinus the biſhop, were fain to fly by water into Kent; yet did Paulinus leave one James a godly man to preach to thoſe northern countries, who, through God's grace, converted and baptized very many till peace was again recovered, and the number of the faithful much increaſing, the church recovered its priſtine beauty.

Afterwards Oſwald the ſecond ſon of Ethelfride, ſucceeded in the northern kingdom, which when Cedwalla had notice of, he with king Penda raiſed a mighty hoſt, thinking to ſlay Oſwald as he had before ſlain Edwin; but Oſwald hearing the approach of his numerous enemies, betook himſelf to prayer unto God who is the giver of victory, beſeeching him meekly to ſhew his power in protecting and ſaving his own people from the power of their enraged enemies: after which, joining battle with Cedwalla, and Penda, though their army far exceeded his for number, yet through God's mercy, he obtained a great and glorious victory over them, Cedwalla himſelf being ſlain in the fight.

Much is ſpoken of this Oſwald by way of commendation for his fervent zeal in the Chriſtian religion, for his mercy and charity to the poor, and for his other rare virtues: and for the further propagation of the goſpel amongſt his people, he ſent into Scotland for a godly biſhop and famous preacher called Aidanus: and the king being well acquainted with the Scotiſh language, Aidanus preaching in the Scotiſh tongue to the Saxons, the king himſelf interpreted it, not diſdaining to expound it to his nobles, and ſubjects in their own language. His tender pity to the poor was ſo great, that being upon an eaſter day at dinner with Aidanus, and ſerved in ſilver, one of the ſervitors telling him that there were a great number of poor ſitting in the ſtreet, deſiring an alms of the king: he cauſed the meat prepared for himſelf to be ſent unto them, taking a ſilver diſh alſo that ſtood before him, and breaking it in pieces, he diſtributed it amongſt them: Aidanus ſeeing this, and wondring at it, he took him by the hand, praying to God that that hand which was the inſtrument of ſuch mercy might never rot, which as ſome authors ſay came to paſs. Alſo by the means of this Oſwald, Kinigilſus king of the Weſt Saxons was converted to the faith of Chriſt, eſpecially by the godly labours of Berinus, ſent over by the biſhop of Rome to preach to the Engliſh. After which Berinus, through God's grace, converted and baptized Quicelinus, brother to Kinigilſus, who was king in Dorcetſhire, together with many of their ſubjects.

Oſwald having reigned with much prudence and piety, for the ſpace of nine years, was at laſt perſecuted and ſlain by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians. But this cruel perſecutor eſcaped not long the revenging hand of God: for Oſwie ſucceeding his brother Oſwald in the kingdom, raiſed an army, and though he had not the third of Penda's number of ſoldiers; yet through God's mercy, he fought with him, gave them a great overthrow, and ſlew Penda himſelf.

Wolferus, Penda's ſon ſucceeded in the kingdom of South-Mercia on this ſide Trent, who marrying Ermenilda, daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, was ſhortly after converted and baptized: after which, having conquered the iſle of White, he gave it to Sigebert king of the Eaſt-Angles upon condition that he ſhould embrace the Chriſtian faith, and be baptized; by which means, and by the miniſtry of Finianus, the Eaſt-Angles were many of them converted and baptized.

But to return to Oſwie, he was affable, courteous, and liberal to his people, and no leſs fervent in his religion towards God. Upon a time he had given to Aidanus a princely horſe with rich trappings, and other furniture; and this he did, becauſe Aidanus uſed to travel on foot from place to place to preach the goſpel, and the king was willing by this means to eaſe him. As Aidanus was riding by the way upon this ſtately horſe, a poor man met him, craving his charity; Aidanus having nothing elſe to give, alighted from his horſe, and gave it to him, trapped as he was: the king hearing of it, as he was going in with Aidanus to dinner, ſaid unto him, 'What meant you, father, to give away my horſe? had not I other horſes in my ſtable that might have ſerved the beggar well enough, but you muſt give away that which of purpoſe I had picked out for your own uſe?' The biſhop ſeeming ſomewhat offended, replied, 'Why, O king, do you ſet more by your horſe than you do by Jeſus Chriſt?' The king hearing this, fell down at the biſhop's feet; deſiring

him

him to forgive him, profeſſing that he would never after blame him for any treaſure of his that he ſhould give away: the biſhop ſeeing the king's humility, and piety, took him up, cheared him with comfortable words, and preſently after was very heavy, and fell a weeping; and being aſked the reaſon of it, he ſaid, 'I weep becauſe this king cannot live long: this people is not worthy to have ſuch a prince, as he is, to reign over them,' which indeed ſhortly after came to paſs; for Oſwie, king of Bernicia hating him for his goodneſs, ſuborned ſome traiterouſly to murder him.

At this time the biſhops, and miniſters both of the Britains and Engliſh gave themſelves wholly to teaching and preaching the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt to the people, not entangling themſelves with the affairs of the world, but both by life and doctrine, they were burning and ſhining lights, and ſo free from covetouſneſs, that when great poſſeſſions were forced upon them, they refuſed to receive them; yet preſently after the devil caſt in a bone of contention amongſt them, about the time for the celebration of Eaſter, the Britains and Scotiſh biſhops following the cuſtom of the eaſtern churches, the other of the weſtern: for the compoſing of which difference a ſynod was called, which yet did not fully put an end to the controverſy.

About this time, Wolferus being licenſed by Ethelwold the king, preached unto his nobles and people of South-Sax, and converted them to Chriſt; preſently after which they had plenty of rain, which had been much wanting for three years together, which had cauſed a very great famine amongſt them, inſomuch as many people being grievouſly pinched, and tormented with the famine, uſed to get ſome times by forty together, upon the rocks by the ſea ſide, and throw themſelves down from thence into the ſea: but now, having embraced the goſpel, it pleaſed God to give them rain, and thereby great plenty, the barren earth becoming very fruitful.

And thus we have heard how, and by what means the idolatrous people of the Saxons and Engliſh were converted to God; and induced to embrace the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, the South-Saxons with the iſle of Wight, being the laſt that gave entertainment to the ſame.

About this time the church of Rome was degenerated from its priſtine purity, and antichriſt was got into his throne: ſo that the pope of Rome beginning to lord it over the churches of Chriſt, he ſent Theodorus from Italy to England to be archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with many monks of Italy to ſet up in the Engliſh church Latin ſervice, maſſes, ceremonies, litanies, with ſuch other Romiſh traſh: this Theodorus played Rex, placing and diſplacing biſhops, and miniſters at his pleaſure; and in a ſhort time Chriſtianity degenerated into ſuperſtition: kings and queens that were religiouſly affected, left their kingdoms, and turned monks, and nuns, and as error overſpread the land, ſo did impiety and profaneneſs: kings turned tyrants, and the people wallowed in all manner of wickedneſs, which ſins made way for a great and grievous plague, and ſcourge to this nation by the coming in of the heathen Danes, as afterwards we ſhall hear.

[Collected out of Doctor Uſher de antiquitate Eccl. Brit. Beda's Hiſtory of the Church, divers Chronicles, and the Book of Martyrs.]

CHAP. LV.

Of the union of the Heptarchy under Egbert; and of the invaſion by the Danes, and of the Perſecution of the Engliſh Church under them.

AT this time there were ſeven kings of the Saxons reigning in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, *anno Chriſti* 795. There was alſo in the kingdom of Brightricus, Egbert, a noble perſon of the royal blood, who being envied, and feared by Brightricus, he ſought his death, ſo that Egbert, to avoid the danger, fled into France, where he remained till the death of Brightricus; after which he returned into his country of the Weſt-Saxons, where he behaved himſelf ſo prudently, and nobly, that he obtained that kingdom: but at his firſt ſettlement, Bernulphus king of Mercia, and ſome other kings greatly derided and contemned him, making divers jeſts and ſcornful rimes of him, which he bore patiently for a time: but when he was well ſettled in his kingdom, and was aſſured of the love and good will of his ſubjects, eſpecially God working withal, he aſſembled his knights, with whom he went againſt Bernulphus, and though his adverſary had at leaſt ſix againſt one in his army, yet through the power of God, who is the great giver of victory, he won the field, and ſeized upon the kingdom which he annexed to his own.

After that he made war upon the Kentiſh Saxons, overcame them, and enjoyed their kingdom: the like he did in Northumberland, making theſe kings tributary to him: he won alſo the city of Cheſter from the Britains; whereof they had kept poſſeſſion till that day: after divers other battles and victories, he quietly enjoyed the dominion of the whole land, which till then was called Britain: but he now, aſſembling his lords and peers to Wincheſter, was by their joint conſents and advice, crowned king of the whole realm, whereupon he ſent out his commiſſions ſtraitly charging that all the Saxons ſhould be called Engliſh, and the kingdom England.

About this time the pagan Danes came over into Northumberland, making horrible deſtruction whereſoever they came, eſpecially in Holy Iſland, where they ſpoiled churches, murdered the miniſters, with men, women, and children after a moſt cruel manner, and ſo departed. But afterwards in the thirtieth year of king Egbert, they returned a ſecond time with a great hoſt, ſpoiling, and laying waſte the iſle Shepy in Kent. Egbert hearing hereof, raiſed an army, went againſt them, and fought with them at Carrum: but being overpowered by the Danes, he, with his knights were fain to forſake the field: yet in the next battle, through God's mercy, he overthrew, and ſlew a great multitude of them, driving the reſt away into their own country.

The year following, the Danes preſuming upon their former ſucceſs, returned again into the weſt of this land, where, joining with the Britains, they invaded the lands of Egbert, making great ſpoil wherever they came; after which time they were ſtill abiding in one part or other of England till the time of Hardekanute, laſt king of the Daniſh blood, and though they were many times beaten, and driven from one place to another, yet they ever gathered new ſtrength and power, and abode ſtill in the land, exerciſing ſuch horrible cruelties and villanies againſt the Chriſtian Engliſh, as were never exerciſed before by any of the invaders of this land, which was a juſt hand of God upon them for the ſuperſtitions practiſed amongſt them. Egbert having reigned thirty ſeven years, died, leaving his kingdom to Ethelwolph his ſon, telling him that he ſhould be happy, if laying aſide ſluggiſhneſs, he would govern his kingdom with diligence, and induſtry. Ethelwolph in his father's life-time was made biſhop of Wincheſter, but afterwards, being the only ſon of Egbert, he was made king; he was a very devout man, and a great friend to the miniſters, giving them the tithe of all his goods, and lands, with liberty and freedom from all ſervice, and civil charges: afterwards he went to Rome, ſhewing much obſequiouſneſs and bounty to the pope, and as he returned back through France, he married the daughter of Carolus Calvus, with whom he came home into England: he had two biſhops about him who were his chiefeſt favourites, Adelſtan biſhop of Shireborn, a man very well ſkilled in civil and temporal affairs, and Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter, a man wholly addicted to ſpiritual and heavenly meditations, and very careful to counſel the king for the good of his ſoul. He had been tutor to the king in his minority, and the king ever after much reverenced him, and was very willing to hearken to his advice and counſel.

Towards the latter end of his reign there arrived many more Danes in Hampſhire in thirty three ſhips, through whoſe barbarous tyranny and cruelty, abundance of Engliſh blood was ſhed, in Dorcetſhire, Portſmouth, Kent, Eſſex, London, and divers other places: and in a battle againſt them, Ethelwolph was overcome; yet at length it pleaſed God that he obtained a great victory over them at Okeley, driving them to their ſhips for ſhelter; but after they had hovered a while upon the ſea, they landed again, committing

committing horrible outrages; the cauſe of which great affliction an ancient writer thus ſets down.

'In the primitive church of the Engliſh, religion did moſt clearly ſhine forth, inſomuch that kings, queens, princes, eccleſiaſtical perſons, &c. thirſting after the kingdom of heaven, forſook all and followed the Lord; but in proceſs of time piety decayed, and impiety ſucceeded in the room thereof, neither was any thing more odious and hateful than holineſs and juſtice; or any thing in eſteem but civil war and bloodſhed: whereupon the Lord ſent amongſt them the cruel heathen Danes, like ſwarms of bees, which neither ſpared women nor children, but for the ſpace of about two hundred and thirty years, deſtroyed this ſinful land from one ſea to the other, from man alſo to beaſt: for in their oft invaſions of England, they went not about to ſubdue, conquer and poſſeſs it, but to ſpoil, deſtroy, and lay it waſte; and if at any time they were beaten by the Engliſh, it little availed, for that other navies with greater power were ready ſuddenly, and unawares to break into other places, and to deſtroy all before them.'

But to theſe he might have added their ſin of ſuperſtition, and the ſin of their fathers, who falſifying their faith and promiſe with the Britains, had cruelly murdered their nobles, wickedly oppreſſed their commons, impiouſly perſecuted the innocent Chriſtians, injuriouſly poſſeſſed their land and habitations, chaſing the ancient native inhabitants out of their houſes and country: beſides the cruel murder of the monks of Bangor, and divers foul ſlaughters amongſt the poor Britains, who ſent for them to be their helpers; wherefore God's juſt judgment falling upon them, from that time never ſuffered them to live in quiet from foreign enemies, till the coming of William the Norman.

Shortly after king Ethelwolph's victory over the Danes, he fell ſick, and died, leaving four ſons behind him, Ethelbald, Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Allured, all which ſucceeded each other in the kingdom.

In the time of the third ſon's reign, Ethelred, the Danes breaking in on every ſide, eſpecially about York, committed infinite ſpoil, the city of York they ſacked, and burnt. Ethelred with the help of his brother Allured fought nine battles with them in one year. But the Northumbrians at that time rebelled againſt king Ethelred, thinking to recover their loſt kingdom, the ſtrength of the Engliſh nation was much weakened hereby, and their diviſions gave the Danes great advantage to prevail againſt them.

Towards the latter end of Ethelred's reign, *anno* 870 the Danes being poſſeſſed of the north country, after a cruel perſecution, and much blood ſhed in thoſe parts, taking ſhip they intended to ſail from thence into the Eaſt Angles, and by the way they met with another great fleet of Danes under Inguar, and Hubba, who conſulting together, united their forces, and ſo landed in Norfolk, going on as far as Thetford.

Edmund the vice-roy of that kingdom hearing of it, raiſed an army, and gave them battle: but Edmund, and his company were forced to forſake the field; and himſelf, with ſome few of his friends, fled into Framingham caſtle: preſently after came a meſſenger to him, delivering himſelf in theſe words.

Inguar prince of the Danes, is come moſt vigorouſly with innumerable legions, ſubduing both by ſea and land many nations to him, and being now arrived in theſe parts, requireth thee to be ſubject to him, to yield up to him thy hid treaſures, and all other the riches of thine anceſtors, and ſo to reign under him: which thing if thou refuſeſt to do, he judges thee to be unworthy both of life, and kingdom. Edmund hearing this proud meſſage of the pagan, after conſultation had with his friends, returned to the meſſenger this anſwer: go tell thy lord theſe words, that Edmund a Chriſtian king, for the love of a temporal life, will not ſubmit himſelf to a pagan duke, unleſs he before will become a Chriſtian.

The wicked, and crafty Dane receiving this anſwer, preſently with his army marched towards the king; who again joined battle with him: but the king being again worſted, and ſeeing the miſerable ſlaughter of his men, fled to the caſtle of Haleſdon, now ſaint Edmunſbury, where this bleſſed man, being on every ſide environed by his enemies, patiently yielded himſelf to them, and becauſe he would not be brought to deny Chriſt, or his truth, they there moſt cruelly bound him to a tree, and cauſed him to be ſhot to death: after which they ſmote off his head, and threw it into a thicket of buſhes.

After the martyrdom of this holy man, the Danes having robbed, and ſpoiled all that country, they returned to their ſhips, and after a while landed in Surrey, and making pitiful havoc all the way, they at laſt came to Reading, which town and caſtle they beſieged, and after three days took them: but ſhortly after God met with them for all their cruelty; for Inguar, and Hubba proceeding their journey, were met with, and both of them ſlain at Engleſield. Yet did their army keep ſo cloſe together that the Engliſh could get no advantage againſt them. At laſt king Ethelred, and Allured forced them to fight a battle, in which the Danes were diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain: the reſt which eſcaped fled into a caſtle: there the king beſieged them, but after a while committed the proſecution of the ſiege to the duke of Barkſhire, and ſo departed.

When the Danes underſtood that the king was gone, they iſſued ſuddenly out of the caſtle, and taking the duke unprovided, ſlew him, together with many of his people; and then joining with many other Danes that were ſcattered in other parts, they formed a ſtrong army. Tidings hereof being brought to king Ethelred it put him into a great heavineſs, and to aggravate his ſorrow another meſſenger brought him word of the landing of Ofrick king of Denmark, who with a great hoſt was embattled at Aſhdon: thitherwards therefore did Ethelred with his brother Allured, ſpeed themſelves with their army to withſtand the Danes: when they came near to the place, the king ſtaying ſomewhat long at his devotion, his brother Allured, with the van of the army was joined in battle with the Danes, whereupon a meſſenger haſtened to the king requeſting him to come on with the reſt of his army; but he being employed in holy meditation, and prayer, would not ſtir a foot till he had ended his ſervice of God: in the mean time the Danes fiercely aſſaulted Allured, and his men, and won the hill of them, and the Chriſtians were in great danger to loſe the field: but the king bringing on the main battle, (through the grace, and power of God:) quickly recovered the hill from the infidels, and ſo diſcomfited the Danes that he ſoon put them to flight, ſlew the greateſt part of them, together with their king Oſrick, with five of his dukes, and the reſt fled into Reading.

Yet after this the Danes again re-aſſembled their forces, and formed a new army, and met at Baſingſtoke, and there gave battle to the king: and had the better of him.

After two months the king raiſed a freſh army, and at Merton fought a great battle with the Danes, but in concluſion the Danes had the honour of the field, and the king being wounded was forced to fly. After which victories the Danes fell to ſpoiling of the country, killing man, woman, and child of the Chriſtians that they met with: they alſo profaned the churches, making ſtables of them, and putting them to other vile uſes.

The king oppreſſed by his enemies on every ſide, ſeeing his land miſerably waſted by the infidels, and his own knights, and ſoldiers conſumed by the wars, and himſelf lying wounded, he ſent his commiſſions into Northumberland, Mercia, and the Eaſt Angles, to raiſe more forces; but they afforded him little comfort, which ſtruck ſo to the heart of this good king, that ſhortly after he deceaſed, having reigned eight years, and leaving no iſſue behind him, his brother Allured ſucceeded in the kingdom.

Amongſt all the Saxon kings that were before him, there was none comparable to this Allured for excellent, and ſingular qualities worthy the greatneſs of a king, whether we look upon his valiant acts, and inceſſant travels which from time to time he ſuſtained againſt his enemies, during almoſt the whole time of his reign, for the ſafety and preſervation of his people, or whether we conſider his piety, and excellent virtues, joined with a public, and tender care, and zealous ſtudy for the peace, and tranquility of his realm: all which did notably appear by the excellent laws which he made, and his care for the execution of the ſame; as alſo by his own private exerciſes in the virtuous

inſtitution

ſtitution of his life, and by his notable knowlege in good letters, and a fervent love to, and princely deſire to advance, and propagate the ſame through his whole realm; all which heroical, and excellent properties ſeldom meet together in one prince. Firſt therefore to ſpeak of his valiant acts, and painful travels which he underwent in defence of his ſubjects, againſt the raging tyranny of the Danes.

King Allured, or Alfred ſeeing his lords and people much waſted, and decayed by reaſon of the former wars, he endeavoured as well as he could to raiſe an army of the remainder, with which, within two months after he came to the kingdom, he encountered with the Danes beſide Wilton, where he gave them battle: but being exceedingly overpowred through the multitude of his adverſaries, he was put to the worſe, although not without a great ſlaughter of the pagan army: whereupon the Danes, ſeeing how they were weakened, treated with the king, and agreed to depart out of his kingdom of Weſt-Saxons, and accordingly they removed from Reading to London, where they continued all the winter following, and in the ſpring following they went from London, and drew to Lindſey, robbing and ſpoiling the towns, and villages all the way as they went: from thence they went to Rippingdon, where they joined with the three other kings of the Danes, and ſo made a mighty army; which army they divided into two parts: one remaining in Northumberland under their king Halden, the other went to Grantbridge, and there abode.

About this time king Allured had a great fight with ſix of the Daniſh ſhips upon the ſea, whereof they took one, the reſt fled. At the ſame time went Rollo the Dane into Normandy, where he was duke thirty years, and was converted to the Chriſtian faith and baptized.

The Daniſh army that quartered at Grantbridge invaded the Weſt Saxons again, taking the caſtle of Warham: but king Allured preſently marched againſt them with a ſufficient army, which the Danes fearing to encounter with, ſought delays till they could ſend for more aid: the king forced them to crave truce; and to leave ſufficient pledges in his hands, with promiſe that they would no more return into his kingdom; and hereupon he let them go: but they, falſifying their promiſes, in the night-time privily took their journey by ſea towards Exceſter: by the way they loſt one hundred and twenty of their ſmall ſhips in a tempeſt near Sandwich: the Daniſh horſemen went by land, whom king Allured followed, but could not overtake them till they came to Exceſter: then did they again treat with him, gave him new pledges, and promiſed peace, whereupon the king departed.

At Exceſter the number of the pagans did daily increaſe by the acceſs of new forces, ſo that after a while they returned back into Mercia; keeping a great part of the land to their own uſe, *Anno* 879. The Danes having the rule of all the north of England, thought ſcorn that Allured ſhould have dominion in the ſouth, whereupon, raiſing all the forces that poſſibly they could, they marched towards Chippenham in Weſt-Sax, with ſuch a numerous army that the king and his people were altogether unable to reſiſt them: ſo that many of the Engliſh fled over the ſea, others ſubmitted themſelves to the Danes, and the reſt remained with the king.

The king ſeeing his enemies ſtrength, and his own weakneſs, withdrew himſelf with a few of his nobles into a woody country in Somerſetſhire, called Etheling, where they had no means of ſubſiſtance but what they got by hunting, and fiſhing: the place where they abode was in a great marſh into which there was no acceſs, but by boat, and had in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plain of about two acres of ground: at the king's firſt coming hither he eſpied the cottage of a ſwine-herd, to which he repaired unknown, and was there intertained with ſuch poor fare as the ſwincherd, and his wife could make him; which ſo pleaſed the king, that afterward he ſet the ſwineherd to learning, who profiting much therein, the king at laſt preferred him to a biſhoprick.

God at the length pitying the miſerable condition of the poor Engliſh men, began to enable them to lift up their heads again; and their firſt good ſucceſs was this.

Halden the Daniſh king, failing out of the north with thirty three ſhips landed in Devonſhire, where he was ſet upon by ſome of king Allured's men that kept a garriſon near to that place, who ſlew thirteen hundred of Danes, and took their imperial ſtandard called the Raven: king Allured hearing of this victory, came abroad out of his faſtneſs, and there repaired to him great numbers of people out of Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Hampſhire, ſo that he had a competent army.

Then did the king attempt a bold adventure: for attiring himſelf like a minſtrel (being ſkilful in the Saxon poems) with his inſtrument of muſic he went into the Daniſh camp, and ſinging, and playing, he went up and down, taking notice of their ſloth, and ſecurity, and withal heard much of their counſel: then returning to his own men, he acquainted them with all that he had obſerved. and ſo privily marching againſt the Danes, in the night-time he brake into their camp, ſlew a great multitude of them, and chaſed the reſt out of his coaſts.

His ſubjects hearing of his valiant acts, repaired to him out of all parts, with whoſe aſſiſtance, through the help of God, he ſo overmaſtered the Danes, that he recovered from them Wincheſter, and divers other very conſiderable places: and in concluſion he enforced them to ſue for peace, which he concluded upon certain conditions, one of which was that their king ſhould embrace the Chriſtian faith, and be baptized: and that all ſuch other Danes as would not do the like, ſhould depart out of his country.

Shortly after, Gutrum the Daniſh king, with twenty of his chiefeſt nobles came to Winchester, where they were baptized into the Chriſtian faith: after which king Allured, having royally feaſted them, gave to this new Chriſtian king Eaſt-Anglia, containing Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeſhire: and to the other Danes that embraced the Chriſtian faith, he gave Northumberland, and ſuch of them as refuſed to embrace it, departed the land, and ſailed into France. King Allured now enjoying a breathing time from his troubles, fell to repairing his towns and ſtrong holds, which were ruined by the Danes, and according to the blindneſs of thoſe dark times, he erected many religious houſes, wherein, though he ſhewed his religious mind, yet God was not well pleaſed therewith, and therefore in the fifteenth year of his reign, the pagan Danes returned from France again, landed in Kent, and went on as far as Rocheſter, where they beſieged that city, and lay long before it: they alſo built a great tower of wood againſt the gates, but the citizens deſtroyed it, and defended the city till king Alfred came to their reſcue: at whoſe approach the Danes were ſo affrighted, that they left their horſes for haſte, and fled by night to their ſhips: the king immediately ſending after them, took ſixteen of their ſhips, and ſlew many of the Danes: then returned he in triumph to London, which city he much repaired, and beautified, which formerly had been exceedingly defaced by the Danes.

In the one and twentieth year of king Allured's reign, the Danes again landed in four places of his kingdom, in the north, eaſt, and in two parts of the weſt. Allured having intelligence hereof; being at this time in the eaſt, he ſent meſſengers to Ethelred, duke of Mercia, ſpeedily to raiſe an army, and to oppoſe the Danes which were landed in the weſt, and himſelf with ſuch forces as he had ready, went againſt thoſe in the eaſt, whom he purſued ſo ſharply that he drove them out from thoſe parts: then they ſailed into Kent, whither the king alſo haſted with his men, and drave them from thence likewiſe.

After this they landed again in the eaſt with one hundred ſhips, where they reſted in quiet, for that the king now was gone weſtward. A fourth hoſt of them the ſame year came to Cheſter, which after a long ſiege they wan: but the country preſently riſing, beſieged them ſo ſtraitly, that at the laſt they were forced to eat their horſes for hunger: and proviſions failing, they treated with the Chriſtians, agreed to leave the country, and ſo ſailed into Northumberland. Then did king Alfred with his hoſt haſte into the north, but when he came near, the Danes fortifying, and well furniſhing all their garriſons, took ſhipping, and ſailed into Suſſex, landing at Lewes, from

whence they marched towards London, and when they came within twenty miles of the city, they built a caſtle, which the Londoners hearing of, they ſent forth ſome men at arms, who joining with the countrymen thereabouts, drove the Danes from their work, and beat down the caſtle which they were building.

Shortly after the king came thither in perſon, and to prevent the like danger in time to come, he cauſed the river Luis to be divided into three ſtreams, ſo that whereas before it would bear a ſhip to that place, it would now ſcarce bear a boat. The Danes being here forced to leave their ſhips, and wives, they fled towards Wales, and upon the bank of Severne they built them a caſtle; thither alſo the king with his army purſued them: in the mean time the Londoners took their ſhips, and ſome of them they brought to London, the reſt they conſumed with fire.

About this time for three years together England was viſited with three ſore judgments; with the ſword of the Danes, with a peſtilence amongſt men, and with a murrain of beaſts: yet was not the good king dejected, but thankfully took from the hand of God, what he was pleaſed to inflict, and manfully purſued his enemies.

In the twenty eight year of the king's reign, the Danes divided themſelves into ſeveral parts, ſome went into Northumberland, ſome into Norfolk, ſome into Weſt-Sax, and others of them ſailed into France: but God's judgments purſued theſe cruel perſecutors of his people in every place: for many of them were ſlain in fight by the Engliſh, many more periſhed by ſhipwreck on the ſea, others were taken, and hanged, and thirty of their ſhips alſo were taken.

Shortly after king Allured having reigned almoſt thirty years, died, having valiantly atchieved many noble acts, and patiently ſuſtained many great afflictions in the neceſſary defence of his realm, and ſubjects.

His godly diſpoſition did ſhew itſelf betimes; for when in his younger days he found himſelf troubled with fleſhly luſts, inſtead of ſeeking to fulfil them in an unlawful way, as moſt kings and princes uſe to do, he had recourſe unto God by prayer, intreating him to help him againſt them, and beſought him that he would ſend to him ſome continual ſickneſs for the quenching of thoſe luſts, that ſo he might be more fit to attend upon the ſervice of God, and more uſeful in the government of his ſubjects. And God anſwered his requeſt, viſiting him with one ſickneſs after another till he came to be forty five years old, whereby he was reſtrained from that intemperance which he ſo much abhorred. He was alſo a faithful ſteward in the managing of his outward eſtate, diſtributing all his rents, and riches into two equal portions, whereof he employed one moiety to uſes eccleſiaſtical, the other to his civil affairs, which latter part he again divided into three portions, the firſt to the maintenance of his family, the ſecond to workmen, and builders which were employed about his houſes, the third to ſtrangers. The former part he divided into four portions, the firſt he gave to the poor, the ſecond to religious perſons, the third to Oxford for the advance of learning, the fourth he ſent for the relief of foreign churches. He was as careful, and exact in the expence of his time, dividing the day, and night in three parts, ſpending daily eight hours, if by wars, and other great buſineſſes, he were not hindered, in ſtudy, and learning, other eight hours in prayer and alms deeds, and the other eight in his meals, and ſleep.

How ſtudious and careful he was in the government of his kingdom, appears by thoſe excellent, and wholeſome laws which were deviſed, and ſet forth by him, wherein he was very careful to aboliſh all theft, and thieves out of the realm, and did ſo far attain his deſires, that cauſing brouches of gold, or at leaſt ſilver and gilt, to be ſet up in all croſs-ways, there were none ſo hardy as to take, or ſteal away the ſame: he was alſo vigilant in over-ſeeing the doings of his judges, and officers, that they durſt not pervert juſtice to any caſe whatſoever. He was very learned himſelf and a great promoter of learning in others, and for this end erected many grammar-ſchools, was a great friend to the univerſities, ſent for learned men from ſeveral countries, whom he bountifully rewarded, and would ſuffer none to have any dignity in his court except he were learned. He tranſlated the Pſalms and many other good books himſelf into Engliſh: And cauſed divers others to be tranſlated by other men. He brought up not only his ſons, but his daughters alſo in learning: Whereſoever he was, or whitherſoever he went, he always carried about him David's Pſalms, and divers prayers of his own collecting, whereof he continually read, and made uſe, whenſoever he was at leiſure.

After the death of good king Alfred, his ſon Edward, ſirnamed the Elder, ſucceeded, *anno Chriſti* 901. He was not to be compared with his father in learning, but in martial proweſs, and civil government he was not inferior to him, if he did not exceed him. He ſubdued Wales and Scotland: He reconquered Eaſt-Anglia, and recovered Mercland, and Northumberland out of the hands of the Danes: By reaſon of his continual wars, his ſubjects were ſo hardened, and enured to fates of arms, that ſo ſoon as they heard of the approach of any enemies, without expecting command from the king or the preſence of their duke, they would preſently aſſemble, and encounter with them, in knowlege, and order of war, always excelling their adverſaries. In the beginning of king Edward's reign he had many bickerings with the Danes, and one Clito his uncle's ſon, turning renegado, and was made their captain, who did much ſpoil in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, but at laſt king Edward meeting with him between the two ditches of St. Edmund's lands, a great battle was fought betwixt them, at laſt Clito, with many of his Danes was ſlain, the reſt were conſtrained to ſue for peace, which upon certain conditions, and the payment of a tribute, was granted to them: But in the twelfth year of king Edward's reign; the Danes repenting of their covenants, and raiſing a great army, met with the king in Staffordſhire, where two great battles were fought betwixt them, wherein were ſlain two of the Daniſh kings, two earls, and many thouſands of the common ſoldiers.

The king by theſe means enjoying peace, applied himſelf to building, and repairing cities, towns, and caſtles razed by the Danes: as Cheſter, which city he much enlarged: He alſo built a ſtrong caſtle at Herford, another at the mouth of the river Avon, another at Buckingham, &c. In theſe buildings his ſiſter Elfleda was a great help to him, as alſo in the wars againſt the Danes, againſt whom ſhe oft fought valiantly, in ſo much as at one time four of her life guard were ſlain by her. King Edward had divers children, his daughters he brought up at the needle, and ſpinning, his ſons to ſtudy, and learning, that ſo they might be fitter for government. After a glorious reign he ended his days, and left the kingdom to Ethelſtan, or Adelſtan.

This Ethelſtan was a prince of worthy memory, valiant and wiſe in all his acts, and nothing inferior to his father Edward. He was renowned for his civil government, and had proſperous ſucceſs in reducing his realm into a monarchy. He expelled the Danes, ſubdued the Scots, and quieted the Britains, both in Wales, and Cornwal: He was once in much danger by reaſon of a conſpiracy, the chief contriver whereof was one Elfred. But it pleaſed God that he eſcaped the danger. And Alfred fled to Rome before the pope to purge himſelf by his oath: But forſwearing himſelf, God inflicted a viſible judgment upon him; for as ſoon as he had taken the oath, he preſently fell down, and being carried away to the Engliſh houſe, he died within three days after. Ethelſtan in the ſecond year of his reign ſubdued the Danes in Northumberland, and Conſtantine king of the Scots, whom yet upon his ſubmiſſion, he reſtored to his kingdom, ſaying, 'That it was more honour to make a king, than to be a king.

Shortly after the Scots again rebelling, king Ethelſtan, aſſembled his knights, and marched into Scotland, where he ſubdued his enemies, and returned home with victory and honour.

A Daniſh prince called Alanus, having fled out of England into Scotland, and married Conſtantine's daughter, and after a while gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and others, with whom making a ſtrong army, he ſhipped them, and entered into the mouth of Humber with ſix hundred and fifteen ſhips. King Ethelſtan, and his brother Edmond hearing of it, preſently raiſed an army, and marched againſt them: At a place called Brimford both armies

armies met, betwixt whom a terrible battle was fought from morning till night, and very many were ſlain on both ſides: But at laſt, through God's goodneſs, the Engliſh got the victory, and ſlew Conſtantine king of the Scots with five other petty kings, twelve dukes, and the greateſt part of their army.

After this victory king Ethelſtan ſubdued the northern Britains, and forced them to pay him yearly twenty pounds of Gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, two thouſand five hundred head of beaſts, *&c.* and preſently after he ſubdued the ſouth Britains.

As yet the pope of Rome had not uſurped the power over princes, and therefore king Ethelſtan, as his predeceſſors had done, enacted good laws, not only for the good government of the common-wealth, but of the church alſo: He enacted a law that all ſhould pay the tithe to God for the maintainance of his miniſtry; not only of their goods, but of their cattle, corn, and fruits of the earth, ſaying, Let us remember what Jacob ſaid, 'Of all that thou giveſt me, I will give thee the tenth;' and what St. Matthew ſaith, 'To him that hath it ſhall be given, and he ſhall have abundance,' *&c.* He reigned about ſixteen years, and died without iſſue, his brother ſucceeding in the kingdom.

Edmund the ſon of Edward the elder, being twenty years old, began his reign *anno Chriſti* 940. He expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all foreign enemies out of his kingdom. Such cities as were in their poſſeſſion he recovered, and then wholly bent his ſtudy, and endeavour to reform, and maintain the ſtate of the church. He reigned ſix years and an half, and was then ſlain, leaving two ſons Edwin and Edgar behind him: But becauſe they were not yet at age, their uncle Edred governed as protector nine years, which place he diſcharged with great moderation and fidelity, till Edwin came to age, and then reſigned the government to him.

Edwin began his reign *anno Chriſti* 955. He was given to the ſin of uncleanneſs, and many other vices, for which he was excommunicated by Odo arch biſhop of Canterbury, and hated by his ſubjects: He reigned four years and died.

Edgar his brother being ſixteen years old ſucceeded him, *anno Chriſti* 959. He made Dunſtan Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, by whoſe leading, the king was ſomewhat inclined to ſuperſtition: But otherwiſe much addicted to all virtues and princely deportments: an excellent juſticer, and ſharp in puniſhing vices both in magiſtrates and ſubjects, ſo that there was never leſs theft, bribery, extortion and oppreſſion, than in his days. Such provinces and lordſhips as were not yet under his ſubjection, he ſubdued, and united to his dominion; making a compleat monarchy of the whole realm, with all the adjacent iſlands. The wicked he kept under, rebels he ſuppreſſed, the godly he maintained, the modeſt he loved. He was very religious towards God, and beloved of his ſubjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietneſs.

And as he was careful to ſerve God, ſo God bleſſed him with abundance of peace and reſt from all wars, from which he was called Pacificus. He was ſo ſtudious of the welfare of his ſubjects, that no year paſſed over his head, wherein he found not out ſomething that conduced very much to the public good. He was a great maintainer of religion and learning: and whereas other princes in the midſt of peace and plenty, grow uſually diſſolute and looſe in their lives. He on the contrary ever kept a ſtrict watch over himſelf and others, not ſuffering any of his nobility, though never ſo great, to violate his laws with impunity. He was alſo careful to deſtroy all the ravenous wolves out of the land, cauſing Leolin prince of Wales to yield him yearly by way of tribute three hundred wolves, ſo that within a few years there was ſcarce a wolf left in England or Wales. He alſo built a great navy, keeping three thouſand ſix hundred ſhips of war to ſcour the ſeas in the Summer. In the winter time he uſed to ride over his land in progreſs, enquiring diligently how his laws and ſtatutes were kept, and to ſee that the poor were no way oppreſſed by the mighty; and whereas the Danes had brought in a wicked cuſtom of exceſſive drinking into the land, whereupon drunkenneſs and many other vices enſued; this good king to prevent this wickedneſs, ordained certain cups with pins or nails ſet in them, enacting a law, that whatever perſon drank beyond that mark at one draught, ſhould forfeit a certain penny; whereof one half to the accuſer, the other to the place where the offence was committed.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, he being at Cheſter, eight petty kings came and did their homage to him, as the king of Scotland, the king of Man, the king of Wales, *&c.* He had alſo diverſe vices, which rather belong to chronologers than me to write of. He reigned ſixteen years and then died. Amongſt other his good laws, he enacted that the ſabbath ſhould be celebrate from nine o'clock on Saturday night, till Munday morning. After his death, much contention aroſe amongſt his lords, who ſhould be their king: But at laſt by perſwaſion of Dunſtan, Edward ſirnamed the Martyr, was choſen, anointed, and crowned king.

This king Edward was a virtuous meek prince, very pitiful and liberal to the poor. In the fourth year of his reign he was hunting in a forreſt in the weſt country, and having loſt his company, he rode to a place where his mother Alfrith with her ſon Egelred did then live. The queen-mother being informed by her ſervants that the king was come thither, called one of her men to her, whom ſhe knew to be fit for her purpoſe, acquainting him with her whole intent, and giving him inſtructions for the accompliſhment of the ſame, after which ſhe went towards the king, and received him very courteouſly, deſiring him to tarry that night with her, but he with the like courteſie, excuſed himſelf, requeſting only to ſee his brother, and to drink a cup of beer as he ſat on horſeback, and ſo away: The beer was brought, and as the king was drinking, this bloody villain ſuborned by the queen, ſtruck him into the body with a two edged dagger: The king feeling himſelf wounded, ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and rode that way wherein he ſuppoſed to meet his company, but having loſt much blood, he fainted and fell from his horſe, one of his feet hanging in the ſtirrup, by reaſon whereof his horſe drew him up and down the fields till he died, and being ſo found, though the manner of his death was not known, yet was he known to be the king, and was buried honourably at Warham, after which he was removed to the minſter of Shaftſbury.

After the murder of king Edward, the crown fell to his younger brother Egelred, ſon to king Edgar by this queen Alfrith. This Egelred reigned thirty eight years, but his reign was full of troubles, and great miſeries: So that chronologers ſpeaking of his reign, ſay, That it was in the beginning ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the end. He was but ten years old when his brother was ſlain, yet did he much mourn and weep for him, which ſo enraged his mother, that taking wax-candles, which were readieſt at hand, therewith ſhe ſcourged him ſo ſore, that he could never after endure wax-candles to be burnt before him. At his coronation, Dunſtan arch-biſhop of Canterbury ſaid, that ſeeing he came to the kingdom by horrid conſpiracy, and the murder of his brother, the land ſhould not be without the ſword and blood-ſhed, till there came a people of unknown language, which ſhould bring the Engliſh into thraldom, neither ſhould this wickedneſs be cleanſed without long vengeance from God upon the nation for it.

Shortly after his coronation, a cloud was ſeen hanging over the land, the one half of it looking like blood, and the other half like fire. Not long after the Danes arrived in ſundry parts of the land, firſt ſpoiling Southampton, murdering many of the inhabitants, and carrying the reſt away into miſerable captivity. From thence they went into the iſle of Thanet, into Cornwal and Devonſhire, then into Suſſex, in all which places they made woful ſpoil. About the ſame time alſo a great part of London was conſumed with fire. Much variance alſo fell out between the king and his ſubjects, which the Danes hearing of, came and did abundance of harm in divers places of the land, ſo that the king with great ſums of money was forced to buy peace of them. Beſides which miſeries the Lord plagued the land with the bloody flux, and burning fevers, whereof multitudes died: The like murrain alſo was amongſt the beaſts; and for lack of due execution of

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the laws, many thieves, catch poles, and other oppreſſors ſwarmed in the land. About the year 994. the Danes again entered England in ſundry parts of it, ſo that the king knew not to what place he ſhould firſt go to withſtand them; and in concluſion he was fain to appeaſe their fury with great ſums of money. But when that money was ſpent, theſe pagan perſecutors fell to ſpoiling the land afreſh in divers places: They alſo beſieged the city of London; but being driven from thence by the valour of the citizens, they went into Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex and Hampſhire, burning and killing whomſoever he met with, neither had the poor Engliſh any to relieve them; The king in the mean time giving up himſelf to uncleanneſs, and polling his ſubjects, and diſinheriting men of their poſſeſſions, enforcing them to redeem them with great ſums of money: For he paid yearly great ſums of money to the Danes, which was called Dane gelt; which tribute ſo increaſed, that from ten thouſand pound *per annum*, which he paid at the firſt, it was in five or ſix years ſpace brought to forty thouſand pounds *per annum*. And as an aggravation of the ſubjects miſery, the Lord plagued them with famine, ſo that every one was forced to pluck and ſteal from others: whence it was, that partly by reaſon of the ſpoil made by the Danes, partly by reaſon of thieves and bribers, the land lay under grievous afflictions: And this was cauſed in a ſpecial manner, by the great diviſions and contentions which were amongſt the nobility, who when they met in counſel, either agreed upon nothing, or elſe quickly receded from their agreements, and fell to variance and contentions again.

The Danes thus prevailing, they grew exceeding proud and inſolent, cauſing the Engliſhmen to plow, ſow, and do all the drudgery, whilſt they ſat idle at home, having their wives at their pleaſure, and children and ſervants at command; And when the huſbandman came home, he could ſcarce get any thing; the Dane having all at his will, and feeding himſelf with the beſt, when the owner ſcarce had his fill of the worſt. Thus the common people were miſerably oppreſſed by them, ſtanding in great fear and awe of them, being glad in every thing to pleaſe them, calling them lord Danes.

Anno 1000. King Eglered by the evil advice of ſome of his friends, began a buſineſs which brought a new plague upon the Engliſh, the Lord thereby juſtly puniſhing them for their unjuſt diſpoſſeſſing of the Britains of their land, and that was by this means effected. The king this year married Emma, daughter to Richard, duke of Normandy; with which marriage the king was ſo puffed up, that he ſent ſecret and ſtrict commiſſions to the rulers of every town in England, that upon St. Brice's day, at an hour appointed, they ſhould ſuddenly ſlay all the Danes, which was accordingly affected, but afterwards it turned to the great trouble of the realm. For news hereof being carried into Denmark, Swanus the king with a great hoſt and navy landed in Cornwal; and by the treaſon of a Norman, who by the queen's favour was made earl of Devonſhire, the Danes took the city of Exceter, and beat down the walls; from thence they marched to Wiltown, and to Shirbourn, cruely murdering the inhabitants, and ſpoiling the country. But when Swanus heard that the king was coming againſt him with a great army, he retreated to his navy, ſet ſail, and arrived in Norfolk: There alſo he miſerably waſted the country, ſpoiled the city of Norwich, and burned the town of Thetford, and laid all waſte before him; yet at laſt duke Uſkatel met him, beat him, and ſlew many of his Danes. Then did Swanus return into Denmark, making a great preparation againſt the year following to re-enter England, which accordingly he did, landing at Sandwich, wotully ſpoiling all that country, and as ſoon as he heard of an army of Engliſh coming againſt him, he would ſuddenly depart; ſo that when the king's army was in one country, he would preſently ſail about, and land in another; and when the king prepared to meet them on the ſea, they would either retire home, or with bribes and gifts ſo blind the Engliſh admiral, that the king's navy could not meet with them, and thus they wearied the poor Engliſh, and in concluſion brought them to extreme miſery, and enforced the king to buy his peace with the payment of thirty thouſand pounds to them; after which Swanus returned into Denmark.

But this pace laſted not long, for king Egelred the year after made Edricus, duke of Mercia, who was ſubtil, fawning, and falſe to the king and realm. And ſoon after Turkillus a prince of the Danes, landed in Kent with a great army, where they did much harm, inſomuch that the Kentiſh men were forced to buy their peace by great gifts, whereupon the Danes departed. Notwithſtanding which, this grievous perſecution of the Danes, continued in one place of the kingdom or other; neither did the king ever give them any notable battle: For when he had prepared an army wherewith to encounter them, this falſe earl Edrick would always diſſuade him from it; ſo that the Danes by robbing and ſpoiling grew richer and richer, and the Engliſh poorer and poorer.

Swanus hearing of the ſucceſs of his ſubjects in England, brake his covenants formerly made with Egelred, and with a mighty army and navy he landed in Northumberland, proclaimed himſelf king of this whole land. In theſe parts by his bloodſhed and cruelty he ſubdued the people, and cauſed the nobles and rulers to ſwear fealty to him: Then did he paſs the river Trent, ſubduing and conquering all before him, and forcing the people to give him pledges, whom he ſent priſoners to his navy, under the cuſtody of his ſon Canutus. Then did he march into Mercia, killing and ſlaying all the way as he went: He took alſo Oxford and Wincheſter: Then did he march towards London, but hearing that the king was there, he turned into Kent, and beſieged Canterbury, which he at laſt took by treachery, plundering the inhabitants, and afterwards ſetting the city on fire. They tithed the monks, ſlaying nine by cruel torments, and only keeping the tenth alive, whom yet they kept in miſerable ſlavery. In all, they ſlew above nine thouſand men, women, and children in that place. From the biſhop they firſt extorted three thouſand pounds, and then brought him to Greenwich, where they ſtoned him to death.

King Egelred fearing what might be the iſſue of this perſecution, ſent his wife Emma, with his two ſons Alfred and Edward to the duke of Normandy for their greater ſafety. The Danes ſtill proceeding in their fury and rage, conquered a great part of Weſt-Saxony, and ſo returned again to London, which the citizens hearing of, ſent Swanus pledges and great gifts, whereupon he left them.

King Egelred was by this means chaſed to the iſle of Wight, and with ſmall attendance abode there privately a great part of the winter, and being deſtitute of all comfort, he ſailed into Normandy.

Swanus being aſſured hereof, grew exceeding proud, raiſed grievous impoſitions upon the people, and at laſt required a great ſum of money upon St. Edmund's lands: but the inhabitants being privileged, refuſed to pay the ſame; Swanus enraged hereby, marched into thoſe territories, ſpoiling and laying all waſte before him; but his ſins being come to the height, the Lord ſtruck this bloody perſecutor; and the people of the country falling to faſting and prayer; Swanus crying, roaring and yelling amongſt his knights, died miſerably.

Canutus his ſon ruled here as king after his father's death, but being warned by God's judgments on his father, he granted to the inhabitants their ancient liberties; and ditched in St. Edmund's lands with a deep and large ditch, quitting the people from all taxes and tributes, *&c.*

King Egelred hearing of the death of Swanus, haſted his return into England, upon whoſe ſudden arrival, Canutus being unprovided, fled to Sandwich, and there cutting off the hands and noſes of the pledges which his father left with him, ſailed into Denmark; yet the next year he returned again with a great navy, landing in the ſouth country, whereupon the king's eldeſt ſon, called Edmund Ironſide, raiſed an army, appointing Edrick duke of Mercia to meet him with another; but the falſe duke, feigning himſelf ſick, came not according to agreement, by which means the expedition was fruſtrated: it was afterwards proved that Edrick had promiſed his allegiance to to Canutus. Hereupon did Canutus enter into Weſt-Saxony, forcing the people to be ſworn to him, and to give him hoſtages. In the mean time the king fell ſick at London, and died.

During

During his reign, though he was miſerably vexed with his enemies, yet with the counſel of his nobles, he ſet forth ſome good laws for the government of his ſubjects, and having information againſt one of his judges called Walgeatus, whom he loved above all others, that he had perverted juſtice, he depoſed, and deprived him of all his poſſeſſions.

Egelred being dead, there was much variance about the election of his ſucceſſor, the Londoners with ſome of the lords choſe Edward, the eldeſt ſon of Egelred, a valiant and brave young prince, ſirnamed Ironſide, for their king: But the greateſt part of the nobility adhered to Canutus the Dane; by reaſon of this diviſion many great battles were fought between theſe two martial princes, firſt in Dorcetſhire, where Canutus was driven out of the field: then at Worceſter, where the fight was ſo ſore, that none could tell who had the better; this battle continued all day, and the next morning began again, but the ſecond day Canutus was beaten out of the field. After this they fought another battle in Mercia, where Edward, through the treaſon of Edrick, was worſted. After many ſuch battles, the two armies again meeting, a knight of Edward's party ſtood upon an high place, and ſaid, 'We die 'daily, and none hath the victory, and when the knights 'are dead, the dukes muſt either accord or fight alone: 'Is not this kingdom ſufficient for two men, which ſome 'times ſufficed ſeven? But if neither can be content to 'take part, let them fight alone who would rule alone,' &c. Theſe words were well allowed by both parties, and the place and time was appointed when the two kings ſhould try it out in ſingle duel in the ſight of both hoſts; and when theſe two brave princes met, they aſſayed each other with ſharp ſwords, and luſty ſtrokes: But being both wearied, at laſt Canutus moved for a reconciliation, which Edward, (honouring the valour of his enemy) accepted of, and ſo they embraced and kiſſed each other, to the great joy of their armies, whereupon they agreed to part the land betwixt them, and ever lived and loved like brethren.

Yet not long after, as king Edward was eaſing nature, a ſon of wicked duke Edrick's, being ſet on by his father, ſtabbed him into the fundament, whereof he ſhortly after died, having reigned two years.

He left behind him two ſons, Edmund and Edward, whom wicked Edrick took from their mother, and preſented them to Canutus, ſaying *Ave rex ſolus*: God bleſs you our only king.

Canutus reigning thus alone, took theſe two children, and ſent them to his brother Swanus, king of Sweden, to be ſlain by him: but he abhorring ſo wicked a fact, ſent them to Salomon king of Hungary, where the elder died, and Edward was married to Agatha, the emperor Henry the fourth his daughter.

Canutus being thus eſtabliſhed king over the whole land, called a parliament of his lords ſpiritual and temporal at London; where he propounded to them, whether in the agreement made betwixt Edward and him, there was any mention made of the ſucceſſion of Edward's children, and theſe flattering lords againſt their knowlege and conſcience anſwered, nay; promiſing with an oath, that to the utmoſt of their power they would reſiſt any claim made by them to the crown: Hereby they expected great favour from the king; but by the juſt retribution of God it fell out otherwiſe; for Canutus ſeeing the falſehood and perjury of thoſe who were ſworn to Edward and his heirs, and their treachery to their native country, ever after diſdained and hated them, exiling many, and beheading others, and God plagued others by ſudden death. Amongſt theſe, wicked Edrick eſcaped not his condign reward: For on a time coming to the king, he began to reckon what he had done in his ſervice, and for his ſake; as that he had forſaken and betrayed Egelred, and ſlain king Edward, with many other ſuch deeds: To whom Canutus anſwered, 'Thou haſt condemned thy ſelf, and worthily thou 'ſhalt die, for ſlaying thy natural prince, and my ſworn 'brother;' and ſo commanded him preſently to be bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Thames, or, as others ſay, beheaded.

In the mean time Swanus king of Denmark died, and ſo that kingdom fell to his brother Canutus, which Canutus hearing of, preſently ſailed thither, and after he had taken poſſeſſion of it, and ſetting things in order there, he returned into England, and married Emma late wife of Egelred, by whom he had a ſon called Hardicanute: After which he aſſembled a parliament at Oxford, and agreed that both Engliſh and Danes ſhould be ruled by king Edgar's laws, which were judged to be the beſt and moſt equal.

Thus the Danes being mixed with the Engliſh, began by little and little to embrace the Chriſtian faith. And Canutus having reigned twenty years died, leaving two ſons, Harold and Hardicanute: the latter was made king of Denmark in his father's life-time, and Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot for his agility and ſwiftneſs, ſucceeded to the Engliſh crown, *Anno Chriſti* 1039. He reigned but four years, and then died, whom his brother Hardicanute king of Denmark ſucceeded.

In this time there was one Goodwin earl of Kent, who had done many valiant acts for the Danes againſt the Norwegians, whereupon he was in great favour with Hardicanute. This Goodwin was cruel, and of a ſubtil wit, as he ſhewed by his dealing with the two ſons of king Egelred, Alfred and Edward, who coming out of Normandy to viſit their mother Emma, with many Normans in their company; this Goodwin, intending by marrying Edward to his daughter, to ſet him up to be king, perſuaded Hardicanute and the lords, that they ſhould not ſuffer theſe Normans within the realm, and ſo gat authority to order the matter as himſelf pleaſed: then went he to meet theſe princes on Guild-down, where he wretchedly murdered or rather martyred all the innocent Normans, in a moſt cruel manner, by winding their guts out of their bodies: he alſo put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfred, and ſent him to the monaſtery of Ely, where ſoon after he was murdered. Emma fearing the treaſon of Goodwin againſt her other ſon Edward, privily ſent him back into Normandy: but God not long after revenged the death of theſe Normans upon the Engliſh, when he brought in duke William to ſubdue and reign over them.

Hardicanute when he had reigned two years, as he was in his mirth and jollity, was ſuddenly ſtricken dumb, fell down and died ſhortly after, being the laſt of the Daniſh blood that reigned in England.

The Engliſh nobility conſidering the manifold wrongs, and indignities which they had received from the Danes, reſolved that never more ſhould any king of the Daniſh blood rule over them; they drave out alſo the Danes out of the land, ſo that they never came any more: the Lord in mercy looking upon the miſeries of the Engliſh nation, and vouchſafing to grant them deliverance from the ſame.

The Danes from their firſt landing in England had now miſerably waſted, and vexed it for the ſpace of two hundred fifty five years. But Hardicanute dying without iſſue, the nobles ſent for Edward out of Normandy, who at his coming was crowned king: he was of a gentle and ſoft ſpirit, abhorring wars, and bloodſhed: he governed the realm with much wiſdom, and juſtice: he was of a godly and blameleſs life, full of piety, mercy, and liberality to the poor: he eaſed his ſubjects of the great tribute of Dane-gelt: he ſubdued the Scots and Welſhmen, which began to rebel againſt him. During his reign, William duke of Normandy came into England with a goodly train, was honourably feaſted by the king, and when he departed, the king preſented him with great gifts, and promiſed, that if he died without iſſue, he ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom of England.

On a time as earl Goodwin ſat at dinner with the king at Windſor, one of his ſons being the king's cup bearer, ſtumbled as he came, and yet recovered again, ſo that he ſpilled none of the drink, wherewith earl Goodwin laughed, ſaying, That one brother had holpen the other, meaning one leg had holpen the other. The king hereupon remembring his brother, ſlain by Goodwin, ſaid, 'So ſhould my brother Allured have holpen me, if it had not been for Goodwin.' Goodwin hereupon fearing the king's anger, took a piece of bread, and ſaid, 'So may I ſafely ſwallow down this bread, as I am guiltleſs of his blood:' But that bread choaked him, and he preſently died: God plaguing his perjury hereby.

King Edward in the thirteenth year of his reign ſent into Hungary, for his couſin Edward the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who with his wife and children returned into England, but the year after he died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Adeling, and Margaret, (after married to the king of Scotland,) by whom he had Maud, afterwards queen of England. King Edward had ſome purpoſe of making this Edgar his heir, but fearing the inconſtancy of the Engliſh, and the pride and malice of Harold, earl Goodwin's ſon; he ſent ſolemn ambaſſadors to his couſin William duke of Normandy, aſſigning him to be his lawful heir, and ſucceſſor to this crown.

After this, Harold as he was croſſing the ſeas, was driven into Normandy, where he ſwore to duke William, that after the death of king Edward, he would keep this land for his behoof, according to the will of king Edward, and at his return, Harold relates this to the king, who was pleaſed with it. This vertuous and bleſſed king Edward, having reigned almoſt twenty four years died. He enacted many excellent laws in his life-time, collecting moſt of them out of all the laws made by his predeceſſors. They were ſo juſt, equal, and profitable for the public good; that afterwards the people would endure to be governed by none other.

CHAP. LVI.

The Perſecution of the Engliſh Church under the Papacy.

AFTER the death of king Edward ſirnamed the Confeſſor, ſome of the nobles would have ſet up Edgar Adeling for their king: but Harold contemning the young years of Edgar, and forgetting his oath to duke William, by force and might ſeized upon the crown, *anno Chriſti* 1066. But Harold Herefager, ſon of Canutus king of Denmark, hearing of the death of king Edward, came into England with above three hundred ſhips who joining with Toſtius brother of Harold king of England, entered the north parts, and claimed the crown. Againſt him the lords of thoſe parts raiſed an army, and gave him battle, but were beaten by the Danes; whereupon Harold king of England, marched with an army into the north, fought with the Danes, and had the victory: he ſlew alſo with his own hands their king and Toſtius. Upon this victory Harold grew proud and inſolent, and would not divide the prey amongſt his knights, which procured him much hatred.

In the mean time, William duke of Normandy ſent ambaſſadors to him to demand the Engliſh crown, which by oath he had promiſed to keep for him: Harold returned anſwer, That ſuch a fooliſh promiſe was not to be kept, eſpecially he being forced thereunto. Then did duke William gather his knights, and prepare his navy, and having ſhipped his army, he arrived at Haſtings in Suſſex. Harold being in the north, duke William haſted towards London; but when he came thither, he was kept out till he had given ſecurity to the citizens to march through the city without wronging any; which being done, he marched over London bridge into Suſſex, from which he ſent to Harold, demanding one of theſe three things: firſt, to deliver up the crown and kingdom to him, and to take it back, paying a tribute to him: or ſecondly, to refer the whole buſineſs to the arbitrement of the pope: or thirdly, To try the quarrel in a ſingle duel betwixt them two, to prevent further bloodſhed. Harold refuſed all, and marched againſt him with his army. This great battle was fought in Suſſex, in the place where afterwards king William built Battle-Abbey. In beginning of the fight the Engliſh kept ſo cloſe together, that the Normans were like to be beaten; whereupon duke William made his men give back as though they fled, and the Engliſh followed ſo faſt that they brake their array: then the Normans, charging them fiercely, at the laſt won the victory; and here by God's juſt judgment, Harold, who had formerly ſo cruelly murdered Alfred, the true heir of the crown, with his Normans that attended him, was now himſelf wounded in the left eye with an arrow, whereof he preſently died. He was the laſt king of the Saxon blood, which Saxons had reigned in England for the ſpace of five hundred ninety one years.

Although religion from the firſt planting of the goſpel in England, did not remain all this while in its primitive purity and perfection, but in proceſs of time it grew from better to worſe, declining into much ſuperſtition: yet the corruption of thoſe times was not comparable to that which followed, about the thouſandth year after Chriſt; when pope Sylveſter the II. a conjurer, by the help of the devil obtained the popedom. The church being now fled into the wilderneſs, and hiding herſelf there, I ſhall ſpeak no more of the Engliſh church, which was ſo corrupted and degenerated from its priſtine purity, but only of ſuch perſons in our Engliſh nation, as God raiſed up to oppoſe the errors and ſuperſtitions of thoſe times, and for which they met with perſecution from antichriſt and his adherents.

St. Bernard who lived about the year 1130, in one place writeth thus: 'Wo be to this generation, for the leaven of the phariſees which is hypocriſy, if yet that may be called hypocriſy which for the abundance cannot, and for the impudence deſires not to be hid All are friends, and yet enemies; all are neighbours, and yet every one ſeeks his own: the miniſters of Chriſt, and yet they ſerve antichriſt. It remaineth therefore that the meridian devil, that walks in the open light, come to deceive the reſidue, that hitherto perſiſt in their ſimplicity, *&c.* For he is antichriſt, who counterfeiteth himſelf, not only to be the day, but the midday, and extolleth himſelf above all that is called God, and worſhipped, whom the Lord Jeſus will ſlay with the breath of his mouth, and deſtroy with the brightneſs of his coming.' And in another place he ſaith, 'It remaineth that the man of ſin be revealed. the ſon of perdition.' And in another place he thus complains to God; 'O God, thy near friends come near to ſtand againſt thee. All Chriſtian people ſeem to have conſpired againſt thee, *&c.* Alas, alas! O Lord God, thoſe are the firſt and chief in perſecution, who ſeem to love and bear the firſt and chief place in the church, *&c.*

John of Saliſbury told pope Hadrian the IV. plainly, what the world thought of him and his prelates: that the Roman church ſhewed herſelf, not a mother, but a ſtepdame to all other churches; for, ſaith he, in it ſit the ſcribes and phariſees, laying inſupportable burdens upon mens ſhoulders, which themſelves would not touch with one finger, *&c.* yea the biſhop of Rome himſelf is grievous to all, and almoſt intolerable.

And one afterwards complained, that the church of Rome was come to that ſtate, that it was not worthy to be governed by any, but only by reprobates.

Robert Groſthead, a learned and godly biſhop of Lincoln, and living *anno* 1240. wrote ſharply to the pope, (eſpecially for the evils which he committed in England,) that he was oppoſite to Chriſt, a murderer of ſouls, and an heretic in theſe his courſes, *&c.* Upon which letters the pope was exceedingly moved, threatening to caſt down this biſhop into the pit of all confuſion: but ſome of his wiſer cardinals pacified him, telling him of this biſhop's holineſs, learning and reputation: and that the medling with ſuch an excellent man, might haſten a departure from their church: for, ſaid they, 'the things which he proved are full and manifeſt.' This godly and learned biſhop, after divers conflicts and bickerings with the pope of Rome, and other labours and travels of life, died at Bugden, *anno Chriſti* 1253. of whom Matthew Paris thus writes; Out of the priſon of this world which he never loved, was taken this holy biſhop of Lincoln, who was an open reprover of the pope and king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, a director of the clergy, a fautor of ſcholars, a preacher to the people, a diligent ſearcher of the ſcriptures, a ſevere puniſher of the incontinent, a mall to the Romaniſts, and a contemner of their doings. When he lay upon his death bed, he ſent for ſome of his clergy, had much good diſcourſe with them, complained of the corruptions which were ſprung up in the church, and inveighed bitterly againſt the manifold abominations of the church and court of Rome, concluding thus; well may theſe old verſes be applied to them;

Ejus

Ejus avaritiæ totus non ſufficit orbis,
Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis.

Th' whole world cannot ſuffice their greedy, covetous mind:
Nor all their drabs and naughty packs, their filthy, luſting kind.

For his thundering againſt the Romiſh church, and for his public reproving of the covetouſneſs, pride, and manifold tyrannies of the pope, he was excommunicated to the pit of hell by Innocent the IV. and cited to come to his bloody court; but he appealed from the pope's tyranny to the eternal tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſhortly after died.

Yea before this, there were ſome found in England, who diſavowed the corruptions of the church of Rome, and underwent perſecution for the ſame. *Anno Chriſti* 884. There was one John Patrick Erigena, a Britain, ordained by king Alfred the firſt reader in Oxford, who wrote a book about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, which was afterwards condemned by the pope, and he martyred for it.

Anno Chriſti 960. There were ſome divines at Oxford branded in the face, and baniſhed, for ſaying that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon; monkery, a ſtinking carrion; their vows, nurſes of Sodomy; purgatory, maſſes, &c. inventions of the devil.

Anno Chriſti 1126. There was one Arnold, an Engliſh preacher at Oxford, who was cruelly butchered for preaching againſt prelates pride, and prieſts wicked lives.

About the year 1160. in the reign of king Henry the II. there came above thirty of the Waldenſes into England, one Gerard being their miniſter, acknowleged to be a learned man by the monk of Newbury, who writes the ſtory: theſe people labouring to win diſciples unto Chriſt, were quickly ſmelt out by the popiſh clergy, and great complaints were made againſt them to the king; who thereupon aſſembled a council of biſhops at Oxford, before whom theſe godly perſons were converted, and Gerard their miniſter ſpoke for them all, ſaying, We are Chriſtians, holding and reverencing the doctrine of the apoſtles: being examined in order, (ſaith the monk) of the articles of the holy faith, they held right things, but they would not admit of ſalt, ſpittle, and exorciſms in baptiſm and the euchariſt, nor of binding with the ſtole in marriage, &c. And being urged with arguments, they anſwered that they believed as they were taught by God's word, but would not diſpute of their faith: being admoniſhed to repent, and to return to the unity of the church, they deſpiſed that council, they ſcorned threats alſo, ſaying, 'Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Then did the biſhops excommunicate them, and ſo delivered them over to be corporally puniſhed by the king, who cauſed the character of heretical infamy to be burnt in their foreheads, and Gerard their miniſter ſuffered the diſgrace of double burning, one in his forehead, the other about his chin; then were their cloaths cut off to their girdleſteads, and with flaſhing whips they were publicly whipped through Oxford; they ſinging all the while, 'Bleſſed are ye when men hate you, and deſpitefully uſe you,' &c. The king further commanded, that none ſhould preſume to receive them to houſe, nor to cheriſh them with any comfort, whereby they miſerably periſhed with hunger and cold, none affording any comfort to them.

Anno Chriſti 1170. there was one Gualo, profeſſor of the mathematicks in Oxford, who wrote invectives againſt the prieſts, for their pomp, luxury, and wicked impoſtures.

Anno Chriſti 1170. there was one Gilbert Foliot, doctor of divinity in Oxford, who perſuaded king Henry the II. after the example of Jehoſaphat, and other good kings, to reform the clergy, and keep them in ſubjection: he alſo often reſiſted, and blamed Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Canterbury to his face, for which he was much hated, and perſecuted.

Anno Chriſti 1200. Sylveſter Gyrald, much beloved by king Henry the III. and king John, wrote a book againſt the uncleanneſs, and wickedneſs of the monks, whereby he ſtirred up thoſe hornets againſt him.

Anno Chriſti 1207. Alexander, a divine of Oxford was ſent to Rome by king John, to defend his authority againſt the pope, which he very well did both by ſcriptures, and reaſons: he wrote alſo againſt the pope's power and temporal dominion, for which he was perſecuted, and baniſhed by Langton archbiſhop of Canterbury and died in exile.

Anno Chriſti 1210. Gualter Maxes archdeacon of Oxford, a famous and learned man, having been at Rome, where he ſaw the pride and ambition of the pope, at his return, preached vehemently againſt it, and wrote a book called the *Revelation of the Romiſh Goliah*; and divers others againſt the wickedneſs of the clergy, againſt the pope, and court of Rome, &c. For which he was much hated, and perſecuted.

Anno Chriſti 1255. Sebald, archbiſhop of York, earneſtly contended againſt the tyranny of the Romiſh court: he ſaid, that the pope was permitted by God for the great hurt of many: he wrote to the pope to abſtain from his accuſtomed tyranny, and to follow the humility of his holy predeceſſors, and after Peter's example, to feed the flock, not to pill, waſte, and deſtroy them: the pope contemned his counſel, and perſecuted them for it.

Anno 1260. William Strengham, doctor of divinity, wrote for the ſufficiency of the holy ſcriptures, as only neceſſary for ſalvation.

Anno Chriſti 1270. Roger Bacon, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, a famous divine, ſpake freely againſt the antichriſtian errors of his times, ſo that pope Nicholas the IV. condemned his doctrine, and impriſoned him.

Anno 1290. John Scotus of Merton college, a great ſchool-man, called doctor Subtilis, preached againſt the abuſe of the keys, and that tranſubſtantiation could neither be proved by ſcripture, nor good reaſon.

Anno Chriſti 1320. John Baronthorp, doctor, and public reader of divinity in Oxford, called doctor Reſolutus, taught againſt the pope; affirmed his power to be ſubordinate to emperors, and kings, and inveighed againſt the deceits and impoſtures of antichriſt.

Anno Chriſti 1326. Nicholas Lyran, a divine of Oxford, amongſt other things, wrote a book *de viſione Dei*, againſt the pope.

Anno Chriſti 2330. William Ockam, fellow of Merton college, called doctor Singularis, wrote againſt pope John the twenty third, and againſt Clement, charging him with hereſy calling him antichriſt, an hater of Chriſt, an enemy of the common-wealth, affirming that the pope had no power over civil magiſtrates.

Anno Chriſti 1340. Thomas Bradwardine of Merton college, wrote three books in defence of God's grace againſt free will.

Anno Chriſti 1351. Nicholas Orum, doctor of Oxford, preached at Rome before pope Urban the V. and his cardinals, wherein he diſcovered and condemned the papacy, and foretold their deſtruction: he wrote the epiſtle from Lucifer to the clergy, thanking them for ſending ſo many ſouls to hell: he placed his daughters, pride, avarice, luxury, fraud, and eſpecially ſimony to them, as to their proper huſbands.

Anno Chriſti 1355. Richard Fitz-Ralph, chancellor of Oxford, and archbiſhop of Armagh, wrote againſt begging fryars, and in his public lectures ſet forth their folly, fraud, luxury, wantonneſs, pride, pomp, &c.

Anno Chriſti 1360. Richard Killington, doctor of divinity in Oxford, defended the book of Armachanus, and wrote many learned books againſt the monks and fryars.

About the ſame time, John Wickliffe, doctor of divinity; wrote many volumes againſt the Romiſh corruption, for which he met with much hatred and perſecution, as alſo theſe good men before mentioned had done, the particulars whereof you may read in my firſt part, in the life of Wickliffe.

Anno Chriſti 1379. William Wickam, biſhop of Winchеſter, who built a college in Oxford, another at Winchеſter, was a great enemy to the Romiſh locuſts, and profeſſed, that notwithſtanding all the good works which he had done, yet that he truſted in the merits of Chriſt alone for ſalvation.

Anno Chriſti 1382. Philip of Rippington, of Merton college.

college declaimed boldly againſt the erroneous and impure doctrine of the church of Rome; againſt the Roman Pharaoh, mens traditions, maſſes, pilgrimages, auricular confeſſion &c. wherein doctor Rigges the vice-chancellor, and the proctors joined with him.

Anno Chriſti 1429 Alexander Carpenter, of Baliol college, wrote a book, wherein he ſharply reproved the wicked lives of prieſts and prelates, calling them traitors to Chriſt, deceivers, thieves liars, ravenors, oppreſſors, hypocrites, curſed tyrants, execrable antichriſts, &c.

Anno 1440 John Felton of Magdalen college, taught the goſpel purely, reproving the pope's pride and tyranny.

Anno Chriſti 1460 John Capgrave, doctor of divinity in Oxford, complained much of the ungodly tyranny of the prelates and prieſts, who like hirelings expoſed their ſheep to the wolves, ſeeking their wool and milk, but not the good of their ſouls, &c.

Anno Chriſti 1470. Henry Parker, fellow of All Souls, preached at Paul's croſs againſt the pride and ambition of the prelates, and at the requeſt of ſome good people, publiſhed his doctrine to the great diſgrace of the prelates, for which he was caſt into priſon, where he lay long, and endured much want.

Thus we have ſeen in ſome particulars, how God raiſed up in thoſe dark times ſome worthy inſtruments, who with the hazard of their eſtates honours, liberty and lives, publicly oppoſed the corruptions which were crept into the church, and expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers for the vindication of the truth. Neither were theſe men alone and ſingular in their opinions; for, through God's mercy, their doctrine was readily embraced by many, ſo that in the reign of king Henry the II. about the year 1174. many of them were perſecuted, and ſome burnt. But this true doctrine was more generally received in king Edward the III. his time, when as the miniſtry of Wickliffe in Oxford found a good liking, and general applauſe amongſt his hearers; yea, it had the approbation of the whole univerſity: and when bulls came thick from Rome againſt him and his doctrine, the whole univerſity gave a teſtimony in favour of him under their ſeal, in the congregation houſe: yea he had many great favourer amongſt the nobility, citizens of London, and others: and his doctrine took ſuch deep root in the hearts of many, that it could never be extirpated by all the means, which for many years after his death were uſed by popes, princes, prelates, and their officers, who from time to time, even till Luther's time perſecuted and endeavoured to ſuppreſs the ſame: amongſt which number of the perſecuted, theſe were ſome, Utred Bolton and John Aſhwerby, fellows of Oriel college, both much troubled and perſecuted for preaching and promoting Wickliff's doctrine, *anno Chriſti* 1380.

John Aſhton fellow of Merton college was perſecuted, and at laſt condemned to perpetual impriſonment for the ſame, *anno Chriſti* 1382.

Walter Brute of Merton college was perſecuted by the biſhop of Hereford *anno Chriſti* 1390.

Peter Pateſhal, who had faithfully preached this doctrine at London, and in the court; was forced by perſecution to fly into Bohemia for refuge about the ſame time.

Henry Crump doctor of divinity in Oxford, was firſt an adverſary to, but afterwards convinced, and converted by Wickliff's doctrine, preached it boldly, for which he was perſecuted by the biſhops, who forced him to fly into Ireland, yet there alſo was he long impriſoned by a biſhop about the year 1392.

King Henry the IV. though otherwiſe a good and valiant prince, yet coming to the crown by uſurpation, deſired to uphold himſelf by the favour of the pope and his clergy, who had oft complained of the increaſe of Lollards in king Richard the II. his time, but could prevail no further than to have their books burnt, and their perſons impriſoned, but the final determination, what ſhould be done with them, was ever referred to the king and his counſel. But now king Henry, to engratiate himſelf with the clergy, ſuffered his fiery zeal to burn up to a fiery perſecution, enacted a law that Lollards ſhould be burnt at the diſcretion of the biſhops, whereupon divers ſuffered martyrdom, as

William Sawtree, a divine of Oxford, and parſon of St. Sith's church in London, was impriſoned, degraded, and at laſt burnt by Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, *anno Chriſti* 1400. This William Sawtree deſired that his cauſe might be heard by the parliament then ſitting, for the commodity of the whole realm: but the biſhops ſmelling out the matter, obtained that it might be wholly referred unto them, who conventing him before them, examined him upon eight articles, the laſt whereof was about tranſubſtantiation: to which he anſwered, that after the words of conſecration there remaineth very bread, the ſame bread which it was before the words were ſpoken; whereupon the archbiſhop condemned him by the mouth of Robert Hall his chancellor, after which they got a warrant from the king, directed to the major and ſheriffs of London for his burning.

William Swinderby of king's college in Oxford, having for a good while taught the truth at Leiceſter, was at laſt apprehended and compelled to recant: but after a while, repenting and receiving new ſtrength from God, he renewed his doctrine, and was burnt in Smithfield, *anno Chriſti* 1407.

William Thorp fellow of queen's college in Oxford, was apprehended for the ſame, examined, impriſoned, and there at laſt ſecretly put to death by Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, *anno Chriſti* 1401.

Lawrence Redman, David Sawtrey, William James, Thomas Brightwel, William Haulam, Radulph Greenhurſt, and John Schut were all grievouſly perſecuted by the popiſh party, *anno* 1420.

Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, was perſecuted, condemned, and burnt in ſaint Gile's fields, *anno Chriſti* 1417. Of whom ſee more in my ſecond part in his life.

John Purvey, learned man, that wrote a commentary on the Revelation, wherein he proved the pope to be antichriſt, and whore of Babylons: he complained that many before him, who had impugned the Romiſh errors, had been impriſoned, killed, and their books burnt, and that none were ſuffered to preach, but ſuch as would ſwear obedience to the pope: for which he was impriſoned, and ſecretly made away there, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. *Anno Chriſti* 1421.

William White, fellow of Wickam college, for his preaching of the truth was taken, and compelled by the archbiſhop to recant, *Anno Chriſti* 1414; but quickly and publicly confeſſing his weakneſs and inconſtancy, with great lamentation, and renewing his former doctrine, was at laſt taken, and condemned to the fire by the biſhop of Norwich, *anno Chriſti* 1428.

Richard Wiche, fellow of Wickam college, was burnt the ſame year for the like profeſſion.

Anno Chriſti 1433. Peter Clarke, a divine of Oxford, defended publicly in the ſchools the doctrine of Wickliffe, for which he was ſo perſecuted, that he was forced to flie into Bohemia: from thence he went into France, and was choſen preacher to certain Chriſtians at Melda: and in proceſs of time ſixty two of his congregation were ſurpriſed, bound in carts, and ſent to Paris: where fourteen of them were burnt, the reſt tormented, and put to other death, or baniſhed: Mr. Clarke, with his hoſt, Steven Maugris, in whoſe houſe he uſed to preach, had firſt their tongues cut out, then were hanged, and afterwards burnt. 'See this ſtory in my former part, in the perſecutions of the church in France.'

Peter Paine or Peacock, fellow of All Souls in Oxford, for his conſtant preaching againſt the Roman antichriſt, was forced to flie into Bohemia to avoid the danger, from thence he with others, was ſent to the council of Baſil, where he defended his doctrine ſtoutly and learnedly fifty days together, *anno Chriſti* 1438.

Roger Oweley, a divine of Oxford, and chaplain to the lady Elinor Cobham, the duke of Gloceſter's wife, wrote learnedly againſt the ſuperſtitions that were then in practice: and for attempting ſomething with the ſaid lady againſt the papacy, he with ſome of his friends were hanged and quartered at London, and the lady baniſhed into the iſle of Man, *anno Chriſti* 1442.

Humphrey duke of Gloceſter, ſon of Henry the IV. brother to the fifth, and uncle to ſixth, having been educated in Baliol college in Oxford, was a great favourer of preachers of the purer religion: for which

which the biſhops and their creatures hated him deadly, by whoſe means he was taken in the night in Bury Abbey, caſt into priſon, and there murdered, *anno Chriſti* 1447.

Philip Noriſe, a divine of Oxford, inveighed bitterly againſt the monks and fryars, calling them antichriſts, wolves, thieves, traitors, ſwine, hypocrites, heretics, more peſtilent and dangerous than the Arrians, Pelagians, Donatiſts, Neſtorians, or other heretics whatſoever, for which he was perſecuted by the fryars, who complained of him to pope Eugenius the IV. from whom he appealed to a general council, *anno Chriſti* 1446.

David Boyſe, fellow of Merton college, a witty, and learned man, embraced, and preached the ſincere religion. for which he was hated, and perſecuted, *anno Chriſti* 1450.

John Collet, a divine of Oxford, and dean of Paul's: he taught in Oxford that man's juſtification was by the mere grace of Jeſus Chriſt: that images were not to be worſhipped: that biſhops not feeding their flocks are wolves, &c. Richard James biſhop of London, and ſome fryars perſecuted him for the ſame, *anno Chriſti* 1507. which was but ten years before the riſing of Martin Luther.

Thus we have ſeen in ſundry paſſages of this ſtory, and in many particular inſtances that from the firſt planting of the goſpel in this kingdom, which was preſently after Chriſt's time, to the time of Luther, God preſerved a true church, a true miniſtry, and true ordinances amongſt the people of this land, in deſpite of the devil, and all his inſtruments; and though many times the ſaints of God were fain to hide themſelves and underwent grievous perſecutions for the cauſe of Chriſt, yet God ſtill preſerved a ſeed alive, who when the ſtorm was over, appeared again: and when corruptions and antichriſtianity had overſpread the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world, God from time to time raiſed up ſome in this nation to bear witneſs againſt the ſame, who loved not their lives to the death, that they might be found faithful to Chriſt, and his truth: and therefore doctor Field in his book of the church, book 3. chap. 6. and 8. had good reaſon to ſay thus: 'Although we do acknowlege Wickliffe, Huſſe, Jerom of Prague, &c. to have been the worthy ſervants of God, and holy martyrs ſuffering for the cauſe of Chriſt againſt antichriſt: yet we do not think that the church was to be found only in them, or that there was no other appearance or ſucceſſion of the church and miniſtry, as the papiſts falſly charge us: for we firmly believe that all the churches wherein our fathers lived, and died, were the true churches of Chriſt, wherein ſalvation was to be found; and that they which taught, embraced, and believed thoſe damnable errors which the Romaniſts now defend, were a faction only in the church, as were they that denied the reſurrection, urged circumciſion, and deſpiſed the apoſtles of Chriſt, in the churches of Corinth, and Galatia.'

Luther alſo in his book againſt the anabaptiſts ſaith, 'That under the papacy there was much good; yea all Chriſtian good, and it came thence to us: as true ſcriptures; true ſacraments; a true miniſtry; a true catechiſm, wherein is the Lord's prayer, ten commandments, and articles of the Chriſtian faith,' &c.

Calvin in his Inſtitutions, Book 4. chap. 2. ſaith, 'That God ſuffered not his church to periſh in France, England, &c. having made his covenant with them: but it continued there through effectual baptiſm, and other remainders: though for mens ingratitude he ſuffered the building to be much rent, and torn.'

Beza in his queſtions ſaith, The church was under the papacy, but the papacy was not the church. Maſter Perkin's ſaith the like in his expoſition of the creed: ſo *Morney de Eccleſia*, chap. 9. with Bucer, and Melanchon teach the ſame.

CHAP. LVI.

The continuation of the Perſecution of the Engliſh Church under the Papacy.

WE have heard in the former chapter how God raiſed up ſundry faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt in ſeveral ages to oppoſe the ſuperſtitions, and errors brought into our church by the pope and his adherents, for which they ſuffered great perſecutions: now let us ſee how many lay men alſo as well as miniſters embraced the truth, and ſuffered martyrdom for the ſame.

Anno 1409. there was one John Badby, a taylor, convented before Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the crime of hereſy, as they ſtiled the truth in thoſe days, and for holding divers articles repugnant to the determination of the church of Rome; witneſſes were examined againſt him, after which the archbiſhop aſked him whether he would renounce, and forſake his opinions? To which he anſwered, that he would not, but he would adhere to his anſwer formerly given in: hereupon he was ſhut up a cloſe priſoner, the archbiſhop himſelf keeping the key of his chamber; and a few days after he was brought again before the archbiſhop, and his aſſiſtants ſiting in Paul's church London, who condemned him for an open and obſtinate heretic, delivering him over to the ſecular power: preſently after came the king's writ for his execution, by vertue whereof, John Badby ſtill perſevering in the truth, was brought into Smithfield, put into an empty barrel, bound with iron chains, faſtened to a ſtake, having dry wood put about him: the young prince, the king's eldeſt ſon, being preſent, much pitied the man, perſuading him to have reſpect to his life, and when intreaties prevailed not, he added menaces, but nothing would ſhake the conſtancy of this faithful martyr: then did the prior of ſaint Bartholomews in Smithfield bring him with all ſolemnity the ſacrament, demanding of him how he believed in it? He anſwered, that it was hallowed bread, but not Chriſt's body: then was fire put to him, and when he felt the fire he cried unto God for mercy: whereupon the prince thinking that he recanted, cauſed the fire to be quenched, then aſked him if he would forſake his hereſy, promiſing that if he would do it, he ſhould have riches enough, and a yearly ſtipend out of the king's treaſury to his full content: but this valiant champion of Chriſt inflamed with the love of Chriſt, and thirſting after heavenly treaſures, refuſed thoſe great promiſes; whereupon fire being again put to him, he endured the torments with inviacible courage, and ſo in the flames reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

The perſecuting biſhops, ſtudying how to ſuppreſs the truth of the goſpel, made their addreſſes to the king, with many flattering pretences, and obtained by his means an act of parliament, called the ſtatute *ex officio*, whereby it was ordained, that if any preached, maintained, or taught openly or privily, or writ any book contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the holy church, or that ſhould favour any ſuch preacher, or that ſhould conceal any ſuch book, and not deliver it up within forty days, &c. that being lawfully convicted thereof before the ordinary or his commiſſaries, they may impriſon him in any of their own priſons, and there keep him ſo long as in their diſcretion they ſhall think fit: as alſo that they may charge him with ſuch a fine of money to the king's uſe, as they ſhall think competent, according to the quality of his offence, and if he refuſe to recant and abjure his heretical opinions and practices, or relapſe after recantation, that he ſhall be delivered over to the ſecular power, who are required openly to burn him before all the people, &c.

The archbiſhop alſo ſet forth cruel, blaſphemous and wicked conſtitutions about the ſame time, againſt the true profeſſors of the goſpel: notwithſtanding all which, the number and courage of the faithful was ſo far from being vanquiſhed, that they multiplied and encreaſed daily, eſpecially in London, Lincolnſhire, Norfolk, Hereſordſhire, Shropſhire, and in divers other places; yet amongſt ſo many, ſome there were that did ſhrink and revolt by reaſon of the ſeverity of the law: others feared no danger nor death, ſo they might be found faithful witneſſes to the cauſe and truth of Chriſt: amongſt which was maſter William Thorpe, firſt impriſoned in Shrewſbury, afterwards removed to the caſtle of Saltwood, from whence he was brought before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who charged him for going about many years together, to teach and diſperſe his heretical opinions, whereupon he required him to kneel down, and to ſwear upon a book to ſubmit

to his correction, and to ſtand to his award: Thorpe anſwered, ſince you count me for an heretic, I beſeech you give me leave here to make a confeſſion of my faith, before you, which the archbiſhop aſſenting to he made a large and notable confeſſion of his faith, after which he added: to the rule and ordinances of God's laws I meekly, gladly and willingly ſubmit me with all my heart, and whoſoever ſhall by the ſame convince me of any error, I am ready and willing to recant. Then the archbiſhop ſaid, I will that thou preſently ſwear to me to forſake all the opinions which the ſect of the Lollards hold, and that thou ſhalt neither favour any man or woman that holds any of the aforeſaid opinions, and that thou ſhalt publiſh their names, and make them known to the biſhop of the dioceſs, where they live, &c. To this Mr. Thorpe anſwered, Sir, I may not do this, for it would be the doom of my conſcience, if I ſhould be the cauſe of the death of ſo many men and women, which are now in the way of ſalvation, who would juſtly charge me to be a traitor both to God and them, &c. and therefore from this wickedneſs keep me and all Chriſtian people almighty God, now and for ever, for his holy name's ſake. The archbiſhop ſwore and raged exceedingly at this anſwer, and caſt him into priſon, where he either died of ſickneſs, or was made away by the archbiſhop's procurement. The like end happened to John Aſhton, another follower of Wickliff's doctrine, who was committed to perpetual impriſonment, *anno Chriſti* 1382.

John Purvey, with Herford, a doctor of divinity, were grievouſly tormented in the priſon of Saltwood and afterwards forced to recant at Paul's croſs, by Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury: but Purvey afterwards recovering himſelf by God's grace, was again impriſoned under Henry Chichely archbiſhop of Canterbury, *anno Chriſti* 1421.

Fryar Walden called this Mr. Purvey the library of the Lollards, and the Gloſſer upon Wickliffe; he was a very learned man.

King Henry the IV. being dead, his ſon Henry the V. ſucceeded, who called a parliament: but when the biſhops perceived that the goſpellers had ſo many friends in and about London, they cauſed the king to adjourn it to Leiceſter, where they procured a law that the Wickleviſts ſhould be puniſhed as guilty of high treaſon, and therefore ſhould be both hanged and burnt.

At this time Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, ſuffered martyrdom, the ſtory whereof read in my ſecond part, in the life of the lord Cobham.

Anno Chriſti 1413. which was the firſt year of the reign of king Henry the V. Sir Roger Acton, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. John Beverly, were perſecuted and put to death in St. Giles in the fields for the truth, together with divers others, to the number of thirty ſix, all which were hanged with fire made under them, whereby they died a double death.

Theſe godly perſons, Mr. Beverly being their preacher, in thoſe dangerous times, uſed to meet in the night in St. Giles his fields, to pray and hear the word preached: which the biſhops having ſome notice of, they informed the king of a dangerous conſpiracy which theſe perſons intended, as to rebel againſt the king, to ſeize upon the city of London, &c. whereupon the king going with many armed men at midnight, only found theſe thirty ſix perſons, all which were executed as before: yet the number was greater, ſome eſcaping by flight, amongſt whom was William Murle, of Dunſtable, maultſter, who being afterwards apprehended, was drawn, hanged and burnt. Within few days after their execution, Thomas Arundel the archbiſhop was ſo ſtricken by God in his tongue, that he could neither ſwallow any food, nor ſpeak for divers days before his death, whereby he died in much miſery. Concerning whoſe manner of death, one makes theſe obſervations.

This man was he that made an eccleſiaſtical law, that the ſcriptures (which are God's tongue) ſhould not ſpeak, by forbidding Wickliff's tranſlation of them; and therefore God juſtly made him dumb.

This man was he that ſtopped the mouths, and tied the tongues of God's faithful preachers, who are God's mouth and tongue to his people; and therefore God plagued his mouth and tongue.

This man was he that ſpake proud, threatning, taunting and blaſphemous words againſt God's truth, and his people, and had ſwelling thoughts for their deſtruction; and God made his tongue to ſwell to his own deſtruction.

This man (as much as in him lay) brought a famine, not of bread, but of hearing the word, and now he is juſtly famiſhed himſelf to death. Who can chuſe but admire the exceeding juſtice of God's requital?

Anno Chriſti 1415. There was one John Claydon of London, currier, that was brought from Henry Chichely arch-biſhop of Canterbury, upon the ſuſpicion of hereſy, and upon his examination, he confeſſed that for the ſame cauſe he had been formerly impriſoned by the biſhop of London, by the ſpace of two years in the Fleet for the ſame, as alſo that he had divers Engliſh books, which at ſeveral times he heard read to him, and wherein he took great delight, &c. After this, his books being examined, were condemned as heretical to be burnt in the fire, and ſentence of condemnation was paſſed upon him by the arch-biſhop, and he was delivered to the ſecular power, by whom he was carried into Smithfield, and there burnt, *anno Chriſti* 1415: With him was alſo burnt Richard Turning a baker, for the ſame cauſe.

About the ſame time John Huſſe was burnt at Conſtance, and the goſpel began to ſpread much in England, which cauſed the prelates to beſtir themſelves with might and main to ſuppreſs it: and at a convocation held at London, *anno Chriſti* 1416. the arch-biſhop made a conſtitution, which he ſent abroad to all his biſhops and ſuffragans, requiring them at leaſt twice every year, to make diligent enquiry after all ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of hereſy, and that in every place where any ſuch were ſuſpected to dwell, they ſhould cauſe three honeſt men, to take their oaths upon the evangeliſts, that if they knew or heard of any *conventicles*, or if any perſons in life and converſation, differing from other catholic men, or that held any hereſies or errors, or that were ſuſpected to have any ſuch Engliſh books, or to harbour or entertain any ſuch perſon, *&c.* that they may give certificate in writing of all ſuch perſons, with the circumſtances whereby they are ſuſpected, to the ſuffragans, commiſſaries, *&c.* who were required to ſend forth proceſs againſt them and upon conviction, either to deliver them over to the ſecular power, or to commit them to perpetual impriſonment, as the quality of the cauſe ſhould require. Hereupon many were apprehended, *viz.* John Taylor, of the pariſh of Michaels in Quern, William James, maſter of arts, John Dwerſe, John Jourdelay, maſter Rober's, parſon of Hepgerley in Lincolnſhire, William Henry of Tenderden, John Gall, a miniſter in London, Richard Monk vicar of Cheſham in Lincoldſhire, Bartholomew Cornemonger, Nicholas Hooper, Thomas Granter miniſter, Edward Frith butler to the lord Cobham, moſt of which were kept in cloſe impriſonment. Alſo maſter Benedict Ulleman, a citizen of London, was apprehended, for ſcattering ſome papers, wherein the truth was aſſerted againſt popery, for which he was hanged, drawn and beheaded upon Michaelmas day.

Alſo during this convocation, there was brought before the biſhops John Barton a miniſter, who was accuſed by the biſhop of Lincoln, for that he had ſtood excommunicated ſix or ſeven years for hereſy, and for that upon ſummons he would not appear, nor ſeek to be reconciled; for which he was committed to priſon, till they had further leiſure to proceed againſt him.

Alſo Robert Chappel, another miniſter, ſometime cahplain to the lord Cobham, was brought before them, againſt whom it was objected; that he had been excommunicated three or four years, and yet to the contempt of the keys, he continued to preach, and ſought not to be reconciled: Chappel fearing the iſſue, abjured his former opinions as heretical, promiſing never to hold the ſame again: then was he enjoined by the arch-biſhop to do penance, and to make a public recantation at Paul's croſs: the like abjuration was obtruded upon many others.

There was alſo one Radulph Muogin, a miniſter, brought before the arch-biſhop, and charged with divers heretical opinions, and becauſe he could by no means be induced to recant the ſame, he was by the arch-biſhop condemned to perpetual impriſonment: many others were driven to forſake their houſes and families, and to retire themſelves into private places, to preſerve themſelves from the rage of theſe bloody perſecutors. King

King Henry the fifth being dead, his ſon Henry the ſixth ſucceeded him, being not a year old when his father died, in the firſt year of whoſe reign, William Taylor, a miniſter, was convented before Chichely arch-biſhop of Canterbury, and charged with ſundry articles, which they counted heretical: he drew forth a writing, and tendered it to the arch biſhop to juſtify his opinions to be true: this paper being given to ſome of the doctors that were preſent, was examined by them, and concluded to be erroneous and heretical, whereupon he was condemned to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment, and yet through favour they promiſed to releaſe him, if he would put in ſufficient ſecurity, and ſwear that he would never hold, nor favour ſuch opinions afterwards, and ſo he was committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Worceſter, who had authority to releaſe him upon the conditions aforeſaid: but during his abode with this biſhop, there paſſed ſome writings betwixt him, and one Thomas Smith, a prieſt of Briſtow, about the queſtion of worſhipping the ſaints, by occaſion whereof he was again brought before the convocation, *anno Chriſti* 1422. and his writings being ſhewed to him, he refuſed to revoke the ſame, for which he was condemned of hereſie, and preſently after a writ came from the king, *De Hæretico comburendo*, and ſo he being committed to the ſecular power, was carried into Smithfield, where he was burnt, dying a faithful martyr of Jeſus Chriſt.

About this time Henry Chicheley, arch-biſhop of Canterbury, wrote to Pope Martin, that the Wickleviſts in England were grown to be ſo many, that they could not be ſuppreſſed without an army.

Anno Chriſti 1422. This arch biſhop held a ſynod, wherein was brought before him one Henry Webb. who was accuſed for preaching up and down without a licence, for which he was condemned to be whipt ſtark naked in the proceſſion, in the cathedrals of Pauls in London, Worceſter and Bathe, which was accordingly executed.

Alſo about the ſame time John Florence, a turner, dwelling at Shelton in the dioceſs of Norwich, was convented before the biſhops chancellor, and charged with holding ſundry heretical opinions, for which he was enjoined three Sabbath days in the cathedral church of Norwich, to be whipt before all the people, the like alſo to be done to him in his own pariſh church three other Sabbath days.

Between the year 1428. and 1431. there were about the number of one hundred and twenty men and women in Norfolk and Suffolk, brought and examined before the biſhop of that dioceſs, for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, ſome of which eſcaped more eaſily, but moſt of them were cruelly handled, and ſome of them burnt.

Anno 1424. There was one William White a miniſter, and a follower of Wickliff's doctrine, a learned and godly man, that ſpent his time in reading, writing and preaching for which he was apprehended and carried before the arch biſhop of Canterbury, before whom for a time he ſtoutly, and valiantly defended the truth. but at laſt, thro' the cruel menaces of his adverſaries, and his own weakneſs, he began to be faint; yet after a while, thro' God's grace. he became more ſtout and ſtrong in Jeſus Chriſt than he was before, confeſſing his former weakneſs, and heartily repenting of the ſame: And thereupon he wholly imployed himſelf in preaching to, and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Chriſt, for which he was again at laſt apprehended, and carried before the biſhop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted, condemned, and burnt, *anno Chriſti* 1428. When he was at the ſtake, he began to ſpeak to the people, to exhort and confirm them in the truth, but one of the biſhops ſervants ſmote him on the mouth, and forced him to hold his peace, and ſo with much meekneſs and patience he received his crown of martyrdom. This Mr. White having married a wife, ſhe being a good woman, and following the footſteps of her huſband, went about, doing privately all the that good poſſibly ſhe could, for which ſhe was perſecuted, and ſuffered grievous things from the ſame biſhop of Norwich.

About the ſame time there was a godly miniſter, and another ancient man, call father Abraham, burnt at Colcheſter for the truth.

There was alſo one Thomas Pie and John Mendam, examined before the biſhop of Norwich, by whom they were cenſured to be openly whipt ſix Sabbath days in their pariſh church, and three market days about the market-place of Harleſton, carrying in their hands a taper of a pound weight, &c. Many others were ſerved in the like ſort.

Anno Chriſti 1430. Richard Hoveden, a citizen of London, holding and profeſſing the opinions of Wickliffe, was convicted for the ſame, and when by no means he could be brought to recant them, he was condemned and burnt hard by the tower of London.

Alſo the ſame year Mr. Nicholas, a canon of Ely, was forced to endure three whippings about the cloiſter of the cathedral church in Norwich, and was afterwards kept in priſon, for turning his face from the high altar, and reproving thoſe that did reverence to the ſacrament.

Anno Chriſti 1431. Thomas Bagly, a miniſter, being a valiant diſciple of Chriſt, and adhering to the doctrine of Wicliffe, was condemned at London by the biſhops, degraded and burnt in Smithfield.

Anno Chriſti 1430. One Richard White or Wichie, a miniſter, was apprehended and examined, and when he would not be drawn from his opinions, he was condemned to be burnt at the tower-hill for hereſy: at the place of execution he foretold that the poſtern of the tower ſhould ſink, which ſhortly after came to paſs, and ſo in the flames he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God: the people much admired him for an holy man.

Anno 1447. The duke of Gloceſter, who was ſon to king Henry the IV brother to king Henry the V and uncle to king Henry the VI. was choſen protector in his nephew's minority. He was of a meek and gentle diſpoſition, a lover of the commonwealth, a ſupporter of the poor commons, wiſe, diſcreet, ſtudious, a lover of religion, a friend to virtue, and an enemy to pride, eſpecially in the clergy, which made him to be much hated of them, and in the end brought him to an immature death. His learning was rare and memorable, and his diſcreet wiſdom no leſs exemplary, whereof take this inſtance. the king in his minority, being under the government of this good duke, was to go to St. Alban's, againſt which time a beggar with his wife, were ſuborned to come thither by the biſhops, where he begged up and down five or ſix days before the king's coming, ſaying, that he was born blind, and never ſaw in all his life, and that he was warned in a dream to come from Barwick, where he had always lived, to St. Albanc, from whom he ſhould receive his ſight; but having been at his ſhrine he yet remained blind, and therefore he would go and ſeek him at ſome other place. But when the king was come, and the town full of his retinue, this blind beggar going again to the ſaint's ſhrine, had his ſight reſtored to him: this miracle was much obſerved by the popiſh clergy, and a *te deum* ſolemnly ſung, and nothing was talked of in the town but this miracle: duke Humphrey hearing of it, ſent for the beggar, and ſhewed himſelf joyful for the recovery of his ſight, exhorted the man to humility, and to thankfulneſs to God for reſtoring his ſight, &c. and then looking upon his eyes, aſked him if he had never ſeen any thing in his life before? The beggar and his wife both anſwered, 'no: I believe you, ſaid the duke, for I think you cannot ſee well now; yes, ſaid the beggar, I thank God and his holy martyr, I can now ſee as well as any man: what colour then, ſaid the duke, is my gown?' The beggar told him, as alſo the ſeveral colours of other mens gowns, naming all the colours to the duke; whereupon the duke bade him be gone like a traitor, for if he had been blind always, how knew he ſo readily the names of all colours; but this more exaſperated the prelates againſt him.

Amongſt his enemies Henry Beauford, cardinal and biſhop of Wincheſter was the chief, who drawing to his ſide William de la Pool, Duke of Suffolk, and the duke of Buckingham, they conſpired with the queen to deprive him both of honour and life: for which end a parliament was ſummoned to be kept at Bury, far from the citizens of London, who much loved the duke of Gloceſter, and when the lords and commons were met, and amongſt them the duke, neither thinking harm to others, nor ſuſpecting danger to himſelf; the ſecond day after the parliament began, the lord Beaumont, then high conſtable of England, accompained with the duke of Buckingham and

ſome

ſome others arreſted the duke of Gloceſter, and put him into ward, which cauſed much murmuring amongſt the people, and the next night after he was found dead in his bed, being, as it was commonly reported, ſmothered between two feather beds, having prudently governed this realm for the ſpace of twenty five years: but God's judgments followed all the contrivers and actors of this murder: The queen, who thought hereby to preſerve the honour of her huſband, and her own ſtate, on the contrary loſt her huſband, and he loſt his kingdom, and the kingdom loſt Anjou, Normandy, Aquitaine, and all they held in France, except Calais: The year after the cardinal, the chief contriver of the duke's martyrdom, was ſtricken by God with an incurable diſeaſe, who hearing that he muſt needs die, murmured and grudged exceedingly, that having ſo much riches he muſt yet leave all, ſaying, That if the whole realm would purchaſe his life, he was able either by his policy to get it, or by his money to buy it: 'therefore, ſaith he, Fie, will not death be bribed? will money do nothing?' &c. The duke of Suffolk alſo did not long eſcape unpuniſhed; for in a parliament he was accuſed as a traitor to the kingdom, a murderer of the duke of Gloceſter, and robber of the king's treaſury: for which the king at laſt was forced to baniſh him for five years, thinking that in that ſpace the peoples hatred of him would be allayed: the duke took ſhipping in Suffolk, intending to go into France, but being preſently encountered by a a man of war belonging to the tower, was taken and carried into Dover Road, where on a ſide of a ſhip boat one ſtruck off his head, *anno* 1450. and thus God ſuffered not the innocent blood of that good duke of Gloceſter to go unpuniſhed.

Not long before the duke's death, he had complained to the king his nephew, of ſundry injuries which the cardinal of Wincheſter had done, not only to him, but to the king and whole kingdom, which he put into writing in twenty four articles, and preſented them to the king; king Henry committed the examination hereof to his council, who (being for the moſt part clergy-men,) the buſineſs was ſhuffled up, and the duke entrapped, as we heard before: Alſo to aggravate his affliction, they accuſed his religious dutcheſs, the lady Elinor Cobham of witchcraft and treaſon, as if to advance her huſband to the crown, ſhe had practiced by ſorcerery and inchantment to deſtroy the king's perſon: And hereupon they enjoined her in a diſgraceful manner to go through Cheapſide with a Taper in her hand, and to do pennance in three publick places of the city, and afterwards to be comitted to perpetual impriſonment in the Iſle of Man, under the cuſtody of Sir John Stanley knight.

During the life time of the duke of Gloceſter, there was one Rainold Peacock, who publickly in the univerſities diſputed againſt Annats, Peter pence, and other the juriſdictions of the ſee of Rome, freely declaring his judgment about the ſame, and was protected therein by the ſaid duke; but after the duke's death he was perſecuted by the prelates and their inſtruments. He was a very learned man, tranſlated much of the ſcriptures into Engliſh, and wrote many books: the duke made him firſt his chaplain, then biſhop of St. Aſaph, and afterwards biſhop of Chicheſter: the arch-biſhop ſummoned him to appear before him; when he came, the arch-biſhop with divers other biſhops, laboured by all means either to reduce him or deſtroy him; many terrible menaces and threatnings they gave him, many fair and flattering promiſes they made to him, ſo that at the laſt they drew a recantation from him; yet afterwards, thro' God's mercy, he recovered and repented of his recantation, for which he was caſt into priſon, and at length was condemned for an heretic, and as the report went, was privily in priſon made away.

It is obſerved, that from the time of king Richard the ſecond, in every king's reign that ſucceeded him, there was ſome good man or other that ſuffered martyrdom by burning at a ſtake.

King Henry the VI being depoſed and murdered, king Edward the IV ſucceeded him, in whoſe time there was one John Gooſe, or Huſſe, *anno* 1473 that was called before the biſhops, and accuſed for hereſie, by whom alſo he was condemned, and delivered to the ſheriff of London to be burnt: the ſheriff being a charitable man took him home to his houſe, labouring much with him to recant his hereſies, and thereby to deliver himſelf from death: Huſſe anſwered that for his religion he was at a paſs, and neither could, nor would recant the ſame, but deſired the ſheriff to give him ſome meat, for that he was ſore an hungry: the ſheriff commanded meat to be brought him, whereof he did eat heartily, ſaying to the ſtanders by, 'I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I ſhall paſs a little ſharp ſhower e're I come to ſupper:' When he had dined he gave thanks, and required that he might forthwith be led to the place of execution, where in the flames he meekly reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

Anno Chriſti 1494. There was one Joane Boughton widow mother to the lady Young, being about eighty years old, that was accuſed for hereſy in holding many of Wickliff's opinions: ſhe was ſo ſtout, and a conſtant defender of the truth, that all the doctors in London could not turn her from one of her opinions, and when they told her that ſhe ſhould be burnt for her obſtinacy, and hereſy, ſhe ſet light by all their threats, and when ſhe was in the flames ſhe cried unto God to receive her ſoul into his holy hands, and ſo quietly yielded up the ghoſt.

Anno Chriſti 1498. There was a godly man, and faithful martyr of Chriſt burnt in Norfolk called Babram: and the year after another old godly man was burnt in Smithfield.

Anno Chriſti 1506. There was one William Tilſworth convented before doctor Smith biſhop of Lincoln, by whom he was condemned for hereſy, and burnt in the town of Amerſham: at his burning his only daughter, a faithful woman, and married to one Clark, was compelled with her own hands to ſet fire to her dear father: and at the ſame time John Clark her huſband with many others did penance, bearing fagots, many others were burnt in the cheek with an hot iron, bearing the marks of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt about with them.

Preſently after there was one father Roberts, a miller of Miſſenden, burnt at Buckingham for the teſtimony of the truth: at the time of whoſe burning, above twenty perſons were compelled to bear fagots, and to do penance.

About two years after Thomas Bernard, an husbandman and James Melton, a labourer, were both burnt at one fire for the truth at Amerſham.

Anno Chriſti 1506. There was alſo in Amerſham one Thomas Chaſe, a man of a godly, honeſt, and ſober behaviour, and one that could not abide idolatry, and ſuperſtition: for which being maligned by ſome wicked men, he was brought before the biſhop at Woodburne, who propounded many queſtions to him, which he intermixed with many taunts, jeers, and reproaches; Chaſe anſwered him ſtoutly defending the truth, and oppoſing idolatry for which he was by the biſhop put into his priſon called, The little eaſe: there he lay cruelly bound in chains, gives, and manacles, and almoſt pined with hunger. The biſhop alſo ſent his chaplains often to him with checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings, all which the godly martyr bore with invincible patience, and conſtancy, remembring often that of his Saviour: 'Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' When the biſhop ſaw that by his cruelty he could prevail nothing againſt him, but that rather he was more fervent, and zealous in defending the truth, and that he patiently bore all his wickedneſs; he conſulted privily to put him to death for fear of an uproar amongſt the people, and accordingly ſhortly after he cauſed him to be cruelly ſtrangled, and preſſed to death in the priſon, who called moſt heartily upon God to receive his Spirit: the biſhop cauſing it to be bruited abroad that he had hanged himſelf in priſon.

Anno Chriſti 1507. There was one Thomas Norris, who for the profeſſion of the goſpel was condemned by the biſhop and burnt at Norwich: not long after there was in Saliſbury, one Laurence Gueſt, who for denying the ſacrament of the altar, &c. was convented before the biſhop: he had good friends, and therefore the biſhop was loath to burn him, but kept him two years in priſon: this Laurence had a wife, and ſeven children: and therefore the biſhop, hoping to overcome him by fatherly affection to his

his children, when he was faſtened to the ſtake, his wife and ſeven children were brought to him: but, through God's grace, religion overcoming nature in him, he remained conſtant, and unmoveable, and when his wife began to exhort him to favour himſelf: he deſired her not to be a block in his way, for that he was in a good courſe running towards the mark of his ſalvation: and fire being put to him, he renounced his wife, and children to follow Chriſt, and in the midſt of the flames reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

About the ſame time there was at Chipping Sadbury, a godly woman convented before the chancellor, who was doctor Whittington, before whom ſhe made a reſolute, and good confeſſion of her faith, not ſhrinking for any of his terrible threats, ſo that at laſt he condemned her to be burnt. Againſt the day of her execution multitudes of people flocked together to Sadbury, and amongſt the reſt, doctor Whittington came to ſee her executed. This faithful woman, and true ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt nothing daunted with the ſight of the ſtake, nor ſhrinking at the torments of the fire, quietly ſlept in the Lord: at the ſame time there was a butcher in another place of the town ſlaying a bull, which bull was faſt bound with a rope ready to be knocked on the head; the butcher miſſing his ſtroke, the bull brake looſe juſt as the people were coming from the execution of the holy martyr: the people ſeeing him coming, ſevered themſelves and made a lane for him to paſs through: the bull went on without hurting man, woman or child, till he came to the place where the chancellor was, againſt whom he ran very furiouſly, and with his horns hitting him on the belly, ran him quite thorough; and tearing out his guts with his horns, he trailed them about the ſtreet, to the great aſtoniſhment of the people that beheld it.

Under the reign of king Henry the VII. there were divers godly perſons in Coventry perſecuted, and forced to abjure: and king Henry the VII. being dead, and his ſon Henry the VIII. ſucceeding, there was one Richard Fitz-James biſhop of London, who convented before him many poor people, charging them with holding many heretical opinions, for which they were excommunicated and impriſoned, and at laſt compelled to recant, and for further penance were enjoined to wear a fagot painted on their ſleeves all their life after. This was *anno Chriſti* 1510.

About the ſame time there were ſome others, who having through frailty been forced to recant, being afterwards pricked in conſcience for it, and overcome by the manifeſt truth of God's moſt ſacred word, became as earneſt and zealous profeſſors of Chriſt as ever they were before, and for the ſame profeſſion were the ſecond time apprehended examined, condemned, and at laſt cruelly burnt; amongſt whom were William Sweeting, and John Bruſter, who were both burnt together in Smithfield, *anno Chriſti* 1511. The crimes wherewith they were charged, were for denying the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; for reading forbidden books; and of keeping company with perſons ſuſpected for hereſy.

About the ſame time William Carder was convented before archbiſhop Warham, and his chancellor, Cutbert Tonſtal, and they brought ſuch witneſſes againſt him as were before abjured, whom they knew, that for fear of being reputed relapſed, durſt not but diſcloſe whatſoever they knew of him, by whoſe teſtimony they condemned him to be burnt.

Agnes Grebyll alſo was convented before them, againſt whom they put in twelve articles, which ſhe denying, put them upon the proof: then they called for John Grebyll her huſband, and Chriſtopher and John Grebyll her two ſons, who had been before abjured, cauſing them to depoſe, the one againſt his wife the others againſt their natural mother; yea, afterwards they cauſed theſe two young men to give in evidence againſt their own father alſo: the woman was ſo grieved hereat, that ſhe repented the time that ever ſhe bare theſe children of her body; and ſo ſhe was condemned to be burnt. Her huſband with two others were brought in to teſtify againſt Robert Harriſon, upon whoſe teſtimony he alſo was condemned, and ſo theſe three perſons were all burnt, May 2. 1511. *Ex Regiſtro Cantuar.*

Shortly after Mr. Stile was condemned, and with him a book of the revelations, which he had in Engliſh; when he was carried into Smithfield, and ſaw the book tied together with him to the ſtake, he cried out, 'O bleſſed Apocalyps, how happy am I, that I ſhall be burnt with with thee,' and ſo they were both burnt together.

About the ſame time five other perſons were accuſed in this manner. 'We object to you, that divers times, eſpecially upon a certain night, three years ago, in Robert Dardant's houſe of Yvercourt near Stanes, you erroneouſly and damnably read in a great book of hereſy, all that ſame night certain chapters of the Evangeliſts in Engliſh, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions, and concluſions of hereſy. *Ex Regiſtro Epiſc. Lond.*

There was one John Brown paſſing from London in a Graveſend barge, in which barge there was a prieſt, and Brown ſat hard by him: whereupon the prieſt ſaid to him, 'Doſt thou not know who I am? Thou ſitteſt too near me: Brown anſwered, no, Sir, I know not who you are. I tell the, ſaid he, I am a prieſt: what Sir, ſaid Brown, are you a parſon, or a vicar, or a ladies chaplain? I am, ſaid the other, a ſoul prieſt, and ſing for a ſoul; I pray you Sir, ſaid Brown, where find you the ſoul when you go to maſs? I know not, ſaid the prieſt. And where do you leave it when you have done maſs? I cannot tell, ſaid the prieſt. Brown replied, If you neither know where the ſoul is when you begin, nor where you leave it when you have done, how then do you ſave a ſoul? Go thy ways, ſaid the prieſt, thou art an heretic, and I will be even with thee:' And accordingly when they came to land, the prieſt taking two others with him that were preſent in the boat, went and complained to archbiſhop Warham, who ſent a warrant preſently to apprehend Brown; when the meſſenger came, Brown was carrying in dinner at his wife's churching, and being apprehended, the meſſenger bound his feet under his horſe-belly, and carried him away to the archbiſhop, neither his wife or friends knowing wither he went, nor what they would do with him: the archbiſhop caſt him into priſon, where he lay about ſix weeks: then was he carried to Aſhford where his habitation was, and there ſet in the ſtocks all night, his wife hearing of it, came and ſat by him all night, to whom he ſhewed how cruelly he had been handled by the archbiſhop, telling her, that he could not ſet his feet to the ground, for they had burnt them to the bones, to make him to deny Chriſt, 'which ſaid he, I durſt not do, leſt my Lord Chriſt ſhould deny me hereafter, therefore good wife, continue as thou haſt begun, and bring up my children vertuouſly, and in the fear of God;' and ſo the next day this godly martyr was burnt, calling upon God, and ſaying, 'Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.' This was *anno Chriſti* 1517.

Anno Chriſti 1514. There was one Richard Hune, merchant taylor of London, who had a child at nurſe in Middleſex; the child dying there, the parſon demanded a bearing ſheet for a mortuary: Hune pleaded that it was not due, the child being but five weeks old: the prieſt hereupon cited him into the ſpiritual court; Hune adviſing with his learned council, was directed to bring a writ of Præmunire againſt the prieſt and his abettors, which accordingly he did: but the popiſh clergy being much nettled at theſe proceedings, and fearing that it would tend to their great prejudice, they make a diligent enquiry after Hune's life and carriage, and at laſt frame articles againſt him, wherein they charge him with hereſy, for which, by Fitz James, biſhop of London, he was caſt into Lollard's tower, and none of his friends were ſuffered to come to him; at laſt he was carried before the biſhop at Fulham, and thereby Horſey the biſhop's chancellor, was accuſed of hereſy; after examination, the biſhop ſent him back to Lollard's tower, and Horſey within two nights after, ſuborned ſome wicked cut-throats, who going in the night into priſon, took Hune and hanged him, blazing abroad that Hune had deſperately hanged himſelf: the citizens of London, ſuſpecting that he was murdered, cauſed the coroner to ſit upon him, but whilſt the jury was buſy about their office, the biſhop proceeds *ex officio* againſt the dead body in caſe of hereſy, ſuppoſing thereby that the jury durſt not but find him guilty of his own death, and after the cauſe heard, the ſentence definitive was pronounced againſt

againſt the dead body, and it was delivered over to the ſecular power, and the next day after publicly burnt in Smithfield.

Nothwithſtanding theſe proceedings of the biſhop, the jury went on, and made diligent enquiry after the manner of his death, and the cauſe was oft heard before the privy council, the king himſelf being ſometimes preſent, and at laſt the biſhop's chancellor, and two other officers were found guilty of the murder, and an indictment was drawn up againſt them, but by cardinal Woolſies means the indictment at the ſeſſions was caſt out; yet though the chancellor by this means eſcaped the puniſhment of the law, his conſcience ſo terrified him with the inward guilt of murder, that he went to Exceter, and durſt not ſhew his face in London again afterwards.

About this time there were multitudes of good men and women perſecuted for the truth, and at laſt through weakneſs were forced to recant, yet ſome there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made more ſtrong in the profeſſion of his truth, and conſtant unto the death: of which number was John Stilman, who was apprehended and brought before Fitz James, biſhop of London, *anno* 1518. who after examination ſent him to Lollard's tower: after a while he was brought forth before Dr. Hed, the biſhop's vicar general, and being charged for relapſing into hereſy after his former recantation, he denied it not, but boldly profeſſed that he would adhere to the truth, even to the loſs of his life: hereupon he was condemned and delivered the ſame day to the ſheriffs of London, by whom he was carried into Smithfield, and there openly burnt, *anno Chriſti* 1518.

About the ſame time Thomas Man was apprehended and brought before the biſhop of London, and afterwards was examined alſo by Dr. Hed in the conſiſtory, where he was charged with ſundry articles, moſt whereof he granted to be true, the reſt he denied: then Dr. Hed pronounce ſentence of condemnation againſt him, delivering him over to the ſheriffs of London, by whom he was immediately carried into Smithfield, and there burnt. Amongſt other things, he was accuſed for going up and down into divers places, and countries of England, to diſperſe and teach his errors: and himſelf confeſſed that he went weſtward, where he found a great company of well-diſpoſed perſons, being of the ſame judgment with him about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and eſpecially at Newbury, where was a glorious and ſweet ſociety of faithful perſons, who had continued in peace fifteen years together, till they were betrayed by a falſe brother, whereby ſix or ſeven ſcore were forced to abjure, and ſome others of them were burnt: from thence he confeſſed that he went to Amerſham, where he found a godly and great company, who had continued in that doctrine and the truth twenty three years. Againſt theſe a great perſecution was raiſed by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln, *anno* 1507. at which time many of them were abjured; he alſo confeſſed that he had been an inſtrument under God, to turn ſeven hundred perſons to his religion and doctrine, for the which he thanked God.

Robert Coſin was convented before the biſhop of Lincoln, for perſuading Joane Norman, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to pray to the ſaints, &c. for which he was condemned and burnt at Buckingham.

Anno Chriſti 1518. Chriſtopher Shoemaker of Miſſenden, was accuſed for reading part of the goſpel to John Say, and teaching him that the ſubſtance of bread remained after conſecration: againſt pilgrimages, and worſhipping of ſaints, &c. for which he was condemned and burnt at Newbury. Yea before the name of Luther was heard of, there were multitudes of men and women in England, which profeſſed the truth, and diſavowed the ſuperſtitions of popery, whereupon aroſe a great perſecution in Buckinghamſhire, Amerſham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the dioceſs of Lincoln, in Eſſex, Colcheſter, Suffolk, Norfolk and in divers other places.

After the death of Smith, Longland ſucceeded in the biſhoprick of Lincoln, who was a cruel perſecutor of the poor ſaints of Chriſt: thoſe that firſt were accuſed before him, were Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother; their crime was, for that having abjured under Smith, they were now returned again to their former opinions; and that they uſed to meet in the houſe of Thomas Harding, whoſe wife ſeeing Robert Bartlet come in, ſaid, that ſhe was glad that he was converted to the grace of Chriſt, requiring him that he ſhould never forſake that which he was called to: for if he did, there was no ſacrifice left for him. Alſo ſeeing Richard Bartlet coming, ſhe ſaid, 'I hope he will be a good man, but he hath ſo much mind of buying and ſelling, and taking of farms, that it takes off his mind from all goodneſs;' upon this information Robert and Richard were examined upon their oaths before the biſhop, and at laſt were forced to confeſs, that Robert had read to Richard a portion of ſcripture, and that one William Tilſworth had told them, that the images of ſaints were but ſtocks and ſtones: and that Thomas Maſtal had taught them, that the real preſence of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament: and that Richard had learned ſome part of the epiſtle of James by heart, &c. Robert Bartlet acknowleged likewiſe, that his wife was of the ſame opinions with himſelf, and that if ſhe had not been ſo, he would not have married her: he alſo confeſt that he had taught his ſiſter not to worſhip images, and had taught her part of the epiſtle of James: he alſo detected many others that uſed to meet together to read and confer about the word of God, &c. Then was Agnes Wells, ſiſter to Robert, examined upon ſundry captious interrogatories, which ſhe refuſed at firſt to anſwer to, but at laſt was compelled to deteſt herſelf, and many others. By reaſon of this cruel inquiſition, multitudes of perſons, both men and women, living in and about Amerſham, were brought before the bloody biſhop, and their greateſt crimes were, for reading ſome portions of ſcripture in Engliſh; yet did the biſhop put them to their oaths, and compel parents to accuſe their children, and children their parents; brothers to accuſe their ſiſters and ſiſters their brothers; yea, husbands to accuſe their wives, and wives to accuſe their husbands: and the biſhop perceiving that the number of theſe heretics was very great and that their opinions did daily diſperſe more and more, that it was almoſt paſt his power to redreſs it, he therefore had recourſe to king Henry VIII. who was yet young, requeſting his aid for the ſuppreſſing of theſe men: hereupon the king ſent letters to the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the biſhop in this matter: and ſo the biſhop, being armed with the king's authority, and incited by his own cruel diſpoſition, neglected no time, but ſitting upon his tribunal ſeat, called before him, not only ſuch againſt whom he had proof, but many others that were never ſo little ſuſpected or noted to incline towards thoſe opinions, whom he cauſed to abjure, and enjoined them moſt rigorous penance; the others that had relapſed, though he had promiſed them favour upon their detection of others, yet without all pity he read the ſentence of condemnation againſt them, and delivered them over to the ſecular power by whom they were burnt. And at the burning of one of them, called John Screvener, his own children were compelled to ſet fire to their father.

Hitherto the Chriſtian world had lain for the moſt part in miſerable darkneſs: but it pleaſed God, that about this time the art of printing was found out, which incontinently furniſhed the church with the inſtruments of learning and knowledge, which were good books, which till now lay hid and unknown, and then followed the grace of God, which ſtirred up good wits to diſcern the light, by which darkneſs was diſcovered: truth began to be diſtinguiſhed from error, and religion from ſuperſtition: God alſo raiſed up divers excellent men, that being furniſhed with the help of good letters, defended ſtrenuouſly the cauſe of learning againſt barbariſm, and of truth againſt error, of which number were Picus, and Franciſcus Mirandula: Laurentius Valla, Franciſcus Petrach, doctor Weſalinus, Revelinus, Grocinus, doctor Collet, Rhenanus, Eraſmus, &c. who by their learned writings, and laborious travels opened a window of light unto the world, thereby making way for others that came after: and immediately, and according to God's gracious appointment, came Martin Luther, and his followers, by whoſe miniſtry it pleaſed the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church.

The

CHAP. LVII.

The Perſecution of the Engliſh Church after the riſing of MARTIN LUTHER.

ANNO CHRISTI 1519. There were divers perſons apprehended in Coventry, viz. miſtreſs Smith, Robert Hatcher, Archer, Hankins, Bond, Wrigſham, and Langſdale, for teaching their children and ſervants the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the belief in the Engliſh tongue, whereupon they were put into priſon, and ſome into dungeons under ground: from thence, after a while, they were ſent to Macklock abbey: and in the mean time their children were examined by the warden of Gray Friars in Coventry concerning their belief, and what hereſies their fathers had taught them, charging them upon pain of death not to meddle any more with the Lord's prayer, *&c.* in Engliſh. Shortly after thoſe good people were brought back to Coventry, where they were condemned to be burnt: only miſtreſs Smith was diſmiſſed for the preſent, and becauſe it was dark night, Morton the ſummoner would needs go home with her; but as he led her by the arm, he heard the ruſling of a paper in her ſleeve, whereupon taking out the paper he found that it was the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the creed in Engliſh: then ſaid he, *Ah Sirra, come, as good now as another time*, and ſo he brought her back again to the biſhop, who immediately condemned her, and ſo they were all ſix burnt together in the little park.

There was alſo one Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehenſion of the other ran away: but two years after being taken, and carried to Coventry, he was preſently condemned, and burnt the next day. When theſe perſons were thus martyred, the ſheriffs preſently went to their houſes, ſeizing upon all their goods, not leaving their wives and children any thing to ſubſiſt on.

Anno Chriſti 1523. There was one Thomas Harding living at Cheſham in Buchinghamſhire, who, on Eaſter-day, when other people went to church to commit idolatry, he went into the woods; there ſolitarily to worſhip the true and living God, in ſpirit and in truth; and whilſt he was reading an Engliſh book of prayers, one ſpied him, who immediately ran to the officers to inform them what he had ſeen: hereupon ſome ran to his houſe to ſearch for books; and ſearching very narrowly under the boards of a floor, they found ſome portions of the holy ſcriptures in Engliſh: then was this godly father with his books carried before biſhop Longland, who with his chaplains mocked and derided him.

Thomas Harding ſeeing their uncivil behaviour, ſaid little, but comforted himſelf in the Lord: then was he ſent to the Biſhops priſon called Little Eaſe, where he lay with hunger, and pain enough, till the biſhop called him to judgment, and condemned him to be burnt, appointing one Rowland Meſſenger, vicar of great Wickam to ſee execution done: this vicar, with a rabble like himſelf, carried him to Cheſham, where all that night he continued in prayer, and holy meditations, and the next morning was carried with bills, and ſtaves to the place of execution; many followed him, whereof ſome bewailed his death, others rejoiced at it: when he was tied to the ſtake, he deſired the people to pray for him, and forgiving his enemies, and perſecutors, he commended his ſpirit into the hands of God, and ſo took his death very patiently, lifting up his hands to heaven, and ſaying, *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit:* When fire was ſet to him, one threw a billet at him wherewith he daſhed out his brains; being above ſixty years old.

Anno Chriſti 1528. John Raimund a Dutchman was abjured in London, for cauſing fifteen hundred of Tyndal's New Teſtaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred of them over into England.

Anno Chriſti 1529. Sigar Nicholſon, ſtationer in Cambridge, was hung up by the privy members, for having in his houſe ſome of Luthers, and other prohibited books, and not preſenting them to the ordinary.

Alſo Paul Luther, a gray-fryar was abjured, for ſaying in his ſermon, that it was pity that ſo many images were ſuffered in churches, *&c.* and that there was no need to go on pilgrimages: and that if a man were near drowning, or any other danger, he ſhould call only upon God, for the ſaints in heaven can neither hear, nor help us.

The ſame year William Tracy, eſquire, of Todington in Glocesterſhire, dying made a moſt Chriſtian teſtament, but becauſe he would have no funeral pomp maſs, *&c.* but truſted in God alone thro' Chriſt, the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhewed the ſaid will in the convocation-houſe, when his ſon brought it to be proved, whereupon he was adjudged to be taken out of his grave, and burnt, which was performed two years after his death.

Anno Chriſti 1430. Thomas Hitten, a godly miniſter at Maidſtone in Kent, was convented before archbiſhop Warham, and Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and accuſed of hereſy, whereupon he was kept long in priſon, and cruelly tormented by them, and when by no means they could prevail to turn him from the truth, he was at laſt by them condemned, delivered over to the ſecular power, and burnt at Maidſtone.

Anno 1532. Thomas Bilney, Jeffery Lome, Garret, Barnes, and ſome others, were cruelly perſecuted by cardinal Woolſey, and at laſt forced to abjure; but of Mr. Bilney's recovery, troubles and martyrdom; *See his life in my firſt part.*

There was alſo at the ſame time one Thomas Arthur a miniſter, brought before the cardinal, and divers other biſhops, where he was accuſed for exhorting his people, to pray for thoſe which were in priſon for the truth. *Item* that he told his people, that if he were perſecuted for preaching the goſpel of Chriſt, yet there were ſeven thouſand more that would preach it: Therefore, ſaith he, good people, think not that if theſe tyrants and perſecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the goſpel is therefore to be forſaken. As alſo that he ſaid, that every chriſtian is a prieſt, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice unto God, *&c.* For theſe and ſuch other things he was forced to recant, and ſubmit himſelf to their correction. About the ſame time the biſhops procured of the king a proclamation, for the aboliſhing of divers books printed beyond ſea, and ſent over into England: As alſo for the puniſhing of all ſuch, as preached any thing againſt the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome, whereupon enſued a great perſecution, and much trouble to the poor innocent flock of Chriſt.

Anno Chriſti 1532. Richard Bayfield, a monk of Berry, was converted by doctor Barnes, and much edified by two godly citizens of London, brickmakers, and wardens of their company, Mr. Maxwell, and Mr. Stacy, who by their holy converſation, and private inſtructions were the inſtruments of the converſion, and edification of very many men, and women. The occaſion of Mr. Bayfields converſion was this: doctor Barnes uſed oft to reſort to the abbey of Berry to one doctor Ruffam, who had been his fellow ſtudent at Louane: at this time Bayfield was chamberlain of the houſe to provide lodging for ſtrangers: He delighted much in doctor Barnes his talk, and of the two citizens above named: and at laſt doctor Barnes gave him a New Teſtament in Latin, and the citizens gave him one in Engliſh of Tindals tranſlation, with ſome other good books: Bayfield for two years ſpace ſo ſtudied theſe books, and profited thereby, that for the ſame he was caſt into the abby-priſon, and there cruelly whipt with a gag in his mouth, and then ſet in the ſtocks, where he continued in torments nine months before doctor Barnes could get him out, which he procured by doctor Ruffam's means, and ſo Bayfield was committed to doctor Barnes to go with him to Cambridge: there he profited ſo much in learning that he never returned to his abby again, but went to London to Maxwel, and Stacy, who kept, him privately a while, and then conveyed him beyond ſea, doctor Barnes being then priſoner in the fleet for the truth of Chriſt.

Bayfield joining with Mr. Tindal, and Mr. Frith, profited exceedingly in the knowlege of the truth, and carrying over much ſubſtance with him, was very helpful to them, he ſold alſo all their books, and the Germans books for them, both in France, and England; at laſt coming to London to one Mr. Smith's in Aldermanbury, he was betrayed, and from thence dogged to his warehouſe, where his books lay in Mark lane, and there apprehended, and

committed to Lollard's tower, from whence afterwards he was removed to the biſhops coal-houſe, and there more cruelly handled than he had been in Lollard's tower: For he was tyed both by the neck, and middle, and legs, ſtanding upright by the wall: He was alſo tormented to enforce him to accuſe thoſe that had bought his books of him: but he would accuſe none, and ſtood to the confeſſion of his faith even to the end, tho' he was put to his trial in the conſiſtory, and urged to abjure, which he utterly refuſed, and in diſputation put them to great ſhame. And being aſked for what intent he brought thoſe books into the realm, he anſwered: To the intent that the goſpel of Chriſt might be promoted, and God the more glorified amongſt Chriſtians; confeſſing further that he had ſold, and diſperſed many of theſe books to ſundry perſons in the kingdom, and to divers in the dioceſs of London. At laſt they proceeded to his ſentence, at which time he boldly ſaid unto them: 'The life of you of the ſpirituality is ſo evil, that ye be the heretics; and ye do not only live evilly your ſelves, but maintain the like in others: Ye alſo hinder that it may be known how men ought to live,' &c. Then was he condemned for an heretic, and degraded, and ſo delivered over to the ſecular power. When the biſhop of London had degraded him; he ſmote him ſo hard on his breaſt with his croſiers ſtaff, that he ſtruck him down backwards in a ſwoon, and broke his head; But when he came to himſelf again, he praiſed GOD that he was delivered from the malignant church of antichriſt, and that he was come into the true church of JESUS CHRIST, militant here on earth, and truſted anon to be in heaven with JESUS CHRIST, and the church triumphant for ever: and ſo by the ſheriffs he was carrried to Newgate, where he continued about an hour in prayer, and ſo went to the fire with a joyful, and couragious heart: much cruelty was ſhewed in his burning, for that for lack of fire he continued half an hour alive: and when his left arm was burnt, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body: he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

About the ſame time John Tewkſbury, leatherſeller of London was convented before Cuthbert Tonſtal biſhop of London, and accuſed for having Tindal's Teſtament, and the Bible written, and ſome other good books: before them he made a good confeſſion of his faith, yet at laſt thro' their ſubtil dealing, and human frailty, he was drawn to abjure, and was enjoined a ſevere penance: but it pleaſed GOD e're long to recal him to the truth by ſeeing the courage, and conſtancy of Byefield at the time of his burning: and ſo after two years he was again called before ſir Thomas Moore, and the biſhop of London, where he had many articles laid in againſt him, to which he anſwered very reſolutely, and Chriſtian like, and for which he was condemned, and delivered over to the ſecular power, and ſo by the ſheriffs was carried into Smithfield, and there burnt.

Edward Freeſe, born in York, and there prentice with a painter, being of a pregnant wit, and working with his maſter in Bearſy abbey; the abbot liking him bought out his time of his maſter, and would have made him a monk: but the boy not liking that kind of life, ran away, and went to Cloceſter, where he uſed painting, married a wife, and lived like an honeſt man, and after a time he was hired to paint ſome cloaths for an inn; and in the upper part of thoſe cloaths, he wrote certain ſentences of ſcripture; whereupon he was ſuſpected for an heretic, apprehended and carried to the biſhop of London at Fulham: there he was cruelly impriſoned with ſome others of Eſſex, *viz.* one Johnſton, and his wife: Wylie, and his wife: father Bates, &c. Theſe were all fed with bread made of ſaw duſt, and ſo ſtraitly look'd to that their wives and friends could not come at them. After they had thus remained in miſery, the painter upon the ſuit of his wife was removed to Lollard's tower: but whilſt the woman was thus petitioning for her huſband's remove, being deſirous to ſee him, ſhe being great with child preſſed towards the place where he was; whereupon the biſhop's porter, kick'd her on the belly with his foot, ſo that the child preſently died, and the woman not long after.

Theſe perſons were ſet in the ſtocks a long time: then looſed, but with horſelocks on their legs, and other irons; the painter would be often writing on the wall with chalk, or a coal, which cauſed them to manacle his hands together till his fleſh grew higher than his irons: at laſt the king was petitioned for his releaſe, and after long ſuit he was brought again before the biſhop, but was kept three days without meat before he came to his anſwer, by reaſon of which, and other cruel uſage he was diſtracted, ſo that he never came to his wits, to his dying day.

Not long after, his brother Valentine Freeſe, and his wife gave their lives at one ſtake in York for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

Mr. James Bainham, whoſe father was a knight in Gloceſterſhire, was carefully educated by his parents both in learning, and religion, ſo that he was well ſkilled both in the Latin, and Greek tongues: afterwards he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law: he was of a virtuous diſpoſition, and godly converſation: much addicted unto prayer, and a diligent reader of the holy ſcriptures: a great maintainer of the godly, liberal to ſcholars, a viſiter of priſoners, very merciful to his clients, ready to give counſel to widows, fatherleſs, and afflicted without money, or reward: at laſt he was ſuſpected, and complained of to Sir Thomas Moore then chancellor of England, and being by a warrant from him arreſted in the middle temple, he was carried before him to Chelſey, where he continued a free priſoner for a while: Sir Thomas Moore in the mean time labouring both by frowns, and flattery to withdraw him from the truth; but when that prevailed not, he cauſed him to be bound and whipt at a tree in his garden, and then ſent him to the tower: and after a while, Sir Thomas Moore being preſent, he cauſed him to be cruelly rack'd till he was lamed, becauſe he would not accuſe his acquaintance of the temple, nor diſcover where his books lay: then was his wife impriſoned, and his goods confiſcated.

A while after he was carried before Stokeſly, biſhop of London, and examined upon ſundry articles; to which he made a clear, and ſtout anſwer, not declining from the truth in any particular. The next day he was brought before the biſhop again, and demanded whether he would ſtill perſiſt in what he had formerly ſaid, or whether he would return again to the catholic church? Adding moreover many fair, inticing, and alluring words, ſaying, the time was yet that he might be received to favour, the boſom of his mother being open for him; whereas if he continued ſtubborn, there was no remedy. Bainham hereupon began to waver between deſire of life, and fear of death, and therefore ſaid, that he was willing to ſubmit himſelf in thoſe things wherein he had offended; yet were his anſwers ſuch, that the biſhop before he would releaſe him, would make farther trial of him, and therefore committed him to the counter, and not long after he was again brought forth into the biſhop's conſiſtory, and by his chancellor was aſked whether he would ſtand to his former anſwers, proteſting that he intended not to receive him into the unity of the holy church, except he returned faithfully, and unfeignedly to the catholic faith? To which Bainham anſwered, that he unfeignedly doth believe in the holy church, and holdeth the catholic faith; then did the chancellor offer him a form of abjurations in theſe words, 'I voluntarily as a true penitent perſon return from my hereſies, and utterly abjure them,' &c. But Bainham anſwered, that he knew not the articles contained in that abjuration to be hereſy, and therefore he ſaw no reaſon to abjure them: hereupon the chancellor began to read his definitive ſentence, but ſtopped in the midſt ſaying, that he would reſerve the reſt till he ſaw his time; and ſo ſent him back to priſon. And five days after he was again ſent for into the conſiſtory, and the chancellor again demanded of him, whether he would yet abjure, and ſubmit himſelf? Bainham was contented, and ſo laying his hand on the book he read his abjuration; but when he had done, he ſaid, that becauſe there were many words in the abjuration which were difficult, and obſcure, he proteſted that by his oath, he intended not to go from ſuch defence, which he might have had before his oath: this ſo vexed the chancellor that he took the definitive ſentence in his hand, ſaying, 'Take your oath, and kiſs the book, or I will do mine office againſt you:' Then did Bainham kiſs the book, and ſubſcribed his abjuration; and the chancellor fined him twenty pound to the king; enjoining

ing him penance to go before the croſs in proceſſion, to bear a faggot, &c. after which he was to return to priſon again, and there to abide the biſhop's determination: and after a while he was diſmiſſed, and returned home. But it pleaſed God within a month after to ſhew him his ſin, ſo that he greatly bewailed his abjuration, and could never be quiet in his mind and conſcience, till he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveneſs before the congregation of the faithful, which met privately in a ware-houſe in Bowlane; alſo the Sabbath following he went to St. Auſtine's church, with an Engliſh New Teſtament in his hand, and ſtanding up there in his pew, before all the people, declared openly with abundance of tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to be warned by his fall, that they do not the like; 'For, ſaid he, If I ſhould not return again to the truth, this word of God (holding up the New Teſtament) would damn me, both body and ſoul, in the day of judgment;' and therefore he intreated them all rather to die preſently, than to do as he had done: for he would not feel ſuch an hell in his conſcience again for all the good in the world: beſides, he alſo wrote letters to the biſhop and to others, for which he was preſently after apprehended, and committed to the tower of London, and ſhortly after he was brought before Foxford, vicar general to the biſhop of London, who read to him his articles contained in his abjuration, and ſhewed him a book, which Bainham confeſſed to be his own writing, ſaying, That what was contained in it was good: he alſo ſhewed him the letter which he wrote to the biſhop, which he alſo owned, &c.

After all their proceedings, when he remained conſtant in the truth, the ſentence definitive was read againſt him, and he was delivered to Sir Richard Greſham, ſheriff of London, by whom he was ſent to Newgate, and afterwards being carried into Smithfield he was there burnt, April the laſt *anno Chriſti* 1532.

During his impriſonment he was cruelly handled; for about a fortnight he lay in the biſhop's Coal-houſe, in the ſtocks with irons upon his legs: then was he carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a poſt two nights; then was he carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for a week together; then to the tower, where for a fortnight together he was ſcourged with whips, to enforce him to recant his opinions. As he was at the ſtake to be burnt, in the midſt of the flames which had half conſumed his arms, and his legs, he ſpake theſe words: 'O ye papiſts! behold, ye look for miracles, and here now ye may ſee a miracle: for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down, but it is to me a bed of roſes.'

About the ſame time there was one John Bent, a taylor burnt at the Deviſes in Wiltſhire for the truth: as alſo one Trapnel was burnt at Brodford in the ſame country.

Anno Chriſti 1532. There was an idol named the Rood of Dover court, unto which multitudes of people went on pilgrimage: whereupon divers godly perſons of Dedham, were much troubled in their conſciences to ſee God ſo diſhonoured, and his glory to be given to an idol, wherefore they were ſtirred up by God's Spirit, in a froſty moonſhine night to go from Dedham ten miles to the place where the idol ſtood: and when they came thither, they found the church-doors open, the popiſh clergy having ſpread a rumour, that ſuch was the power of this Rood, that no man could ſhut the church doors where it ſtood: then they did they take the idol from his ſhrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile off, where, ſtriking fire, they burnt the idol to aſhes, and ſo returned. For this three of them, *viz.* Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marſh, were indicted of felony, and condemned to be hanged in chains, which was afterwards executed.

Robert King being hanged at Dedham: Robert Debnam at Cataway cauſey: and Nicholas Marſh at Dovercourt. Theſe three godly perſons at the time of their death wonderfully edified the people, both by their Chriſtian exhortations, and their holy example in dying conſtantly in the faith of Chriſt.

About the ſame time there were many images caſt down, and deſtroyed in ſundry places, eſpecially in Eſſex, in Cogſhal, Sudbury, &c.

Next enſued the perſecution, apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation of Mr. John Frith, of which you may read the ſtory in my *Firſt part in the life of John Frith*, with whom alſo there was burnt one Andrew Hewet, a young man about twenty four years old, a prentice to a tylor in Watling ſtreet: this Hewet on an holy day going up Fleet-ſtreet met with one William Holt, ſervant to the king's taylor: this Holt being a diſſembling knave, and ſuſpecting Hewet to be one that favoured the goſpel: after a little conferrence with him, left him, but withal watched whither he went, and ſeeing him go into an honeſt bookſeller's houſe about Fleet-bridge, he took ſome officers, and went, and ſearched the houſe, and finding Hewet there, he carried him to the biſhop's houſe, where he was caſt into irons; and after he had lain there a good while, by the means of an honeſt man he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and when he ſaw his time, he gat out of the gate; but not knowing where to hide himſelf, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, an hypocritical knave, who underſtanding how he had eſcaped, and that he knew not whither to go, willed him to go with him, promiſing to provide for his ſafety, and accordingly kept him a while in the country, and then brought him to London, and left him in Hoſier-lane for the ſpace of two days, after which he brought Holt to him, who pretended much love to him, ſaying, that if he ſhould bring him into trouble it were a pity but the earth ſhould open and ſwallow him up quick: theſe villains alſo brought ſome others with them at night to ſup with him, and after ſupper Holt gave Andrew two groats, and embraced him in his arms: and thus when they were gone, there came in to him one John Tibald, who had been four times in priſon for Chriſt's cauſe: and ſhortly after came the biſhop's chancellor with the watch, and ſearched the houſe, where he found theſe two innocent perſons, whom he bound with ropes, and carried to the biſhop's houſe: the next day biſhop Stokeſly examined them with many threatening words: after which he ſent Hewet to Lollard's tower, and kept the other under guard, yet afterwards he was delivered, but was forced to ſell all that he had, and might not come within ſeven miles of his own houſe: Andrew Hewet after long, and cruel impriſonment was condemned to death, and burnt with John Frith.

The Life of Thomas Benet.

ABOUT the ſame time there was one Thomas Benet, born in Cambridge, and maſter of arts in that univerſity, a man very well learned, and of a godly life, who was very familiar with Mr. Bilney that famous martyr of Chriſt: this Benet, the more he increaſed in the knowlege of God, and his holy word, the more he abhorred the idolatry and corruptions of the times, and therefore fearing to continue in his own country, he went into Devonſhire, *anno Chriſti* 1524. and firſt dwelt in Torrington, where for the maintenance of himſelf, wife, and children, he taught a ſchool; but that town not affording him a full ſubſiſtance, at the year's end he removed to Exceter, where alſo he taught children, and ſo maintained his family thereby: he was not very covetous, quiet, meek, and of an holy converſation: he greatly delighted to hear ſermons, and was very attentive to them; what time he could ſpare from his ſchool, he employed in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, having no converſe with any but with ſuch as he underſtood to be favourers of the goſpel, and zealous for the truth: and underſtanding that one William Strowd of Newnam, eſq; was committed to the biſhop's priſon in Exceter, upon ſuſpicion of hereſy, he ſent conſolatory letters to him, and leſt his letters ſhould be ſuſpected by this gentleman, he diſcovered himſelf to him, with the cauſe of his coming into that country, and amongſt other paſſages he had this, 'Becauſe I would not be an whoremonger, or unclean perſon, I married a wife, with whom through God's mercy, I have lain hid in Devonſhire from the tyranny of the antichriſtian party theſe ſix years:' thus

increaſing in knowlege, and ſanctity, and ſeeing daily the glory of God to be blaſphemed, idolatry to be embraced, and maintained, and the falſe uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome to be ſo extolled, he was ſo grieved in ſpirit, and troubled in conſcience, that he could not be at quiet, till he had uttered his mind therein; but firſt he began to deal privately with ſome of his friends, to whom he plainly diſcovered how abominably God was diſhonoured, his word contemned, his people, whom he had dearly purchaſed, were by blind guides carried head-long to eternal damnation, and that therefore he could no longer endure, but muſt, and would utter their abominations, and for his own part, for the teſtimony of his conſcience, and in defence of God's true religion, would yield himſelf willingly, as near as God would give him grace, to die, and ſhed his blood in this quarrel: alledging that his death would be more profitable to the church of God, for the edification of his people, than his life could be.

His friends being overcome by his arguments, told him that they would pray for him, that he might be ſtrong in the cauſe of God, and continue a faithful ſoldier to the end. Then did he give order for the diſpoſal of his books, and ſhortly after he wrote his judgment in certain places, which privately he ſet up upon the doors of the cathedral church, in which he wrote, 'The pope is antichriſt, and we ought to worſhip God, and not the ſaints.' Upon the finding of theſe papers there was much ado, and great ſearching after the heretic, that ſhould ſet them up: the mayor and aldermen buſying themſelves therein, but eſpecially the biſhop, and his doctors, were ſtung like as with waſps; and to quench this fire, ſome of them were daily employed to confute this hereſy in public: Thomas Bennet the ſabbath following went to the cathedral church, and accidentally ſat down by two men that were moſt buſy of all others in ſearching after heretics: theſe men looking on Bennet, ſaid to each other, 'This fellow is of all others likelieſt to ſet up theſe papers, and it were good that he were examined; yet when they beheld his ſober carriage, his attention to the ſermon, and his diligent looking on his Latin Teſtament, they were ſo aſtoniſhed that they had no power to ſpeak to him, but went their ways, and left him reading on his book.

The canons and prieſts being much troubled how to find out the author of thoſe bills, reſolved to curſe him whatſoever he were with bell, book and candle, which they proceeded to after this manner,

One of the prieſts cloathed all in white, went up into the pulpit, divers fryars ſtood round about, and the croſs was held up with divers wax tapers lighted about it; then the prieſt began to preach on the text in Joſhua: *There is an accurſed thing amongſt you*: which ſermon he thus concluded: That the foul and abominable heretic which hath put up theſe blaſphemous bills, was for that his blaſphemy damnably accurſed, and therefore he beſought God, our lady, ſaint Peter the patron of the church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confeſſors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up thoſe blaſphemous bills, that ſo God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of theſe curſings was very terrible to the ſpectators, who were miſerably deluded with ſuch ſuperſtitions.

Then ſaid the prieſt, 'By the authority of God, the Father Almighty, and the bleſſed virgin Mary, of ſaint Peter, and ſaint Paul, and of the holy ſaints, we excommunicate, we utterly curſe, and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatſoever he, or ſhe be, that have in ſpite of God and ſaint Peter, whoſe church this is, in ſpite of all holy ſaints, and in ſpite of our moſt holy father the pope. God's vicar here on earth, and in ſpite of our reverend father in God, John, our diocefan, and the worſhipful canons, &c. which ſerve God daily in this church, fixed up ſuch curſed and heretical bills full of blaſphemy upon this, and other holy churches doors. Excommunicated plainly be he, or ſhe, and delivered over to the devil as perpetual malefactors, and ſchiſmatics: accurſed let them be, and given over body and ſoul to the devil: curſed be they in cities, and in towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houſes, out of houſes, and in all other places, ſtanding, lying, or riſing, walking, running, waking, ſleeping, eating, drinking, and whatſoever thing they do beſides. We ſeparate him, or her from the threſhold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy maſs, from all ſacraments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread, and holy water; from all the merits of God's prieſts, and religious men, and from all their cloiſters, from all pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their ſouls if they be dead this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out, (and therewith he put out one of the candles) and let us pray God if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out as this candle light is, (and therewith he put out another candle) and let us pray to God, our lady, ſaint Peter, and ſaint Paul, and all holy ſaints, that all the ſenſes of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and therewith he put out another candle) except they come now and openly confeſs their blaſphemy and by repentance, as much as in them lies, make ſatisfaction to God, our lady, ſaint Peter, and the worſhipful company of this church, and as the ſtaff of this holy croſs now falls down, ſo may they except they repent; and ſo the ſtaff fell down."

Upon this dreadful curſe what a noiſe, and terrible fear was there amongſt the people.

Maſter Bennet ſeeing all this foppery, laughed heartily at it, yet as privately as he could, but ſome there were that eſpied him, whereupon they aſked him how he could laugh at ſuch dreadful curſes? Bennet anſwered; 'My friends, who can forbear ſeeing ſuch merry conceits, and interludes played by the prieſts?' This cauſed them to cry out, 'Here is the heretic, here is the heretic, hold him faſt, hold him faſt:' hereupon there was a great noiſe, and clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or no: ſo that they ſuffered him quietly to depart home to his own houſe: but he, being not able to digeſt the lyes there preached, cauſed his boy early in a morning to ſet up new bills upon the church-yard gates, which whilſt he was doing, one that went early to hear a maſs, found the boy at the gates, and charged him with ſetting up thoſe bills, wherefore pulling down the bill, he carried both it and the boy before the mayor of the city, and thereby maſter Bennet being diſcovered, was preſently ſent for, and violently haled to priſon: on the next day the canons began to examine him, to whom he confeſſed, that it was he that had put up the bills, and that if it were to do, he would do it again; 'For, ſaid he, there is nothing in them but the very truth. Could'ſt thou, ſaid they, have ſpoken ſo much with thy mouth, as well to have ſet up thoſe bills? No, ſaid he, I put them up that many might read them, and thereby know what abominable blaſphemers you are, and that your pope is antichriſt, even that bear out of the wood that deſtroys the church of Chriſt, &c. But if I had ſpoken ſo much I ſhould preſently have been clapt up in priſon, and ſo the truth had been concealed, &c.

The next day they ſent him to the biſhop, who clapped him up in his own priſon, kept him in the ſtocks, loaded him with irons, and ſhewed him as much favour as a dog ſhould have had: then aſſociating to himſelf ſome others, he examined him: but he anſwered in ſuch ſort, and ſo learnedly proved and defended his aſſertions, that he confounded, and put to ſilence his adverſaries, cauſing them much to admire him: then did they rifle his houſe, ſhamefully abuſed his wife, charging her with divers enormities: but ſhe, like a good woman took all patiently, and was willing to bear the croſs with her huſband.

Some of the fryars did greatly torment their brains to find out how they might turn him from his opinions: but through God's mercy, Bennet was at a point, not to deny Chriſt before men, ſo that at laſt they declared that never was there ſuch an obſtinate heretic. Yet did they for divers days continually aſſault him, ſo that being weary of their company, he ſaid, 'I take God to record that my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it; for I am weary of it, ſeeing your deteſtable doings to the utter deſtruction of Chriſt's flock; ſo that I deſire death that I may no longer ſee your deteſtable idolatries, and ſuperſtitions,

stitions, or be subject to antichrist your pope, &c. Away from me, I pray you, and vex my soul no longer; you shall not prevail against me, &c. If I should hear, and follow you, everlasting death should be my portion; a just reward for all them that love a temporal life: away therefore from me, for your company likes me not.'

During his imprisonment his wife provided food for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, intreating her not to move him in any thing to comply with his adversaries.

When the canons and priests perceived that they could nothing prevail, neither by their flatteries, nor threatenings, they proceeded to judgment, drawing out their bloody sentence against him, and condemned him to be burnt, delivering him to Sir Thomas Denis, sheriff of Devonshire, *anno Christi* 1531. The holy martyr rejoiced that his end approached so near, and as a sheep before the shearer; yielded himself with all humility, and chearfulness to take up the cross of Christ, and being brought to the place of execution, he made his humble confession, and prayer to Almighty God, requesting all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity, and sobriety, above all things to seek the honour of God, and the saving knowlege of him, as also to leave the devices, and fancies of men's brains, in the service of God, that all the hearers and spectators were stricken with great admiration, so that most of the people, and the scribe himself that wrote the sentence of his condemnation, confessed that he was God's faithful servant, and a good man.

Yet two gentlemen, (master Thomas Carew, and master John Barnhouse,) laboured first by fair promises, and inticing words, and then by grievous threatenings to draw him to a recantation, and to pray to our lady, and the saints, to whom he meekly answered, saying, 'No, no, it is God only upon whom we must call, and we have no other advocate with the Father but Jesus Christ alone, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of his Father to plead our cause; by him we must offer, and make our prayers to God, if we desire that they should find acceptance at the throne of grace:' Barnhouse was so enraged hereat, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and having set it on fire held it to his face, saying, 'Ah whoreson heretic, pray to our lady, or by God's wounds I will make thee do it:' to whom master Bennet answered with an humble and meek spirit, 'Alas Sir, trouble me not,' and holding up his hands he said, 'Father forgive them;' then was the fire kindled, and this holy martyr lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, said, 'Lord Jesus receive my spirit;' and so continuing in prayer, he never moved his body, but with admirable patience endured the violence of the fire till his life was ended. The popish party were so violent at his burning, that well was he, or she that could get a stick, or bush to throw into the fire.

About this time the popish clergy were so active, and vigilant in suppressing the light of the gospel that began then to break forth, that scarce a man or woman could make the least shew, in embracing, or entertaining the same, but presently they were seized on, and either burnt at a stake, or grievously persecuted, and molested till they were forced to abjure, as very many were in the diocess of London, by bishop Stokesly, and in most other diocesses in the kingdom. And indeed the malice and cruelty of the prelates and their officers grew so intolerable, that the commons, shortly after assembled in parliament, did by their speaker, accompanied with divers knights, and burgesses, complain thereof to the king, humbly desiring him to take such order, and redress in that case, as to his highnesses wisdom might seem most convenient, &c. And the Lord's divine providence did not fail in this time of need: for he saw that the pride, and cruelty of the popish clergy was grown intolerable; he heard the sighs, groans, and bitter afflictions of his oppressed flock, that truth was adulterated, religion profaned, the glory of his son defaced, and his poor church lamentably wasted, wherefore by a strange and wondrous way and means, he wrought salvation for his people, by the king's divorcement from the lady Catharine of Spain, and by his marrying with the lady Anne Bullen, during whose time I find no great persecution, nor any to be forced to abjuration in the church of England.

Also in the parliament which began, *anno Christi* 1533. upon the aforenamed petition of the commons to the king, it was at length by the king's consent enacted, that all the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made, or established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome, to advance their worldly glory, should be null; that whosoever did speak against the same should not therefore stand in any danger, or be impeachable for heresy. As also that all constitutions, ordinances, and canons; either provincial, or synodal made here by the bishops, and clergy in their convocation, being onerous to the king and his subjects, and in any wise repugnant to the laws, and statutes of this realm, should be committed to the examination of thirty two persons to be chosen out of the two houses of parliament, and by them either to be confirmed, or abrogated at their discretion, &c.

But as the king's marriage with the lady Anne Bullen brought great joy to all good and godly men; so it much grieved and incensed the popish party, whereupon some monks, and fryars divulged amongst the common people that they had a revelation from God, and his saints, that he was highly displeased with the king's divorcement from the lady Catherine, and they further declared that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called *The holy maid of Kent*, that if the king persisted in his divorce, he should not continue king for a month to an end, &c.

This nun by her dissimulation before the people, shewed marvellous alteration of her visage, and other parts of her body, lying as if she had been in a trance, and then, as if she had been inspired by God, would speak much by way of reproving sin, and reproaching the gospel which she called heresy: as also she uttered many things to the dishonour of the king and queen, and to the establishing idolatry, pilgrimages, &c. But doctor Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Cromwel, and Mr. Hugh Latimer, by their prudence, and diligence found out all the knavery, so that the nun and some of her associates were condemned, and executed, *anno Christi* 1533.

About this this time there was one Pavier, or Pavy, the town-clerk of London, and a great enemy to God's truth, who could not endure that the gospel should be translated into English, and in the presence of divers he swore a great oath, that if he thought the king would set forth the scripture in English, and so suffer them to be read to the people, he would cut his own throat, rather than live to see that day: but he broke promise, saith mine author; for instead of cutting his throat, he hanged himself with an halter: a just judgment for his impiety.

About the same time doctor Foxford, chancellor to the bishop of London, [Stokesly] a cruel persecutor of God's saints, who had condemned, and forced to abjure those before spoken of, as he was sitting in his chair, his belly burst, and his guts fell out before him.

Anno Christi 1534. The king summoned a parliament, wherein the usurped power of the pope was abolished out of this kingdom, and the king was declared the supream head of the church, and invested with power to reform, and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same. The university of Cambridge also in the regent house unanimously declared against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, the like did many bishops in the realm: yet the body of popery still continued in the land, so that *anno Christi* 1536. that faithful martyr of God, William Tindal, was betrayed, arraigned, and condemned, and gave his life for the testimony of the truth, the story whereof you may read in my *First part of the Marrow of Eccles. Hist. in the life of Mr. Tindal.*

The same year followed the death, and martyrdom of that good queen Anne Bullen, who had now been married to the king about three years: she was a woman of rare and singular gifts of mind, well instructed in the true religion, with a fervent desire to advance, and propagate the same; she was of a gentle, and modest behaviour towards all; and so humble, that she was not only willing to be admonished, but required her chaplains freely, and plainly to tell her of whatsoever was amiss. She was very bountiful to the poor, insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, amounted to the sum of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds; besides a great sum of money, which she intended to have sent into four parts of the king-

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dom, to make a ſtock for poor artificers, and workmen. She was a zealous defender of Chriſt's goſpel, and by her means it was, that Mr. Hugh Latimer was made biſhop of Worceſter, and doctor Shaxton (a good man,) was advanced to another biſhopwreck. What her faith was appears by this example.

King Henry, being with her at Woodſtock, was much afraid of an old blind prophecy, by reaſon whereof, neither he, nor other kings durſt hunt in that park, nor enter into the city of Oxford; but laſt, through the Chriſtian, and faithful counſel of the queen, he was ſo animated, and encouraged againſt thoſe fooliſh fears, that he both hunted in the park, and went to Oxford without receiving any harm thereby. She was a ſtrong bulwark to the reformed religion, and to the profeſſors thereof, which cauſed her to be much hated by her popiſh malicious adverſaries, who ceaſed not till they had wrought her out of the affections of the king, by ſiniſter ſuggeſtions, and falſe tales, and had brought in another lady, upon whom the king caſting his eye, and affecting change, he reſolved to be rid of queen Anne, by whom he had the lady Elizabeth, afterwards our glorious queen of England. For which end the king and queen being at Greenwich to ſee a juſts, ſuddenly in the midſt of the ſport, the king roſe up, and with a few perſons went to Weſtminſter, and the next day after, queen Anne, with the lord Rochford her brother, and ſome others were carried to the tower, and within leſs than three weeks after, ſhe was beheaded, the cauſe whereof was ſcarce ever ſince known.

At the time of her death, ſhe ſpake to this purpoſe; 'Good Chriſtian people, I come hither to die, being adjudged thereunto, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing againſt it: I come not hitherto to accuſe any man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed, and for which I am condemned; I pray God to ſave the king, and to ſend that he may reign long over you, *&c.* And if any perſon will meddle with my cauſe, I require them to judge the beſt: and thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily deſire you all to pray for me. Oh Lord have mercy upon me: to thee, O God, I commend my ſoul,' and ſo kneeling down, ſhe ſaid, 'To Chriſt I commend my ſoul; Jeſus, receive my ſoul.' Which ſhe repeated divers times, till her head was ſtricken off. The third day after, the king was married to the lady Jane Seymor.

It pleaſed God that about this time the lord Cromwel grew in favour with the king, by whoſe advice many things were reformed in the church: whereof you may ſee more in my *Second part, in the life of the lord Cromwel.*

Anno Chriſti 1538. The king's injunctions were publiſhed, whereby all ſuch images, and pictures as were abuſed with pilgrimages, or idolatrous offerings to them, were commanded to be aboliſhed: by vertue whereof many notable idols were deſtroyed, as the image of our lady at Walſingam, Ipſwitch, Worceſter, Willeſdon, of Thomas Becket, with many others, which by ſecret engines were made to open, and ſhut their eyes, to roull them about, *&c.* whereby the people had long been deceived.

At the ſame time there was one fryar Foreſt, who was convict of treaſon, for holding divers damnable hereſies which he refuſing to revoke, was condemned to be hanged on a gallows under the arms, and by fire made under him, to be burnt to death. But when he ſaw that he muſt die, he caught hold on the ladder, and would not let it go, and ſhewed very much impatiency, and terror at his death, ending his life very unquietly, and ungodly.

The ſame year followed the ruin, and demoliſhing of abbeys, and religious houſes by the ſpecial motion of the lord Cromwel.

The life of Mr. John Lambert.

PReſently after followed the trouble, and martyrdom of John Lambert, that faithful ſervant, and valiant champion of JESUS CHRIST, of whom the ſtory followeth.

John Lambert was born, and brought up in Norfolk, and was firſt converted by Mr. Bilney. He ſtudied in the univerſity of Cambridge, and having ſufficiently profited in the knowlege of the Latin and Greek tongues, he tranſlated divers books into Engliſh out of both thoſe languages, and at laſt when perſecution grew hot, he went beyond the ſeas, to Mr. Tindal, and Mr. Frith, with whom he abode above a year, and was preacher to the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp, till by the malice of ſir Thomas Moore, and the cunning craft of one Barlow, he was carried from Antwerp to London, and being brought before archbiſhop Warham, he was charged with forty five articles, whereunto he returned an excellent, and learned anſwer in writing, which you have at large in the book of martyrs, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 396. *&c.* This was *anno Chriſti* 1532. But ſhortly after Warham dying, doctor Cranmer was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, and partly by his means, and partly by the help of queen Anne Bullen, Mr. Lambert was delivered out of priſon, and ſo returning to London, about the Stocks he ſet up a ſchool, wherein he taught the Latin and Greek tongues: and ſeeing that miniſters could not be allowed at that time to marry, he left his miniſtry, and wholly betook himſelf to his ſchool, intending to marry: and thus he continued a ſchool maſter with great commendation, and approbation, and to the great benefit of youth till *anno* 1538. At which time being preſent at a ſermon in Peter's church, there preached one doctor Taylor, a man that was a favourer of the truth. After ſermon Mr. Lambert took his time, and went to the preacher, deſiring to be ſatisfied in divers things, eſpecially about the manner of Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament: doctor Taylor told him that he had other buſineſs for the preſent but wiſhed him to write his mind, and to come to him at another time: Mr. Lambert went his way, and having written his mind, repaired to him at another time: for the confirmation of his opinion he had quoted ſcriptures, ſet down reaſons, and brought the opinion of the doctors: Taylor willing to ſatisfy Mr. Lambert, adviſed with divers, but eſpecially with one doctor Barnes, who favoured the goſpel, and was an earneſt preacher, yet liked not Mr. Lambert's opinion in this point, whereupon he perſuaded Mr. Lambert to put up this matter to archbiſhop Cranmer; and thus the matter which at firſt was but a private conference, became now a public buſineſs; and Mr. Lambert was ſent for by the archbiſhop into the public court, and forced to defend his cauſe openly; for the archbiſhop as yet favoured not the doctrine of the ſacrament, and the rumor of this diſputation was preſently ſpread abroad all over the king's court.

At this time Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter was one of the king's council, who was of a cruel nature, and withal ſubtil, and politic, ever watching an opportunity to hinder the progreſs of the goſpel: and upon this occaſion he went ſtraight unto the king, telling him how much hatred he had procured to himſelf, by aboliſhing the biſhop of Rome's authority; by the demoliſhing monaſteries, and by the divorce of queen Katherine, ſo that he was reported to be a favourer of new ſects, and opinions; but now the time ſerved for his taking off all theſe aſperſions, and clearing himſelf, if he would vigorouſly proceed againſt John Lambert for his hereſies, *&c.* The king willingly hearkened to this counſel, and thereupon preſently ſent out a general commiſſion, commanding all his nobles and biſhops to come with all ſpeed to London to aſſiſt him againſt heretics, and hereſies, which the king himſelf would ſit in judgment upon; and thus all things being prepared, a day was ſet for Mr. Lambert's appearance, a great concourſe of nobles was there, and all the ſcaffolds filled with ſpectators: by and by the faithful ſervant of Chriſt Mr. Lambert, was brought from priſon with a guard of armed men, as a lamb to fight againſt many lions, and placed over againſt the king's ſeat, ſo that now they tarried but for the king's coming, who at laſt came as the judge of that controverſy; on his right hand ſat the biſhops, and behind all the famous lawyers, and on the left hand the peers of the realm, *&c.* which was enough to have daunted the innocent ſervant of Chriſt, but eſpecially the king's looks, his cruel countenance, and brows bent in a ſevere manner; who turning himſelf to his counſellors, called forth doctor Day, biſhop Exceter, commanding him to declare to the people the cauſe of this great aſſembly; the ſum of the biſhop's oration was, that though the king had aboliſhed

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the authority of the biſhop of Rome, yet he would not have any thing that he intended therewith to extinguiſh religion, or to give liberty to heretics to diſturb the church es peace: as alſo that they ſhould not expect any diſputation upon the heretical doctrine; his purpoſe being only by the induſtry of himſelf, and the biſhops to refute the hereſies of this man preſent, and of all like unto him, and openly to condemn them in the preſence of them all.

This biſhop having ended his oration, the king ſtood up, and with bent brows looking upon Mr. Lambert, he demanded of him what was his name? The meek lamb kneeling down, ſaid, 'My name is John Nicholſon, tho' ordinarily I am called Lambert;' and ſo after divers queſtions and anſwers, the king bade him go to the matter, and declare his opinion about the ſacrament of the altar: then Mr. Lambert gave God thanks, who had inclined the heart of the king that himſelf diſdained not to hear, and underſtand the cauſe of religion: the rather, becauſe it oft times fell out, that through the cruelty of the biſhops, divers innocent men in ſeveral places were privily murdered, and put to death without the king's knowlege, &c. Then the king with an angry voice interrupted him, ſaying, 'I came not hither to hear mine own praiſes, therefore briefly go to the matter without any more circumſtances.' Mr. Lambert being troubled at the king's angry words, pauſed a while, conſidering whither he might turn himſelf in this extremity: the king being more incenſed hereby, ſaid, 'Why ſtandeſt thou ſtill? Anſwer what thy judgment is about the ſacrament of the altar?' Mr. Lambert firſt quoted out ſaint Auguſtine's judgment, and then plainly denied it to be the body of Chriſt: then the king commanded archbiſhop Cranmer to confute his aſſertion: the archbiſhop made a ſhort preface, and then diſputed very modeſtly with Mr. Lambert; who anſwered him very acutely and learnedly, ſo that the king ſeemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the archbiſhop was intangled, and the people amazed: but Stephen Gardiner filled with all malice, without the king's command interpoſed, and urged his argument, which Lambert eaſily wiped off, though he was interrupted, and taunted for his labour: then Stonſtal, biſhop of Dureſme took his courſe, and after him Stokeſly biſhop of Lincoln; to both whom, Mr. Lambert anſwered ſo, that both king and biſhops raged exceedingly, ſo that he was forced to ſilence. After which, other biſhops, being ten in all, preſſed him with their arguments; ſo Mr. Lambert, afflicted with taunts, amazed with the majeſty of the place, the king being preſent, and tired with ſtanding, having continued five hours together, and ſeeing no hope of prevailing by ſpeech, reſolved to hold his peace: and when they began to light up torches, the king ſaid to him, 'What ſayeſt thou after all this pains taken with thee? Wilt thou live, or die? What ſayeſt thou? Thou haſt yet free choice.' Mr. Lambert anſwered, I ſubmit myſelf wholly to the will of your majeſty: the king replied, commit thyſelf into the hands of God, not of me. Mr. Lambert anſwered, I commend my ſoul into the hands of God, but my body I wholly ſubmit to your clemency: then ſaid the king, If you commit yourſelf to my judgment, you muſt die, for I will be no patron to heretics;' and ſo turning to the lord Cromwel, he bade him read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. Cromwel was at this time the great patron of the profeſſors of the truth, yet through the malice and ſubtilty of Wincheſter he was put upon this employment; and thus Satan ſometimes makes uſe of one brother to deſtroy another, as he did here of Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer and Cromwel to deſtroy Lambert, who in a manner all of them afterwards ſuffered the like for the goſpel's ſake. And thus was Mr. Lambert in this bloody ſeſſion, judged and condemned to death.

Upon the day which was appointed for this holy martyr to ſuffer, he was brought out of priſon by eight o'clock in the morning, to the lord Cromwel's houſe, and ſo carried to a private chamber, where Cromwel deſired forgiveneſs of him, for that which he had done. And when the hour of death came, Mr. Lambert found much joy, and comfort in his ſoul, and coming out of the chamber into the hall, he ſaluted the gentlemen, and ſat down to breakfaſt with them, after which he was preſently carried to the place of execution, which was Smithfield, where he was very cruelly handled: for when his legs were burnt to the ſtumps, the wretched tormentors withdrew the fire from him, leaving but a ſmall fire, and coals under him: then two of them thruſt their halberts into his ſides, wherewith they lifted him up as far as the chain would permit. Then Mr. Lambert lifting up his hands, his fingers ends flaming with fire, ſaid, 'None but Chriſt, None but Chriſt,' and ſo being let down again, he fell into the fire, where he ſweetly ended his life.

The ſame year Robert Packington, mercer, and citizen of London, uſed every day at five of the clock in the morning, ſummer and winter, to go to prayers at mercers chapel, and one morning being a very great miſt, he was piſtolled as he croſſed the ſtreet thitherward; yet the murderer was long concealed till doctor Incent, dean of Paul's lying on his death-bed, confeſſed that he had hired an Italian, for forty crowns to do that wicked deed; and the reaſon of it was, becauſe this Mr. Packington being a burgeſs of parliament at that time, was known to be a ſtout man, one that could ſpeak well, and would be heard: and in that parliament he had ſpoken plainly againſt their wickedneſs, which had procured him this hatred.

Alſo the ſame year there was one Mr. Collin's a lawyer burnt for an heretic in Smithfield. Alſo in Suffolk there was one Puttedew, who coming to church, and telling the prieſt, that after he had drunk up all the wine alone, he bleſſed the people with the empty cup, was preſently apprehended for it, and ſhortly after burnt for an heretic.

As alſo William Leiton, a monk of Aie in the ſame county, was burnt at Norwich for ſpeaking againſt an idol that was uſed to be carried about in proceſſion: as alſo for holding that the ſacrament ought to be adminiſtred in both kinds.

Not long before, one Peck was burnt at Ipſwich, and when by reaſon of the flame round about him, he was all over as black as a coal, there was one doctor Reading, with other doctors ſtanding by, and Reading having a long wand in his hand, ſtrook Peck on the ſhoulder, ſaying, 'Recant, and believe that the ſacrament of the altar is the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bones, and ſo I will preſently abſolve thee: To whom Peck anſwered, I defy both it, and thee, and ſo ſpat blood at him; whereupon the doctor ſaid, To as many as ſhall caſt a ſtick, to the burning of this heretic, my lord biſhop of Norwich grants forty days pardon;' which ſaid, baron Curſon, Sir John Audley, with many others roſe from their ſeats, and with their ſwords cut down boughs, and threw them into the fire: the like did all the multitude that was there preſent.

As God of his great goodneſs had raiſed up Cromwel to be a friend, and patron to the goſpel; ſo Satan ſtirred up Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, by all ſubtil, and crafty devices to impede, and hinder the ſame, whereupon he ſo wrought with the king: that *anno Chriſti* 1539. he ſet forth injunctions, that none ſhould bring over any Engliſh books, nor ſell, give, utter, nor publiſh them: that none ſhould print any books, but ſuch as were licenſed: that none ſhould print, publiſh, nor ſell any book of the ſcriptures, not firſt peruſed, and licenſed; that no ſacramentaries, or others ſhould ſell books, maintaining their opinions, but that ſuch perſons, and books ſhould reaſon, diſpute, or argue about the ſacrament of the altar: that all ceremonies formerly uſed in the church, as holy water proceſſions, creeping on good Friday to the croſs, &c. ſhould be obſerved till it pleaſed the king to alter, or abrogate the ſame: that all prieſts that had married wives, or intended ſo to do, ſhould be deprived from all ſpiritual promotions, &c. and all theſe upon very grievous, and ſevere penalties.

By theſe means the courſe of the goſpel began again to decline; but preſently after it pleaſed God opportunely to ſtir up the lord Cromwel to be an inſtrument of advancing the goſpel, which he had done much more, had not the peſtilent biſhops by contrary practices craftily undermined him, and ſupplanted his virtuous proceedings.

About this time, *anno Chriſti* 1540. the lord Cromwel for the better eſtabliſhing ſincere religion, in this realm, deviſed to effect a marriage between the king, and the lady Anne of Cleve, whoſe ſiſter was married to the duke of Saxony,

Saxony, a proteſtant prince, by which marriage it was ſuppoſed there would be eſtabliſhed a perpetual peace and amity between this kingdom, and the proteſtant princes of Germany, which would much ſtrengthen the proteſtant party againſt the tyranny of the pope and his adherents. But preſently after the marriage, Stephen Gardiner, who was now crept into favour with the king, ſuggeſted to him ſome occaſions of diſtaſte againſt the duke of Saxony, and ſome apprehenſions of fear by reaſon of that *odium* which he had pulled upon himſelf, by rejecting the pope, and demoliſhing abbeys, and monaſteries, whereby (as he told him) he had made the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the king of Scotland, his enemies, but eſpecially his own ſubjects who were much diſtaſted with the innovations in religion, &c. and that the only way to heal all, was to ſhew himſelf ſharp, and ſevere againſt the new ſectaries.

This occaſioned the king to condemn Mr. Lambert; to publiſh the aforenamed injunctions, and as if he yet had not done enough; he ſummoned a parliament, and convocation, in both which he cauſed theſe ſix articles to be enacted. Firſt, that the bread, and wine in the ſacrament after the words of conſecration, were really turned into the body and blood of Chriſt, &c. Secondly, that the communion in both kinds is not neceſſary *ad ſalutem*, to ſalvation, &c. Thirdly, that prieſts may not marry. Fourthly, that vows of chaſtity ought to be obſerved by the laws of God. Fifthly, that private maſſes ought to be continued. Sixthly, that auricular confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retained, and frequented in the church of God.

Theſe articles being conſented unto, and concluded by king and parliament, the crafty biſhops cauſed farther to be enacted, that whoſoever denied tranſubſtantiation, or whoſoever ſhould be aiders, comforters, counſellors, conſenters, and abettors therein, ſhould be adjudged heretics; that every ſuch offender ſhould have, and ſuffer judgment, execution pains, and pain of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of clergy, or ſanctuary, &c. and ſhould farther forfeit to his majeſty, all his honours, manors, lands, tenements, goods and chattels, &c. as in the caſes of high treaſon. And for all ſuch as did preach, teach uphold, maintain or defend any thing contrary to the five laſt articles, ſhould be adjudged as felons, and loſe both life and goods, as in the caſe of felony, &c.

Yet when theſe articles were in debate in the parliament-houſe, doctor Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, like a conſtant patron of God's cauſe, took upon him the earneſt defence of the truth, three days together diſputing againſt theſe articles, and in his diſputations he behaved himſelf with ſuch humble modeſty; proteſting that the cauſe was not his, but the cauſe of almighty God, that the king could take no offence at the ſame. Whereof the king, who always bore him ſpecial favour, well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament houſe into the council-chamber for a time till the act ſhould be paſſed; which he notwithſtanding with humble proteſtation refuſed to do. But notwithſtanding all his oppoſition, the act was paſſed, and the king conſidering the conſtant zeal of the archbiſhop, and weighing the many authorities, and reaſons which were brought againſt thoſe articles: he ſent the lord Cromwel, the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with all the lords of the parliament to dine with the archbiſhop at Lambeth: where they told him that it was the king's pleaſure that they all ſhould in his highneſs behalf, cheriſh, comfort and animate him as one that in the parliament had declared himſelf very learned, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe, and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged at any thing that had paſſed contrary to his judgment, and allegations; the archbiſhop humbly thanked, firſt the king for his ſingular good affection towards him, and then the lords for their pains; adding, that he hoped that hereafter his allegations and authorities ſhould take place to God's glory, and the benefit of the realm.

Not long after followed the apprehenſion and martyrdom of the lord Cromwel, earl of Eſſex, concerning which ſee his life in my *Second Part of the Marrow of Eccleſ. Hiſtory*.

This lord Cromwel in his life-time had been a great ſtay and prop to the church of England, and had much protected the profeſſors of the goſpel, but after his death, there inſued a miſerable ſlaughter of godly men, and women: for Wincheſter having now obtained his purpoſe, raiſed great troubles in the Lord's vineyard, and his malicious mind: admitting no delays, he aſſaulted three godly miniſters, Mr. Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerom.

The life of Dr. Barnes.

DOCTOR Barnes after he came from the univerſity of Lovain, went to Cambridge, where he was elected prior of the Auguſtine fryars. At this time the knowlege of good letters was ſcarcely entred into the univerſity; whereupon doctor Barnes began to read in his own houſe, Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, ſo that by his great pains and induſtry, he cauſed the houſe to flouriſh with learning, and divers began to be eminent for their ſcholarſhip, amongſt whom was Mr. Coverdal. After this foundation laid, he began openly to read upon Paul's epiſtles, and that he might advance Chriſt, and his holy word, he turned their unſavoury problems, and former fruitleſs diſputations to better ſubjects about the holy ſcriptures, whereby in ſhort ſpace he made many good divines: the ſame order he alſo obſerved when he diſputed in the univerſity ſchools. Thus by his reading, diſputations, and preaching he became famous and mighty in the ſcriptures, always preaching againſt biſhops, and hypocrites, yet ſaw not the remainders of idolatry which himſelf practiſed, till good Mr. Bilney, and ſome others converted him wholly unto Chriſt. Then preaching publicly in Cambridge, he was accuſed of hereſy by two fellows of King's hall. This ſtirred up ſome godly, and learned men of Pembrook hall, and other colleges often to meet together at an houſe in the town, which in deriſion was by their adverſaries called Germany.

Doctor Barnes his adverſaries accuſed him in the regent-houſe; and articles being put in againſt him, he promiſed to return an anſwer to them, which accordingly he did at the next convocation: then did doctor Nottaris move doctor Barnes to make a recantation, which he refuſed to do. Thus in Cambridge did this difference continue, one preaching againſt another for about a quarter of a year, at the end whereof a purſuivant at arms was ſent down from London, who, for the terror of others arreſted doctor Barnes in the convocation-houſe, intending alſo to ſearch for Luther's books in all their ſtudies that were ſuſpected to favour his doctrine: but doctor Farman of queen's college ſent word immediately to all their chambers, ſo that when the purſuivant came, the books were all conveyed away.

The godly ſcholars met together that night, and drew up an anſwer for doctor Barnes, which they gave him, and when he came to London, he was preſently carried before cardinal Wolſey, where after long attendance, he was at laſt admitted into his chamber, and cauſed to kneel upon his knees: then ſaid the cardinal to him, 'What Mr. doctor, had you not ſufficient ſcope in the ſcriptures to preach on, but you muſt meddle with my golden ſhooes, my polaxes, my pillars, my golden cuſhion, my croſſes? did theſe ſo offend you that you muſt make us *ridiculum caput* amongſt the people? Surely that ſermon was fitter for a ſtage than a pulpit,' &c. doctor Barne's, anſwered that he ſpake nothing but the truth out of the ſcriptures, according to his conſcience, and the ancient fathers, and withal delivering him ſix ſheets of writing to corroborate his ſayings. The cardinal ſaid, 'We perceive then that you intend to ſtand to your articles, and to ſhew your learning: yes, ſaid Barnes, that I do, by God's grace, and your lordſhip's favour: then ſaid the cardinal, ſuch as you, bear us little favour. But whether do you think it better for us to have all this royalty for the terror of the wicked, or to ſell all, and give it to the poor? Barnes anſwered, I think it neceſſary to be ſold, and given to the poor: for this is not comely for your calling, &c. then the cardinal ſaid, What ſay you, Mr. doctor? do you not know that I am *legatus de latere?* and that I have power to diſpenſe in all matters of religion? Barnes anſwered, that

that he knew it: then ſaid the cardinal, 'Will you be ruled by me?' &c. Barnes anſwered, he would ſtick to the holy ſcriptures, according to that ſimple talent that God had lent him. This angered the cardinal, ſo that he would have ſent him preſently to the tower; but at the requeſt of two doctors, he was returned that night to the ſerjeant at arms, and the next day was carried to the chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter.

When he came thither, there were five Stilliard men in queſtion for Lollardy, and for bringing over ſome of Luther's books, but as ſoon as they ſaw doctor Barnes, they cauſed him to ſtand aſide whilſt they examined the doctor, after which they committed him, with the Stilliard men, all cloſe priſoners to the Fleet. Afterwards he was again carried before them, and after many threats and ſcorns, they aſked him whether he would abjure or burn? But he being in great agony reſolved for the preſent rather to burn than abjure: yet afterwards by crafty and ſubtile dealing of ſome pretended friends, he was drawn from his ſtedfaſtneſs, and brought to abjure, and to do a diſgraceful penance in Paul's church, together with the Stilliard men: yet neither then would they diſmiſs him, but kept him priſoner, firſt in the Fleet, afterwards in Auſtin Friers in London, and at laſt they ſent him to Auſtin Friers in Northampton, ſending down after him a writ for his burning, which he, having notice of from a friend, privily made an eſcape, and getting on a beggar's cloaths, he went to London; and ſo by Antwerp, and from thence he travelled to Wittenberg, where he fell hard to his ſtudies, and wrote his book called *Acta Romanorum Pontificum:* and his ſupplication to king Henry VIII. wherein he gives an account of all the ſubtile, malicious, and injurious dealings of the popiſh party with him, in this manner.

In the year of our Lord 1525. (ſaith he) and the 24th of December, at the requeſt of the pariſh, I preached a ſermon in St. Edward's church in Cambridge, out of which ſermon mine adverſaries gathered ſome articles againſt me, which when I knew of, I offered to preach again the next Sabbath, and to clear myſelf: but doctor Ridley, and doctor Preſton (chaplains and kinſmen to the biſhop of London) prevailed with the vice-chancellor to inhibit me, yet could I never learn any reaſonable cauſe why but he ſaid, it ſhould be for my profit to hold my peace; with this I was ſatisfied till the aforeſaid doctors, and one maſter Tyrill drew up articles againſt me, and preſented them to the vice-chancellor, who ſending for me, aſked me what I ſaid to them: I anſwered, that they were none of mine, only ſome words and ſentences in them I had ſpoken, but what ſhould make for me, that was left out, for which I referred myſelf to the auditory: the vice chancellor replied, that I muſt take heed what I denied, for if they brought witneſſes againſt me, I muſt die. I anſwered, that ſuch witneſſes ſhould be falſe, for I never ſpoke them: to which he replied, that I could not prove a negative, and were the witneſſes true or falſe, I muſt ſuffer for it, if they came in, for that was the law: to which I anſwered, that that was a piteous caſe, for by that law they might condemn Chriſt himſelf: he replied, that I ſhould conſider what I did, for the matter was ſo hainous, that I could be admitted in law no counſel: then ſaid I, God help me which knoweth all things. This was in the ſchools, the doors ſhut faſt; none preſent on my party, but of my adverſaries, doctor Ridely, doctor Preſton, doctor Watſon, and a doctor of law: with maſter Fooke, and maſter Tyrill, who was appointed to preſent theſe articles againſt me.

The vice chancellor when he could get no more of me, aſked me what I would do? I anſwered, that he ſhould hear their complaint, and I would make ſuch an anſwer as God ſhould put into my mind. Then did maſter Tyrill preſent a roll in which were certain articles (as he ſaid) gathered out of my ſermon, of which ſome were contentious, ſome ſeditious, ſome ſlanderous, and ſome heretical: then ſaid I, good maſter Tyrill will you preſent any of theſe articles as heretical? But the vice-chancellor moved me to ſubmit myſelf, whereto I ſaid, whatſoever I have ſpoken againſt God's word, or the expoſition of the holy doctors, I will be content therewith to be reformed, and to ſubmit myſelf: the other doctors were not ſatisfied with this, unleſs I would add, 'or if I have offended the laws of the church:' at this I ſtopped, and ſaid, that it was too large for I knew not what they meant by the laws of the church: it was ſufficient for me to ſubmit to God's word, and the expoſition of the holy doctors: but when they would not be ſatisfied, I yielded that I would agree to all laws that were not againſt God's word, nor St. Auguſtine, Jerom, &c.

This was all that was done the firſt day; for by this time was the whole body of the univerſity gathered together, who knocked at the doors, and ſaid that they would hear my examination, ſeeing the cauſe was public, and a matter of learning that concerned the whole univerſity, and therefore theſe few perſons ſhould not take upon them only, and privately to hear and determine ſuch cauſes; and when the vice chancellor could not ſatisfy them, he ſaid, we muſt for the preſent give over this matter, for the univerſity is in a tumult, and ſo we departed.

But two or three days after, I was called into Clare hall to the vice chancellor's chamber, wherewere alſo the aforeſaid doctors gathered againſt me; there did they intreat me with flattering words to ſubmit to maſter vice chancellor's counſel, whereupon I required to be indifferently heard by him, together with my adverſaries, and then if I had ſaid any thing againſt the truth, I would ſubmit: they replied, that it was for my good that he did ſit in judgment, for if witneſſes ſhould come in againſt me (as certainly they would) I were a loſt man: to which I anſwered, that ſuch muſt needs be falſe witneſſes, for many learned men heard my ſermon, who would certainly teſtify the truth: they replied, that if three came in againſt me, twenty three would not help me, for that was the law, &c. After they had a while conferred together privately, the vice chancellor came to me, and told me that on his conſcience they were all friends, and intended to ſave both my name and fame, which yet they could not do, except I followed their counſel: after a while upon their much urging, I ſaid, right worſhipful maſters, I truſt ye be all my friends, and have ſo much charity in you, as that you will not caſt me away except you find me obſtinate, which I truſt you ſhall not do. For I never intended to ſay any thing againſt Chriſt's truth; yet ſeeing the law is ſo dangerous as you have ſhewed me, I had rather put myſelf upon your charity, than to ſtand to the danger of it: and therefore to theſe articles, I thus anſwer, that here are many words and ſentences which I did ſpeak, and therefore I ſubmit myſelf to you, intreating your favour not to take me in the worſt ſenſe: then after they had given me my oath to ſtand to their judgment, the vice-chancellor, as he ſaid, abſolved me *ab excommunicatione juris.*

But herein they dealt treacherouſly; for unknown to me they had a notary that wrote down all theſe paſſages; whereas they pretended to deal with me as friends, and as private perſons, yet afterwards they made uſe of all, and put it into the court as witneſſes againſt me, when I was brought before the biſhops.

Whilſt theſe buſineſſes were tranſacting, the body of the univerſity gathered together, and ſent up certain maſters and batchelors of divinity to the vice chancellor, requiring that they might be admitted to hear my examination, foraſmuch as they heard my ſermon. Anſwer was made that there was no ſuch matter in handling, but that they only conferred with me friendly, and gave me advice for my profit; yet to ſatisfy them, I was diſmiſſed for the preſent.

About a month after doctor Watſon and doctor Preſton by the advice of the vice-chancellor, drew up a recantation of every article by itſelf, wherein they would have me confeſs whatſoever was alledged againſt me, becauſe (as they ſaid) ſome men had underſtood me ſo: and herein they conſtrued every thing in an evil ſenſe, ſo that there was never an article but it was either heretical, ſeditious, contentious, blaſphemous, or *piis auribus offenſivus*: I had a friend that privately wrote out this recantation, which when I had gotten, I ſent for to my chamber maſter Staſford, maſter Bilney, and ſix or eight more of the learneded men that were in Cambridge, whoſe counſel I aſked about this matter: they anſwered, that ſeeing this recantation was falſe and uncharitable, I could not with a good conſcience agree to it; whereupon the vice-chancellor, and doctors called me again, and would have me read this recantation

cantation the Sabbath after publicly in the church, where I had made my ſermon, without ſaying more or leſs than what was written; yea, and that I ſhould promiſe, that if I were afterwards convented by the higher powers, I ſhould be content to ſuffer all pain and puniſhment that they ſhould lay upon me: I refuſed to agree thereto, telling them that it was neither agreeable to learning, equity, nor charity, ſeeing I neither ſpake nor thought theſe things, but they were only falſe collections made by malicious perſons out of my ſayings contrary to my meaning. Upon this they were divided amongſt themſelves, ſome ſaying that I was bound by my oath to ſubmit hereto, others ſaying my oath bound me not, becauſe contrary to their promiſe, they had dealt ſo uncharitably with me, ſo that at laſt they gave me eight days time to return my anſwer what I would do.

In the mean time Mr. Tyrill poſted to London, and procured cardinal Wolſey to ſend down a ſerjeant at arms, who arreſted me in the univerſity, and carried me away to London, and the Wedneſday night after. I was carrried before the cardinal, who read over my articles, and aſked me divers queſtions about the ſame, after which I told him that theſe articles were uncharitably gathered out of my ſermon: He aſked me how I would purge myſelf from the ſuſpicion of hereſy? I anſwered, that I would bring twenty honeſt, learned men that ſhould be my compurgators. He ſaid, Can you bring ſix or ten doctors of divinity? I told him that was impoſſible, for there were but two that heard my ſermon, and they belonged to biſhops, and therefore probably would not teſtify for me. Then ſaid he, You muſt be burnt, therefore conſider with yourſelf whether you will ſtand to a courſe of law, or ſubmit yourſelf to my grace. But having been formerly circumvented by ſubmitting to the vice chancellor, I reſolved to be no more ſo haſty in doing the like again: After ſome other diſcourſe he told me that I was a fool, and perceived not how good he was to me, and therefore he appointed fifteen or ſixteen biſhops and doctors to hear, and examine me the next day. At which time the biſhop of Bath told me that I was defamed for hereſy, which I denied, and deſired to know mine accuſers. Nay, ſaid he, We proceed after another form of law, &c. They aſked me alſo divers other queſtions not at all pertaining to my articles, and after I had anſwered them, they laid their heads together to find out other captious queſtions, and thus they continued with me three days together; at the end whereof there was a great long roll, or recantation offered me, and I was commanded to read it, and not to ſpeak one word more or leſs before the people than what was contained in that roll; for if I did, they would handle me well enough; then I deſired that I might firſt ſee what was contained in it; but this would be by no means granted; then I deſired to know what it was, for I had taught no other but what St Auguſtine, Jerome, and other doctors of the holy church had taught before me; they ſaid, If Auguſtine, Jerome, &c. were preſent, they ſhould ſtand to the determination of the church; I replied, that they were ſo far approved, that if any church ſhould determine againſt them, I ſhould ſuſpect it: but they ſtill urged me to give a poſitive anſwer whether I would read the recantation or no? Then ſaid I, My lords, I beſeech you for Chriſt's ſake, deal charitably with me, remembering what Paul ſaith. *Your power is given for edification, not for deſtruction.* Tell us, ſay they, whether you will read the roll or not; this is the third and laſt time of aſking? I replied, I will not read it unleſs I may firſt ſee it, do with me as you ſhall pleaſe. When they had conſulted together, they told me I ſhould have one to read it to me; and ſo appointed a notary to go aſide, and read it to me. In the beginning of it, it was ſaid, that whereas certain articles were gathered out of my ſermon, whereof ſome were ſcandalous, ſome ſeditious, ſome fooliſh, and ſome heretical: I aſked him, which be heretical? he anſwered, It belongs not to me, I can make you no anſwer: Hereupon I replied, ſhall I be condemned for an heretic, and not be ſhewed my hereſy? Read no farther: Then returning to the biſhops, I kneeled down, and deſired them for the paſſion of Chriſt's ſake to ſhew me which article they condemned for hereſy, &c. But they anſwered, that I ſhould read the roll, or elſe be burnt: Then ſaid I, Jeſus, have mercy on me, I will never read it: upon this the other doctors cried out upon me on all ſides, ſaying, remember yourſelf, caſt not away yourſelf after this manner: to read the roll is but a very ſmall matter; you will be never the worſe man, and you ſhall ſee that my lord cardinal will be good and gracious to you, and we will all ſpeak for you. So that I ſuppoſed in very deed, that they would have required no more of me but to read the roll, that I might not ſeem to have the victory over them: which thing I regarded not, and having this opinion of them, and being overcome by their good, and flattering words, I conſented to read it; but then the biſhop of Bath ſaid, It was too late; others ſaid the contrary: at laſt, all the people were called in (who were very many, and hitherto had been kept out) to hear me read it: then was I commanded to ſign it, and make a croſs on it: then to kneel before the biſhop, and to deſire abſolution: but he refuſed to grant it; unleſs I would ſwear to perform the penance which ſhould be enjoined me: and when, relying upon their charity, I had done all this, they ſent me back to priſon that night, and the next day being Sabbath, I ſhould do penance openly at Pauls; and to make the world believe that I was a notorious heretic, the cardinal came with all his pomp, and pride, and all the biſhops and abbots about the city, almoſt thirty in number, the more to advance their cauſe, and diſgrace me; then did the biſhop of Rocheſter preach a ſermon againſt Lutherans, as if I had been convicted for one: and yet after all this I muſt return to priſon, and there remain till my lord cardinal's further pleaſure, which pleaſure I did abide firſt and laſt two years and three quarters, and yet could not be delivered: and whereas I ſent to the biſhop of London certain worſhipful men of the city, who proffered to be bound for me, and much importuned him for my liberty, he dealt ſo with them, that when they came home, there was not any of them that durſt ſo much as give me a bit of bread to relieve me in my neceſſity, nor yet ſpeak one word to me.

Immediately after this the biſhop cauſed me to be ſent to Northampton, there to remain in perpetual priſon. Thus, moſt gracious prince, have they handled me your poor orator. I beſeech your highneſs to be good, and gracious to me, and to judge if this be charitable dealing, thus to condemn me for an heretic, and never to ſhew me the cauſe why: but by violent tyranny to compell me to do, and to confeſs even what they pleaſe, or elſe I muſt be put to death: and if yet there be any of them that will come forth, and prove hereſy againſt me, I will ſubmit to ſuffer any puniſhment that your grace ſhall adiudge me to. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve your noble grace evermore. *Amen.*

Doctor Barnes whileſt he was at Wittenberg repented much of his former backſliding, and grew more ſtrong in Chriſt. He was greatly eſteemed by Luther, Melanchthon, Pomerane, Juſtus Jonas, &c. As alſo by the duke of Saxony, and the king of Denmark, who ſent him with ſome Lubeckers upon an embaſſage to our king Henry, at which time he lay at the Stilyard.

Sir Thomas Moore being then lord chancellor would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not ſuffer it, and ſo he departed again to Lubeck without reſtraint, Cromwell being yet alive, and his great friend: After this he went again to Wittenberg, where he remained to ſet forwards his works in print, and king Henry having marryed the lady Anne Bullen, he returned into England, and was a painful, and faithful preacher in the city of London all her time: after that he was ſent ambaſſador by the king to the duke of Cleve about a marriage between the king and the lady Anne of Cleve, and was well approved for his pains therein, and in all his other doings, till Stephen Gardiner returned out of France, after which time neither religion, nor the queen, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers of the truth proſpered. For this Stephen Gardiner never reſted till he had cauſed the king to be divorced from the lady Anne of Cleve, whereupon he began his bloody broils.

And firſt he began with doctor Barnes, againſt whom he preſumed the king to have diſlike, becauſe he had been an inſtrument in promoting his marriage with the lady Anne of Cleve, and this occaſion fell out fitly for his turn. Lent was now at hand; and doctor Barnes, Mr. Hierom, vicar

vicar of Stepney, and Mr. Thomas Garret were appointed to preach at Paul's croſs: Gardiner hearing of it, ſent his chaplain to the biſhop of London, deſiring to have a day before them to preach there: this was eaſily aſſented to, and Gardiner preached upon the goſpel appointed for the day, which was about the temptations of Chriſt, wherein he inveyed againſt the new way as he called it,) and the preachers of it, comparing them to the devil in his temptations, *&c.*

Preſently after came doctor Barnes his turn, who preached upon the ſame text, and was as vehement on the contrary in ſetting forth the true doctrine of Chriſt, as Wincheſter had been in labouring to impugn the truth, and to draw men to error, from ſincerity to hypocriſy, from religion to ſuperſtition, from Chriſt to antichriſt, and in the proceſs of his ſermon he compared himſelf and Gardiner to two fighting cocks, but, ſaid he, the Garden-cock wants two good ſpurs: adding that if he had anſwered him no better in the ſchools than he had done in the pulpit, he would have given him ſix ſtripes. Gardiner was ſo nettled with this ſermon that he preſently went to the king, complaining how he, being a prelate of the realm, had been railed on at Paul's croſs. this ſo incenſed the king, that ſending for Barnes, and taking him into his private cloſet, before the earl of Southampton and ſome others, he highly rebuked him, and after much debate, he appointed him to confer with Wincheſter; but after a while doctor Barnes waxed weary of the biſhop's houſe, and ſo withdrew himſelf: this being complained of with many aggravations to the king, he was greatly incenſed againſt Barnes, enjoining him, and his two companions to preach two recantation ſermons at the Spittle, where Stephen Gardiner alſo was preſent to hear them.

When doctor Barnes came up, contrary to moſt mens expectation, he boldly aſſerted the truth; and the like did Hierom, and Garret after him: ſo that the lord major after the ſermon was ended, asked Wincheſter, whether from thence he ſhould ſend Barnes to the tower? But Wincheſter had rather that it ſhould be the king's doing, and therefore by himſelf and his agents he ſo incenſed the king, that they were all three preſently ſent to the tower, where they continued from Eaſter till July, and then two days after the death of the lord Cromwel, proceſs was made againſt them by the king's counſel in parliament, and within a few days after theſe three ſervants of God, not coming to any anſwer, nor knowing the cauſe of their condemnation, and without any public hearing were carried from the tower to Smithfield, where at the ſtake doctor Barnes, to clear himſelf from the imputation of hereſy, made a large, and excellent confeſſion of his faith, and afterwards he asked the ſheriff if he had any articles againſt him for which he was condemned? The ſheriff anſwered, no; then ſaid he, 'Is there any man elſe that knows wherefore I die? To which no man anſwered. Then ſaid he, I am condemned to die, and as I hear, by an act of parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell: but it ſeems for hereſy, becauſe I am to be burnt: as for ſuch as have been the occaſion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven myſelf, &c. I have been reported to have been a preacher of ſedition, and diſobedience to the king; but I profeſs to you, that you are all bound by the law of God, to obey your prince with all humility, &c. and that not only for fear of vengeance, but for conſcience ſake. Yea, if the king ſhould command you to do any thing againſt God's word, and you have power by force to reſiſt him, yet you may not do it.' Then did he requeſt the ſheriff to have him commended to the king, and to requeſt him for God's ſake, to give at leaſt, part of the abbey lands for the comfort and relief of the poor: to ſee that matrimony be had in more reverence, and that men for light occaſions do not put away their wives, nor live in fornication, &c. To puniſh that abominable ſwearing that was ſo rife, and which otherwiſe would pull down vengeance; to ſet forwards Chriſt's true religion, and to perfect that reformation which he had begun, &c. Then did he deſire all men to forgive him if he had any way offended them, and to bear him witneſs that he abhorred all falſe doctrines againſt the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom he doubted not to be ſaved; and ſo intreating them to pray for him, he prepared himſelf patiently to take his death, and reſigned up his ſpirit into the hands of God.

Mr. Thomas Garret miniſter of Honey lane in London, having gotten ſundry good books out of Germany, with Tindals New Teſtaments went to Oxford to ſell them amongſt divers godly ſtudents there: but cardinal Wooſley having intelligence hereof by his ſpies, firſt made ſearch in London for him: but Mr. Garret by ſome friends had private notice beforehand, and therefore by the advice of his friends he was ſent towards Dorcetſhire there to remain till he could convey himſelf beyond ſea: by the way as he went he was ſurprized with a great fear, and could have no reſt in his ſpirit till he returned to Oxford, which accordingly he did, and the ſame night after his coming he was by the privy ſearch apprehended, and delivered to the commiſſary, who kept him priſoner in his chamber: but when the commiſſary with all his company were gone to evenſong; Garret putting back the bolt of the lock, eſcaped, intending to go into Wales, and from thence to convey himſelf into Germany: but by the way (great ſearch being made after him) he was again apprehended, and together with many other young ſtudents was enforced to do penance; afterwards ſhifting from place to place, he eſcaped their tyranny, till at laſt he was again apprehended, and finally burnt with doctor Barnes in Smithfield, where he holily, and conſtantly endured martyrdom.

The third that was burnt with them was Mr. William Hierom, vicar of Stepney, who was a diligent preacher of God's word, and one that laboured to root out of the hearts of his hearers their ſuperſtitious practices, &c. And being called to preach at Paul's croſs he there maintained juſtification by faith, for which he was convented before the king, impriſoned in the tower, and at laſt burnt with the other two in Smithfield, where he comfortably ſlept in the Lord.

At the ſame time three others were burnt in Smithfield for popery, which raiſed a great doubt in the common people about religion, not knowing which ſide to follow, and this was occaſioned by reaſon of the diſcord in the privy counſel, one part being proteſtants, and the other part papiſts, and as one part called for the execution of papiſts, ſo did the other of proteſtants.

Yea by reaſon of the ſix articles ſuch a number were apprehended in London, Calais, and other places, that all the priſons in London were too little to hold them, and many of them were impriſoned in halls.

Anno Chriſti 1541. There was one John Porter, who was cruelly handled for reading upon a Bible in Paul's church, which in the days of the lord Cromwel had been ſet there by Bonner biſhop of London: whereof ſee more in my *Second part, in the Life of the lord Cromwel.*

This with five other Bibles being ſet up in that church, divers well diſpoſed people uſed much to reſort thither to read, and have them read, amongſt whom this John Porter uſed ſometimes to be occupied to the edifying both of himſelf, and others. He, by diligent reading of the ſcriptures, and hearing the ſermons of thoſe which ſet forth the truth of the goſpel, grew very expert: ſo that very many reſorted to hear him read, the rather becauſe he had a very audible voice: this at laſt ſo vexed Bonner, and his chaplains, that he ſent for Porter and rebuked him very ſharply for his reading. Porter, anſwered that he truſted he had no way offended contrary to the law thereby. Bonner charged him for making expoſitions upon the text, and for gathering multitudes about him to raiſe tumults: this Porter denied, yet did Bonner ſend him to Newgate, where he was miſerably loaden with irons both hands, and legs, with a great collar of iron about his neck, whereby he was faſtened to the wall in the dungeon: after a while he ſent for a kinſman of his, who by bribing the keeper, obtained that he was put amongſt the thieves, and murderers: but Porter hearing, and ſeeing their wickedneſs, and blaſphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, giving them ſuch inſtructions as himſelf had learned out of the holy ſcriptures. For this he was complained of, and carried down into the loweſt dungeon, where he was ſo cruelly oppreſſed with bolts, and irons, that within few days after he was found dead.

About the ſame time John Longland biſhop of Lincoln, burnt two godly men upon one day; one Thomas Bernard

for teaching the Lord's prayer in Engliſh, the other, James Morton for keeping the epiſtle of James tranſlated into Engliſh in his houſe. Alſo one Mr. Barber, maſter of arts in Oxford, a godly, and learned man, that diſputed ſtoutly, and accurately againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: through the iniquity of the times was at laſt brought to a recantation, after which he never proſpered, but wore away with grief and ſorrow till he died.

Anno Chriſti 1544. There was in London one Robert Teſtwood, who was famous for his ſkill in muſic, whereupon the muſicians in Windſor college, deſired doctor Sampſon their Dean, that he might have a place amongſt them; but ſome of the canons hearing that Teſtwood ſmelled of the new learning, (as they called it) oppoſed his coming: yet at laſt, through the importunity of the former, a place being void, he was ſent for, and after four or five days trial, his voice and ſkill were ſo liked, that he was ſettled amongſt them, and was in good eſteem both with the dean, and canons a good while: but when they perceived by his diſcourſe at their tables that he was a Lutheran, they began to miſlike him, and one day being at dinner with doctor Rawſon, there was one Mr. Ely preſent, who took occaſion to rail againſt lay-men for ſtudying of the ſcriptures: Teſtwood could not bear it, but replied that he thought it no hurt for them to ſtudy, and know the ſcriptures: and after, falling into further diſcourſe about the ſupremacy of the pope, Teſtwood in his heat of arguing affirmed that every king in his own dominion ought to be the head of the church under Chriſt: this ſo nutted Ely that he flung from the table; and though Teſtwood aſſayed to pacify him, yet he could not prevail. Ely labouring to incenſe all the houſe againſt him: but whilſt he was ſeeking to deſtroy Teſtwood, the act of parliament came forth to aboliſh the ſupremacy of the pope, and to make the king head of the church, by which means Teſtwood for the preſent eſcaped.

But not long after, Teſtwood walking in the church, and ſeeing the pilgrims come by flocks from Devonſhire, and Cornwal with candles and images to offer to king Henry of Windſor, his ſpirit was moved at that great idolatry, whereupon he went to them, and in a gentle manner exhorted them to leave that falſe worſhipping of dumb creatures, and learn to worſhip the true, and everliving God aright, ſhewing them how God plagued his people for going a whoring after ſuch ſtocks, and ſtones, and would plague them, and their poſterities if they would not leave it: this, through God's mercy, prevailed ſo far with ſome of them, that they ſaid they would never go on pilgrimage more. Then going further, he ſaw another company licking, and kiſſing a white lady of alabaſter that ſtood behind the high altar, wiping their hands upon it, and then ſtroking their own heads and faces, which ſo ſtirred up his zeal, that with a key which he had in his hand, he ſtroke off a piece of the image's noſe, ſaying, 'See good people, what it is, nothing but a piece of earth that cannot help itſelf, how then will you have it help you? For God's ſake be no more thus deluded, and ſo he went home to his houſe'

The rumour hereof preſently was ſpread abroad, and many came to ſee it, and amongſt the reſt, one Symonds a lawyer, who ſeeing the noſe on the ground took it up, ſaying, It ſhould one day be a dear noſe to Teſtwood.

Many were greatly offended with Teſtwood, the canons for his ſpeaking againſt their profit, the wax chandlers for hindring their market, &c. Yea ſome of the canons men threatened to kill him: hereupon Teſtwood kept his houſe, minding to ſend a relation of the whole buſineſs to the lord Cromwel, his eſpecial friend. The canons hearing of his intent, ſent their verger to him to requeſt him to come to church, but he refuſed in regard of the danger: then did they ſend for a juſtice of peace, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle with it: but at the canon's requeſt, he at laſt went to Teſtwood, and upon his faithful promiſe for his ſecurity, he prevailed with him to go church: by the way one of the canon's men drew his dagger at Teſtwood, but the juſtice of peace ſecured him: and after debate in the chapter-houſe the buſineſs was ſo pacified, that Teſtwood might quietly come, and go to church as formerly.

After a while upon relique ſunday (as they called it) wherein every one was to carry a relique in proceſſion, Teſtwood, amongſt others had Becket's Rochet preſſed him, but he puſhed it from him, ſaying, If they give it him, he would wipe his tail with it: ſome other jeſts he put upon them, which much angred them.

Doctor Sampſon, the dean, being dead, and one Mr. Francklen ſucceeding him, one of the canons in deſpite of Teſtwood, and his ſect, ſet up a paper on the church door in commendation of our lady, aſcribing to her, redemption, juſtification, ſalvation, &c. Teſtwood ſeeing this paper, plucked it down: the next morning ſuch another was ſet up, and Teſtwood coming a little before the dean, plucked it down again: whereupon the dean aſked him, how he durſt be ſo bold to pluck it down in his preſence? Teſtwood anſwered, that he marvelled much more that he would ſuffer ſuch a blaſphemous paper to be ſet up, adding, that he would juſtify what he had done. This boldneſs ſo offended them all, that they ſaid he was an heretic, and would roſt a fagot one day for this jeer. Yet notwithſtanding all the threats of his enemies he lived in peace, till after the death of lord Cromwel, and till Winchester had ſo far inſinuated into the king's affections, that he wholly ruled the roſt; at which time Teſtwood being ſick in bed, was fetched out, and caſt into priſon, together with Antony Perſon, John Marbeck, and Henry Filmer, and after a while they were all brought forth to judgment before doctor Capon, biſhop of Saliſbury, and ſome others: Teſtwood's indictment was, for that when the prieſt lifted up the ſacrament, he ſaid; What, wilt thou lift it up ſo high? what, yet higher? take heed that thou let him not fall: as alſo for that at ſuch times he uſed to look down on his book, or another way, that he might not ſee the ſacrament: whereupon he ſaid, I beſeech you, my lord, whereon did he look that marked me ſo well? Mary, quoth the king's attorney, he could not be better occupied than to mark ſuch heretics that ſo deſpiſed the bleſſed ſacrament.

The jury that went upon theſe men was packed for the purpoſe, and therefore quickly brought in their verdict that they were all guilty. Then the priſoners being carried away, prepared themſelves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death, and paſſion of their Maſter Chriſt, who had led the way before them, truſting that the ſame Lord who had enabled them to ſuffer ſo far for his ſake, would not now withdraw his ſtrength from them, but enable them with ſtedfaſt faith, and power to overcome thoſe fiery torments through his free mercy, and goodneſs; and ſo they ſpent the greateſt part of the night in prayer, both for themſelves and their perſecutors, who through blind zeal had done they knew not what; yea ſuch heavenly talk was amongſt them that night, that they which watched them, whereof the ſheriff was one, with divers gentlemen more, were conſtrained to ſhed great plenty of tears; in the morning came a pardon for Marbeck.

When the other three were to go to execution, Anthony Perſon ſeeing many people in the priſon, ſaid the Lord's prayer, and ſo taking their leave of Marbeck, praiſing God for his deliverance, and praying for his increaſe in godlineſs, they deſired his hearty prayers, kiſſed him, and ſo went out of the priſon. As they paſſed through the ſtreets they deſired all the faithful to pray for them, to ſtand faſt in the truth of the goſpel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, it being the happieſt thing that ever befel them. When they came to the place of execution, which was under Windſor caſtle, Perſon with a chearful countenance embraced the ſtake, and kiſſing it, ſaid, 'Now welcome mine own ſweet wife, for this day ſhalt thou, and I be married together, in the love and peace of God.' When they were all bound to the ſtake, Filmer ſaid, 'Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God; for after this ſharp breakfaſt, I truſt we ſhall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Chriſt, our Lord and Redeemer.' Teſtwood lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, prayed to the Lord above to receive his ſpirit. Perſon pulling ſome ſtraw unto him, laid ſome of it upon the top of his head, ſaying, 'This is God's hat, now I am dreſſed like a true ſoldier of Chriſt by whoſe merits only I truſt this day to enter into his joy.' And ſo they yielded up their

ſpirits

spirits into the hands of their heavenly Father, with such humility, and stedfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts to have died with them.

A while after king Henry seeing the sheriff of Barkshire, and Sir Henry Foster together on horse-back in Guilford park, he asked them how his laws were executed at Windsor: then they beseeching his grace of pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never sat on a matter which went so much against their consciences, as did the death of Person, Testwood, and Filmer, delivering to him a pitiful tale of the casting away of these three men: the king turning his horse head, rode away saying, 'Alas poor innocents:' after which he withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, causing doctor London and Simmonds to be apprehended and examined before the council, where it was proved to their faces that they were both perjured, and thereupon they were adjudged to ride about Windsor, with their faces towards the horse tail, and to stand upon the pillory, at Windsor, Reading, and Newberry, with papers on their head for accusing the aforesaid martyrs falsely, and for perjury: 'This was written by John Marbec, that should have been one of them.

About the same time there was one Adam Damlip, formerly chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, after whose death he travelled through France, Germany, and Italy, in which journey he conferred with many learned men about the controversies in religion, and at the last he went to Rome, where he thought to find much strictness in life, and sincerity in religion, but instead thereof he met with such blaspheming of God, contempt of the truth of Christ looseness in life, and such abundance of all abominations, and filthiness, that in his heart he abhorred to stay there any longer, though he was much solicited thereto by cardinal Pool, who offered him good preferment. In his return homeward he came to Calais, and waiting there for passage into England, he fell into acquaintance, and conference with some honest men, who finding him learned, and well affected to the truth, earnestly solicited him to stay there a while, and to preach two or three days, that he might do good to the people, and refresh himself after his tedious travels. This he consented to, if he might have the licence of those in authority thereunto. Hereupon these honest men brought him to the lord Lisle, the king's deputy for the town, and marches of Calais, acquainting him what conference had passed between them: which known, the lord Lisle instantly desired him to stay there, and to preach three or four days, or longer at his pleasure, promising that he should have both his own, and the commissaries licence to authorize him therein. After he had preached three or four times, he was so liked both for his learning, utterance, and sincere doctrine, that he had not only the approbation of the common people, and soldiers, but the lord deputy, and most of the council gave him praise and thanks for the same. The lord deputy also proffered him his table in his house, if he pleased to stay and accept of it, and to accommodate him with whatsoever he lacked, if it could be had for money, either for books, or any other things, if he would stay and preach to them so long as it should seem good to him: master Damlip heartily thanked his lordship for his kind and liberal offer; but refused to accept the same, only desiring him to appoint him some quiet place in the town, where he might have the opportunity of applying himself to his studies without disturbance, promising that he would twice every day preach unto them, according to that talent which God had lent him.

The lord deputy much rejoiced hereat, and sending for an honest man (William Stevens) requested him to receive master Damlip into his house, promising to pay him with the most whatever he should demand, as also to send him every meal one of the best dishes from his own mess. Master Damlip desired his lordship to forbear that kindness, telling him that a spare diet was most convenient for students: yet this noble lord would not be restrained, but that very meal he sent it. Thus for the space of above twenty days together he preached every morning learnedly, plainly, and holily about the sacrament of the Lord's supper, inveighing against, and confuting the popish errors about it: his opinions he confirmed by scripture, and ancient fathers: exhorting the people to turn from popery, declaring what a zealous papist he had been, and how God wrought upon him by seeing the abominable wickedness which was universally practised in Rome, shewing, that if gain or ambition could have prevailed with him, he might have been entertained by cardinal Pool: but durst not do it out of conscience, being convinced of the truth by the holy scriptures; his auditory encreasing daily, he was forced to preach in a larger place. And at last he spoke against the picture of the resurrection, which was in saint Nicola's church, shewing that it was but a delusion set up by the French before Calais was English, whereupon there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, and some other commissioners to search whether there were three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood, as was commonly believed. Upon search no such thing was found, but three white counters instead thereof, which they had painted like hosts, and with them a bone that is in a sheep's tail, which the next day master Damlip shewed to the people out of the pulpit, and by the lord deputy were sent unto the king.

The devil envying the progress of the gospel, stirred up the prior of the White-Friers, to bark against master Damlip, and privately to write letters against him to the clergy in England, so that a while after he was sent for to appear before the arch bishop of Canterbury: there he met with Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and some others, before these he constantly affirmed, and defended the doctrine that he had taught, answering and confuting all their objections, so that his adversaries marvelled at it, insomuch as some of them said plainly, that the scriptures knew no such term as transubstantiation, yet did Winchester threaten him with fire, and faggot, if he persevered in defence of what he had spoken: master Damlip answered, that the next day he would deliver to them in writing, what he had affirmed, and what he would stand to: that night doctor Cranmer sent him word that if he appeared any more, he could not escape burning, whereupon the next day he sent them four sheets learnedly written in Latin, containing a confession of his faith, together with a defence of his opinion by testimonies of scripture, ancient fathers, &c. And then stept aside into the west country, and there lived obscurely whilst God's people in Calais suffered great persecution: for the king being informed that there was great dissension in Calais by reason of diversity of opinions which might endanger the loss of it, at the motion of the lord Cromwell he sent over two godly and learned divines, who in effect preached the same doctrine that Damlip had done, and so quieted the people, that they left the town in peace. After their departure one William Smith, minister of one of the churches, began to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against papistry, exhorting men obediently to hear the word, and no longer to oppose or contemn the same. Some of the council perswaded him that he should not be so violent, but to wait with patience till God should change their hearts, &c. To whom he answered in the pulpit: some saith he, advise me that I should not be so earnest against the contemners of God's word, &c. But let all such take heed; for I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make some of them that they shall not have an head left upon their shoulders to bear up their caps withal; which afterwards also came to pass.

Thus master Smith continued in the diligent employment of his talent, till the devil raised up some of his instruments to persecute him, and other godly Christians which were all sent over into England: they wrote letters to the privy council, suggesting, that by the means of Damlip they were infected with horrible heresies, and errors: of these persons thus accused, Thomas Brook, Ralph Hare, James Cock, and James Barber were first sent for over, and committed to prison at Westminster, afterwards they were brought before the bishops: grievous letters were written against them from Calais, by their adversaries, so that if God had not mightily preserved them, they had all certainly perished.

Ralph Hare, though so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through God's grace was very zealous, and so holy, and inoffensive in his life, that none of his adversaries could accuse him for the same: he was charged for

speaking

ſpeaking auricular confeſſion, holy bread, holy water, &c. as alſo for that he would not ſwear an oath, nor uſe any paſtime, but uſed to be in a corner by himſelf looking on his book when others were at play. This the commiſſioners charging him withal he ſaid: 'My good lords, I take God to record that I will not willingly maintain any error or hereſy: wherefore I beſeech you, let my accuſers come before me face to face, for if they charge me with that which I have ſpoken, I will not deny it: and if it be truth, I will ſtand to it: if an error, I will with all my heart utterly forſake it; I mean if it be againſt God's holy word, for the Lord is my witneſs I daily pray to God that I may know the truth, and ſhun errors, and I hope God will preſerve me from them:' the biſhop of Wincheſter replied, 'I perceive now that you are a naughty fellow.' 'Alas! my lord, ſaid Hare, what evil have I ſpoken?' The biſhop anſwered, 'Marry Sir, you ſaid the Lord, the Lord, and that is *Symbolum Hæreticorum*:' 'What is that my lord, ſaid Hare: for God's ſake tell me?' 'Thou art naught, thou art naught,' ſaid the biſhop: this made Hare to tremble, which Wincheſter perceiving, ſaid, 'By my troth I pity thee: for in good faith I think thou art a good ſimple man, and wouldſt mean well enough if thou hadſt not bad ſchoolmaſters, &c. Therefore I adviſe thee to ſubmit thyſelf to us, it is beſt for thee ſo to do.' Hare falling upon his knees, ſaid, that he ſubmitted himſelf to them: then did they give him his oath to be obedient to all eccleſiaſtical laws: which done, they enjoined him to abjure, and bear a fagot: he hearing this harſh ſentence cried out that he was rigorouſly dealt withal, having nothing proved to his face againſt him: but the biſhop told him, he muſt either do that penance or be burnt.

Then was Thomas Brook called for, who was charged by letters from Calais, that he was a ſeditious fellow; that he had contributed towards maintaining of Damlip, and that he with ſome others had gathered money towards his entertainment. Brook proved this charge falſe. Then were ſome other witneſſes produced, who teſtified that he ſhould ſay, that which the prieſt held up at maſs, was not the natural body of Jeſus Chriſt, &c. Brook denied the charge, yet confeſſed that he had ſome private talk with one of the witneſſes, wherein he ſhewed him the right uſe of the ſacrament: after ſome further debate he was diſmiſſed for the preſent.

During theſe mens troubles at London, maſter Smith, and John Butler, were under examination at Calais, and charged for denying the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, and preſently they were ſent for over by a purſuivant into England, and there brought into the ſtarr chamber, and charged with ſedition, and hereſy, after which they were committed to the Fleet. The next day they were ſent for, to come before divers biſhops, and firſt Butler was charged for ſpeaking unreverently of the ſacrament of the altar.

Then did he require to have his charge in writing, and he would return his anſwer to it: but this would not be granted. After him was maſter Smith called for, and charged with the like great crimes, as the other had been, as alſo for preaching againſt our bleſſed lady, and againſt praying to ſaints, &c. But it pleaſed God that one of the witneſſes that came againſt him, ſhortly after deſperately drowned himſelf.

John Butler commiſſary of Calais, being again called before them, was charged for ſuffering maſter Damlip ſo long to preach there, and not puniſhing him for the ſame: his anſwer was, that he was ſo countenanced by the lord deputy and all the council, and approved by them, that he could do no otherwiſe than he did: and ſo after long attendance, he was at laſt put out of his office, and ſo diſmiſſed. Yet afterwards both he, and divers others were enjoined penance by bearing fagots, &c.

Not long after, the king was again informed, that there were ſuch diviſions in his town of Calais, by reaſon of diverſity of opinions, that it was in great danger of being loſt to the French. This ſo inceaſed the king, that he preſently ſent over commiſſioners, to examine the buſineſs, and amongſt the commiſſioners, there was one doctor Currin, who at his coming thither preached a ſermon to exhort all men to charity; but whilſt he had nothing but charity in his mouth, there was ſuch burning charity in his heart, that if God had not wonderfully prevented, there had been an hundred perſons burnt, or hanged in that place; but through God's providence, the miſchief returned upon the heads of the contrivers of it; for four of the chief accuſers of the brethren were ſent over into England, whereof two *viz.* Clement Philpot, and Sir Edmund, a curate, were hanged, drawn, and quartered at London: but of all thoſe that were accuſed, not one of them loſt one hair of his head.

Amongſt thoſe honeſt men that were at this time perſecuted, was one William Stephens, whoſe crime was for favouring and entertaining maſter Damlip, whereunto he anſwered, that what he had done, was at the earneſt requeſt, and command of the lord deputy, yet was he ſent over into England, and made priſoner in the tower: the lord deputy was alſo ſhortly ſent for over, and impriſoned in the ſame place, who there continued till he died: but the wicked lady his wife, a great enemy to the truth, immediately after her huſband's apprehenſion, fell diſtracted, and ſo continued for many years.

Another that was troubled, was Thomas Brook, who was impriſoned; and a ſimple man, one George Bradway was grievouſly threatned with horrible puniſhments if he would not accuſe him, which at laſt thro' fear he did, but within a day, or two after was ſo terrified in conſcience for it that he attempted to cut his own throat, and being prevented of that, he fell mad: Twelve other honeſt men were alſo impriſoned; but the good lord Cromwel hearing of it, wrote immediately to the commiſſioners in the king's name, requiring that arrant traitor, and heretic Brook, with his other companions, ſhould with their accuſers be immediately ſent over into England: the commiſſioners durſt not refuſe, but loading them with chains, ſent them over: as ſoon as the lord Cromwel heard that they were arrived, he ſent for them to his houſe, and ſmiling upon them, ſaid, 'Go your ways to the Fleet, and ſubmit yourſelves priſoners there, and be of good chear, for if God give me life, you ſhall ſhortly go home with as much honeſty, as ye came with ſhame.

But it pleaſed God that ſhortly after, this good lord was accuſed, and loſt his head at tower-hill, ſo that theſe poor men had great cauſe to fear, if they had not altogether depended upon the merciful providence of their heavenly father, but he ſo comforted them in their deep troubles, and miſeries, that as their afflictions abounded, ſo their joys and conſolations abounded much more: for when all hope was paſt, the lord Audley, chancellor of England, ſent for them, and without further examination, diſcharged them of their impriſonment. Thus theſe godly men, upon their releaſe, gave moſt hearty thanks unto God for his mighty and merciful deliverance of them, and departed indeed in a poor eſtate, but not in ſo miſerable a condition as thoſe eight counſellors of Calais, their adverſaries, were within a little ſpace after, who falling under the king's diſpleaſure, were ſome clapt up in priſon, and others of them died moſt deſperate deaths. Amongſt whom, one Rockwood came to an horrible end, who at his laſt breath ſtaring, and raging, cried that he was utterly damned: and being willed to aſk God mercy, he brayed, and cried out, 'All too late; for I have maliciouſly ſought the death of many godly men, and tho' I ſo thought of them, yet I did what in me lay to bring them to an evil death; therefore, All too late, all too late:' theſe words he had formerly uſed in ſcorn againſt thoſe honeſt men when they were ſent bound into England, in chains.

Alſo the under Marſhall ſuddenly fell down in the council chamber, and never ſpake a word more.

Anno Chriſti 1541. King Henry ſent out a commiſſion for the apprehenſion of ſuch as offended againſt the ſix articles, and when the commiſſioners firſt ſat at Mercer's Chappel, being ſuch as were choſen on purpoſe, they enquired not only of ſuch as offended againſt the ſix articles, but of ſuch as came ſeldom to church, or that took not the holy bread, or holy water, &c. ſo that they indicted above five hundred perſons, moſt of which had either died in priſon, or fried a fagot in Smithfield, but that the king, (being informed by the lord Audley, that they were indicted of malice) granted them his pardon.

About the ſame time one Richard Mekins, a boy of fif-

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teen years old, was accuſed for ſpeaking well of doctor Barnes, and ſome unreverent words of the ſacrament of the altar, and when the firſt jury would not find the indictment againſt him, they were ſoundly ratled by the biſhop of London, and another jury was impannelled that found it, and ſo the poor boy was burned in Smithfield.

Mr. Damlip, who formerly made an eſcape into the weſt-country, after he had taught a ſchool there about a year, or two, was again apprehended, brought to London, and by Wincheſter impriſoned in the Marſhalſey about two years more: there he behaved himſelf ſo honeſtly, and blameleſly, that he was beloved of all the houſe, but eſpecially of the keeper himſelf, [Mr. Maſſy] who ſuffered him to have the liberty of the houſe, whereby he did much good amongſt the common priſoners, rebuking them for their wickedneſs, and keeping them in ſuch order, and awe, that the keeper had a great treaſure of him: There was alſo one Marbeck, priſoner for religion, that received much comfort by him: but Mr. Damlip, conſidering how he lay there, and could not imploy his talent to God's glory as he deſired, reſolved to write a Latin epiſtle to the biſhop of Wincheſter, earneſtly deſiring to come to his trial: 'For, ſaid he to Marbeck, I know the worſt, I can but loſe my preſent life, which I had rather do than lie here ſo uſeleſs.'

Having prepared his epiſtle, he delivered it to the keeper, intreating him to preſent it to the biſhop of Wincheſter: the keeper performed his requeſt, and coming home late at night, the priſoners, who had ſtayed ſupper for his coming, ſeeing him look ſo ſad, deemed ſomething to be amiſs: at laſt, caſting his eyes on Damlip, he ſaid, 'I can tell thee tidings: this next day thou, and I muſt go to Calais;' and withal pulled out a piece of wax, with a label hanging at it: when maſter Damlip ſaw it, he ſaid, 'Well, well, I now know what is the matter, I ſhall die at Calais:' 'Nay, ſaid the keeper, I truſt it is not ſo: yes, yes, ſaid maſter Damlip, I know it is ſo, and I praiſe God for his goodneſs therein:' at ſupper all were very heavy but maſter Damlip, who eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life; ſo that ſome aſked him, how he could eat his meat ſo well, knowing that he was to die ſo ſoon after? to whom he anſwered, 'Ah maſters, do you think I have been God's priſoner ſo long in the marſhalſy, and have not yet learned to die? yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will ſtrengthen me therein:' the next day the keeper carried him to Calais, and committed him to priſon, and the Saturday following he was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Before his death, being told that his quarters ſhould be ſet up in four places, 'And where then ſhall my head be, ſaid he?' 'Upon the lanthorn gate, anſwered the other:' 'Then, ſaid he, I need not provide for my burial.'

At his execution Sir Richard Ellerker, knight-marſhal, would not ſuffer him to declare his faith, or the cauſe which he died for, but ſaid to the executioner, 'Have done, diſpatch the knave: for I will not away till I ſee the traitor's heart out:' but ſhortly after, in a ſkirmiſh between the French and Engliſh, Ellerker was ſlain, and by the French was ſtripped ſtark naked, had his privy members cut off, and his heart cut out of his body, being thereby made a terrible example to all bloody and mercileſs perſecutors.

William Stevens mentioned before, as priſoner in the tower, and the other thirteen honeſt men, were all pardoned by the king, and ſent home again to Calais.

A poor labourer at Calais that had been a hearer of maſter Damlip, in ſome company ſaid, that he would never believe that the prieſt could make the Lord's body at their pleaſure; whereupon he was accuſed, and condemned by one Harvey, commiſſary there, who with opprobrious words railed upon him, calling him heretic, and ſaying, that he ſhould die a vile death: the poor man anſwered, that he was no heretic, but one that held the true faith of Chriſt, 'And ſaid he, whereas thou ſayeſt that I ſhall die a vile death, thou thyſelf ſhalt die a vile death, and that ſhortly:' the poor man was burnt, and Harvey within half a year after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Calais for treaſon.

Not long after there was one Dod, who coming out of Germany to Calais, was there apprehended, together with ſome proteſtant books which he brought with him, and upon examination, remained bold and conſtant in the truth, he was condemned and burnt.

There was alſo in the ſame place one William Button, a ſoldier and ſervant to the king, who being of a pleaſant wit, uſed to jeer the prieſts when he met with them, and on a time a fryar bringing pardons from Rome, whereby for four pence a piece, he ſaid, he could deliver any ſoul out of purgatory; Button went to him, and aſked him, If the pope could deliver ſouls out of purgatory? The fryar anſwered, that there was no doubt of it: 'Why then (ſaid Button) doth he not of charity deliver all the ſouls out of it?' For this he was accuſed to the commiſſary, who raiſed upon him, calling him heretic, and enjoining him to carry a fagot, and cauſed his wages to be taken from him: but Button repairing to the king, and acquainting him with the whole buſineſs, the king reſtored him to his place, and mended his wages.

Anno Chriſti 1546. There was a miniſter called Saxie, who was hanged in the porters lodge of Stephen Gardner, as was thought not without his privity.

Alſo one Henry with his ſervant was burnt at Colcheſter.

Alſo one Kerby, and Roger Clerk were apprehended at Ipſwich, and carried before the lord Wentworth, and other commiſſioners; whilſt theſe two men were in the jailor's houſe, there came in one maſter Robert Wingfield, and ſaid to Kerby, 'Remember the fire is hot, and therefore take no more upon thee than thou ſhalt be able to go through with; the terror is great, the pain will be extream, and life is ſweet; therefore it is better for thee to accept of mercy whilſt it may be had, than to ſhrink afterwards, &c.' Kerby anſwered, 'Ah maſter Wingfield, be at my burning, and you ſhall ſay, there ſtands a chriſtian ſoldier in the fire: I know that fire, water, the ſword, and all other things are in the hands of God; and he will ſuffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give us ſtrength to bear. If thou beeſt at that paſs, ſaid maſter Wingfield, I will leave thee; for I promiſe thee I am not ſo ſtrong that I am able to burn;' and ſo he bade him farewel.

When Kerby and Clark were at the judgment ſeat, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, making their prayers privately unto God, for a ſpace. Then were articles read againſt them, and it was demanded of them whether they believed that after the words of conſecration uſed by the prieſt, the bread was not turned into the very body and blood of Chriſt, as he was born of the virgin Mary? They anſwered that they did not believe it, but that the ſacrament was inſtituted by Chriſt, to put us in remembrance of his precious death, and bloodſhedding for the remiſſion of ſins, *&c.* Then was there much means uſed both by fair means and threatenings, to procure them to alter their opinions: but they continued faithful and conſtant, chooſing rather to die than to live. Then was ſentence given upon them both; Kerby to be burnt in the ſame town of Ipſwich; and Clark to be burnt at Bury: ſentence being paſſed by the lord Wentworth, Kerby reverently holding up his hands, and bowing himſelf, ſaid, 'Speak out my lord, and if you have done any thing againſt your conſcience, aſk God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you, &c. The lord Wentworth bluſhing, ſaid, 'I did ſpeak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing but what the law requires;' and ſo they went away: at their departure, Clark with a vehement voice ſaid, 'Fight for your God; for he hath not long to continue:' the next morning Kerby was brought forth into the market place, where all things were ready for his burning: then did he put off his cloaths to his ſhirt, and ſo was faſtened to the ſtake. Many were the ſpectators, and amongſt the reſt, the lord Wentworth, and moſt of the juſtices in the country. Kerby ſtood trimmed up with fagots, broom, and ſtraw, as if he ſhould be married with new garments, nothing changing his countenance; but with a meek ſpirit glorified God; then did a monk of Bury begin to preach, and as often as he alledged the ſcriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he ſaid true, and bade them believe him; but when he did otherwiſe, he told him

him again; 'You ſay not truly, believe him not, good people.' Sermon being ended, the monk ſaid to him, 'Thou good man, doſt thou not believe that the ſacrament of the altar is the very fleſh, and blood of Chriſt?' Kerby anſwered, I do not believe it; then, ſaid he, what doſt thou believe? I believe, ſaid Kerby, that Chriſt inſtituted his laſt ſupper as a memorial of his death and paſſion, &c. Yet it is bread, and more than bread; for that is conſecrated to an holy uſe:' this made the monk hold his peace, then did Kerby ſay, *Te Deum*, his belief, and other prayers in Engliſh; after which he ſaid, 'I have done, execute your office, good maſter ſheriff'; then was fire put to him, in which he called upon God with a loud voice ſo long as his remembrance continued, and ſo ended his life, the people ſhouting and praiſing God for his conſtancy.

Roger Clark of Mendelſham being carried to Bury, went barefoot to the place of his execution: by the way he met with the proceſſion, but would neither move his cap, nor bow his knee to it; yea with vehement words he rebuked their idolatry and ſuperſtition: at the place of execution, he ſaid the Magnificat in Engliſh, making a paraphraſe upon the ſame, ſhewing how the virgin Mary, though ſhe might have rejoiced in her holineſs as well as another, yet humbled herſelf to her Saviour. When the fire was ſet to him, he ſuffered intolerable pains, the wood being green that it would not burn: at laſt he was choaked with ſmoak; and one puſhing him on the head with a fagot-ſtick, he ſhrunk down into the fire, and reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

About the ſame time miſtreſs Anne Aſkew, born of worſhipful parents, and one that did attend upon queen Katherine Parre, was apprehended for her religion, and examined before one Chriſtopher Dare, an inquiſitor, who aſked her if ſhe did not believe the ſacrament of the altar to be the real body of Chriſt? To this queſtion ſhe refuſed to anſwer. Then he told her, that ſhe was accuſed for reading that God dwelt not in temples made with hands; thereupon ſhe ſhewed him the ſeventh, and ſeventeenth chapters of the Acts for it: then he aſked her, how ſhe underſtood thoſe texts? She anſwered, that ſhe would not caſt pearls before ſwine. Then he charged her for ſaying, that ſhe had rather read five lines in her Bible, than hear a maſs: ſhe ſaid, the reaſon was, becauſe one did greatly edify her, and the other did not. After divers other queſtions, he carried her before the lord mayor of London, who asked her the ſame queſtions, and ſhe gave the ſame anſwers as before. Then the biſhop's chancellor rebuked her for medling with the ſcriptures, ſaying, that Paul had forbidden women to ſpeak, or talk of the ſcriptures; to whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe knew Paul's meaning as well as he, 1 Cor. xiv. *viz.* That women ought not to ſpeak in the congregation by way of teaching: hereupon the lord major commanded her to priſon; ſhe aſked, if ſureties would not ſerve turn: but, he ſhortly told her, that he would take none. Being thus ſent to the counter, ſhe was kept a cloſe priſoner for eleven days; and a prieſt was ſent to her to examine her, who after divers enſnaring queſtions, to which ſhe anſwered warily, and wiſely, asked her, if ſhe would be ſhriven? She anſwered, that if doctor Crome, Sir Guillam, or Huntington, might come to her, ſhe was contented, becauſe ſhe knew them to be wiſe men: the prieſt replied, 'I would not have you think but that I, or any other that comes to you, is as honeſt as they.'

Shortly after a kinſman of her's [Mr. Britain] uſed great means to bail her, and going to Bonner biſhop of London about it, he told him that he would ſend for her, and examine her, wiſhing Mr. Britain to perſuade her to utter to him the very bottom of her heart, ſwearing by his fidelity, that none ſhould take any advantage by her confeſſion, or lay it to her prejudice; the like he himſelf perſuaded her to, when ſhe came before him; and then left his arch-deacon to talk with her, who aſked her wherefore ſhe was in trouble? ſhe bade him ask her accuſers, for ſhe knew not. Then he took her book out of her hand, and bade her beware; for ſuch books as that had brought her into trouble, adding, that he that had made that book was an heretic, and burnt in Smithfield; meaning John Frith. She aſked him, if he were not aſhamed to judge of the book, before he knew what it was; adding, that ſuch raſh judgment was an apparent token of a ſlender wit. Then ſhe opened the book and ſhewed it to him, whereupon he ſaid that he could find no fault with it, but thought it had been another.

The biſhop again perſuaded Mr. Britain to exhort her to ſpeak her mind freely to him; and after a while, coming to her, he bade her hearken to the counſel of her friends, enſuring her that ſhe need not fear to ſpeak any thing; for that neither he, nor any other ſhould take any advantage of her words, &c. She replied, that ſhe had nothing to ſay, for ſhe thanked God, her conſcience was not burdened with any thing: this angred the biſhop, whereupon he ſaid, 'Then you force me to charge you with what you have been heard to ſay; you ſaid, that he that receiveth the ſacrament at the hands of an ill prieſt, receives the devil, and not God.' This ſhe denied, but told him that ſhe ſaid, that the wickedneſs of the prieſt ſhould not hurt her, but in ſpirit and faith, ſhe received no leſs than the body and blood of Chriſt.

After many other captious queſtions, he ſhewed her a paper wherein ſhe had written a confeſſion of her faith, bidding her to ſet her hand to it; whereupon ſhe writ thus. 'I Anne Askew do believe all things contained in the faith of the catholic church, and not otherwiſe.' This made the biſhop to fling away in great fury. Mr. Britain, and ſome others followed him, intreating him to be a good lord to her; yet he ſent her again to priſon, where ſhe lay ſome days; but at the laſt, by the importunity of her friends, he took of them a recogniſance forthcoming, and ſo ſhe was delivered.

Some time after ſhe was again apprehended, and carried before the king's council, where having a queſtion propoſed to her by Mr. Kime; ſhe anſwered, that my lord chancellor knew her mind already about that. Then ſome told her, that it was the king's pleaſure that ſhe ſhould open her mind to them: ſhe anſwered them plainly, that ſhe would not do it, except the king pleaſed himſelf to hear her. They told her, that it was not meet that the king ſhould be troubled with her: ſhe replied, that Solomon the wiſeſt of kings, was pleaſed to hear two common women. Then the lord chancellor asked her opinion about the ſacrament: ſhe anſwered, that ſhe believed that ſo oft as ſhe received the bread in remembrance of Chriſt's death, ſhe received therewith the fruits of his moſt glorious paſſion: the biſhop of Wincheſter bade her anſwer directly: ſhe anſwered, ſhe ſhould not ſing the 'Lord's ſong in a ſtrange land:' The biſhop told her ſhe was a parrot; to which ſhe replied, that ſhe was as willing not only to receive rebukes from him, but whatſoever ſhould follow beſides, and that gladly: after much other debate, ſhe was impriſoned till the next day; at which time they aſked her again, what ſhe ſaid to the ſacrament: ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had ſaid what ſhe could ſay, then the biſhop of Wincheſter, with ſome others, earneſtly perſuaded her to confeſs the ſacrament, to be fleſh, blood, and bone of Chriſt; ſhe told two of them, that it was a great ſhame for them to counſel her contrary to their own knowlege: after much other arguing, wherein ſhe anſwered them acutely and holily, they diſmiſſed her: the Sabbath following ſhe was very ſick and like to die, whereupon ſhe deſired to ſpeak with Mr. Latimer, but it would not be permitted; but in the extremity of her ſickneſs they ſent her to Newgate.

After a while ſhe was brought to her trial in Guild hall, where ſhe was required to recant, or elſe ſhe was condemned by the law for an heretic; ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was no heretic, nor deſerved death by the law of God: then they aſked her, if ſhe would deny the ſacrament to be Chriſt's body and blood? She ſaid, yea; 'For Chriſt that was born of the bleſſed virgin is now in heaven, and will come from thence at the latter day, &c. That which you call your god, is but a piece of bread, and after a time will grow mouldy, and turn to nothing that's good: therefore it cannot be God.' Then they wiſhed her to ſhrive herſelf to a prieſt; ſhe ſaid, ſhe would confeſs her faults to God; for ſhe was ſure that he would bear her with favour; hereupon ſhe was condemned.

After her condemnation ſhe wrote a confeſſion of her faith and ſent it to the king, to this purpoſe.

"I Anne

"I Anne Aſkew, of good memory, though God hath given me the bread of adverſity, and the water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my ſins have deſerved, deſire this to be known to your grace, that foraſmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record that I ſhall die in my innocency: and as I ever ſaid, ſo I ſhall continue to the end, that I utterly abhor, and deteſt all hereſies; and as concerning the Lord's ſupper, I believe ſo much as Chriſt hath ſaid therein, which he confirmed with his moſt bleſſed blood: I believe ſo much as he willed me to follow, I believe ſo much as the catholic church of him doth teach; for I will not forſake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart: and thus for lack of learning I briefly end."

ANNE ASKEW.

A few days after ſhe was ſent for from Newgate before the biſhop of London, and Mr. Rich, who with flattering words endeavoured to withdraw her from God: then one Nicholas Shakſton, an apoſtate, counſelled her to recant; to whom ſhe ſaid, that it had been good for him if he had never been born: from thence ſhe was ſent to the tower, whither came to her Mr. Rich and another of the council, charging her upon her obedience, to diſcover what men or women ſhe knew to be of her ſect, which ſhe refuſed: then they aſked her of divers great ladies: ſhe ſaid, if ſhe ſhould charge them of any thing, ſhe was not able to prove it; then they aſked her, how ſhe was maintained in priſon? She anſwered, that it was by means of her maid, who as ſhe went abroad made her moan in the ſtreets, and the apprentices gave her money; then they ſaid that divers ladies and gentlewomen gave her money; ſhe anſwered, that one brought her ten ſhillings, ſaying, that the lady Hereford ſent it to her, another brought her five ſhillings, and ſaid, that the lady Deny ſent it to her, but ſhe knew not whether they ſaid true or no: then they put her to the rack becauſe ſhe confeſſed no ladies, nor gentlewomen that were of her opinion; there they kept her a great while, becauſe ſhe lay ſtill, and did not cry: the manner of it was thus, they led her down into a dungeon, where the rack was, and the lieutenant of the tower bade the jailor pinch her on the rack, which being done, he was about to take her out; but Wriſley the chancellor, bade the lieutenant to rack her again; but he, tendering her weakneſs, refuſed: whereupon the chancellor threatened to complain of him to the king: and himſelf and Mr. Rich, throwing off their gowns, played the tormentors themſelves, firſt aſking her whether ſhe was with child? She anſwered, that they need not ſpare for that, but do their wills upon her, and ſo quietly and patiently praying unto God, ſhe abode their tyranny till her bones and joints were all plucked aſunder; then the lieutenant cauſed her to be looſed, whereupon ſhe fell into a ſwoon; and when ſhe had recovered again, ſhe ſat on the bare floor above two hours, reaſoning with the lord chancellor, who with many flattering words perſuaded her to leave her opinion; 'But, ſaith ſhe, my Lord God, I thank his everlaſting goodneſs, gave me grace to perſevere, and I hope will do to the end.' Then was ſhe carried to an houſe and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever patient Job had; then the lord chancellor ſent her word, that if ſhe would leave her opinion ſhe ſhould want nothing; otherwiſe ſhe ſhould be ſent to Newgate, and preſently burnt; ſhe returned him anſwer, That ſhe would rather die then deny her faith; when ſhe was returned to Newgate, ſhe there wrote a confeſſion of her faith which ſhe concluded with this prayer, 'O Lord, I have more enemies now than there be hairs upon my head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight, Lord, thou in my ſtead, for on thee caſt I my care; with all the ſpite they can imagine, they fall upon me which am thy poor creature; yet, ſweet Lord, let me not ſet by them which are againſt me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily deſire of thee, that thou wilt of thy merciful goodneſs, forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open thou alſo their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy ſight which is acceptable before thee, and to ſet forth thy truth aright, without the vain fancies of ſinful men; ſo be it. O Lord, ſo be it.'

The day for her execution being come, ſhe was carried in a chair into Smithfield, being unable to go by reaſon of her former cruel racking; there ſhe was tied by the middle, with a chain to the ſtake to hold up her body: then did Dr. Shaxton preach a ſermon, and when he delivered the truth ſhe confirmed it, but when he ſpake that which was falſe, ſhe ſaid, now he miſſeth and ſpeaketh without book. The ſermon being ended, Wriſley the lord chancellor, who was there preſent, ſent her letters, offering her the king's pardon if ſhe would recant, but ſhe refuſing to look upon them, ſaid, that ſhe came not hither to deny her Lord and Maſter. Then fire being put to her, being compaſſed with flames, as a bleſſed ſacrifice unto God, ſhe ſlept in the Lord, *anno Chriſti.* 1546.

There was burnt at the ſame time with her Nicholas Belerrian, a miniſter of Shropſhire; John Adams a taylor; and John Lacels, a gentleman, one of the king's ſervants, who beholding her invincible conſtancy, and being ſtirred up by her exhortations were more emboldned in their ſufferings.

About the ſame time one Rogers was condemned, and burnt in Norfolk for the ſix articles.

The ſame year the king being come from Bulleine, information was given to him, that his queen Katherine Parre was much given to reading, and ſtudying the holy ſcriptures; and that ſhe had entertained divers godly, and learned men to inſtruct her in the ſame, with whom alſo ſhe had frequent conferences about ſpiritual matters: as alſo that ordinarily, eſpecially in Lent every afternoon one of her chaplains preached to her. and her ladies and gentlewomen, and to others that pleaſed to hear: in which ſermons they oft touched ſuch abuſes as were rife in the church: at firſt the king ſeemed to like well of it, which made her the more bold, ſometimes freely to debate with the king about points of religion; often beſeeching him that as he had, to the glory of God and his own eternal fame begun a good work in baniſhing the pope's ſupremacy, ſo he would perfect what he had begun, throughly cleanſing the church of the dregs of popery, whereof much remained yet behind. The king though he was grown very teaſty, and froward, yet out of his ſingular affections to her, was content to hear her: for never did maid more ſeek to pleaſe her miſtreſs, then ſhe did with all painful endeavour apply herſelf, by all vertuous means in all things to pleaſe his humour. She was alſo very beautiful, vertuous, and of a comely perſonage, which greatly delighted the king: but ſome ſubtile and malicious inſtruments of Satan, fearing what might be the iſſue of it, ſought by all means to embitter the king againſt her: theſe were the biſhop of Wincheſter Wriſley the lord chancellor, and others of the council and privy chamber, hoping that if they could but take away her, that was the only patroneſs of the profeſſors of the truth, they might by fire and ſword without controul deſtroy the ſmall remainer of God's poor flock.

The king growing ſickly and froward, left off his accuſtomed manner of viſiting the queen: and therefore ſhe, when ſhe underſtood that it was a fit ſeaſon, would viſit him of her own accord, at which times ſhe would earneſtly ſolicit him, zealouſly to proceed in the reformation of the church.

Wincheſter being preſent at one of theſe times, and perceiving the king not to be very well pleaſed with her; when ſhe was gone, he maliciouſly endeavoured to ſtir up the king's indignation againſt her, ſuggeſting that the queen did much forget herſelf to hold an argument with his majeſty, and that it was not fit for any of his ſubjects to reaſon ſo malepertly with him, who was the learneſt prince in Chriſtendom. He ſuggeſted alſo, that the religion held by the queen. did not only diſallow and diſſolve the politic government of the princes, but taught the people, that all things ought to be in common: ſo that he durſt boldly affirm, that the greateſt ſubject in the land, ſpeaking ſuch words as ſhe did, and defending ſuch arguments, had with indifferent juſtice by law deſerved death; yet he pretended, that he durſt not, without warrant from his majeſty, ſpeak his knowlege of the queen, leſt by her and her faction he ſhould be deſtroyed; but if his majeſty

would

would become their patron, he with others of his faithful counſellors, could in a ſhort time diſcloſe ſuch treaſon, cloaked with the veil of hereſy, that his majeſty ſhould eaſily perceive how dangerous it was to nouriſh ſuch a ſerpent in his boſom, &c. And ſo with heavy countenance and whiſperings he held his peace.

This much ſtirred up the king's diſpleaſure againſt the queen; the rather being jealous and miſtruſtful of his eſtate; yea he was ſo far irritated by Wincheſter and his conſorts, that he gave them warrant and command to draw up articles againſt her, which would touch her life: having thus obtained their end, they departed.

Their next work was to ſuborn witneſſes to accuſe and betray her, and to find out what books ſhe had in her cloſet, which were forbidden by law; they thought it beſt alſo to begin with thoſe ladies which were moſt familiar with her and of her blood, as the lady Margaret, counteſs of Pembroke, ſiſter to the queen, the lady Jane, and the lady Terwit, who for their vertuous diſpoſitions were much in favour with her, whoſe cloſets and coffers ſhould alſo have been ſearched: the queen herſelf alſo being apprehended, ſhould by barge be conveyed to the tower. The king being made privy to this device by Wincheſter and Wriſley, he politicly ſeemed to approve it, that he might ſee how far the malice of the biſhop would carry him, and thus the day, time and place for the apprehenſions of theſe perſons was concluded of.

The king at this time lay at Whitehall, and by reaſon of his diſtemper ſeldom ſtirred abroad, and the time approaching for the apprehenſion of the queen; ſhe, poor lady, ſuſpected nothing of it, and therefore uſed after her accuſtomed manner, when ſhe came to the king, ſtill to deal with him about religion as formerly ſhe had done: but one night after ſhe had taken her leave of him, the king imparted the whole deſign to doctor Wendy, his phyſician, pretending that he intended not any longer to be troubled with ſuch a doctreſs as ſhe was, and withal, enjoining him upon his life not to utter it to any creature living: but behold the providence of God! for as the lord would have it, the bill of articles drawn up againſt the queen, and ſubſcribed by the king's own hand, fell from the boſom of one of theſe counſellors, which being found by a godly perſon, was immediately carried to the queen, who reading the articles, and knowing the king's hand, was ſurprized with ſuch a ſudden fear, that ſhe fell a wailing, making ſuch piteous moan as was lamentable to ſee. The king hearing that ſhe was in peril of her life, ſent his phyſicians to her: and Dr. Wendy, knowing the cauſe better than the other, began ſecretly to break with her about the articles, telling her that he knew well of them, tho' he ſtood in danger of his life by revealing them, yet to quiet his conſcience he could not but give her warning of them, beſeeching her ſomewhat to conform herſelf to the king's mind, not doubting, but that by her humble ſubmiſſion ſhe ſhould find him favourable to her: ſhortly after, the king hearing of her dangerous condition, came to her: to him therefore ſhe uttered her grief, fearing, as ſhe ſaid, leſt his majeſty had taken diſpleaſure againſt her, &c. whereupon he, like a loving huſband with ſweet and comfortable words ſomewhat eaſed her perplexed mind, ſo that ſhe began to recover, and thereupon the king departed. After this the queen commanded her ladies to convey away all their books which were againſt the law: and ſo taking a fit ſeaſon in an evening ſhe went to viſit the king, who was conferring with ſome of his bedchamber; when he ſaw her, he entertained her very courteouſly, and of himſelf began to commune with her about religion, ſeeming deſirous to be reſolved by the queen of certain doubts, which he propoſed to her: ſhe perceiving his drift, with mild and reverend countenance anſwered him thus: 'Your majeſty knows right well, neither am I ignorant what weakneſſes attend our ſex, and therefore we are inferiour, and ſubject to man our head, whence all our directions muſt proceed. God hath made man in his own likeneſs, endued him with more excellent gifts, &c. but he hath made woman of man, by whom ſhe is to be governed, and directed, &c. ſeeing therefore God hath appointed ſuch a natural difference, and your majeſty is ſo excellent in wiſdom, and I a poor ſilly woman, ſo much inferiour to you, why ſhould your majeſty propoſe ſuch difficult caſes to me? Yea, when I have ſaid what I can, I muſt, and will refer myſelf to your majeſties wiſdom, as to my ſupream head, and governor next unto God, by whom I muſt be directed. Not ſo by St. Mary,' ſaid the king, 'You are become a doctor, Kate, to inſtruct us, not to be inſtructed, and directed by us.' If your majeſty, ſaid ſhe, 'take it ſo, you are much miſtaken: for I have always been of opinion, that it was very unſeemly for a woman to take upon her the office of an inſtructer, but rather to learn of her huſband, and to be taught by him.'

'And what I have formerly diſcurſed of with your majeſties leave, wherein ſome ſeeming difference hath appeared; I have not done it ſo much to maintain my opinion, as to miniſter talk, that your majeſty might with the leſs grief paſs over the painful time of your infirmities: as alſo that by your majeſties learned diſcourſe I might reap ſome profit, wherein I have not miſſed my aim, always referring myſelf to your majeſty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.'

Is it ſo, ſweet heart, ſaid the king? 'Did your arguments tend to no worſe end? Then are we now as perfect friends as ever we were heretofore:' Then taking her in his arms, and kiſſing her, he ſaid, 'It doth me more good to hear theſe words of thy mouth, than if I had heard of a hundred thouſand pounds that had fallin to me:' And ſo after many tokens of joy, and liking, and other pleaſant diſcourſe, he gave her leave to depart.

Her adverſaries knew nothing of this, and therefore were providing for her apprehenſion, which was to be the very next day, at which time they intended to carry her to the tower. The day, and almoſt the hour being come, the king intending to take the air, went into the garden, whither the queen alſo went to him, being ſent for by him: at which time the king diſpoſed himſelf to be as merry with her as ever he was in all his life before: when ſuddenly in the midſt of their mirth, in came the lord chancellor with forty of the king's guard at his heels, whom the king ſternly beholding, went to him and upon private conference together, the king called him knave, arrant beaſt, and fool, withal commanding him out of his preſence. The king, after his departure, returned to the queen, who perceiving him to be much chafed, with ſweet words endeavoured to qualify his diſpleaſure, ſaying that though ſhe knew not what juſt cauſe his majeſty had to be offended with the lord chancellor, yet ſhe beſought him, if the cauſe were not very hainous, that for her ſake he would paſs it by. 'Ah poor ſoul, ſaid the king, little doſt thou know how ill he deſerves this grace at thy hands; on my word, ſweet heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and ſo let him go.' The queen in few words made a charitable reply to this, and ſo they parted: by this it appears how by the merciful providence of God, ſhe eſcaped the dangerous ſnares of her bloody perſecutors and enemies, which if God had not prevented had wrought her ruin.

About the ſame time there was one Sir George Blage, of the king's privy chamber, againſt whom they ſuborned falſe witneſſes to accuſe him for ſpeaking againſt the maſs; whereupon Wriſley, lord chancellor, ſent him to Newgate, and the next day he was arraigned, and condemned at Guild-hall, and within a day or two after ſhould have been burnt in Smithfield: this being heard amongſt thoſe of the privy chamber, they were whiſpering amongſt themſelves, which the king could never abide, and therefore aſked them the cauſe of it? They told him the whole ſtory, making ſuit to him for his pardon, the earl of Bedford much promoting the ſame: the king being much offended that they ſhould come ſo near him as into his privy chamber without his knowlege and conſent, ſent for Wriſley, commanding him preſently to draw up his pardon himſelf, whereby he was ſet at liberty. Sir George afterwards coming into the kings preſence: the king ſaid to him, Ah my pig (for ſo he uſed to call him) Yea, ſaid he, 'if your majeſty had not been better to me than your biſhops were, your pig had been roaſted before this time.

Preſently after, Wincheſter, and his complices, ſet forth a cruel proclamation in the king's name for the aboliſhing of the ſcripture, and all other ſuch Engliſh books as gave any light to the ſetting forth of the truth. This being

being obtained, they much rejoiced at it, thinking that now they had forever ſuppreſſed the goſpel, ſo that it ſhould never riſe again: and to ſtrike the greater terror into mens minds, they made a diligent ſearch after the profeſſors of the truth, took the names of many, of whom ſome were driven away, ſome apprehended and laid up in priſon, ſo that they made no queſtion of attaining their wicked ends: but the Lord who had a care both of his truth and people in the midſt of theſe ſubtile devices, took away king Henry within four months after the ſaid proclamation, whereby all their hopes were laid in the duſt.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Perſecution of the Duke of Somerſet, in the Reign of King EDWARD VI.

KING Henry VIII. being dead, his only Son prince Edward, our Engliſh Joſiah, ſucceeded him; under whom the proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed, popery and ſuperſtition aboliſhed, and the church and people of God enjoyed peace. Only the duke of Someſet, a godly man, (by the malice of ſome of the nobility, who were either popiſhly addicted, or that ſought to raiſe themſelves upon his ruin,) met with great troubles and perſecution, the ſtory whereof followeth. King Edward had three uncles by his mother's ſide, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymers, whereof the eldeſt (Edward) was made protector of the king and realm; and the ſecond (Thomas) was made lord high admiral of England. Theſe two brethren, ſo long as they continued firmly knit together in the bonds of brotherly love, preſerved both themſelves, the king, and kingdom from danger. But the ſubtile old ſerpent envying their felicity, and progreſs of the goſpel thereby, by ſlanderous and envenomed tongues ſowed betwixt them, firſt matter of diſcord, then of ſuſpicion, and then of extreme hatred: the ducheſs of Somerſet blowing the coals of contention between them; yet was this breach, by the mediation of friends, for a time healed: but within a ſhort ſpace after, through the inſtigation of ſome that were back friends to the goſpel, it brake out again to the trouble of the realm, and their own deſtruction: and firſt, the lord admiral, was attainted, and condemned for treaſon, and loſt his head at the tower-hill, March 20th, 1549. Preſently after inſurrections aroſe in the kingdom, whereupon the earl of Bedford, lord privy ſeal, was ſent into the weſtern parts, and the lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was ſent with an army into Norfolk, where with much difficulty, he appeaſed the rebels, and ſo returned.

After his return great conſultations were held by him, and ſome other lords at London, againſt the protector, who was with the King at Hampton court: whereupon the protector wrote to the lord Ruſſel in the weſt, giving him notice of their conſpiracy againſt the king and him, and of the falſe, and forged crimes which they laid to his charge, and which they ſcattered abroad to his diſhonour, and therefore he required him to haſten with all the forces that he could make, to Windſor, for the defence of the king and him.

To this meſſage the lord Ruſſel returned anſwer, That he much lamented this diviſion, and looked upon it as a great judgment of God upon the realm, and that he would haſten with his forces towards Windſor; yet humbly beſeeched his lordſhip, that the king might not be put into any fear, nor that their private quarrels might endanger the peace of the kingdom.

From Hampton court the king ſent ſecretary Peters to the lords at London, but inſtead of anſwering the king's meſſage, they detained the ſecretary, whereupon the lord protector wrote to them that he wondered that they had ſtayed the ſecretary, and not vouchſafed to return an anſwer to his majeſty, neither by him or any other. That he was ſorry to ſee their doings bent with violence to bring the king and him to thoſe extremities of uſing arms for their own juſt defence; yet aſſuring them that if any reaſonable conditions and offers would take place, he would be ready, for preventing the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, to accept of them; profeſſing that he preferred the king's welfare and the tranquillity of the realm before his own life.

This reaſonable propoſal of the lord protector was little regarded by thoſe unreaſonable lords, who ſtill reſolved to proceed in their purpoſe; and for this end they called upon the lord mayor and aldermen to keep a good watch by night, and a good ward by day for their ſafety; then they demanded of them five hundred men to fetch the lord protector from Windſor from the king, but that was denied them without the conſent of the common council; whereupon the lords going to the lord mayor's houſe, and ſending for the ſheriffs, drew up a proclamation againſt the lord protector, wherein they charged him with many and grievous crimes: this coming to his ears, a letter was ſent from Windſor, ſigned by the king and lord protector, to the lord mayor and common council, requiring them to ſend ten thouſand well appointed men out of the city to Windſor for their ſafety.

The lords had preſent notice of this letter, whereupon they alſo wrote to the common council, not only for a ſufficient guard to fortify the city: but requiring them not to obey any proclamations or injunctions that ſhould come to them from Windſor.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council receiving theſe two letters at the ſame time, were in a great ſtrait what to do. The recorder moved that they would aſſiſt the lords: but a ſtout and wiſe citizen, (Mr. George Stadlow) ſtanding up, minded them of the miſchief, and miſeries which befel the city, for aſſiſting the lords in the time of the barons wars, though (as was pretended) juſtly undertaken: and therefore gave his advice that the king's command ſhould be obeyed, and that the lords ſhould be moved to join with them in a petition to the king, that it would pleaſe his highneſs to hear ſuch complaints againſt the government of the lord protector as might be juſtly alledged, and proved, whereby he doubted not of a good iſſue, &c. The effect of this motion was, that the lords ſent Sir Philip Hobby to accuſe the protector to the king, whereupon he was made a priſoner in a port of Windſor caſtle: the next day the lords repaired to the king, and the day following they brought away the protector priſoner through the city to the tower: ſhortly after the lords went to the tower, where they charged him with ſundry articles, maliciouſly purpoſing his ruin, but God in his mercy was pleaſed to fruſtrate their expectation; the king ſo labouring for his uncle, that three days after he was releaſed out of the tower, and the proclamation was called in, whereby he had been proclaimed a traitor. And thus he was reſtored, though not to his office, yet to his liberty, which he enjoyed two years after. At the end whereof his malicious adverſaries ſo far prevailed, that he was again caſt into the tower, and ſhortly after brought forth to his arraignment, and was carried through the city with the ax before him, with many bills, and halberts. In Weſtminſter hall before the lords which were his judges, he was charged with treaſon and felony. The lawyers without modeſty, or honeſty, according to their uſual cuſtom in the like caſes, uſed many unſeemly ſpeeches, vile taunts, and deſpiteful rebukes againſt him: all which he patiently and quietly underwent, neither inwardly fretting, nor returning evil language to them again, but like a lamb, imitating the example of his ſaviour, he meekly took all things at their hands: his prudence alſo, and temperance was no leſs ſeen in his anſwers to the articles to the articles objected againſt him. His peers, after conſultation, paſſed this ſentence: that they acquitted him from the charge of treaſon, but found him guilty of felony.

The people hearing the lords ſay not guilty, ſhouted exceedingly for joy, thereby ſhewing their great affections to him.

But the people were greatly deceived; for the innocent duke was condemned to die for felony, and ſo was returned to the tower again; the felony that he was charged withal, was for ſeeking the death (as was pretended) of the duke of Northumberland.

As he paſſed back through the city, great exclamations were again made by the people, ſome rejoicing for that he was acquitted, others lamenting for that he was condemned to die. In the tower he continued for ſome days, till a writ for his execution came from the king and council,

whereupon oe was delivered into the sheriffs, and with a great guard of ſoldiers was carried to the ſcaffold on the tower-hill. The good duke nothing changed either his voice, or countenance, but kneeling on his knees, and lifting up his hands, he commended himſelf to God; his prayers being ended, he ſtood up, and with an unappaled ſpirit, and alacrity he thus ſpake.

"Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer death, tho' I never offended againſt the king in word or deed, but have always been as true and faithful to this realm as any man hath been. Yet ſeeing by the law I am condemned to die, I acknowlege myſelf as well as any others to be ſubject thereto: wherefore to teſtify my ſubjection to the laws I am come hither to die, whereunto I willingly offer myſelf, with moſt hearty thanks unto God who hath given me this time of repentance, who by ſudden death might have taken away my life, ſo that I neither ſhould have acknowleged him nor myſelf. Something I muſt mind you of touching the reformed religion, which ſo long as I was in authority I always diligently ſet forth, and furthered to my power: neither do I repent of it, but rejoice in it, ſeeing that it cometh ſo near to the order of the primitive church: this I look upon as a great mercy both to you, and me: moſt heartily exhorting you all, that you will embrace it with all thankfulneſs, and ſet forth the ſame in your lives; which if you neglect to do without all doubt, great miſchiefs will fall upon you." As he ſpake theſe words, ſuddenly a terrible noiſe was heard which affrighted all men: to ſome it ſeemed as the noiſe of a great tempeſt, to others as the crack of gunpowder blown up, to others as a great company of horſemen ruſhing upon them: this ſo aſtoniſhed the people, that tho' they ſaw nothing, yet they all ran away, ſome into ditches, others into houſes, ſome were ſo terrified that they fell groveling to the ground: the very ſoldiers fell down, crying, *Jeſus, ſave us, Jeſus, ſave us*: Such as tarried, thro' fear knew not where they were. In this confuſion ſome of the people ſpied ſir Anthony Brown riding to the ſcaffold, whereupon they conceited that the king had ſent the duke his uncle a pardon: this occaſioned great rejoicing, and caſting up of caps, crying, *A pardon, a pardon is come; God ſave the king.* In the midſt of all this hurly burly, the good duke ſtood ſtill, in the ſame place with a modeſt, and grave countenance, making a ſign to the people with his hand to be quiet. And at length ſilence being obtained, he thus ſpaks unto them:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no ſuch matter as you expect, or believe: It ſeemeth otherwiſe good to God, whoſe will we muſt all obey, wherefore I pray you be quiet, and contented with my death which I willingly ſuffer: and ſo let us join in prayer to the Lord for the preſervation of the king's majeſty, to whom I have been a faithful ſubject, and have diligently ſought the peace, and welfare both of him, and the kingdom. The people cried out, and ſaid it was true; then the duke proceeded; I wiſh continual health to his majeſty with all felicity, and proſperous ſucceſs; then the people cried, amen; moreover, (ſaid the duke) I wiſh to all his counſellors the grace, and favour of God, that they may rule in all things uprightly, and juſtly, and I exhort you all to be obedient to them in the Lord, *&c.* Alſo, if in thoſe great tranſactions which I have been employed in, I have offended or injured any man, I moſt humbly aſk forgiveneſs; but eſpecially of almighty God, whom through all my life, I have moſt grievouſly offended; and all that have offended me I do with my whole heart freely forgive them; and once again I beſeech you that by your tumult you do not trouble me: for though the ſpirit be willing, yet the fleſh is frail, and weak. I deſire you alſo to bear me witneſs that I here die in the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt.' Then kneeling down he again prayed; then ſhaking all upon the ſcaffold by the hand, he bade them farewel, gave the executioner ſome money, and ſo prepared himſelf for the ſtroke. When all things were ready, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and covering his face with his handkerchief, he lay down without ſhewing any manner of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, and ſo crying, 'Lord Jeſus, ſave me,' the third time that he repeated it, his head was ſevered from his ſhoulders, and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord, *anno Chriſti* 1552.

CHAP. LIX.

The Perſecution of the Engliſh Church under the Reign of Queen Mary.

KING Edward the VI. being dead, the lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen, of whom you may read the ſtory in my *Second Part*: the lady Mary hearing of it, preſently ſent to the lords of the council, commanding, and requiring them preſently to proclaim her queen, which if they refuſed to do, ſhe threatened by force of arms to recover her right. The lords returned anſwer, that the lady Jane was inveſted, and poſſeſſed of the crown by juſt right, and title, both by the ancient laws of the land, and by letters patent ſigned, and ſealed by the late king before his death. And therefore they declared that they would adhere unto her, and to none other; requeſting the lady Mary that ſhe would forceaſe by any pretence to moleſt the peace of the realm, promiſing that if ſhe carried herſelf as a dutiful ſubject they would be ready to do her any ſervice *&c.*

The lady Mary having received this anſwer, ſpeedily departed farther from the city, which the council hearing of, and knowing her ſtout and unquiet diſpoſition, preſently raiſed an army, whereof they made the duke of Northumberland general, and with which he departed from London: Mary in the mean time withdrew herſelf into Suffolk, and Norfolk gathering ſuch aid of the commons as ſhe could; keeping herſelf in Framingham caſtle: to whom Suffolk men firſt reſorted, who being always forward in promoting the goſpel, promiſed her their aid, and help, provided that ſhe would attempt no alteration in religion eſtabliſhed by her brother. To this ſhe eaſily agreed, with ſuch proteſtations that none could ſuſpect her; with this power of the godly party ſhe vanquiſhed her enemies, yet afterwards when theſe very men made ſupplication to her grace to perform her promiſe: ſhe anſwered, foraſmuch as you being members deſire to rule your head, you ſhall one day find that members muſt obey, not ſeek to rule; yea one of the chief of them [Mr. Dobb] ſhe cauſed, to the terror of others to be ſet in the pillory ſundry times; divers others that preſented ſupplications to the ſame purpoſe ſhe cauſed to be committed to priſon.

The duke of Northumberland making but ſhort marches, the lady Mary, by his lingering, encreaſed her power, ſo that the council at London underſtanding that the commons flocked much to her, and that ſome of the nobility inclined that way, they preſently proclaimed her queen.

The duke of Northumberland in the mean time being deſerted by his ſoldiers, was left at Cambridge almoſt alone: where being arreſted, he was brought to London, and committed priſoner to the tower for treaſon, and after a month loſt his head at tower-hill. After his condemnation he was promiſed his life if he would turn papiſt, and hear maſs, which he conſented to, denying in words the true religion which he formerly embraced, and profeſſed; yea, he exhorted the people to return to the catholic religion, which the papiſts rejoiced at, and yet his life was not ſpared.

Queen Mary being thus poſſeſſed of the kingdom, preſently began to diſcover her diſaffection to religion by diſplacing all the orthodox biſhops, as Poinet, Ridley, Scory, Hooper, Coverdal, and by releaſing out of the tower Stephen Gardiner, making him biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor of England; Bonner, making him biſhop of London, &c. Mr. Hooper was committed to the fleet; and doctor Ridley going to viſit the queen was ſent back upon a lame halting horſe to the tower of London. Then did the queen ſummon a parliament, and ſent forth a proclamation, wherein ſhe declared, ſhe could not diſſemble her religion which ſhe had been brought up in from her infancy, and which ſhe was minded to obſerve and maintain, wiſhing that all her ſubjects would quietly embrace the ſame. She declared alſo, that whereas ſome evil diſpoſed perſons (as ſhe

ſhe called them) did take upon them to preach the word of God according to their own brain, &c. She therefore ſtraitly charged, and commanded them, that they ſhould not henceforth preach, read, or interpret any ſcriptures or other points of doctrine concerning religion, nor print any books, *&c.* without her grace's ſpecial licenſe for the ſame, upon pain of incurring her highneſs indignation, and diſpleaſure: requiring all officers to ſee to the due execution of her pleaſure herein, and if any one ſhould wilfully tranſgreſs the ſame, to apprehend, and commit them to the next jail without bail, or mainprize, till farther order ſhould be taken for their puniſhment to the example of others. The aldermen of London were alſo required to ſend for all the miniſters in every ward, and to command them not only to forbear preaching themſelves; but not to ſuffer any other to preach, read, or open the ſcriptures, in their churches, unleſs they were licenſed by the queen.

Anno Chriſti 1553. One William Rutler was committed to priſon for ſpeaking againſt a popiſh ſermon preached by Bourne at Paul's-croſs; and one Humphrey Palden was committed to the counter for the ſame: alſo Mr. Bradford, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Beacon, preachers, were committed to the tower, Mr. Rogers was commanded to keep himſelf priſoner in his own houſe without conferring with any: then was Mr Coverdal biſhop of Exeter, and Mr. Hooper biſhop of Worceſter ſent for up to attend the council: John Melvin [a Scotchman] a godly preacher, was ſent to Newgate.

Mr. Hooper appearing was committed to the fleet. A purſuivant was ſent for Mr. Hugh Latimer; Mr. Simonds preacher in St. Michaels, and Mr. Hugh Sanders paſtor of the ſame in Coventry, were alſo ſent for. Mr. Latimer appearing, was committed to the tower: and ſo was doctor Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury; then Mr. Horne dean of Durham was ſent for.

Shortly after the parliament began, where Mr. Harley biſhop of Hereford was depoſed for that he was married, and refuſed to come to maſs. Sir James Hales juſtice of the common pleas, though he had ventured his life, for queen Mary in refuſing to ſubſcribe to her diſinheriting by king Edward's will; yet for giving the ſtatutes in charge againſt the pope's ſupremacy, &c. At the ſeſſions, was caſt into priſon, and there ſo cruelly handled, and terrified with the torments, which, they ſaid, were in preparing for heretics, that partly by the flattery of the biſhops, partly by their threats, he was drawn to recant, after which he fell into ſuch terrors of conſcience, that he attempted to have ſlain himſelf with a pen knife, if by the ſpecial providence of God he had not been prevented: after which (his wounds that he had given himſelf being healed) he was delivered out of priſon, and went home to his own houſe; yet neither there could he have any inward peace, ſo that ſetting his houſe in order, he drowned himſelf in a river not far from his houſe.

At the ſame time alſo there was a convocation, wherein the prolocutor (doctor Weſton) preſented a bill to be ſigned for the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, which was refuſed by Mr. Philips dean of Rocheſter, Mr. Haddon dean of Exeter, Mr. Philpot arch-deacon of Wincheſter, Mr. Cheney arch deacon of Hereford Mr. Elmar arch-deacon of Stow, and one more. Mr. Philpot alſo, and Mr. Cheney maintained a learned diſputation for divers days againſt the real preſence: whereupon, by command from the queen, biſhop Bonner diſſolved the convocation.

The major of Coventry ſent up Baldwin Clark, John Careleſſe, Thomas Wilcock's, and Richard Aſtlin for oppoſing idolatry, who were committed to priſon; beſides the good biſhops that were impriſoned, there were alſo many arch deacons, deans, and all other beneficed men that were married, and conſtantly adhered to their profeſſion, caſt out of their places, and popiſh prieſts put into the ſame. Shortly after archbiſhop Cranmer was arraigned for treaſon at Guild-hall, but was acquitted of that charge, only he was ſtill kept in priſon for hereſy.

Anno Chriſti 1554. Doctor Crome for preaching without licenſe on Chriſtmas-day was committed to the Fleet: alſo Mr Thomas Wetton eſq; for matters of religion was made cloſe priſoner there.

About this time the motion of marriage went on between Philip king of Spain, and queen Mary, which was ill reſented by ſome of the nobility, and of the commons; amongſt whom, Sir Thomas Wyat in Kent raiſed ſome forces to oppoſe it, fearing that hereby the kingdom would be miſerably enſlaved to forreigners, and the popiſh religion eſtabliſhed: the duke of Suffolk alſo went into Warwickſhire, and Leiceſterſhire to raiſe forces to oppoſe it: the queen hereupon ſent the duke of Norfolk againſt Wyat, who was forſaken by his men when he came to Rocheſter, and ſo returned back to London. The earl of Huntington was ſent into Warwickſhire, who entring Coventry before the duke of Suffolk, diſappointed him; ſo that the duke being in great diſtreſs, committed himſelf to a ſervant of his that dwelt in Aſtyley park, who like a falſe traitor diſcovered him, and ſo he was carried to the tower of London; Wyat in the mean time marched towards London, whereupon the queen went to Guild hall, and ſtirred up the citizens againſt him. Wyat came with his army into Southwark, and finding that he could not enter that way, he went about by Kingſton, and ſo marched as far as Ludgate into the city; but finding the gate ſhut againſt him, he returned, and at temple-bar being reſiſted; he yielded himſelf up to Sir Clement Parſon, and being committed to the tower, was afterwards beheaded at tower hill; then was the lady Jane beheaded, whoſe ſtory you may read in my ſecond Part, in her life.

Anno Chriſti 1554. Bonner ſent abroad his injunctions to all the miniſters in his dioceſs, requiring them to return the names of all ſuch as the lent following refuſed to come to auricular confeſſion. The queen alſo ſent certain articles to Bonner, to be put in execution for reviving the eccleſtical laws made by king Henry the VIII for reſtoring of the pope's ſupremacy; for puniſhing hereſies, eſpecially in the clergy; for depriving all miniſters that were married, and divorcing them from their wives; for proceſſions to be ſaid in the Latin; for the reſtoring popiſh ceremonies, &c. The like command ſhe ſent alſo to the lord major.

Peter Martyr, John a Laſco, and other proteſtant forreigners were baniſh'd the realm.

Many godly Engliſh fled to Friezland, Cleveland, Germany, Bazil, Zurich, Geneva, and other places, where through God's mercy, they were all provided for, and entertained with great favour, to the number of eight hundred perſons at the leaſt. Then was the lady Elizabeth ſent to the tower, of whoſe great afflictions read her life in my ſecond part.

Shortly after doctor Cranmer, doctor Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, were carried priſoners to Oxford, and doctor Taylor was ſent for up to London, of whom ſee their lives in my firſt part.

Mr. Sanders for preaching againſt the maſs was committed to priſon, of whom ſee his life in my firſt part.

About the ſame time Henry lord Gray, duke of Suffolk being condemned was brought forth to execution. Doctor Weſton would needs follow him up to the ſcaffold, but he twice put him down with his hand. The duke ſpake to the people ſaying: I have offended the queen, and her laws, and therefore am condemned to die, and am willing to die beſeeching you all to bear me witneſs that I die in the true faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaved by his merits only, and by no other trumpery: Chriſt died for me, and for all that truly repent of their ſins, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in him; and I do repent, deſiring you all to pray for me, that when breath departs out of my body, he will be pleaſed to receive my ſoul: then he deſired all men to forgive him: and doctor Weſton told the people that the queen had forgiven him; to whom they anſwered, 'Such forgiveneſs God ſend thee.' Then the duke kneeling down prayed unto God, concluding, 'Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commend my ſpirit.' Then prepared he himſelf for the ſtroke of death, and tying an handkerchief before his face, he kneeled down, ſaying over the Lord's prayer, and laying down his head, ſaid, 'Chriſt, have mercy upon me,' and ſo quietly and comfortably ſlept in the Lord.

Divers houſholders, ſervants, and apprentices, were committed to priſon for having, and ſelling ſome good books that were ſent over by the preachers that were fled into Germany.

Biſhop

Biſhop Bonner going his viſitation, commanded all the ſentences of ſcripture that were painted on the church walls to be aboliſhed and blotted out.

Viſitors alſo were appointed for the two univerſities, to bring in their popiſh traſh amongſt them, whereby many godly perſons of their own accord forſook their fellowſhips others were thruſt out, and raw, and unworthy perſons put into their places, to the great hindrance of learning and religion.

It was reported that queen Mary was quick with child, whereupon, by public order thanks were given in all churches for the ſame, and afterwards many prayers were made that it might be a male child, beautiful, comely, witty, valiant, *&c.*

About the ſame time all the godly miniſters that were in priſon, in and about London, were ſent for before the biſhop of Wincheſter, who aſked them whether they would recant, and enjoy the queen's pardon, or elſe ſtand to what they had taught? They all anſwered, that they would ſtand to what they had taught, whereupon they were made cloſe priſoners that none might ſpeak with them. Amongſt theſe there was one Mr. James George, that died in priſon, whom they buried in the fields. Preſently after, Mr. Hooper, Roger, Tailor, and Bradford, were brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter and other commiſſioners, by whom they were excommunicated, and Mr Hooper and Mr. Rogers were condemned: of whom ſee their ſtories in my firſt part. The next day doctor Tailor, doctor Crome, doctor Ferrar, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Sanders were brought before them: where doctor Tailor, Mr. Bradford and Mr. Sanders were condemned; of whom likewiſe ſee the ſtories in my firſt part.

Commiſſions alſo, and inquiſitors were ſent abroad into into all parts of the realm, whereby a great number of godly people, eſpecially in Kent, Eſſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, were apprehended, brought to London, and impriſoned, moſt of which either died in priſon, and were buried in dunghills, or were conſumed to aſhes in the flames.

Alſo William Pigot, Thomas Hawks, John Laurence, and William Hunter, were brought before the biſhops for the ſame cauſe of religion: but when Stephen Gardner perceived that all his threats and cruel devices would not ſerve turn to diſhearten men from adhering to the truth, he gave over the buſineſs as utterly diſcouraged, meddling no more with condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to biſhop Bonner, who beſtirring himſelf in that truſt, preſently called before him the perſons above named, and read the ſentence of death upon them. Alſo doctor Ferrar was ſent down to his biſhoprick of St. David's in Wales, there to be condemned and executed.

The king of Denmark wrote two letters to queen Mary in the behalf of Mr. Coverdal, by whoſe interceſſion the queen at laſt let him go to him.

Thomas Tomkins before named was a weaver by profeſſion: a man of a very humble and holy converſation, that would begin all his buſineſs with prayer: and ſo charitable, that if any came to borrow money of him, he would ſhew them all his purſe, and bid them take it; and when they brought it home, he would bid them keep it longer till they were better able to repay it. Bonner kept this man in priſon half a year, and ſometimes beat him cruelly about the face, and plucked off a piece of his beard, yet he bore it patiently; and when the biſhop could by no other means prevail to remove him from the truth, having doctor Harpsfield and ſome others with him, he ſent for Tomkins, and endeavoured to draw him to recant, which Tomkins denying, the biſhop having a wax taper by him, took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand over the flame, and burnt it cruelly: afterwards Tomkins reported to friend, that whilſt his hand was burning, he was ſo raviſhed in ſpirit that he felt no pain; ſo that he never ſhrunk till the veins ſhrunk and the ſinews brake, and the water ſpurt into doctor Harpsfield's face, who was ſo moved with pity, that he requeſted the biſhop to give over, ſaying, That he had tried him enough. After this he was brought into the biſhop's conſiſtory, and examined whether he did believe that Chriſt's body was really in the ſacrament? To which he anſwered, that he believed the ſacrament only to be a remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Chriſt is only in heaven, and no where elſe. Then being aſked whether he would recant his errors? He anſwered that ſeeing God had revealed his truth unto him, he would continue therein till his death: hereupon the biſhop read his ſentence of condemnation, and delivered him to the ſheriffs, who carried him to Newgate, and from thence into Smithfield, where he ſealed the truth with his blood, and quietly ſlept in the Lord, *anno Chriſti* 1555.

Then William Hunter, a godly young man of nineteen years old, born of godly parents, who inſtructed him in the truth, and was by them placed apprentice in London, was commanded to go to maſs, and receive the ſacrament, which he refuſed to do, whereupon he was threatened to be complained of to the biſhop: Hunter therefore taking leave of his maſter, went to his parents at Burntwood, with whom he remained about ſix weeks. Then one day going into the chapel there, and finding a bible upon the deſk, he began to read therein. Preſently after came in a ſummoner who ſaid to him, What doſt thou meddling with the bible? Canſt thou underſtand what thou readeſt and canſt thou expound the ſcripture? Hunter anſwered, I take not upon me to expound the ſcripture, but finding the bible here, I read in it to my comfort. The ſummoner replied, It was never a merry world ſince the bible came forth into Engliſh. Hunter ſaid, Say not ſo for God's ſake; for it is God's book, and therefore I pray God that we may have the bleſſed bible amongſt us continually. The ſummoner replied, I perceive your mind well enough, you are one of thoſe that do not like the queen's laws, but you and many more muſt turn over a new leaf or you will broil for it: Hunter anſwered, Pray God give me grace that I may believe his word, and confeſs his name whatever comes of it. Confeſs his name, ſaid the ſummoner? No, no you will all go to the devil, and confeſs his name. Then did the ſummoner go forth, and fetched a prieſt, vicar of that place, out of an alehouſe, who finding William Hunter reading, reviled and rebuked him for it, and afterwards aſked him what he ſaid to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, whether the bread and wine were not tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt's body? Hunter anſwered, that he found no ſuch thing in ſcripture, and told him that he underſtood Chriſt's words like the carnal Capernaumites who thought that Chriſt would have given them his fleſh to feed on, wherefore he ſaid to them, 'The words that I ſpeak, they are ſpirit, and life:' Ah, quoth the vicar, now I have found you out, now I ſee thou art an heretic, *&c.* Hunter replied, Whereas you make queſtion of my faith, would we two were faſt tied to a ſtake to prove whether of us ſhould ſtick cloſeſt to our faith, *&c.* Then the vicar departed, threatening to complain of William Hunter; whereupon he went home, and took leave of his father, and fled from the danger: preſently after maſter Brown ſent for old Hunter, and enquired for his ſon, he told him he knew not where he was; yet did Brown threaten to caſt him into priſon, if he did not bring forth his ſon: the old man therefore rode after him to look for him, and after two days met with him, telling him what had happened: yet, ſaid he, go thy ways, and I will return home, and ſay that I cannot find thee. No, ſaid William, I will go home with you, and ſave you harmleſs whatever comes of it. As ſoon as he came back, he was apprehended by a conſtable, and carried before Mr. Brown, who reaſoned much with him about the ſacrament of the altar, and being extremely enraged at his bold and indicious anſwers, he immediately ſent him up to London to biſhop Bonner. Then the biſhop underſtanding the buſineſs, began very mildly with him, and aſked him what he thought of the ſacrament of the altar, whether Chriſt's body was not preſent, the ſame that was born of the virgin Mary? Hunter told him that what he had ſaid before, he would not recant for all the good in the world: after ſome other conference the biſhop cauſed his men to ſet him in the ſtocks in his gatehouſe, where he lay two days, and had nothing but a cruſt of brown bread, and a cup of cold water. At the two days end the biſhop came to him, and finding the bread and water ſtill by him, he bade his men to let him out, and to let him break his faſt with them: but they reviled him, calling him heretic, and ſaying, that he ſhould not come into their company: Hunter anſwered, that he was as loth to be in their company, as they in his.

Preſently after the biſhop ſent for him, and aſked him if

if he would recant? Hunter answered, that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop committed him to prison, and commanded the jailor to put as many irons upon him as he could: threatening to burn him, whereupon Hunter said, God strengthen me in his truth: and so he was carried away, the bishop allowing him but a half-penny a day, to live on.

He remained thus in prison three quarters of a year, and was six times before the bishop, the last of them he asked him whether he would recant, and whether he believed Christ's body to be present in the sacrament? Hunter answered, That he believed, that when he received the holy communion rightly, and worthily, he fed upon Christ spiritually by faith in his soul, and was made partaker of all the benefits which Christ had brought to all faithful believers, through his precious death, passion, and resurrection. Hereupon the bishop read the sentence of condemnation, appointing that he should go back to Newgate, and from thence to Burntwood, to be burnt. After which he said to him, if thou wilt recant I will make thee a freeman of London, and give thee forty pounds in money to set up thy occupation withal, or I will make thee steward of my house: for I see thou hast wit enough, and therefore I will prefer thee, if thou wilt recant? Hunter answered, 'I thank you for your offers, but if you cannot persuade my heart by scripture arguments, I will not turn from God for the love of the world: for I count all earthly things but dung, and dross, in respect of the love of Christ: then said the bishop, If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever: Hunter replied, God judgeth righteously, and justifies those, whom men condemn unjustly.' Thus was he sent to Newgate, and after a month to Burntwood.

Whilst he was at Burntwood, his father, and mother came to him, desiring heartily of God that he might continue constant to the end, in that good way which he had begun; his mother added, that she was happy that she had born such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. William answered, 'For the little pain which I shall suffer, which is but for a moment, Christ hath promised me a crown of joy.' Then his mother kneeling down, said, 'I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bore.' Whilst he remained there, many of his acquaintance came to him, whom he exhorted to come out of the abomination of popery, and idolatry. Three days after Mr. Brocket, the sheriff, prepared all things for his burning, and in the mean time the sheriff's son came to him, and took him in his arms, saying, William, 'Be not afraid of these men that are present with bills, and bows, to carry you to the place of execution: William answered, I thank God I am not afraid: for I have already cast my account what it will cost me; with that the sheriff's son could speak no more for weeping. And so Hunter went on chearfully; his father met him by the way, saying, 'God be with thee, my son. William answered, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again where we shall be merry.' At the stake he kneeled down, and read the fifty one Psalm. Then said the sheriff, here is a letter from the queen, if thou wilt recant, thou shalt live, otherwise thou shalt be burnt? No, quoth William, I will not recant, and so he went to the stake, and was fastned to it: then he said to the people, good people, pray for me whilst you see me alive, and I will pray for you. Mr. Brown standing by, said, I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog. William answered: Sir, now you have that which you sought for, I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day, but I forgive you: Brown said, I ask no forgiveness of thee: William replied, If God forgive you not, I shall require my blood at your hands: and further said, Son of God, shine upon me,' and whereas it was dark till then, the sun immediately shone out of a thick cloud, so full in his face, that he was forced to turn his head aside. Then a priest brought a book to him, to whom he said, 'Away thou false prophet. Beware of them, good people, and turn from their abominations, lest ye partake of their plagues: then said the priest, look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell; William answered, Thou liest thou false prophet Away thou false prophet, away.'

Fire being kindled, he lift up his hands to heaven, saying, 'Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit,' and so he ended his life in the flames.

About the same time Mr. Higbed, and Mr. Causton, two Essex gentlemen, being zealous in the service of God, were complained of to bishop Bonner, who ordered them to be imprisoned in Colchester, together with a servant of Mr. Thomas Causton's, in Christian godliness nothing inferior to his master; but the bishop perceiving that these gentlemen were of great esteem in their country, for fear of a tumult, he, with Mr. Fecknam, and some others went thither himself to see if he could reclaim them: and much diligence he used, both by terrors, and threatenings, as also by large promises, and flatteries, to reduce them to the catholic church; but when nothing would prevail to remove them from the truth, he returned to London, and carried them prisoners with him, committing them to strait imprisonment. Where he attempted sundry ways both by himself, and his chaplains to draw them to revoke their opinions: but when he could not effect it, he brought them into the open consistory, demanding of them if they would recant? To which they answered negatively: then he proposed sundry articles to them, to which they answered in writing: this answer satisfied not the bishop, and therefore he sent for Mr. Causton to him, persuading him to recant; Causton answered, you go about to catch us us in snares, and gins, but look what measure you mete unto us, expect that God should measure the same to you again. Then did the bishop persuade Mr. Higbed to abjure: to whom he answered, 'I will not abjure: do what you can, you shall do no more than God will permit you to do,' &c.

After this the bishop again attempted sometimes with fair promises, other sometimes with threatenings to divert them from the truth, and when he could by no means prevail, he read the sentence of death against them, after which they were delivered to the sheriffs, and by them were carried to Newgate, where they remained in great consolation for fourteen days, at the end whereof being bound fast in a cart, they were carried and delivered to the sheriff of Essex, who carried them to their own parishes, *viz.* Mr. Higbed to Horneden on the hill, and Mr. Causton to Raily, where they sealed their faith with their blood in the fire to the glory of God and great rejoicing of the godly.

Also about the same time William Pigot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence were examined before Bonner, who asked them what their opinion was about the sacrament of the altar? They answered subscribing their hands to it, that in it there is not under the forms of bread and wine, the very substance of the body, and blood of Christ, which was only in heaven, and no where else: then did the bishop persuade them them to recant, and deny their profession, which they refused to do. He added many fair flatteries, and cruel threatenings, which not prevailing, he condemned them, and so sent them to Newgate: There they remained together with great joy till they were carried down to Essex to be burnt.

William Pigot was burnt at Braintree, Stephen Knight at Maukon, who at the stake kneeled down, and prayed thus.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, for the love of whom I willingly leave this life, and rather desire the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly goods, than to obey men in breaking thy holy commandments. thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worship a false god; I did rather choose the torment of my body, and loss of my life, counting all things but dung, and dross that I might win thee; for whose sake death is dearer to me than thousands of gold, and silver: such love (O Lord) thou hast laid up in my breast that I hunger for thee, as the wounded deer desires the soil: send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, strengthen, and comfort this weak piece of earth, which of itself hath no strength. Thou remembrest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing of myself that is good, and therefore as of thine accustomed goodness, and love thou hast invited me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy

to drink of thine own cup amongſt thine elect: even ſo give me ſtrength, O Lord, againſt this element of the fire, which though terrible to ſight, yet let it be ſweet, and pleaſant to my mind, that by the ſtrength of thy Spirit I may paſs through the rage of it into thy boſom, &c. O heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive all the world; O ſweet Son of God, my Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me: O bleſſed holy Ghoſt, through whoſe bleſſed conduct I am come hither, guide me into everlaſting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit," *Amen.*

Alſo John Laurence was ſent up to Clocheſter, whoſe legs being lame with irons, and his body weak with cruel uſage, he was carried in a chair to the ſtake, where being conſtant in the faith he was conſumed in the fire. At his burning many young children cried out: 'Lord ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keep thy promiſe, Lord, ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keep thy promiſe.'

Doctor Robert Ferrar, biſhop of ſaint David's in Wales, who was preferred to that biſhoprick by the good duke of Summerſet in the days of king Edward the VI. met with much oppoſition by ſome covetous canons of the church of Carmarthen, by whoſe inſtigation ſundry articles were exhibited againſt him to the king and council; whereupon he was ſent for up, and required to give in his anſwer to thoſe articles to doctor Wotton and Sir John Maſon, which accordingly he did; yet the duke of Summerſet being ſhortly after beheaded, by whom he had been promoted to the biſhoprick, and the good biſhop finding few friends to ſupport him againſt thoſe that hunted for his biſhoprick, he was detained in cuſtody under ſureties all the days of king Edward: and in the beginning of queen Mary's reign he was examined of his faith and doctrine before the biſhop of Wincheſter: who told him that the queen and parliament had altered religion, and therefore required him to embrace the ſame: to which he anſwered, that he had taken an oath never to conſent, or agree that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have any juriſdiction in this realm: Wincheſter called him forward fellow, and falſe knave, and ſo returned him to priſon again. Afterwards he was examined before Henry Morgan pretended biſhop of ſaint David's, who miniſtred ſundry articles to him requiring him to ſubſcribe thereunto, which he refuſed: then he exhorted him to recant, which he alſo refuſed; whereupon he read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him: then was he degraded, and delivered to the ſecular power, by whom he was carried to Carmarthen, there to be burnt.

A little before his execution there came to him one Richard Jones, a knight's ſon, who much lamented the painfulneſs of the death that he was to ſuffer: to whom doctor Ferrar anſwered, that if he ſaw him once to ſtir in the pains of his burning, that then he ſhould give no credit to the doctrine which he had taught: and accordingly what he ſaid, that he performed, ſtanding ſo patiently in the midſt of the flames, that he never moved, holding up his ſtumps, till one with a ſtaff daſhed him on the head, throwing him down into the fire, where quietly he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

About the ſame time there was one Rawlins White, a fiſher-man in Wales, of the town of Cardiff, who when God raiſed up the light of the goſpel in the days of king Edward the VI. this Rawlins began to miſlike his former ſuperſtitious courſes, and became a diligent hearer and ſearcher out of the truth: and becauſe himſelf was ignorant, and illiterate, he ſet his ſon to ſchool to learn to read Engliſh, which when he had attained to, he cauſed him every night to read to him a portion of the holy ſcriptures, and ſometimes ſome other good books: by theſe helps and conference with others he attained to ſuch a meaſure of knowlege, that he was able to inſtruct others, and thereupon he uſed ſometimes to go from place to place to inſtruct ſuch as he found moſt tractable: ſo that he became an inſtrument of much good in that country: he never uſed to go without his little boy to read to him: God gave him alſo an excellent memory, whereby he could quote ſcriptures very readily.

When queen Mary came to the crown, and had altered religion, he was not ſo open as formerly he had been: but would ſometimes privately call his truſtieſt friends together, and with earneſt prayer, and great lamentation for the ſins of the land, paſſed away the time with them.

But the enemies of the truth growing violent, Rawlins looked every day when he ſhould be dragged to priſon: hereupon ſome of his deareſt friends perſuaded him to retire himſelf into ſome place where he was not known; he was nothing moved with theſe fleſhly perſuaſions, thanking them for their good will, but told them plainly that he had learned, that if he denied Chriſt here, Chriſt would deny him at the laſt day: 'And therefore, ſaid he, I will by his gracious aſſiſtance confeſs, and bear witneſs of him before men, that I may find him in everlaſting life.' Yet his friends continued to importune him much for his departure, but he was reſolute, and ſo continued till he was apprehended upon ſuſpicion of hereſy; and carried before the biſhop of Landaffe.

The biſhop and his chaplains often ſet upon him to remove him from his faith, but could not prevail: he had many opportunities of eſcaping, but would not make uſe of them: at laſt he was removed to the caſtle of Cardiff, where he remained priſoner for a year. When his friends reſorted to him, he uſed to ſpend the time in prayer, and exhortation, admoniſhing them to beware of falſe prophets, that come in ſheeps cloathing.

At laſt the biſhop ſent for him, and aſſayed both by flatteries, and threatenings, to remove him from his ſtedfaſtneſs; but Rawlins remaining reſolute, he appointed a time for his condemnation; which being come, the biſhop ſent for him, and told him that it was well known that he held many heretical opinions, and that he had ſeduced many others &c. Rawlins anſwered boldly; 'My lord, I thank God I am a Chriſtian man. I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; if I do, I deſire to be reformed by ſcripture.' After much debate, the biſhop told him that if he would not recant, he muſt proceed to condemn him; 'Proceed, ſaid Rawlins, according to your law, but for an heretic you ſhall never condemn me; then ſaid the biſhop, before we proceed any farther, let us pray unto God that he would ſend ſome ſpark of grace upon him; it may be God will turn his heart. Now, ſaid Rawlins, you deal well, and if your requeſt be according to the will of God, and that you pray as you ought, no doubt but God will hear you: therefore do you pray to your god, and I will pray to my God: for I know God will hear my prayer and perform my deſire:' By and by the biſhop and his company went to prayer, and Rawlins prayed by himſelf, and when they had done, the biſhop ſaid to Rawlins, 'How is it with thee now? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions? No ſurely, ſaid he, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace Rawlins I will continue. If your petitions had been good, God would have heard you, but you worſhip a falſe god, and you pray not as ye ought, and therefore God heareth you not, but God hath heard my requeſts, and I truſt will ſtrengthen me to the end.' Then the biſhop being angry, reproved him ſharply, and afterwards went to maſs; whereupon Rawlins ſaid, 'Good people, if there be any brethren amongſt you, or but one brother, bear witneſs at the day of judgment, that I bow not the knee to this idol. After maſs the biſhop ſeeing that nothing would prevail, proceeded to condemn him. After which the biſhop ſent him to Cardiff to be put into a dark dungeon: there Rawlins paſſed away his time in prayer, and ſinging of Pſalms.

The night before he was to be burnt they ſent him word of it; whereupon he ſent to his wife for his wedding garment, meaning his ſhirt, which he received next morning with great joy; when he was had forth to execution, he was guarded with bills, and ſtaves; whereupon he ſaid, 'Alas! what needs all this ado? By God's grace I will not ſtart away: but I heartily give thanks to God who hath made me worthy to abide all this for his name's ſake.' At the ſtake he found his wife, and children drowned in tears, which on the ſudden drew ſome tears from him, but preſently recollecting himſelf, he ſaid, 'Ah fleſh! ſayeſt thou me ſo? wouldſt thou fain prevail? I tell thee do what thou canſt, by God's grace, thou ſhalt not have the victory;" Then falling down to the ground he kiſſed it, and ſaid, 'Earth to earth, and duſt to duſt, thou art my mother, and to thee I ſhall return.' Then went he chearfully to be bound to the ſtake; and ſeeing a friend, he

he ſaid to him; 'I feel a great fighting between the fleſh, and the ſpirit, and the fleſh would very fain have his ſwinge: therefore when you ſee me any thing tempted, pray you hold up your finger, and I truſt I ſhall remember myſelf.' When he was faſtened with the chain, he gave God thanks with a loud voice; and then ſaid to the Smith, 'I pray you good friend, knock it in faſt, for it may be the fleſh will ſtrive mightily: but, God of thy great mercy give me ſtrength, and patience to abide the extremity.' Then did he pull the reeds, and ſtraw about him with ſuch a chearful countenance, that all wondred at him. Then ſtood up a prieſt to preach to the people, and Rawlins attended till he ſpake about tranſubſtantiation, which he went about to confirm by ſcripture, alledging that text: 'This is my body;' whereupon Rawlins ſaid, Come hither, good people, and hear that falſe prophet no longer: and to him he ſaid, Ah thou naughty hypocrite, doſt thou preſume to alledge ſcripture to prove thy falſe doctrine? Look what follows, do this in remembrance of me:' This put the prieſt to ſilence: then was fire kindled, and Rawlins bathed his hands in the flame, till the ſinews ſhrunk, and the fat dropped out: and all the while he cried out, 'O Lord, receive my ſoul; O Lord, receive my ſpirit;' and thus he abode quietly, and patiently, till his ſpirit returned to God that gave it. It was further obſerved of him, that whereas formerly thro' infirmity of age he went ſtooping, with a ſad countenance, and feeble body; when he went to his death, he went bolt upright, with a freſh, and chearful countenance, ſhewing much courage, and vigor, both in ſpeech, and behaviour.

About the ſame time the queen reſtored all the lands that were in her poſſeſſion, to the abbeys, and monaſteries: and a bull came from the pope, requiring that all others ſhould do the like; but none were found that would either obey the pope, or imitate the queen therein.

There was about the ſame time a popiſh prieſt called Nightingal, parſon of Crondal, near Canterbury, who boaſted in the pulpit, that he had been with cardinal Poole, who had made him as clean from his ſins, as he was at the Fontſtone; boaſting alſo of the pope's bull that was come into England. But whilſt the words were in his mouth, he fell down out of the pulpit, and never ſtirred more.

In the ſame month, John Alcock, a godly man died in priſon, and was buried in the fields: alſo letters were ſent to the ſheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Woodgate, William Mainard, and one Harwich, for preaching up and down that country.

Other letters were ſent to two knights to examine Mr. Flower, why he wore about his neck written, *Deum time, idolum fuge: fear God, fly idolatry:* and whomſoever elſe they knew to wear the like. Praying them to ſpeak to biſhop Bonner, that they might ſpeedily be proceeded againſt according to law.

George Marſh, born at Deane in Lancaſhire, was well educated in learning, and religion by his parents; afterwards he married a wife, by whom he had ſome children: but his wife dying, he left his children well diſpoſed of, and went to Cambridge, where he ſtudied, and much encreaſed in learning and godlineſs, and at laſt was made a miniſter, and ſerved a curate under Mr. Laurence Sanders; afterwards he preached in Lancaſhire, where he earneſtly ſet forth God's true religon, and beat down antichriſtianiſm. At length he was apprehended, and kept cloſe priſoner by Cotes, biſhop of Cheſter, for about four months ſpace, being not permitted to have the relief, and comfort of his friends. Then the biſhop ſending for him, aſked him about the ſacrament of the altar? Mr. Marſh utterly denied tranſubſtantiation, allowed not the abuſe of the maſs, nor the ſacrament in one kind; the biſhop laboured to draw him from his opinions, but all in vain, ſo he returned him to priſon again.

Many reſorted to him in priſon, labouring to divert him from the truth, but the Lord upheld him in his integrity, giving him a mouth and wiſdom, which all his adverſaries were not able to reſiſt: the biſhop had divers conferences with him, giving him many taunts, reviling ſpeeches, and odious names. At laſt he was brought forth to his condemnation before the biſhop and ſome others: there they objected many things againſt him, as ſeducing the people, holding heretical opinions, &c. To which he anſwered, That he utterly abhorred all kinds of hereſy, deſiring all the people preſent to bear witneſs thereof; profeſſing that he held nothing but the truth, which had been eſtabliſhed in king Edward's days, in which pure religion, and doctrine, he would by God's grace, ſtand, live, and die. Then the biſhop began to read the definitive ſentence: but ſtopping in the midſt, he aſked him if he would have the queen's mercy in time? He anſwered, that he did gladly deſire the ſame, but yet he durſt not deny his Saviour Chriſt for fear of being deprived of his everlaſting mercy, and of gaining to himſelf everlaſting death. Many prieſts, and people, called hard upon him to recant and ſave his life: to whom he anſwered, 'I would as fain live as you, if in ſo doing I ſhould not deny my maſter Chriſt, and thereby cauſe him to deny me before his Father in heaven.' Then the biſhop finiſhed his ſentence of condemnation; after which he ſaid, 'Now I will no more pray for thee than I will pray for a dog;' yet ſaid Mr. Marſh, 'I will pray for your lordſhip, and ſo he was delivered to the ſheriff of the city of Cheſter, who impriſoned him cloſely, ſo that he had no relief, or comfort from any worldly creature, only ſome few citizens in the evening at a hole in the wall would call to him, and aſk him how he did? To whom he uſed to anſwer very chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God moſt highly, that he vouchſafed of his mercy, to appoint him to be a witneſs of his truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame, wherein he did moſt rejoice, beſeeching him to give him grace not to faint under the croſs, but patiently to bear the ſame to his glory and comfort of his church. When the time came that he ſhould ſuffer, the ſheriffs, accompanied with many billmen, fetched him out of the dungeon; all the way he went with a book in his hand, whereon he looked, ſo that the people ſaid, 'This man goeth not to his death as a thief, or as one that deſerveth to die:' at the place of execution, one ſhewed him a pardon, if he would recant; hereupon Mr. Marſh ſaid, that he would gladly accept the ſame, but ſeeing it tended to pluck him from God, he would not accept of it upon that condition: then he began to exhort the people to ſtick to Chriſt; whereupon one of the ſheriffs ſaid, 'George Marſh, we muſt have no ſermoning here:' then kneeled he down, and made his prayers, and ſo ſtripping himſelf to his ſhirt, he was faſtened to the ſtake: the fire being unſkilfully made, and the wind driving the flame to and fro, he ſuffered much extremity in his death, which yet he abode very patiently. Having been thus long tormented without moving, his fleſh broiling, and puft up inſomuch that all the people thought he had been dead, he ſuddenly ſpread abroad his arms ſaying, 'Father of heaven, have mercy upon me.' And ſo he yielded up his ſpirit into the hands of God.

William Flower was born in Cambridge-ſhire, brought up in learning till he was admitted into a monaſtery in Ely: there he remained till he was made a prieſt, and often ſung maſs: but ſome injunctions coming out from king Henry VIII. he left the monaſtery, and went to the place of his nativity, where he uſed to ſing maſs, and taught a ſchool, and after his ſerving in ſome other places, he went to Tewkſbury, where he married a wife, and betook himſelf to the practice of phyſick, and chirurgery; at laſt he ſettled at Lambeth, and on Eaſter day in the morning he croſſed the water to Margaret's in Weſtminſter, where he found a prieſt giving the ſacrament to the people: but Mr. Flower being much troubled in ſpirit to ſee his ſuperſtition, went to him, and wounded him with his wood knife in ſeveral places: for this being apprehended and carried before Bonner, he confeſſed that he did not well therein, and therefore ſubmitted to puniſhment: by the biſhop he was ſent to Newgate, where one Robert Smith, a priſoner, queſtioned with him concering his fact at Weſtminſter: aſking him, whether he had formerly known the prieſt, and whether he did not bear him ill will? To which he anſwered, That he had never ſeen him before, nor did not owe him any evil will. Then ſaid Smith, 'Do you think you did well, or after the rule of the goſpel? Flower anſwered, I confeſs all fleſh to be ſubject to the power of God, whom he maketh his miniſters to do his will, as Moſes, Aaron, Phineas, Jehu, Zimri, &c. Planting ill them

them zeal for his honour againſt all order, and reſpect of fleſh and blood: for his ways are paſt finding out: by whoſe Spirit I have given my fleſh unto ſuch order as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint, in death, which before I did theeſt, I looked for.'

Smith. 'Do you think that I, or another may do the like by your example?

Flower. 'No verily, neither do I know whether I could do it again, if it were to do: for I once went to Paul's with a purpoſe to do it, yet could not: I was now compelled by the ſpirit to go thither, being fully content to die for the Lord, and therefore gave over my fleſh moſt willingly without all fear. I praiſe God, and I beſeech you judge the beſt of the ſpirit, condemn not God's doings: for I cannot expreſs with my mouth the great mercies that God hath ſhewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.'

Smith. 'Do you not believe that you ſhall die, and that with extremity for this fact?

Flower. 'Yea, before I did the fact I adjudged my body to die for the ſame: therefore I carried about me in writing mine opinion of God, of the holy ſcriptures, *&c.* That if I had been preſently ſlain, they might have ſeen the faith and hope, which, I praiſe God, is laid up ſafe within my breaſt: being aſſured of everlaſting life through Chriſt my Lord, what death ſoever I die.'

Smith. 'I bleſs God for that good eſtate which I find you in: I beſeech him for his mercies ſake to ſpread his wings over you, and as you have been zealous for him to the loſs of this life, ſo that he will give you his holy Spirit to conduct you thro' death to a better life, which I think will be ſhortly.'

Flower. 'I hunger for the ſame, knowing that they can but kill the body, which I am ſure ſhall receive everlaſting life again: there I pray you, and all that fear God, to pray for me, *&c.*

After this Bonner ſent for him, and propoſed many articles to him, to which he made a ſtout and godly anſwer: then did the biſhop much preſs him to the unity of the popiſh church, promiſing to forgive what was paſt, and to beſtow many favours upon him: to whom Flower anſwered, that he thanked him for his kindneſs: and whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he was content that he ſhould do what he pleaſed therein, yet over his ſoul he had no ſuch power, which, ſaith he, is in the hands of God, not of man, to ſave or deſtroy, but for his opinions he neither would or could go from them; and therefore deſired that the law might proceed againſt him. Then the biſhop proceeded to the ſentence of condemnation, and committed him to the ſecular power: by them he was carried into St. Margaret's church yard. At the ſtake he made a confeſſion of his faith, and prayed fervently. Afterwards one exhorted him to recant, or elſe he would be damned: to whom he anſwered, 'Sir, I beſeech you for God's ſake be contented: for I have been of this faith from the beginning, and truſt that the living God will give me his holy ſpirit to continue therein unto the end.' Then he deſired all to forgive him, as he forgave all the world: then his hand that did the fact was cut off, he not ſo much as ſhrinking at the ſame. After which was fire ſet to him, and he three times repeated, 'O Son of God have mercy upon me; O Son of God receive my ſoul;' and ſo he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

Mr. John Cardmaker, a godly miniſter, who in king Edward's days was a preacher in Paul's church, with whoſe doctrine the papiſts were ſo angry, that in the time of his preaching they uſed to cut and ſlaſh his gown with their knives: this man being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow, biſhop of Bath, they were both caſt into priſon. And after a while they were brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter, and other commiſſioners, where they had divers things objected againſt them; to which they anſwered ſo learnedly and cautiouſly, that the lord chancellor (Gardiner) allowed of their anſwers, yet returned them to priſon; whence after a while, Mr. Barlow was diſmiſſed, and went into voluntary exile, where he conſtantly bore witneſs to the truth of the goſpel.

Mr. Cardmaker during his impriſonment was often baited by the papiſts, who by reaſonings, perſwadings, and threatnings ſought to withdraw him from the truth, but all in vain; whereupon biſhop Bonner called him before him, objecting many things againſt him, eſpecially about the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: to which he gave ſound and godly anſwers: and when the biſhop could not draw him to a recantation, he paſſed the ſentence of condemnation upon him, delivering him over to the ſheriffs of London, by whom he was carried into Smithfield. There the ſheriffs talked a great while in private with him, ſo that the people which heard that Mr. Cardmaker would recant, ſeeing this his carriage, were much ſadned at it. The diſcourſe being ended, Mr. Cardmaker withdrew himſelf, and was long in private prayer; after which he ſtripped himſelf to his ſhirt, and went with a bold courage to the ſtake, and kiſſed it, and ſo was bound to it. The people hereby being delivered from their fears, cried out with joy ſaying, 'God be praiſed: the Lord ſtrengthen thee Cardmaker; the Lord Jeſus receive thy ſpirit:' and ſo the fire being put to him, he finiſhed his life, and went to receive his everlaſting crown of glory.

At the ſame time there was a citizen burnt with him, called John Warne, who denied the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, *&c.* For which he was brought before Bonner, who labourd much to withdraw him from the truth: but Warne anſwered, that he would not depart from his received profeſſion, unleſs he were thereunto perſuaded by the holy ſcriptures: for this he was condemned and burnt with Mr Cardmaker, where he finiſhed his courſe with much conſtancy and joy.

At this time came a letter from the king and queen to Bonner, complaining that heretics were not ſo reformed as they ſhould be, and therefore they exhorted him to be more diligent, either in reclaiming them, or proceeding againſt them according to law: this eaſily prevailed with him, who was propenſe enough to cruelty; whereupon he firſt began with John Simſon, and John Ardley, both of Wigborow in Eſſex, whom he called before him, objected divers things againſt them, eſpecially for denying tranſubſtantiation, exhorted them to recant, *&c.* But John Ardley anſwered, 'My lord, neither you nor any of your religion is of the catholic church; for you have a falſe faith, which will deceive you in the end. You have ſhed much innocent blood, and ſtill go on to do the ſame; if every hair of my head were a man, I would willingly ſuffer death for the opinion I am in;' then did the biſhop proceed to condemn them both, and ſo delivered them to the ſecular power, who carried them down into Eſſex, where, upon one day, they both finiſhed their courſe with joy.

Thomas Hawks, born in Eſſex, was brought up a courtier, and was tall, comely, and endowed with ſuch excellent qualities, as made him to be much beloved; but that which was moſt commendable, was his fervent ſtudy, and ſingular love to true religion and godlineſs. This Mr. Hawks following the court, entered into ſervice of the earl of Oxford, where he was much eſteemed and beloved of all, all king Edward's days; but in queen Mary's reign, religion growing odious, he left the court, and retired to his own houſe, where he might more freely exerciſe himſelf in the ſtudy and practice of godlineſs. Whilſt he thus remained at home, he had a ſon born, whom he would not ſuffer to be baptized after the popiſh manner: this his adverſaries taking notice of, apprehended him, and carried him before the earl of Oxford. The earl not willing to meddle with him, ſent him to London to biſhop Bonner; the biſhop underſtanding the cauſe, aſked him why he would not have his child baptized? He anſwered, 'Becauſe he was commanded to do nothing contrary to the word of God, as the papiſts did uſing oil, ſpittle, cream, ſalt, *&c.*' After much other converſence, the biſhop left him for a while, and then one of the biſhop's kinſmen, called Mr. Derbyſhire ſaid to him, 'You are too curious, you will have nothing but your little pretty God's book.' To which Hawks anſwered, 'Sir, Is not that ſufficient for ſalvation?' 'Yes, ſaid the other, but for our inſtruction.' Hawks replied, 'God ſend me the ſalvation, and you the inſtruction.' Then the biſhop again aſked him, If he would be content to have his child baptized, and he ſhould not know of it? To which he anſwered, that if he would have done ſo, he needed not have come to him, for he had the ſame counſel given him before. 'Why, ſaid the biſhop,

biſhop, do you not think that the queen, and I can command it to be done in deſpite of your teeth? Hauks anſwered, I queſtion not what the queen, and you can do: but you ſhall never have my conſent to it.' Afterwards the biſhop ſaid to him, 'Hauks, I would be glad to do thee good, thou knoweſt that I am thy paſtor, and muſt anſwer for thy ſoul if I teach thee not well. To which Hauks anſwered, What I have ſaid, I will ſtand to; there is no removing me from it. Well, ſaid the biſhop, what ſayeſt thou? The ſcripture ſaith, I am the the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my fleſh, &c. Do you believe this? yes, ſaid Hauks, I believe what the ſcriptures ſay.' Well, ſaid the biſhop, let us go to Evenſong. But Hauks refuſed to be preſent with them, ſaying, that he would not pray in that place, and that he thought himſelf beſt at eaſe when he was furtheſt from them, and ſo walked into the court. Afterwrrds the biſhop again examined him about the ſacrament of the altar; to which he anſwered, 'That he knew not what it was; but, ſaid the biſhop, we will make you know it; a fagot will make you do it. A point for your fagot, ſaid Mr. Hauks; what God thinks fit to be done, you ſhall do, and no more.' Much other conference he had with the biſhop and his chaplains, in all which he anſwered them very judiciouſly, and reſolutely, ſo that he was committed to priſon.

At laſt he was brought forth to condemnation, where great means was uſed to draw him to recant; but he ſtill anſwered that he would never go from the belief which he was in, ſo long as he lived: then the biſhop read his ſentence of condemnation, and delivered him over to the lord Rich, who carried him to Coxſhall in Eſſex; by the way he uſed much exhortation to his friends, who were much confirmed in the truth by his example and conſtancy: yet being very fearful of the torments of the fire; they intreated him that in the midſt of the flame, he would ſhew them ſome token if he could, that the fire was not ſo intolerable, but a man might therein keep his mind quiet, and patient; this he aſſented to, and promiſed that if the rage of the pain were tolerable he would lift up his hands above his head before he gave up the ghoſt. At the ſtake he mildly, and patiently addreſſed himſelf to the fire, and after his fervent prayers made to God, fire was put to him; in it he continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by the flame, his ſkin drawn all together, and his fingers conſumed with the fire, ſo that all men thought that he had been dead, contrary to their expectation, he being mindful of his promiſe, ſuddenly lift up his hands burning of a light fire, and with great joy clapped them three times together, whereupon there was ſuch ſhouting amongſt the people, eſpecially by thoſe that knew the meaning of it, as the like hath ſcarce been heard, and ſo the bleſſed martyr preſently ſinking down into the fire, gave up his ſpirit unto God, *anno Chriſti.* 1555.

Thomas Watt's of Billerica in Eſſex, was by trade a linnen draper, and a godly, and zealous profeſſor of the truth, who foreſeeing his apprehenſion, diſpoſed of his eſtate to his wife, and children, and gave much cloath to the poor, and according to his expectation he was ſhortly after apprehended, and carried before the lord Rich, and other juſtices; where he was accuſed for not coming to church, to hear maſs, but reſorting to conventicles in corners, and diſobeying the laws. To this Watt's anſwered, 'If I have offended the law I am here ſubject to it;' And after further examination, they ſent him up to biſhop Bonner, who examined him about the ſacrament of the altar, &c. Watt's anſwered, that he believed Chriſt's body to be in heaven, and no where elſe; and that he would never believe that it was in the ſacrament; that he believed the maſs to be abominable idolatry, &c. The biſhop adviſed him not to caſt away himſelf, or at leaſt, not willfully to caſt away his ſoul, by adhering to ſuch hereſies: to which Watt's anſwered, 'My lord I am weary to live in ſuch idolatry, as you would have me to live in.' Other flatteries, and endeavours were uſed to draw him to a recantation, but they could not prevail; whereupon at laſt he was brought forth to be condemned; at which time the articles were read againſt him, and he was requiredto deny his profeſſion; but he ſaid, 'God keep me from the doctrine that you would have me to embrace, and I beſeech God that I may perſevere in that I have hitherto held, for I will ſtand to mine anſwers.' Hereupon the biſhop condemned him, and delivered him to the ſheriffs, who kept him a while in Newgate, and then ſent him down to Chilmesford; after he had ſpent there ſome time in prayer, he came to his wife, and ſix children, ſaying to them, 'Wife, and my good children, I muſt now depart from you; and therefore henceforth know I you no more: as the Lord hath given you unto me, ſo I give you back again to the Lord, whom I charge you to fear, and to obey, and beware that you turn not to this abominable papiſtry, againſt which I ſhall anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's ſaints, cauſe you to relent, but take occaſion thereby to be ſtronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not, but he will be a merciful Father unto you;' and ſo bidding them farewel, he kiſſed them all, and went to the fire, where he patiently, and chearfully ended his days.

At the ſame time there were Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Oſborn, all of Coxſhall in Eſſex, who were apprehended for not receiving the ſacrament at Eaſter, and ſent up to biſhop Bonner. Againſt theſe men many things were objected. to which they made anſwers after a godly ſort; and being often urged to recant, they ſtifly refuſed the ſame; whereupon the biſhop proceeded to condemn them, and delivered them over to the ſecular power, by whom they were carried down into Eſſex, and there burnt at ſeveral places.

About the ſame time that holy martyr of God, Mr. John Bradford ſuffered martyrdom, of whom ſee the ſtory 'in my Firſt Part.' With him alſo ſuffered John Leafe, an apprentice of nineteen years old, who being examined before Bonner, gave a firm and Chriſtian teſtimony of his profeſſion: the biſhop aſſayed by all manner of ways to revoke him from the truth, to error: but notwithſtanding all his perſuaſions. and promiſes, Leafe continued conſtant, ſo planted upon the rock of truth, that neither words, nor deeds could remove him from the ſame. Hereupon the biſhop proceeded to his condemnation, and delivered him over to the ſheriffs of London, by whom he was carried into Smithfield, to be burnt with Mr. Bradford, where he finiſhed his days with much comfort, and joy. At his execution there was one Mr. Woodroſe, one of the ſheriffs, who uſed Mr. Bradford very churliſhly, as he had done Mr. Rogers before. He uſed alſo to laugh, and make himſelf ſport at the ſufferings of theſe innocent ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and to beat away the people which were deſirous to take them by the hands. But the Lord (who uſually puniſheth ſuch cruel perſecutors,) ſhortly after ſtroke him with a lameneſs on one ſide, that he could never turn himſelf in his bed afterwards, but as two men in a ſheet uſed to ſtir him: he had alſo ſuch a doglike appetite to his food, that he could never be ſatisfied with the ſame; both which judgments continued eight years upon him, even till his death.

The next day after, Mr. William Minge, miniſter, died in priſon at Maidſtone in Kent, lying there in bonds for religion; he yielded up his ſpirit with great conſtancy, and boldneſs.

There was alſo one James Treviſam, dwelling in Lothbury in London, who being lame, and ſick, kept his bed; he cauſed his ſervant to read to him in the Bible, and one day as he was reading, there came in a promoter, and went up into his chamber, where he found the young man that read, and three others, all which he apprehended, and carried to priſon; he would alſo have carried away the ſick man in a cart, but that the neighbours by importunity prevented it, yet he cauſed him to put in ſureties for his forthcoming. The ſick man ſhortly after dying, they would not ſuffer him to be buried, ſo that his wife was fain to carry him out upon a table into Moorfields, and to bury him there.

About the ſame time there was in Kent one Mr. John Bland, a godly miniſter, who had ſpent his younger time in training up children in learning, and virtue; afterwards being called to the miniſtry, he was inflamed with an incredible deſire to profit the church of God. Two or three times he was caſt into priſon for it, in Canterbury; and being delivered by mediation of friends, he ſtill returned to the work of the miniſtry, for which being again impriſoned, he might have been delivered, if he would

have promiſed to abſtain from preaching; but he would not accept of liberty upon thoſe terms, then was he examined by doctor Harpsfield, dean of Canterbury, who charged him for preaching that the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, was not the very body and blood of Chriſt. Mr Bland anſwered, that he perceived that he intended to enſnare him, and therefore he thought not himſelf bound to make an anſwer; the doctor replied, that ſaint Peter commands him to make an anſwer to every man that aſked a reaſon of the faith that is in him. 'Well, ſaid Mr Bland, I know what the apoſtles meaning is; but for argument's ſake, I am content to commune with you;' and ſo they reaſoned a long time about the ſacrament. A few days after he was again brought before Harpsfield, who charged him for holding divers hainous errors, and for infecting, and deceiving many with his evil preaching. Then Mr. Bland ſaid, 'I proteſt before God and you all, that my conſcience is not guilty of any error, or hereſy, or that willingly I have taught any ſuch thing. Harpsfield replied, Wherein doſt thou ground thy conſcience? Let me hear what thy faith is.'

Bland. 'I know no reaſon why you ſhould examine me of my faith, more than any other man here preſent.

Harpsfield. 'Why, thou heretic, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? If it were Chriſtian, thou wouldſt not be aſhamed of it.

Bland. 'I am not aſhamed of it; for I believe in God the Father almighty maker of heaven and earth; and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, &c. And I believe all the holy ſcriptures of God to be moſt certain, and true. More than this I will not confeſs.

Harpsfield. 'Why, thou heretic, I will proceed againſt thee, becauſe thou wilt not confeſs thy faith to me; thou haſt taught that the body, and blood of Chriſt, is not in the ſacrament, after conſecration. How ſayeſt thou? Haſt thou not?

Bland. 'Sir you promiſed to confer with me about this, out of the ſcriptures; but now I ſee you ſeek to bring me into trouble, rather than to win me. But I pray you tell me: is there in the ſacrament after the conſecration, Chriſt's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, yea, or no?

Harpsfield. 'The ſame natural body that was born of the virgin Mary, and is glorified, is alſo in the ſacrament: but I perceive, thou arrogant heretic, thou aſkeſt me the queſtion, but wilt not anſwer thyſelf:' and after much other railing, and reviling language, he was remanded to priſon: and after divers other examinations he was at laſt brought forth to his condemnation, at which time articles were exhibited againſt him, to which he gave his anſwers; yet they proceeded to read his ſentence, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power.

At the time of his death he made his prayer: 'Thou Lord Jeſus, for whoſe love I willingly leave this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of thy croſs, and the loſs of all earthly things, than to abide the blaſphemy of thy holy name, or to obey man in the breach of thy commandments: thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worſhip falſe gods, I chuſe rather the torments of body, and loſs of this my life, and have counted all things but droſs, and dung that I might win thee: which death is more dear unto me, than thouſands of gold and ſilver: ſuch love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee as the wounded dear deſires the ſoil: ſend thy holy Spirit, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak piece of earth, which of itſelf is void of all ſtrength: O Lord as thou of thy goodneſs haſt bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongſt thine elect, give me ſtrength againſt the fire, that as it is terrible to my ſight, ſo to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient ſervant, ſweet, and pleaſant: and through this fire let me paſs into thy boſom, for this mortality, receiving immortality, and for this corruptible, putting on incorruption. Accept this burnt offering, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice ſake, but for Jeſus Chriſt my dear Saviour's ſake: for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free will offering with all my heart, and with all my ſoul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive the whole world. O ſweet Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me; O God, grant me thy holy Spirit, through whoſe merciful inſpiration, I am come hither: conduct me into everlaſting life: Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit: Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul;' and ſo he ſweetly, and quietly ſlept in the Lord.

At the ſame time there was one Nicholas Sheterden, his fellow priſoner, examined before Harpsfield, who aſked him the meaning of thoſe words, 'This is my body. Sheterden replied, that they muſt be taken ſpiritually, elſe when Chriſt ſaith, this cup is my blood, the ſubſtance of the cup muſt be changed into blood:' after much other conference he was at laſt condemned to be burnt, together with Humphrey Middeleton, and John Frankeſh, miniſter, who were both condemned alſo for the truth. Nicholas Sheterden at the ſtake made an excellent prayer, wherein amongſt other things he hath theſe expreſſions. 'Thou knoweſt Lord, that if we would but ſeem to pleaſe men in things contrary to thy word, we might enjoy the commodities of life as others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends. But ſeeing, Lord, the world will not ſuffer me to enjoy them, except I ſin againſt thy holy laws: behold, I give unto thee my ſoul, ſpirit, and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleaſures of this life for the hope's ſake of eternal life purchaſed by Chriſt's blood, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide. &c. And grant, Lord, that at the reſurrection of the juſt, I may enjoy again theſe members then glorified, which now be ſpoiled and conſumed by the fire: O Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit into thy hands:' and ſo they all three quietly ſlept in the Lord.

A few days after Nicholas Hall, Chriſtopher Waid, Joane Beach widow, John Harpole, and Margery Boley were all condemned for the truth by the biſhop of Rocheſter, and burnt in Kent. Waid at Dartford: at the time of whoſe burning, a fryar going up to preach, Waid called out to the people to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, and exhorted them to embrace the doctrine of the goſpel preached in king Edward's days: this cauſed the fryar to withdraw himſelf: when the fire was kindled, Waid cried; 'Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit,' without any ſign or token of impatiency: thus he continued holding up his hands over his head, not only whilſt he was living, but even till his body was roaſted to a coal, to the great aſtoniſhment of his adverſaries.

Shortly after Dirick Carver, and John Launder of the county of Surrey, were apprehended, as they were at prayer together, and ſent up to London, where they were committed to Newgate till Bonner could attend to examine them. After a while, the biſhop ſent for them and cauſed them to ſwear truly, and directly to anſwer to ſuch articles as ſhould be objected againſt them: this they did, and Bonner after many perſuaſions aſked them, whether they would ſtand to their anſwers? Yea ſaid they, we will never go from our anſwers ſo long as we live: afterwards they had ſundry articles objected againſt them; whereunto they made ſuch anſwers that Bonner proceeded to condemn them, and ſo delivered them to the ſheriffs, by whom they were conveyed into Surrey to be burnt. Dirick was a rich man, yet his riches were no clog to him to hinder him from heaven; he was ſo induſtrious that though at his apprehenſion he knew not a letter of the book, yet before his execution he could read any printed Engliſh. When he came to the town of Lewes to be burnt, the people called upon him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. At the ſtake he ſtripped himſelf, and having made his fervent prayers unto God, went into the barrel: they threw in his book alſo, but he threw it out again to the people: whereupon the ſheriff charged them in the queen's name to throw it into the fire. Then ſpake he with a joyful voice, ſaying: 'Dear friends, bear witneſs that I am come to ſeal with my blood the goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe I know that it is true: you all know, that it hath been truly preached unto you, but now is not: and becauſe I will not deny that goſpel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die: dear friends, ſo many of you as do believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt unto everlaſting life, ſee that you walk anſwerable to your profeſſion: but ſuch as believe in the pope, or any of his laws, do believe to their utter condemnation,

demnation, and without God's great mercy they ſhall burn in hell for ever.' Then ſaid the ſheriff, 'Except thou believe on the pope thou art damned both body and ſoul;' adding further, 'Pray now to thy God that he may deliver thee, or elſe to ſtrike me down to the example of this people.' The martyr anſwered, 'The Lord forgive your ſayings.' He alſo prayed, ſaying, 'O Lord God, thou haſt ſaid, He that forſaketh not wife, children, houſe, and all that he hath, and takes up his croſs to follow thee, is unworthy of thee; Lord have mercy upon me, for to thee I commend my ſpirit, and my ſoul doth rejoice in thee;' and ſo the fire being put to him, he cried, 'O Lord have mercy upon me,' and ended his days.

At the ſame time there was examined before Bonner, one Thomas Iveſon of Godſton in Surrey, carpenter, before whom he made a good confeſſion of his faith: the biſhop laboured by all means to draw him to a recantation: to whom he anſwered, 'I will not recant and forſake my opinion for all the goods in London. I appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor ſubmit myſelf to the ſame: yea, though there ſhould come an angel from heaven to teach me any other doctrine, than that which I have received I would not believe him:' hereupon he was condemned for an heretic, and being delivered to the ſecular power, was burned, finiſhing his courſe with much joy.

Preſently after there was John Aleworth that died in priſon at Reading for the teſtimony of the truth of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and was buried in the fields.

In theſe troubleſome times there was one James Abbes, a godly young man, who for his ſafety was forced to ſhift from place to place: but when God had ripened him for himſelf, he was caught and carried before the biſhop of Norwich, who after examination ſo laboured with him, partly by threats, and partly by fair promiſes, that at laſt the poor young man yielded to him; whereupon the biſhop gave him ſome money, and diſmiſſed him: when he was departed, his conſcience began to accuſe him, and to ſhew him how he had diſpleaſed God, by yielding to their beaſtly illuſions: ſo that being upon the rack of conſcience, he went back to the biſhop and threw him his money, ſaying, 'that it repented him for that ever he gave conſent to their wicked perſuaſions, or that he took any money of him.' Then did the biſhop with his chaplains labour a freſh to win him again, but all in vain; for though he played Peter before, through infirmity, yet now he was reſolved, through God's grace, to ſtand manfully in his maſter's quarrel unto the death, which accordingly he did, being ſhortly after burned in Bury.

In the midſt of theſe troubles there was one Edmund Tyrel, eſq; and juſtice of peace in Eſſex who coming from the burning of ſome godly perſons, upon the way, met with Mr. John Denley and John Newman, both of Maidſton in Kent, going to viſit ſome of their godly friends in Eſſex. Tyrel ſuſpecting them, cauſed them to be ſearched, and finding about them the confeſſions of their faith ſent them up to the commiſſioners in London, who ſeeing they could prevail nothing by their perſuaſions, they ſent them to biſhop Bonner, who examined them of their faith, and uſed many perſuaſions to withdraw them from the truth; But Mr. Denley anſwered, 'The Lord deliver me from your counſel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, which you count hereſy; but I know it to be truth:' thereupon he ſent them to priſon. Afterwards they were brought forth into the conſiſtory, had articles objected againſt them, and when they could not be removed from their ſtedfaſtneſs, were condemned; Mr. Denley was ſent to Uxbridge to be burned, where in the midſt of the flames, he ſung a pſalm; whereupon Dr. Story commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a fagot at him, which hitting him on the face, made it to bleed, ſo that he gave over ſinging; truly, ſaid Dr. Story to him that hurled it, thou haſt marred a good old ſong; then did Mr. Denley ſing again till he yielded up his ſpirit.

A few days after ſuffered martyrdom at the ſame place, Patrick Packingham, againſt whom amongſt other things wherewith he was charged, this was one; that being at biſhop Bonner's chapel at maſs, he would not put off his hat till it was taken from him: the biſhop labouring to draw him to recant, he proteſted that the church wherein the biſhop believed, was no catholic church, but a ſynagogue of Satan, and therefore he would not turn to it

Alſo John Newman was burnt at Saffron Walden in Eſſex. Richard Hook at Chicheſter.

About the ſame time William Coker, William Hooper, Henry Lawrence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Stere, Kentiſh men, were all examined before Dr. Harpſfield and ſome others, who all of them ſticking cloſe to the truth, were condemned and burnt in Canterbury.

The priſons of London being now filled with God's ſaints, the queen's commiſſioners intending to make quick diſpatch with them, took out theſe ten, viz. Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and John Layſhford, and ſent them to Bonner: he willingly received them, and examined them upon the uſual articles, eſpeciälly about the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and when they confeſſed, and conſtantly adhered to the truth, he proceeded to condemn them: Elizabeth Warne ſaid to him, 'Do what you will with me; for if Chriſt was in an error, then am I in an error, otherwiſe not:' ſhe was burned at Stratford-Bow. Tankerfield at his condemnation ſaid to the biſhop, 'I will not forſake my opinions, except you confute them by the ſcriptures, and I care not for your divinity; for you condemn all men, and prove nothing againſt them:' and turning to the people he ſaid, 'Good people beware of him, and ſuch as he is, for theſe be they that deceive you;' he was burnt at St. Alban's, where with much patience and conſtancy he ended his life. The reſt were all burnt in ſeveral places, only George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, ſick'ned in Lollard's tower, by reaſon of their cruel uſage, and dying in priſon were caſt out into the fields, and ſo were buried by night by the faithful ſervants of God.

Alſo William Andrew, being by Bonner caſt into Newgate for religion, died there, was caſt out into the fields, and privily buried by good men.

Mr. Robert Samuel miniſter of Barfold in Suffolk, inſtructed the flock over which the Holy Ghoſt had made him overſeer, faithfully, and fruitfully in king Edward's days, and in queen Mary's till he was put from his place: but when he could no longer preach publicly to his people, he did not give over the care of them, but inſtructed them privately, and by ſtealth. And when the queen ſet forth an act that all married miniſters ſhould put away their wives, yet Mr. Samuel would not do it, but kept her in Ipſwich; inſtructing all about him as he had opportunity; this, Mr. Foſter a neighbour juſtice, and a cruel perſecutor, hearing of, ſent forth his emiſſaries to apprehend him, who watching their time, beſet his houſe, took him and put him into the jail, where he meekly paſſed away his time with his godly brethren whilſt he ſtayed there; but ſhortly after he was carried to Norwich, to Dr. Hopton the biſhop, by whom, and his chancellor Dunnings, he was moſt mercileſsly uſed without all pity; for in priſon he was chained upright to a great poſt in ſuch ſort, that ſtanding only on tip toe, he was fain to bear the whole weight of his body thereby; they kept him alſo without meat or drink, ſo that he was cruelly tormented with hunger and thirſt; only they allowed him every day two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three ſpoonfuls of water, rather to preſerve him to further torment than to ſave his life thereby. Oft would he in this miſerable condition have drunk his own water, but his body was ſo dried up with long emptineſs that he was not able to make one drop of water; at laſt when he was brought out to be burned, which was an eaſy pain to what he had ſuffered before, he related to ſome friends what had happened to him in priſon, viz. That after he had been ſome days pinched with this hunger and thirſt, he fell into a ſleep, at which time one, cloathed all in white, ſeemed to ſtand before him, which miniſtred comfort to him, ſaying, 'Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day ſhalt thou never be hungry or thirſty any more.' Which thing all came to paſs; Yea, he ſaid, 'That he had ſuch wonderful comfort from Chriſt in his afflictions, as he could not modeſtly utter the ſame.' As he was going to execution, a maid met him, took him about the neck, and kiſſed him,

him. for which ſhe was ſought after to have been impriſoned, but it pleaſed God that ſhe eſcaped: during Mr. Samuel's burning his body did ſhine as bright, and look'd as white as new tried ſilver.

The next after his martyrdom, two godly women, Anne Potten, and Joane Trunchfield, were apprehended, and impriſoned in Ipſwich; one of them before her apprehenſion was perſuaded to fly from the danger, but ſhe ſaid, 'I know that it is lawful enough to fly away, but I am tied to an huſband, and have many young children at home: and I know not how my huſband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him, and therefore I am reſolved for the love of Chriſt, and his truth to ſtand to the extremity of the matter.' At their firſt impriſonment, one of them eſpecially was much troubled in mind, by reaſon of her ſufferings: but Chriſt, beholding the weakneſs, and infirmity of his ſervant, came in with ſeaſonable comfort to her, ſo that both of them remaining conſtant in the truth, ſuffered martyrdom.

Alſo William Allen being impriſoned for the truth, and adhering conſtantly thereto, was condemned by the biſhop, and burnt up at Walſingam; in the fire he ſtood quietly without moving till he died.

Alſo Roger Coo, being apprehended and carried before the biſhop of Norwich, had with him divers conflicts, and at laſt was committed to the fire at Yexford in Suffolk, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his days.

Thomas Cob of Haverhil butcher, being carried before Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, was by him examined whether he believed Chriſt's body to be really and ſubſtantially in the ſacrament of the altar? To which he anſwered, 'That he was taught in the ſcriptures, that Chriſt's body aſcended into heaven, and he never read that he deſcended ſince, and therefore he did not believe it to be in the ſacrament:' for this he was condemed, and burnt in the town of Thetford.

In the dioceſs Canterbury, George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Turvy, were apprehended and carried before Thornton, biſhop of Dover, who examined them of Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, of auricular confeſſion, &c. To which they made ſuch anſwers, that they were all five condemned, and burnt in Canterbury.

In the dioceſs of Lichfield, and Coventry, Thomas Hayward, and George Goreway, were condemned for the truth, and burnt in Lichfield.

In the ſame dioceſs there lived two godly, and worthy gentlemen, Mr. Robert Glover, and John Glover, his brother who being noted for religion, proceſs was awarded for the apprehenſion of John Glover, who was heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Manceter. He was eſpecially enriched with God's heavenly grace, which ſo wrought in him, that he, with his other two brethren, Robert, and William, not only embraced the light of the goſpel, but zealouſly profeſſed the ſame. Yet it pleaſed God to lay his heavy hand of affliction upon John, in inward troubles of mind: yea his pangs were ſo great, his torment ſo grievous, the boiling heat of hell fire in his ſpirit was ſo intolerable, that no tongue is able to expreſs it.

Mr. Fox ſaith thus of him; 'In his youth I was twice, or thrice with him, whom, partly by his talk I perceived, partly with mine eyes I ſaw, to be ſo worn, and conſumed by the ſpace of five years, that neither almoſt any brooking of meat, any quietneſs of ſleep, pleaſure of life, yea almoſt no kind of ſenſes were left him: ſo that if it had not pleaſed Chriſt ſometimes to have relieved his poor ſervant ſo far worn, with ſome ſeaſonable conſolations now and then betwixt times, it had been impoſſible for him to have ſuſtained ſuch torments, yet the matters for which he was ſo tormented, were of no great moment.'

This was the chief; that he having been graciouſly called by the light of the goſpel, and having felt wondrous ſweet taſtes of Chriſt's heavenly kingdom, his mind after that having fallen into ſome cogitation about his worldly buſineſſes, was affrighted with that text, Heb. vi. 4. *For it is impoſſible that they which were once enlightened, and have taſted the heavenly gift*, &c. Upon conſideration of which words he was fully perſuaded that he had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt: this ſo wrought upon him, that if he had been in the deepeſt pit of hell, he could almoſt have deſpaired no more of his ſalvation. In this his intolerable grief of mind, though he never had, nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat againſt his appetite, that thereby he might defer the time of his condemnation as long as could be, thinking no leſs but that he muſt needs be thrown into hell, ſo ſoon as breath departed out of his body: and though Chriſt as he thought, did pity his caſe, and was ſorry for him: yet he thought he could not help him, becauſe that truth muſt be fulfilled, 'It is impoſſible for ſuch a one to be renewed by repentance.'

But tho' he ſuffered for many years ſuch ſharp temptations, and ſtrong buffetings of ſatan, yet the lord, who graciouſly preſerved him all that while, not only at laſt did free him from his diſcomforts, but alſo framed him thereby to ſuch mortification of life, as the like hath ſcarce been ſeen, in ſuch ſort, as he being like one already placed in heaven, and dead to this world both in words and affections, led a life altogether celeſtial, utterly abhorring all profane doings. Neither was his talk differing from the reſt of his life, never uſing any idle, vile, or vain language.

The biſhop of Lichfield hearing of his zeal, and ardency in the profeſſion of the goſpel, wrote to the major and ſheriffs of Coventry, to apprehend him ſo ſoon as might be: but the Lord of his infinite mercy diſpoſed otherwiſe of it, for his faithful ſervant, who had for many years endured ſuch extream torments, he would not heap more ſorrows upon him neither would deliver him to the flames of fire who had been ſo ſorely ſcorched already with the ſharp fire of inward affliction. So that the major having received the biſhops letter, ſent privately to John to convey himſelf away from the danger; who with his brother William, were no ſooner departed, but the ſearchers came into his houſe to look for him: at laſt coming into an upper-room, they found Robert lying ſick upon his bed of a long diſeaſe; yet preſently they carried him before the ſheriff, who would fain have diſmiſſed him, ſaying, That he was not the man they ſought for: yet at the importunity of the officer, he carried him away with him to Coventry till the biſhop came.

Mr. Robert Glover writing to his wife about this his apprehenſion, ſaith thus, 'At the firſt ſight of the ſheriff, nature a little trembled; but before I came to the priſon, thro' the working of God, and his goodneſs, my fears vaniſhed: and when I was called before them I found little juſtice at their hands: but the leſs juſtice they ſhew, the more conſolation I found from God, ſo that when I had been a while in priſon, I wept for joy, and gladneſs my belly full, wondering much at the great mercies of God, and ſaying thus to myſelf; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou ſhouldeſt beſtow this great mercy of being numbered amongſt thy ſaints, that ſuffer for thy truth's ſake! And thus, ſaith he, conſidering God's infinite goodneſs, and my own vileneſs and unworthineſs of ſo high a promotion, I was as it were amazed for a while, and overcome with joy, and gladneſs, concluding thus within myſelf: O Lord, thou ſheweſt power in weakneſs, wiſdom in fooliſhneſs, mercy in ſinfulneſs, who ſhall hinder thee from chooſing when, and where thou wilt? as I always zealouſly loved thy truth ſo I always thought myſelf unworthy to ſuffer for the ſame.'

Whilſt he was priſoner in Coventry ſome of the aldermen would have releaſed him if he would have put in ſureties for his forth-coming, but he refuſed it: and when they were gone, he ſaid thus to himſelf; 'I take God to record that I have from time to time moved all ſuch as I conferred with to be no dalliers in the matters of God: but to ſhew themſelves after ſo great means of grace, zealous, earneſt and conſtant in the truth, not giving place one jot to the contrary; and therefore if I ſhall withdraw myſelf, or by any ſhifts pull my neck out of the coller, I ſhall give great offence to the weak brethren, and open the mouths of the adverſaries to ſlander God's word, who will be ready to ſay, he hath encouraged others to be fervent notwithſtanding any perils, but will give no ſuch example himſelf: and therefore he thought it is duty, that ſetting aſide all fear, and worldly reſpects, he ſhould, by the mighty aſſiſtance of God's Spirit, by his own example ratifie, and confirm what he had taught others, and with peace

peace of conſcience, willingly ſuſtain whatſoever the Romiſh antichriſt ſhould do againſt him. And thus he continued priſoner till the biſhop's coming, and then he was had before the biſhop, who amongſt other things charged him for his not coming to church, concerning which himſelf thus writes: 'Here, ſaith he, I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs: for that I had been long out of his dioceſs, &c. But I anſwered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come to their church ſo long as the maſs was uſed there, to ſave five hundred lives, if I had them.' After ſome other conference the biſhop commanded Mr. Glover to be put into ſome tower; ſaying, that he would weed out ſuch wolves.

A day or two after the biſhop would have Mr. Glover, and ſome other priſoners to be carried to Lichfield, there to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. Whereupon Mr. Glover was much troubled, fearing that by reaſon of his ſickneſs, and their cruel uſage he ſhould die in priſon before he came publicly to his anſwer: 'But, ſaid he, I rebuked immediately, with God's word, this infidelity of mine, ſaying, What do I make of God? Is not his power as great at Lichfield, as at Coventry? Doth not his promiſe extend as well to the one place, as the other? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel and Jeremiah, &c. in their dangerous impriſonments? He hath numbered the hairs of our head. A ſparrow falls not on the ground without his will: much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſs, whom he hath accounted worthy to be witneſſes to his truth,' &c. Theſe meditations ſo cheered up, and refreſhed his ſpirits, that hearing one ſay, that he could not get horſes for them; he ſaid, 'Let them then carry us in a dung-cart if they pleaſe, for my part I am contented.'

They were ſent forth of Coventry on the Friday in the midſt of the market, that ſo they might be the more gazed, and wondred at. At Lichfield they were delivered to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, who having the ſame night gathered a multitude to ſtare and wonder at them, had them preſently, to priſon.

Mr. Glover he put into a dark narrow room, next unto the dungeon, giving him a bundle of ſtraw inſtead of a bed, neither allowing him chair, ſtool, or any thing elſe to ſit on. 'That night, ſaith he, God through prayers; gave me great patience, ſo that if it had been his pleaſure, I could have been content to have ended my life at that time.' Yet afterwards Jephcot was content that he ſhould have a bed of his own providing: but notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, none were allowed to come to him to help him in any thing, neither were pen, ink, paper or books allowed him: only he had the comfort of a New Teſtament, and prayer book, which he had privily ſtolen into priſon; moſt of his time he ſpent in prayer and meditation of the merciful promiſes of God made unto all that call upon him in the name of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. 'Yea ſaith he, I found in myſelf daily amendment of my health, increaſe of peace of conſcience, and many conſolations from God by the help of his holy Spirit, and ſometimes a taſte and glimmering of the life to come, all for his only Son Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, to him be all praiſe for ever and ever.'

Indeed ſome temptations he was troubled withal, as that he was unworthy to be counted in the number of thoſe which ſuffered for Chriſt's and the goſpel's ſake; but he anſwered the tempter thus, were not thoſe whom God formerly choſe to be witneſſes, and to bear his name to the world, men ſubject to the like ſins and infirmities as other men be? What have any of us but what we receive? Have we not all received of his fulneſs? They were no bringers of any good to God, but altogether receivers; they choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them firſt: they loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt: yea, he loved and choſe them when enemies, full of ſin and corruption: he is ſtill as rich in mercy, as mighty, willing, and ready to forgive ſins without reſpect of perſons to the world's end as ever formerly. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any to mind God of his promiſe, to challenge and claim his aid and aſſiſtance in all dangers and diſtreſſes; to call upon him in confidence not of our own works, but in his promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom, by whom, and for whoſe ſake, whoſoever approacheth to the mercy-ſeat of the Father, is ſure to receive whatſoever is expedient and neceſſary for body and ſoul in a more ample manner than he can either aſk or think: he cannot deny his own promiſe; *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear, and thou ſhalt glorify me*, Pſal. l. 15.

I anſwered the enemy alſo in this manner, ſaith he, I am a ſinner indeed, and therefore unworthy to witneſs to his truth. What then? muſt I deny the word, becauſe I am unworthy to profeſs it? What ſhall I get hereby, but to add ſin to ſin? What greater ſin is there than to deny the truth of Chriſt's goſpel? as Chriſt himſelf teſtifies; *He that is aſhamed of me and my words before men, of him alſo will I be aſhamed before my Father and his holy angels.*' By the ſame reaſon I might as well forbear to do any of God's commandments; theſe are Satan's deluſions which muſt be overcome by prayer and by the ſword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

Shortly after, the biſhop coming to Lichfield, ſent for him, who when he came and ſaw none but the biſhop and his chaplains and officers, he was ſomewhat amazed, wherefore he lifted up his heart to God for his merciful aſſiſtance: the biſhop perſuaded him to return to the church of Rome, telling him, that his church was not known till lately in king Edward's time: to which he anſwered, that he was a member of that church which is built upon the foundation of the prophets, and apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the Head corner ſtone, and this church, ſaid he, hath been from the beginning, though it bear no glorious ſhew before the world, being uſually under the croſs and affliction, contemned, deſpiſed, and perſecuted.

The biſhop was ſo nettled at this, that he commanded him upon his obedience to hold his peace; then did Mr. Glover deſire him to convince him by the ſcriptures; but he inſtead thereof, propounded ſundry queſtions to him, which he refuſed to anſwer in private, but told him that he was ready to anſwer in public; 'thou ſhalt to priſon again, and ſhalt neither have meat nor drink till thou haſt anſwered me.' Then Mr. Glover, lifting up his heart to God deſired that he might be enabled to anſwer according to the truth; and ſo they fell into a diſputation about the ſacraments, how many they were, and whether Chriſt was really in the ſacrament of the altar? After which he was returned to priſon, where he had divers conflicts with the biſhop's chancellor, and at laſt was brought out and condemned by the biſhop.

Two or three days before he was to be burnt, his heart was very lumpiſh, and deſtitute of all ſpiritual comfort, ſo that he felt in himſelf no aptneſs nor willingneſs, but rather a great heavineſs and indiſpoſition to bear the bitter croſs of martyrdom now ready to be laid upon him; hereupon he much feared that the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, and made his moan to a godly miniſter that privately came to him, how earneſtly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no glimmerings of comfort from him; the miniſter exhorted him patiently to wait God's leiſure and pleaſure, and howſoever his preſent feeling was, yet ſeeing his cauſe was juſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſtick to the ſame and to play the man, nothing doubting but that the Lord in his due time would viſit him, and ſatisfy his deſire with plenty of conſolation, whereof, he ſaid, he was right certain and ſure; and therefore deſired him, that whenſoever any ſuch feeling of God's heavenly mercies ſhould begin to appear in his heart, that he would ſhew ſome ſign thereof, that ſo he might witneſs with him the ſame; and ſo he departed for the preſent.

The next day Mr. Glover went to martyrdom, and was now come within the ſight of the ſtake, although all the night before, praying for ſtrength and courage, he could feel none, yet ſuddenly he was ſo mightily repleniſhed with God's holy comfort, and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands together; oh Auſtin (for ſo was the miniſter called) 'he is come, he is come, &c. and ſo went on with ſuch joy and alacrity, that he ſeemed rather to be one delivered from ſome deadly danger to life, than one that was paſſing out of the world by a painful death.

In the ſame fire there was burnt with him one Cornelius Bongey, a capper, of Coventry, condemned by the ſame

biſhop for the truth, which he chearfully ſealed with his blood.

Mr John Glover ſeeing his brother apprehended for him was ſo afflicted with ſorrow, that he had ſmall joy of his life, and would gladly have put himſelf into his brother's ſtead, but that his friends would not ſuffer him, ſhewing him that by ſo doing he might entangle himſelf, but could do his brother no good; and thus he continued in much perplexity till towards the end of queen Mary's reign; at which time there was a new ſearch made for him.

The ſheriff with his officers came to his houſe, and burſting open the doors, ſearching every room for him; at laſt they they came to the chamber door where he was, which was only latched, and he held down the latch with his finger; there one of the officers had his hand upon the ſtring to draw the latch, but another coming by, bade him come away, that he had ſearched that chamber already whereupon they departed, and went to ſearch other corners of the houſe, and at laſt they found his wife, and carried her away to Lichfield; where after much ado ſhe was conſtrained to give away to their tyranny.

Mr. John Glover in the mean time, partly with care for his wife, and partly by cold taken, when he was forced to lie out in the woods for ſhelter, fell ſick and died, and was privately buried, in the church-yard. This the chancellor hearing of, ſent for the parſon of the pariſh, and commanded him to take up the body, and to throw it into the high way: the parſon anſwered, that having been buried ſix weeks, the body did ſo ſtink that none could abide the ſavour of it: then ſaid the chancellor, 'Take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned ſoul and at the year's end, when the fleſh is conſumed, take up his bones, and throw them into the high-way for carts and horſes to paſs over them.' And thus though he eſcaped their malice in his life, yet could he not eſcape it after his death

The like uſage William, the third brother found at their hands, who dying at Wem in Shropſhire, they would not ſuffer his body to be buried either in church or church yard, ſo that his friends were forced to bury him in a broom field.

The like uſage found one Mr. Edward Barton, eſq; who departing this life the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, the popiſh curate would not ſuffer him to be buried in conſecrated ground, ſo that his friends were fain to bury him in his garden.

There was alſo burnt in Hartford-Weſt in Shropſhire one Oliver Richardine, of Whitchurch.

About the ſame time William Wolſey, and Robert Pigot, dwelling in Wiſbich, being apprehended for religion were carried to the jail in the iſle of Ely: Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with two other doctors came to them in priſon, and ſaid to Wolſey, that he was out of the catholic faith, and much more to the ſame purpoſe: Wolſey gave them the hearing a great while, and at laſt ſaid to Dr. Fuller; 'Good Mr. doctor, what did our Saviour Chriſt mean when he ſaid, Matth 23. Wo be to you ſcribes and phariſees, hypocrites; for ye ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men, ye yourſelves go not in, neither ſuffer ye them that would to enter?' Fuller anſwered, 'You muſt underſtand, that Chriſt ſpake to the ſcribes and phariſees. 'Yea, ſaid Wolſey, Chriſt ſpake to you, and your fellows here preſent, and to all other ſuch like as you be' Then did the doctor give him a book to read, and ſo departed.

About three weeks after he came to him again, and aſked him how he liked the book? Wolſey anſwered, 'I find it as I expected.' Afterwards a little before the aſſizes, Dr. Fuller the chancellor came to him again, ſaying, 'Thou doſt much trouble my conſcience. Wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, that I may have no more complaints of thee, and go to church when thou wilt, and if thou beeſt complained of, I promiſe thee ſo far as I may, that I will not take notice of it.' Wolſey anſwered, Mr doctor, I was brought hither by law, and by a law I will be delivered.'

Pigot was impriſoned for refuſing to go to their church; whilſt they lay together in priſon, there came to them the biſhop's chaplain, a French man, called Peter Valentius, who ſaid thus to them, 'My brethren, I am come to talk with you, not to diſſuade you from your faith, but to deſire you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that you ſtand to the truth of the goſpel, and I beſeech Almighty God for his Son's ſake Jeſus Chriſt, to preſerve you in the truth to the end' And to this purpoſe he ſo enlarged himſelf, that he cauſed all that were preſent to ſhed tears. A few days after, theſe two godly perſons were called forth to judgment, before Dr. Fuller, Shaxton, Chriſtopherſon, and ſome others; who charged them eſpecially for not believing in the ſacrament of the altar: they anſwered, that it was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Chriſt was not really in the ſame and to this opinion they ſaid they would ſtick, believing that the ſame was no hereſy, but the very truth Dr Shaxton ſaid to them, 'Good brethren, remember yourſelves; for I myſelf was of this ſame opinion that you are, but now I am a new man.' 'Ah, ſaid Wolſey, are you not a new man; wo be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God ſhall juſtly judge thee.

After this, judgment was pronounced upon them both, and they were ſent back to priſon: upon the day appointed for their execution, one Peacock was appointed to preach, after which they were bound to the ſtake: then came there one Colliſon a prieſt, and ſaid unto them, 'Brother Wolſey, the preacher hath openly reported in his ſermon this day that you are out of the catholic faith, that you deny baptiſm, and ſome part of the holy ſcriptures; wherefore I beſeech you for the ſatisfying of my conſcience, and the conſcience of ſome others here preſent, that you declare what part of the ſcriptures you find fault with:' Wolſey anſwered, 'I take the eternal and everlaſting God to witneſs that I do err in no point, nor part of God's book: but hold, and believe the ſame to be moſt firm, and ſound doctrine, in all points for our ſalvation, and for the ſalvation of all others to the end of the world, whatſoever mine adverſaries report to the contrary, God forgive them for it;' then came one and brought a whole ſheet full of New Teſtaments to burn them; 'O, ſaid Wolſey, give me one of them,' and Pigot deſired another, which they claſped cloſe to their breaſts; and ſo fire being ſet to them they finiſhed their courſe with joy.

This Wolſey was full of zeal, and ſo deſirous to glorify God by ſuffering martyrdom, that being very ill in priſon, he feared nothing more than that he ſhould die before the day of his execution, which he called his glad day, came. A friend came to viſit him in priſon, to whom he gave ſome money to be diſtributed according to his appointment; and amongſt the reſt, he ſent a noble to one Richard Denton, a ſmith in Cambridgeſhire, deſiring his friend to commend him to him, ſaying, that he marvelled he ſtaved ſo long behind him, ſeeing that he was the firſt that delivered the book of the holy ſcriptures into his hand, and told him, that it was the truth, and therefore he deſired him to make haſte after him as faſt as he could. This ſix ſhillings and eight pence being afterwards delivered to Denton according to his deſire, together with the meſſage which Wolſey ſent to him, his anſwer was: 'I confeſs it is the truth, but alas I cannot burn:' but he that could not burn for the cauſe of Chriſt, was afterwards burnt againſt his will; for his houſe being ſet on fire, whilſt he buſied himſelf to ſave his goods, he was burnt in the houſe with two others that were with him.

Preſently after doctor Ridley, and Mr Hugh Latimer ſuffered martyrdom at Oxford, of whom ſee the ſtory *in my firſt part of the Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

About the time of the burning of theſe eminent ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, a very remarkable judgment fell upon Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter and chancellor of England, who having been an active inſtrument of much miſchief in the church, I ſhall here briefly ſet down his ſtory.

He was born in Bury in Suffolk, and in his youth trained up in Cambridge, he had very good natural parts, eſpecially a firm memory, ſo that he profited exceedingly in the knowlege of the arts and tongues, eſpecially applying himſelf to ſuch ſtudies which had a proſpect towards honour, and preferment. Yet together with theſe qualities, he had many, and great vices. He was very proud, and ſelf conceited, crafty, and ſubtile; towards his ſuperiors of a flattering, and fawning diſpoſition: towards his inferiors,

inferiors, cruel: towards his equals, ſtout, and envious. He ſtood much upon his credit, and eſtimation. In his religion he was variable, and changing, ſo that it was hard to ſay whether he was a proteſtant, or papiſt. He was a great ſtickler about king Henry the VIII. his divorce from the lady Katherine of Spain; whereupon he was made biſhop of Wincheſter.

At the aboliſhing of the pope's ſupremacy, who was ſo ready to ſwear, ſo forward to write againſt the pope as he? Afterwards, in emulation of the lord Cromwel's eſtate, he was an utter enemy both to him, and his religion. In king Edward's time, he ſmelled of the goſpel and ſeemed to preach for it, but afterwards he turned from it, and became a cruel perſecutor of it to his dying day, for which he eſcaped not the juſt judgment of God in this life: for the ſame day that Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer were burnt at Oxford, the old duke of Norfolk came to dine with this biſhop of Wincheſter: the biſhop deferred dinner till about four o'clock in the afternoon, at which time came one of his ſervants, poſting from Oxford to bring him the news of their death: hereupon he came out rejoicing to the duke, ſaying, 'Now let us go to dinner.' The table was immediately furniſhed, and the biſhop began to eat merrily: but he had eaten but a few bits, when a ſudden ſtroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him, ſo that being carried from the table, he was laid in bed, where he continued for fifteen days in ſuch intolerable anguiſh, and torments, that he could neither void any thing by ordure or urine: his tongue was ſwoln, and black, that his mouth could not contain it, and his body being miſerably enflamed, he ſo ended his accurſed life.

In the beginning of his ſickneſs Dr. Day biſhop of Chicheſter coming to him, began to ſpeak to him about the merciful promiſes of God, and free juſtification by the blood of Chriſt: to whom he anſwered, 'What my lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewel altogether: Open this window to the people, and farewel altogether.'

About the ſame time John Webb was brought before the biſhop of Dover, (Dr. Harpsfield) and ſome others, where ſuch common articles were objected againſt him, as againſt others, to which he anſwered, that he did believe that the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was left in commemoration of his death, and not that it was tranſubſtantiated into his body, &c. after which he, with George Roper, and Gregory Park, and two other godly men, were all brought forth together, who all conſtantly adhering to the truth, were condemned, and carried to the place of their martyrdom: by the way they ſaid divers Pſalms. Roper at the ſtake putting off his gown, fetched a great leap; and ſo they all three were conſumed in the flames at Canterbury, abiding their torments moſt patiently, and rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt's goſpel ſake.

William Wiſeman, a cloathworker of London, being caſt into Lollard's tower, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, was there, by the cruel papiſts made away, and caſt out into the fields, all being forbidden to bury him; yet did ſome godly perſons privately bury him in the night.

At the ſame time maſter John Philpot after much cruel uſage in priſon ſuffered martyrdom, whereof read the ſtory *in my firſt part of the Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.*

Anno 1556. They ſtill continue their bloody rage againſt the poor ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and in January, the firſt month of the year, theſe ſeven perſons, Thomas Whittle miniſter, Bartlet Greene gentleman, John Tudſon, John Went, Thomas Brown, Iſabel Foſter, and Joane Warne, were all burnt together in one fire in Smithfield. The articles objected againſt them were all the ſame. This Thomas Whittle was a miniſter in Eſſex in king Edward the VI days: and in the beginning of queen Mary was driven from his place; whereupon he went up and down preaching the goſpel, as he had occaſion, and opportunity: at laſt he was apprehended, upon hope of reward, by one Edmund Alablaſter, and carried before the biſhop of Wincheſter in the beginning of his laſt ſickneſs: the biſhop inſtead of rewarding him, aſked this Alablaſter, whether he had no body elſe to carry ſuch raſcals to but him? 'Get thee gone, thou varlet, out of my ſight, ſaid he, and trouble me with no ſuch matters.' Yet did this Alablaſter, ſtill gaping after a reward, carry Mr. Whittle to Bonner, biſhop of London and by the biſhop he was laid in the porters lodge all night upon the bare earth: the next morning he ſent for him to his chamber and aſked him many queſtions about the ſacrament, &c. to which Mr. Whittle returned ſuch anſwers, as much angred the biſhop: whereupon he told him that he ſhould go to priſon, where he ſhould be fed with bread and water: and not content therewith, he fell upon him, and beat him with his fiſts, and then put him into a little room, where he lay upon a table two nights: Yet ſaith he, *I ſlept very ſoundly, thanks be to* God.

A few days after, the biſhop ſent for him again, and gave him many fair words, appointing Dr. Harpsfield, to draw up ſome articles, unto which if he would ſubſcribe, he ſhould be diſmiſſed. Dr. Harpsfield drew up the bill very ſubtilly, only to this purpoſe: that he ſhould deteſt all hereſies againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and other ſacraments, and that he ſhould believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly. To this bill maſter Whittle ſet his hand being much importuned, and counſelled thereunto. The fleſh, ſaith he, 'being deſirous to have liberty, I conſidered not throwly, the inconveniences that might come thereby. But, ſaith he, after I had done it, I had little joy: for by and by, my conſcience told me by God's word, that I had done evil, by ſo ſlight a means to ſhake off the ſweet croſs of Chriſt. Oh the crafty ſubtilty of ſatan in his members. Let every man whom God ſhall deliver into their hand, take heed of them, and cleave faſt to Chriſt: for they will leave no corner of his conſcience unſearched, but will attempt by all guileful, and ſubtile means to corrupt him, and to cauſe him to fall from God and his truth.'

The night after he had ſubſcribed, he was greatly troubled, and through affliction of conſcience, could not ſleep: 'For ſaith he, though I might have delivered my body out of bonds, yet I could have no joy, nor comfort: but ſtill my conſcience was tormented more and more, being aſſured by God's Spirit, and his word, that through evil advice, and counſel, I had done amiſs: and ſo, partly through my cruel uſage, and partly through diſtemper of mind, I was very ill, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; whereupon I deſired him to ſend doctor Harpsfield to me which accordingly he did.'

When he came, Mr. Whittle told him that he was very much grieved in his conſcience, becauſe he had ſubſcribed: adding, that his conſcience did ſo accuſe him through the juſt judgment of God, and his word that he felt an hell in his conſcience, and Satan ready to devour him; and therefore he intreated him to let him have his bill again, for that he would not ſtand to it. The doctor courteouſly ſent for it, and gave him it: whereupon Mr. Whittle tore out his name; and profeſſed that now he was ſatisfied, and much rejoiced though he ſhould die for it. After which he thus writeth: 'Being condemned to die, my conſcience, and mind, I praiſe God is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his grace am very willing, and content to give over this body to the death for the teſtimony of his truth, and pure religion againſt antichriſt, and all his falſe religion and doctrine:' and accordingly, within a few days after, he, with the other ſix, ſealed up the teſtimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly, and chearfully gave for the witneſs of the truth. This Mr. Whittle is the Eſſex miniſter mentioned in my 'firſt part in Mr. Philpot's life.'

Mr. Bartlet Greene, above mentioned, when he was condemned, ſpent all his time in Newgate either in prayer, which he was much addicted to, or in godly meditations, and exerciſes. When he was to die he went chearfully to the place of his torments, often repeating this diſtich.

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis:
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

O Chriſt my God, ſure hope of health,
Beſides thee I have none:
The truth I love, and falſhood hate
By thee my guide alone.

He

He was a man of admirable modeſty ſo far abhorring pride and arrogancy, that he could not abide to have anything ſpoken in his praiſe. When he was beaten and ſcourged with rods by biſhop Bonner, he greatly rejoiced in the ſame; yet was his modeſty ſuch, that he would never ſpeak of it till a little before his death, when he declared it to a boſom friend. He was very charitable and merciful, viſiting, and relieving the poor priſoners, that were with him in priſon.

Immediately after followed in Canterbury, the martyrdom of John Lomas, Anne Albright, Joane Catmer, Agnes Snoth and Joane Sole. John Lomas being examined about his faith, anſwered, That he believed ſo much as is contained in God's book, and no more. Agnes Snoth being examined about the ſacrament of the altar, anſwered, That ſhe believed that ſo many as received the ſacrament as Chriſt and his apoſtles miniſtred it, received it to their comfort; 'But as now, ſaid ſhe, it is uſed in the church, no man can receive it otherwiſe than to his damnation, as I think.' Anne Albright being examined about auricular confeſſion, and the ſacrament of the altar, anſwered, That ſhe would not be confeſſed; ſaying that the prieſts were the children of perdition, and could do no good by their abſolution. And for the other, ſhe ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar, was a naughty, and abominable idol. The like ſaid the other two women; whereupon they were all condemned: and when the fire flamed about their ears, they ſung Pſalms till they reſigned up their ſpirits to God.

Preſently after followed the martyrdom of Dr. Cranmer, arch biſhop of Canterbury, the ſtory whereof you may read in *my firſt part of the Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory*.

Preſently after in the town of Ipſwich Agnes Potten, and Joane Trunchfield were examined about their religion, and their opinion about the ſacrament; whereto they anſwered, that in the ſacrament was the memorial only of Chriſt's death, and paſſion: For, ſaid they, 'Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended into heaven, and there ſits at the right hand of God according to the ſcriptures; and therefore he is not in the ſacrament:' for this they were condemned, and burnt; at which time, with comfortable words of the ſcriptures, they earneſtly entreated the people to entertain, and believe the truth of God, and not to truſt the inventions, and devices of men, and inſtitutions of the Romiſh antichriſt: but to abominate him with all his ſuperſtitions and rotten religion. In the fire they held up their hands, and called upon God earneſtly ſo long as life did endure, yielding up their ſpirits with much joy and comfort.

About the ſame time, in the dioceſs of Saliſbury, John Maundrel of the pariſh of Revel in Wiltſhire, after the ſcriptures were tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr Tindal, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of the truth, delighting in nothing ſo much as in hearing, and conferring of God's word, always carrying a New Teſtament about him: and becauſe he could not read himſelf, when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, and having a very good memory, he could recite by heart moſt places of the New Teſtament: his life and converſation was very honeſt and full of charity; and thus he continued till Mary's days; and then when popery was again reſtored, and God's true religion perſecuted, he left his houſe, and went into Gloceſterſhire, going up and down to ſuch as he knew feared God, and ſometimes remained as a ſervant with ſome of them. At laſt he went to a friend of his at the Vizes, declaring to him his purpoſe of returning to his own houſe; his friend would have diſſuaded him, but he told him that he muſt needs go home, and ſo did.

There he uſed to meet with William Coberley and John Spicer to confer with them: theſe three agreed the Sabbath following to go to the pariſh church, where ſeeing the people to follow in proceſſion, and to worſhip the idol, they exhorted them to leave the ſame, and to turn to the living God: afterwards the prieſt going into the pulpit, where he prayed for the ſouls in purgatory, *&c.* John Maundrel ſpeaking to him, ſaid that purgatory was the pope's pinfold, which his other two friends affirmed alſo; for this, by the command of the prieſt, they were put into the ſtocks; then had before a juſtice of peace, who ſent them to Saliſbury to the biſhop, Dr. Capon; the biſhop examined them of their faith, and caſt them into priſon; when they were brought to a public hearing, they were examined about the ſacrament of the altar, *&c.* They anſwered, that the popiſh maſs was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Chriſt, *&c.* For this they were condemned, and ſo delivered to the ſheriff; whereupon John Spicer ſaid, 'Oh Mr. ſheriff, now muſt you be their butcher, whereby you will make yourſelf guilty of innocent blood.' When they came to the place of their martyrdom they kneeled down and prayed together; then having ſtript themſelves to their ſhirts, Spicer ſaid, 'This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw;' and ſo in the flames they chearfully gave up their ſouls to God.

Preſently after Robert Drake and William Timms, miniſters; Richard Sprug, Thomas Sprug, John Cavel, and George Ambroſe, tradeſmen, all of Eſſex, were apprehended, and ſent up to London to the biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſent them to priſon, where they lay almoſt a year till after the biſhop's death; and Dr. Heath ſucceeding in the chancelorſhip of England, four of theſe men being weary of priſon, petitioned Heath for their enlargement. Hereupon Sir Richard Read was ſent to the priſon to examine them; before him they confeſſed that they had not been at church ſince the Engliſh ſervice was taken away. Robert Drake was alſo examined, and William Timms, who anſwered boldly according to the truth, and ſo ſhortly after theſe ſix perſons were brought forth before biſhop Bonner in his conſiſtory.

The biſhop began with Tims, and told him that he was the ring leader and ſeducer of the reſt, &c. Then ſaid Tims, 'My lord, I marvel that you dare begin with a lie; for there are none of theſe, but before their impriſonment held the ſame opinions that they do now, ſo that they learned not their religion in priſon; and for mine own part, I never knew them till we met in priſon; how then could I be their teacher?' The biſhop then aſked him if he would ſubmit to the catholic church, otherwiſe he ſhould be condemned for an heretic? Then ſaid another of the priſoners, 'My lord, you judge us according to your own laſt, but if you will judge us according to the holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the word of truth, we will ſtand to it;' This ſo angred the biſhop, that he called him buſy knave, and bid him hold his tongue; Then ſaid Tims, 'My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church whatſoever you judge of me: but as for your church, you yourſelf have formerly renounced it, and by your oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame; contrary to which you have now ſubmitted to the pope's authority, and therefore all of you are falſly forſworn and guilty of perjury; yea, you have both ſpoken and written earneſtly againſt the pope's power, and yet you burn men that will not acknowlege it.

Bonner. 'Where have I written any thing againſt the church of Rome?'

Tims. 'My lord the biſhop of Wincheſter wrote learnedly againſt it in his book *De vera obedientia*, to which you prefixed an epiſtle, inveighing largely againſt the biſhop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falſhood, calling his power falſe and pretended,' &c.

'Indeed, ſaid Bonner, my lord of Wincheſter wrote a book againſt the ſupremacy of the pope's holineſs, and I prefixed a preface before it, but this we did becauſe of the perillous world that then was; for then it was treaſon to maintain the authority of the pope, and therefore fear compelled us thereunto: but ſince the coming in of the queen's majeſty, we have acknowleged our faults; do thou alſo as we have done.

My lord quoth Tims, 'that which you then wrote was agreeable to the holy ſcriptures; but that which you now do is againſt the word of God, as I can well prove.' After other ſuch like conference, the biſhop fell to intreating, and perſuading them earneſtly to revoke their errors, and to conform themſelves to the church of Rome: to which Tims anſwered, 'the ſee of Rome is the ſee of antichriſt, and therefore to that church I will not conform myſelf, nor once conſent unto it.' The like ſaid all the reſt: whereupon the biſhop proceeded to their condemnation, and delivered them over to the ſecular power.

Out of priſon maſter Tims wrote many godly letters to his

his friends in Hockley, and elſewhere, in one of which he hath theſe paſſages; 'I give hearty thanks to God for you, that he hath given you ſuch loving hearts to Chriſt's goſpel, and to his poor afflicted flock: remember, I beſeech you, what I have taught you, and then I doubt not but we ſhall ſhortly meet together with a moſt joyful meeting; I am now going to the biſhop's coalhouſe, but I hope I ſhall not tarry there, before I be carried up to my brethren and ſiſters, that are gone before me to heaven in a fiery chariot; hie after me, I have tarried a great while for you; and ſeeing you are ſo long making ready, I will tarry no longer; you ſhall find me ſinging merrily, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbaoth, at my journey's end; therefore now, my dear hearts, make haſte, and loiter not by the way, leſt night overtake you, and ſo ye be ſhut out with the fooliſh virgins; and now in witneſs that I have taught you nothing but the truth, I here write my name with my blood, for a teſtimony unto you, that I will ſeal my blood with the reſt: and thus fare you well, and God defend you from antichriſt, and all his miniſters, the falſe prieſts, amen. Continue in prayer, aſk in faith, and obtain your deſires.'

Shortly after in the flames they quietly and joyfully reſigned up their ſpirits unto God.

John Harpool, and Joane Beach, being brought before the biſhop, were examined of the like articles, and perſevering in the truth, were condemned, and ſuffered martyrdom together in the ſame fire at Rocheſter in Kent.

Alſo Mr. John Hullier, miniſter, firſt brought up in Eaton ſchool, and then in the king's college at Cambridge ſuffered under Thurlbey, biſhop of Ely, for the ſincere preaching of the goſpel.

At Colcheſter theſe ſix perſons Chriſtopher Lyſter, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Joyn, Richard Nichols, and John Hammond, were examined by the biſhop, and ſent up to London to Bonner, who examined them of ſundry ordinary articles, to which they anſwered according to the truth: and when neither by flattery nor fear, they could be brought to recant, he condemned them, and ſo delivered them to the ſecular power: then were they ſent to Colcheſter, where they ended their lives to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, an old lame man, and John Ap-Rice, a blind man, being accuſed by ſome of their neighbours to biſhop Bonner, were ſent for, and by him examined about the ſacrament of the altar. To which Hugh Laverock anſwered, that he would ſtand to his firſt anſwer, and that he could not find in the ſcriptures that the prieſt ſhould lift over his head a cake of bread: then the biſhop aſked Ap Rice what he ſaid to it? who anſwered, 'The doctrine which you teach is ſo agreeable to the world, and embraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreeable to the word of God, neither are you of the true church: for you make laws to kill men, and you make the queen your hang man.' Then did the biſhop denounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt them, and delivered them to the temporal power, and ſo they were carried in a cart from Newgate to Stratford Bow.

When they were chained to the ſtake, Laverock threw away his crutch, and comforting Ap Rice, ſaid unto him, 'Be of good comfort, my brother, for my Lord of London is our good phyſician, he will heal us both ſhortly; thee of thy blindneſs, and me of my lameneſs:' and ſo patiently ſuffering the pains of the fire, they reſigned up their ſpirits unto God.

About the ſame time Katharine Hut, Joan Hornes, Elizabeth Thackvel, and Margaret Ellis, were ſent up to biſhop Bonner out of Eſſex by Sir John Mordant, and Edmund Tyrel, eſq; the biſhop received and examined them, eſpecially about the ſacrament of altar; to which Katharine Hut anſwered, 'I deny it to be God, becauſe it is a dumb god, and made with mens hands:' the like ſaid all the reſt, whereupon they were all condemned, and being carried into Smithfield, they there joyfully ſuffered martyrdom.

In my firſt Part, mention is made of a blind boy, that came to biſhop Hooper at Gloceſter a little before his martyrdom; this poor boy being ſhortly after apprehended and caſt into priſon, was at laſt brought forth before the chancellor of Gloceſter, who examined him whether he believed Chriſt's body to be really preſent in the ſacrament of the altar? to which he anſwered negatively. Then ſaid the chancellor, 'Who taught thee this hereſy?' the boy anſwered, 'You, Mr. chancellor, when in yonder pulpit you taught us, that the ſacrament was to be received ſpiritually by faith, and not carnally and really as the papiſts teach.' But ſaid the chancellor, 'Do thou as I have done, and thou ſhalt live as I do, and eſcape the burning.' The boy anſwered, 'Though you can ſo eaſily diſpenſe with your conſcience, and mock God and the world, yet will not I do ſo.' Then ſaid the chancellor, 'God have mercy upon thee, for I will read the ſentence of condemnation againſt thee.' 'God's will be fulfilled,' ſaid the boy. So the chancellor condemned him, and another called Thomas Croker, delivering them over to the ſecular power, by whom them were both burned, conſtantly, and joyfully yielding up their ſpirits into the hands of God.

About the ſame time Thomas Spicer, John Dennis, and Edmund Poole being apprehended for not coming to church and receiving the ſacrament, were carried before Dunnings, chancellor of Norwich, who eſſayed by all means to turn them from the truth; but when he could not prevail, he condemned them, and delivered them over to the ſheriff, Sir John Silliard, who burned them at Beckles in Suffolk; at the ſtake when they had made their prayers, and ſaid the belief, fire was put to them, and in the flames they praiſed God with ſuch an audible voice, as was wonderful to all that heard them Hereupon Robert Bacon willed the tormentors to throw a fagot to ſtop the knaves mouths, as he called them: but theſe good men regarding not his malice, confeſſed the truth, and yielded their lives as a teſtimony thereunto conſtantly, and very joyfully.

A great perſecution was raiſed up at the ſame time againſt many godly perſons of Winſon and Mendleſam in the county of Suffolk, who by the rage of their enemies were forced to leave their houſes and eſtates, and to fly for their lives.

There was an honeſt poor man of Maulden, called Gregory Crow, who, with his man and boy was going over into Kent to fetch fullers earth; but by the way, meeting with a ſtorm, his boat was driven upon the ſand, ſo that it ſunk, and the men were forced to hold upon the maſt; at which time Crow ſeeing his New Teſtament in the water, caught it up and put it in his boſom; the tide being gone, they were left upon the ſands at leaſt ten miles from the land; there they made their prayers together, that God would ſend ſome ſhip that way; for within half an hour it would flood: in which time they found their cheſt wherein was five pound ſix ſhillings and eightpence: but Crow caſt it in the ſea, ſaying, 'If God will ſave our lives he will provide us a living, and ſo they went up the maſt where they hung by the arms and legs for ten hours together, in which time the boy was ſo weary, and beaten with the ſea that he fell off, and was drowned.

The water being gone, and the ſand dry, Crow ſaid to his man, 'It is beſt for us to take down our maſt, and when the flood comes to ſit upon it, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bring us to ſome ſhip that may take us in:' This they did, and rid upon the maſt Tueſday night, Wedneſday, and Wedneſday night, in which time the man was ſo tired with hunger, watching, and cold, that he died. Then was Crow left alone, who being driven up and down in the ſea, prayed to God for help, but durſt not ſleep leſt the ſea ſhould beat him off: when he was almoſt ſpent, his fleſh being ſodden with the water, and his mouth and eyes almoſt cloſed up with ſalt, behold the providence of God: a ſhip that was going for Antwerp, the wind being not good, was driven out of the way, whereby they ſpied ſomething afar off in the ſea; but ſuppoſing it to be a fiſher-boy, they ſteered from it: this Crow ſeeing, held up his cap and ſhaked it above his head, whereby at length they were moved to go to him, and ſo they took him in: when he came into the ſhip, though half dead, yet careful of his New Teſtament, he pluckt it out of his boſom, and gave it to them to dry. The ſhipmen were very careful of him, and at laſt recovered him, and carried him to Antwerp; where the people, hearing

of his miraculous deliverance, came to ſee him; ſome giving him cloathes, and others money, ſo that he was no loſer by his dependance upon God.

William Slech being priſoner in the King's Bench for the truth of the goſpel, died there, and was buried in the back ſide of the ſaid priſon.

At Lewis, in Suſſex, were burned Thomas Harland, John Oſwald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read, for their conſtant adhering to the truth.

Shortly after them were burned in the ſame place, Mr. Thomas Whood, miniſter, and Thomas Mills for the ſame cauſe.

In the King's Bench, Mr. William Aderal, miniſter, and John Clement, dying, were buried in the back ſide of the priſon.

A godly young man, ſervant to a merchant, ſuffered grievous perſecution, and at laſt was burnt at Leiceſter.

Preſently after, eleven men and two women were condemned by Bonner, and ſent to Stratford Bow to be burnt. The ſheriff divided them into two parts, and went to one, and told them that their fellows had recanted, wiſhing them to do the like, whereby their lives might be ſaved: to whom they anſwered That their faith was not built on man, but on Chriſt crucified. When he could not prevail with them, he went to the other part, telling them that their friends had recanted, deſiring them to do the like, and not wilfully to caſt away themſelves; but they anſwered, as the other, that their faith was not built on man, but on Chriſt, and his ſure word. Thus ſeeing that he could prevail with none of them, he carried them to the fire. There they prayed earneſtly unto God, and went joyfully to the ſtake, embracing, and kiſſing it, and ſo chearfully yielded up their ſouls unto God.

About the ſame time a great perſecution was raiſed in the dioceſs of Litchfield. by Dr. Bane, the biſhop thereof, whereby many were forced to do penance. and amongſt the reſt one Thomas Flier of Utoxiter, was ſlain by a deſperate papiſt.

In the King's Bench, Thomas Parret, John Norris, and Martin Hunt, died in priſon for the truth, whereof the latter was famiſhed to death, and were all buried in the priſon-yard.

At St. Edmundſbury, Roger Bernard being brought before Dr. Hopton, the biſhop, was examined whether he was ſhriven at Eaſter? To which he anſwered, That he had not confeſſed his ſins to the prieſt, but he had confeſſed them to Almighty God. who he hoped had forgiven them. The biſhop told him that he muſt confeſs them to the prieſt; to which he anſwered, that by God's grace he would not do it. Then the biſhop called him heretic, &c. Bernard anſwered, That it grieved him not to be called heretic by him; for ſo his fore fathers had called the prophets, and confeſſors long before him. After ſome other conference, the biſhop bade the jailor take him away, and lay irons enough on him; for he would tame him before he had done. Then went divers prieſts to him, who with flattering, and enticing words, ſought to pervert him from the truth: and when that could not prevail, they threatened him with ſtocking whipping, and burning; to whom he anſwered, 'Friends, I am no better than my maſter Chriſt, and the prophets, whom your fathers ſerved after ſuch ſort; and I for his name's ſake am content to ſuffer the like at your hands, if God ſhall ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame, according to his promiſe, in ſpite of the devil, and all his inſtruments.' Then carried they him to the biſhop, who condemned him, and delivered him to the ſecular power.

Adam Foſter of Mendleſham in Suffolk was apprehended by Thomas Mouſe and George Rivet for not coming to church, and carried before Sir John Tyrel, who ſent him to Norwich to the biſhop; but it pleaſed God, that immediately Mouſe was ſtricken by God with a grievous diſeaſe, and died ſhortly after; and Rivet not warned thereby, but perſiſting in his ways, had a great ſwelling in his legs, which grievouſly vexed and troubled him, and at length falling into a fearful diſeaſe, he died moſt miſerably, and in ſo impatient a manner that it terrified all that heard thereof.

Robert Lawſon being alſo apprehended for not going to church, was by Sir John Tyrel ſent to the biſhop, and ſo all theſe three godly men being condemned, were to be burnt at Bury; at the ſtake they made their prayers unto God, and died with much chearfulneſs; about the ſame time one John Fortune, a godly and zealous profeſſor of the truth, was made away by the biſhop and his miniſters.

John Careleſs of Coventry, weaver, was there impriſoned for the truth; but in the jail he ſo carried himſelf, that the jailor would let him go abroad upon his word, he returned at the hour appointed to priſon again; at length by a writ, he was removed to London, and impriſoned in the King's Bench, whither came one Dr. Martin to examine him, betwixt whom there paſſed ſuch like communication.

Martin. What is thy name?

Careleſſe. My name is John Careleſſe.

Martin. It will appear by that I have done with thee, that thou art a true careleſs man indeed. Where waſt thou born?

Careleſſe. At Coventry

Martin. How cameſt thou hither?

Careleſſe. By a writ I was ſent hither by the lord chief juſtice.

Martin. I wiſh thou wouldſt play the wiſe man's part: thou art an handſome man, and it is pity but thou ſhouldſt ſave that which God hath bought

Careleſſe. I thank your maſterſhip, and I put you out of doubt that I am moſt ſure, and certain of my ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that my ſoul is ſure already, what pains ſoever my body ſuffer here for a time.

Martin. Yea marry. For thou art ſo predeſtinated to to life, that thou canſt not periſh in whatſoever opinion thou doſt die.

Careleſſe. That God hath predeſtinated me to eternal life in Chriſt I am moſt certain; and even ſo I am ſure that his Holy Spirit, wherewith I am ſealed, will preſerve me from all hereſies, and evil opinions, that I ſhall die in none at all.

Martin. Let me hear your faith about predeſtination?

Careleſſe. I believe that almighty God, our moſt dear, and heavenly Father, of his great mercy, and infinite goodneſs through Jeſus Chriſt, did elect, and appoint in him before the foundotion of the world was laid, a church which he doth continually guide, and govern by his grace, and Holy Spirit: ſo that not one of them ſhall finally periſh.

Martin. Why? who will deny this? pray thee, Careleſs, prove thyſelf a wiſe man, and do not caſt away thyſelf wilfully.

Careleſſe. The Lord knows I would gladly live, ſo that I may do the ſame with a ſafe conſcience.

Martin. Thou art a tall fellow, and mayeſt do the queen good ſervice in Ireland; wilt thou go thither, and ſerve her majeſty there?

Careleſſe. Whereſoever I am, I am ready to do her grace the beſt ſervice I can with body, goods, and life: and if ſhe, or any under her require me to do any thing contrary to Chriſt's true religion, I am ready alſo to do ſervice in Smithfield, and as my bed fellow, and other brethren have done: praiſed be God for it.

Martin. By my troth thou art as pleaſant a fellow as ever I talked with, of all the proteſtants, &c. And after ſome other diſcourſe they parted.

During this his impriſonment, he fell into ſome heavineſs and perplexity of mind; whereupon he wrote to Mr. Philpot, lying then in the biſhop's coal houſe; from whom he received a conſolatory letter, which through God's mercy, gave him great ſatisfaction. He wrote alſo divers other letters during his impriſonment, which continued about two years; at the end whereof he fell ſick, and died, being thereby deprived of that crown of martyrdom which he ſo much longed after.

CHAP.

CHAP LX.

The Life of Mr. JULINES PALMER.

JULINES PALMER was born in Coventry, where his father had been major: he was carefully brought up in learning, and sent to Magdalen college in Oxford, where he profited very much in the knowledge of the arts and tongues. At last he fell to the study of divinity, recompensing his short time therein with the greatness of his diligence; and his late coming to the knowledge of the truth, with his earnest and zealous progress in the same. He was of a civil behaviour. Of manners courteous, of countenance chearful, of speech pleasant; quick-spirited, yet humble; apter to be deceived than to deceive; a great contemner of reproaches and injuries, using to say, That none were to be accounted valiant, but such as could despise injuries. In his studies he was indefatigable. He rose early and went to bed late; getting so much credit in the college, that he was chosen fellow and reader in the same. At first he was addicted to Popery, and kept company only with such as were enemies to the gospel of Christ. Sermons he would not hear himself, nor by his good will suffer any of his pupils to hear them, believing that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers, and all such as were setters forth of sound doctrine, in king Edward the sixth's time, he despised; for which obstinacy he was oft punished by the officers in the college, sometimes in his purse, sometimes in his commons.

Not long before King Edward's death, certain scandalous verses were scattered abroad against Dr Haddon, president of that college; whereupon Palmer was suspected, and examined about them: but he did not only stoutly deny them, but also gave such reproachful language to the officers, that upon further consideration he was expelled the house. After this, to provide himself subsistence, he betook himself to teach children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles, where he continued till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and then, when visiters were sent to Oxford to expel Protestants, and to put Papists in their rooms, Mr Palmer repaired to them, and acquainting them with his former expulsion for his zeal to that cause, he was by them again restored to his fellowship.

After a while it pleased God that he met with Calvin's Institutions, and read it over; after which, meeting with an old companion of his in Paul's church London, they looked upon a rood that was lately set up. Whereupon Palmer said, 'Is this our God for whom we have so smarted?' 'No,' said the other, 'it is but his image.'

'His image!' said Palmer, 'I tell thee plainly, John Calvin, whose Institutions I have lately read, tells me plainly, by God's word, that it is an idol, and that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his clergy are the filthy sink-hole of hell; and now I believe it, for I feel it sensibly. Oh! that God had revealed this to me in times past, I would have bequeathed this Roman religion, or irreligion rather, to the devil of hell, whence it came. Believe me, I will rather have these knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder jackanapes (so he called the rood). God help me, for I am born to trouble and adversity in this world.

Thus God wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they were examined of, how they behaved themselves at their death: insomuch that he sent one of his pupils to Glocester, to observe how Bishop Hooper demeaned himself at his burning. And himself being present in Oxford, when Ridley, and Latimer suffered martyrdom, as he became back, he said to his friends, 'Oh! raging cruelty! oh tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!

From that day forward he studiously set himself to find out the truth; read Peter Martyr's Commentary upon the first of the Corinthians, and other good books: and so, through hearty prayer, and diligent searching of the scriptures. At length he believed, and embraced the truth with great joy; and so profited in the same, that daily he declared it more and more in word and deed. Yea, at length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare the same both in words and actions; hereupon he began to be first suspected, and then abhorred by the President, Mr Cole, and others, who had formerly been his great friends.

For which cause, finding that he could not, with a safe conscience, be present at their idolatrous services, he addressed himself to leave his fellowship, and to depart the house: and being asked by a friend, how he would live when he was gone? he answered, *Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus*: 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness of it. Let the Lord work, I will commit myself to him and the wide world.

Before his departure, a great Papist, that had formerly been his great friend, meeting with him and in discourse finding him zealous in defence of the truth, said unto him, 'Well Palmer, well! now thou art stout and stiff in thine opinion; but if thou wert brought to the stake, I believe thou would'st tell me another tale. I advise thee, beware of the fire, for it's a shrewd matter to burn.' 'Truly,' said Palmer, 'I have been in danger of burning once, or twice, and yet, through God's mercy, have escaped it; but I verily believe it will be mine end at last: welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed it is an hard matter for them to burn that have their souls linked to their bodies, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters. But if a man be once able, by the help of God's spirit, to separate the soul from the body, it is no more for him to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread.

Having left his fellowship it pleased God, who never faileth those that depend upon him, that he was presently after settled in the grammar school of Reading where he was well approved of by those that feared God, not only for his learning, but especially for his earnest zeal, and profession of the truth. But Satan envying his proceedings, and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him long to be quiet there; for he stirred up certain hypocrites, who under pretence of zeal to the truth, insinuated themselves into his secrets. He, good man suspecting no deceit, embraced them joyfully, and acquainted them with all his proceedings. For himself having sincerely embraced the truth, and being full of heavenly zeal, he had an incredible desire by all means possible to encourage others in the profession of the same. These dissembling hypocrites, watching their opportunity when he was abroad, rifled his study, seized upon his books and writings, and amongst the rest, they found sundry arguments written by him, against the Popish proceedings, especially against their brutish tyranny, exercised towards the poor saints and servants of God. Having gotten these things into their hands, they threatened to return them to the privy council, except he would resign the school to one of their chusing, and presently depart out of the country.

Thus was this innocent man, by the malice of these dissemblers forced to quit Reading, leaving his books in the hands of his adversaries, and a quarters stipend unpaid, and so he went to Evesham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to obtain a legacy, left to him by his father in her hands. His mother having before hand understood the occasion of his coming, when upon his knees he craved her blessing, she said, 'Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine wherever thou goest.' He amazed at this heavy greeting, paused a while, and then said, 'Oh mother, your curse you may give me, which God knows I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give, for he hath already blessed me.' 'Nay,' said she, 'thou wentest out of God's blessing, when thou wast banished for an heretic out of Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading.' 'Alas mother,' said he, 'you are misinformed, I resigned my places of mine own accord, and heretic am I none; for I stand not stubbornly against any truth, but defend it to my power.' 'Well,' said she, 'I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, nor as our forefathers did, but as thou wast taught by the new law, in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy.' 'Indeed,' answered he, 'I so believe, but it is not heresy, but the truth, and not new, but as antient as Christ and his apostles.' 'Well,' said she, 'get thee out of my house, and sight, and never take me for thy mother more; as for money, I have none for thee, thy father bequeathed no legacy to heretics: fagots I have to burn thee, and more

thou

thou getteſt not at my hands.' Mr Palmer for her curſes returned bleſſings and prayers; and ſo weeping abundantly he departed from her. This ſo molified her hard heart, that ſhe threw an angel after him, ſaying, 'Take that, and keep thee a true man.'

Mr Palmer finding ſuch entertainment from his mother, knew not now which way to turn himſelf; but after a while he reſolved privately to return to Magdalen college, upon the confidence that he had in a friend or two in that houſe. When he had been there a while, he got letters commendatory to his preferment to a ſchool in Gloceſterſhire: but as he went by the way thitherward, muſing with himſelf, he reſolved to go privately back to Reading, truſting that by the help of his friends, he might recover his books and quarteridge. Hereupon he went cloſely thither, yet not ſo cloſely, but the viperous generation of hypocrites had knowledge of it; and conſulting together, ſuborned a cunning diſſembler to go to him, to fiſh out the cauſe of his coming. This was eaſily effected; and the very night after, as he was in bed, came the officers with bills and ſtaves, requiring him, in the Queen's name, quietly to go along with them. And thus the young man, betrayed by thoſe Judaſes, was led away as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, and was thruſt into a vile deep, ſtinking dungeon, where they left him, hanging by the hands and feet, in a pair of ſtocks, ſo high that ſcarce any part of his body touched the ground, and there left him for ten hours. Then was he brought before the Major, and theſe diſſembling villains charged him with treaſon, ſedition, and ſuppoſed murder and adultery. Mr Palmer anſwered, That if any ſuch heinous crimes could be proved againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit to all kinds of torments they could inflict. 'But,' ſaith he, 'oh cruel blood ſuckers, ye follow the practice of your progenitors, the viperous brood of phariſees and Papiſts: but be you well aſſured, that God almighty ſees all your cruel and crafty packings, and will not ſuffer the outrageous fury of your venemous tongues and fiery hearts to eſcape unpuniſhed.'

The things which they alleged againſt him were, That he ſhould ſay, that the Queen had not the ſword put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true ſervants of God: that her ſword was blunt towards the Papiſts, but towards true Chriſtians it was too ſharp. That he was a ſower of ſedition, and a procurer of unlawful aſſemblies: that they had found him alone with his hoſteſs by the fire in her hall. Upon this evidence, the Major ſent him to the cage, to be a public example of ignominy to the eyes of the world.

In the afternoon he was brought forth to his anſwer; at which time he did ſo mightily and clearly enervate their evidence, and prove his own innocency, that the Major himſelf was much aſhamed that he had given ſuch credit to them, ſo that he ſought means how to convey him privately out of the country. Yet in the interim he kept him in priſon, where a godly man coming to him, ſaid, O Mr Palmer, you have deceived our expectations, for we hear that you ſuffer not for righteouſneſs ſake, but for your own demerits. To whom he anſwered, 'Indeed, brother, theſe are the old practices of the ſatanical brood; but aſſure yourſelf, and God be praiſed for it, I have ſo purged myſelf, and detected their falſehood, that henceforth I ſhall be no more moleſted therewith.

But his adverſaries fearing, that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretly, it would tend to their ſhame and danger, they now charge him with hereſy, which they had gathered out of his papers ſtolen out of his ſtudy. Then was he again ſent for before the Major, the Official and ſome others, where he was required to render an account of his faith. And ſo having gathered out of his own mouth ſufficient matter to entrap him, they drew up articles againſt him, and ſent him to Dr Jefferey, who then kept his viſitation at Newberry. But before his going, Mr Riding of Reading, a godly man, hearing how cruelly he had been uſed in priſon, and almoſt pined for lack of neceſſaries, ſent ſecretly to him in the night a bowed groat in token of his love, requiring to know what he lacked, and he would provide it for him. Mr Palmer anſwered the meſſenger, 'The Lord reward your maſter for his benevolence towards me, a miſerable object in this world: but tell him, that God be praiſed, I lack nothing.' The morning before he went to Newberry, one Thomas Aſkin, his fellow priſoner in Chriſt's cauſe, ſitting at breakfaſt, and ſeeing Mr Palmer leaning in a window very ſad, aſked him, why he came not to breakfaſt? 'Becauſe,' ſaid he, 'I have not money to pay for it.' 'Come on man, ſaid Aſkin, God be praiſed for it, I have enough to pay for us both.'

When they came to Newberry, they were preſently committed to the Blind-houſe, where they found John Guin, their faithful brother in the Lord.

Shortly after, Palmer was called before Dr Jefferey, and other commiſſioners, where his papers were ſhewed to him, and he aſked, whether they were his writings? Mr. Palmer looking upon them, acknowledged that they were.

Jefferey. 'Sayeſt thou ſo? I will make thee recant them, and wring Peccavi out of thy lying lips before I have done with thee.

Palmer. 'I know that though of myſelf I can do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies, bodily and ghoſtly, ſhould do your worſt, you ſhall not be able to bring that to paſs: neither ſhall you prevail againſt God's mighty ſpirit, by whom we underſtand the truth, and ſpeak it ſo boldly.'

Jefferey. 'I perceive you are full of words.'

Palmer. 'Chriſt hath promiſed not only to give us ſtore of words neceſſary, but with them ſuch force of matter, as the gates of hell ſhall not be able to prevail againſt it.'

Jefferey. 'Chriſt ſo promiſed to his apoſtles; but I hope you will not compare yourſelf with them.'

Palmer. 'With the holy apoſtles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit and learning: yet, I am ſure, this promiſe belongs to all ſuch as are appointed to defend God's truth againſt his enemies in times of perſecution: and I am aſſured, that through his grace, that at this time it appertaineth unto me, as I doubt not to make it appear, if you will give me leave to diſpute with you, before this audience, in defence of all that I have written.'

Jefferey. 'Thou art a beardleſs boy, and dareſt thou preſume to challenge a doctor?'

Palmer. 'Remember Sir, Spiritus ubi vult ſpirat. The ſpirit breatheth where it pleaſeth him; and, Out of the mouths of infants, &c. And, Thou haſt hidden theſe things from the wiſe and learned. &c. God is not tied to time, wit, place, or learning; and though your wit and learning be greater, yet your love to the truth, and zeal to defend the ſame, is not greater than mine.

After much other conference about the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and infant baptiſm: the high-ſheriff, Sir Richard A Bridges, proffered him great preferment if he would recant his opinion. To which he anſwered, thanking him moſt courteouſly for his offer; but, ſaid he, 'I have already in two places renounced my living for Chriſt's cauſe, and ſo, by God's grace, I will be ready to yield up this life alſo, when God calls me to it.

Preſently after, he, with his two brethren, were condemned by Dr Jefferey, and delivered over to the ſecular power.

About an hour before they went to execution, in the preſence of many, Mr Palmer thus comforted his fellows: 'Brethren, be of good chear in the Lord, and faint not. Remember what Chriſt ſaith, 'Bleſſed are ye when men revile and perſecute you for righteouſneſs ſake: rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and are not able to hurt the ſoul. God is faithful, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able.' We ſhall not end our lives in the fire, but only change them for a better life; yea, for coals we ſhall receive pearls: for God's holy ſpirit certifieth our ſpirits, that he hath even now prepared for us a ſweet ſupper in heaven, for his ſake which ſuffered firſt for us.

As they were ſinging a Pſalm, came the ſheriff with many men in harneſs to guard them to the fire. At the ſtake they all fell down and prayed, and Mr. Palmer with an audible voice, pronounced the 31. Pſalm. Then came to him two popiſh prieſts, exhorting him yet to recant, and ſave his ſoul. To which he ſaid, 'Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I ſay, from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears.' Then all of them putting off their cloaths, went

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to the ſtake and kiſſed it. Then ſaid Mr Palmer, 'Good people, pray for us, that we may perſevere to the end: and for Chriſt's ſake beware of popiſh teachers, for they deceive you.' Hereupon an officer threw a faggot at his face, ſo that the blood guſhed out in divers places: but the ſheriff was ſo offended at this, that he brake the fellow's head. When the fire began to take hold of their bodies, they lift up their hands to heaven, and quietly and chearfully, as if they felt no ſmart, cried out, 'Lord Jeſus, ſtrengthen us: Lord Jeſus aſſiſt us: Lord Jeſus receive our ſouls.' And ſo they continued without ſtruggling till they had finiſhed their courſe.

About the ſame time there was in Ipſwich one Agnes Wardall, a woman that feared God and abominated all the popiſh traſh, and therefore deſired, rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than by remaining at home to be in the tents of the ungodly. Her huſband alſo fearing God, was forced to fly from his own habitation, and betake himſelf to a mariner's life.

This Agnes Wardell, on a time, came home to ſee her poor children, which ſome enemies of the truth having notice of, they preſently went to the conſtable and told him of it. Hereupon he preſently charged the watch (it being in the night time) and ſent every company to his place; they went alſo and beſet the houſe round about: then the conſtable knocked three times at the door: at laſt a woman ſpake out a window, aſking who was there? Ah, ſaid the conſtable, are you ſo nigh, and would not ſpeak before? what is the reaſon of it? Marry, I will tell you, ſaid the woman; I am but a ſtranger here, and I have heard that ſpirits walked here abouts, and if a man anſwer at the firſt or ſecond call, he is in great danger. At this they laughed, and commanded her, in the Queen's name, to open the door. Agnes was aſleep at firſt; but being awakened by her maid, and told of the danger, ſhe got up, and put on her clothes; and ſo her maid locked her up in a preſs, and then went and opened the door. The conſtable aſked her, who was in the houſe? None, ſaid the maid, but a woman that is a lodger here, and two children. Then they ſearched the whole houſe, and every corner of it; and one laying his hand to the preſs, ſaid, This is a fair preſs, for ought I know ſhe may be in it; yet they went their ways without breaking it open, and ſo ſearched the yard and out houſes. In the mean time, the woman was almoſt ſmothered in the preſs, and therefore called to the lodger to open the preſs, which ſhe could not do of a long while; yet at laſt, through God's mercy, ſhe opened it, and Agnes came forth all on a ſweat, and pale as aſhes. Then ſhe went forth into the garden, and creeping through the pales, got into the fields, and ſo ſhrowded herſelf in a ditch amongſt long nettles. And thus, through the power and goodneſs of God, was this his ſervant delivered from the cruelty of her enemies.

The ſame year biſhop Hopton, and Dunnings his chancellor, kept their viſitation at Ipſwich; and in Suffolk there were divers godly perſons, who were accuſed by their wicked and malicious adverſaries; amongſt which, one Peter Moon and his wife, were charged for not coming to church, and for neglecting other popiſh ceremonies. Moon was firſt examined, Whether the pope were the ſupreme head of the church? whether the Queen were right inheritor to the crown? and whether Chriſt's body were really preſent in the ſacrament? And he being of a timerous diſpoſition, anſwered ſo as his adverſaries were ſatisfied. His wife alſo, by his example, fell into the like diſſimulation; whereupon they were diſmiſſed. But when they came home, and began to bethink themſelves what they had done, they fell into ſuch ſorrow and trouble of conſcience, that they were ready to diſpair: and Moon, ſeeing his ſword hanging in a parlour, was tempted to have made away himſelf, but the Lord prevented it; and after, upon their repentance, the Lord was pleaſed to comfort them.

Alſo, about the ſame time, there were three women in the iſle of Guernſey accuſed for not coming to church; their names were Catharine Cowches the mother, Guillemine Gilbert, and Perotine Maſſie, the two daughters. Theſe being examined by the dean, and ſome others of the clergy, were condemned for heretics, and delivered to the ſecular power. When they were faſtened to three ſtakes, Perotine being great with child, when her belly brake by reaſon of the violence of the fire, a fair manchild fell out of the ſame, which was taken out of the fire, and laid upon the graſs; and afterwards one took the child, and carried it to the bailiff, who adjudged it to be carried back, and caſt into the fire, which was accordingly done.

At Greenſtead in Suſſex, Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and mother Tree were burnt for their conſtant adhering to the truth.

At Leiceſter, one Thomas Moore, being examined about Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, ſaid, That Chriſt was in heaven, and not in the pixe, for which he was by the biſhop condemned, and burnt, finiſhing his life in the flames with much joy, and comfort.

In the town of Darby, there was one Joane Waſte, who was born blind, who in the days of king Edward the VI, frequented daily divine ſervice, and ſermons, by means whereof it pleated God to convert her: and ſhe, having learned to knit, got ſo much money as bought her a New Teſtament, which ſhe would get ſome to read unto her; and ſometimes ſhe would give a penny, or two pence to ſome to read certain chapters to her: ſo that in the reign of queen Mary ſhe had gotten many chapters by heart, and was grown ſo well acquainted with the ſcriptures, that ſhe was able thereby to confute their idolatrous practices: for this at laſt ſhe was convented before biſhop Baine, and Dr. Draicot, his chancellor: before whom ſhe was charged for denying the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacraments, &c. to which ſhe anſwered, That ſhe believed ſo much therein as the word of God taught her. She deſired them not trouble her being a poor blind woman, but if they would proceed, ſhe profeſſed that with God's aſſiſtance, ſhe was ready to yield up her life in the defence of her faith, in what manner they ſhould pleaſe to appoint. The biſhop preſſed her much with the argument of God's omnipotency, mixing alſo many terrible threatnings of impriſonment, torments, and death; whereupon ſhe ſaid, 'My lord, if before this company you will take it upon your conſcience, that the doctrine which you would have me believe about the ſacrament, is true, and that at the dreadful day of judgment you will anſwer for me therein, you ſhall know my further anſwer: to this the biſhop anſwered, that he would: but the chancellor hearing him ſay ſo, ſaid, 'My lord, you know not what you do; you may not anſwer for an heretic;' whereupon the biſhop retracted his word: then ſaid the poor woman, 'If you refuſe to do this I will anſwer no farther, but you may do with me as you pleaſe:' Then they pronounced ſentence againſt her, and delivered her to the bailiff of Darby; by whom ſhe was ſhortly after burned, calling upon God for mercy as long as life laſted.

Preſently after a godly and zealous man called Edward Sharp, was condemned by the biſhop of Briſtow; where conſtantly, and manfully perſiſting in the defence for the truth, he ſuffered martyrdom.

At Mayfield in Suſſex John Hart, Thomas Ravenſdale, with two others were condemned for the truth, and in the fire conſtantly, and joyfully yielded their lives for the teſtimony of the goſpel of JESUS CHRIST.

The like did a young man, a carpenter, at Briſtow, preſently after.

Alſo John Horne, and a woman died joyfully for the truth, being burnt at Wotton Under-hedge in Gloceſterſhire.

Alſo in the ſame town there lived one William Dangerfield, a very honeſt, and godly man, who by his wife Joane had nine children, and ſhe now was lying in of the tenth. William Dangerfield for his greater ſecurity had abſented himſelf from home for a time, but hearing that his wife was brought to bed, he came home to viſit her and his children; which being known, the houſe was preſently beſet by his popiſh neighbours, and he being taken, was carried to priſon, and afterwards was ſo cruelly perſecuted by the biſhop (Brooks) that his legs were almoſt eaten off with the iron. His wife alſo, having lien in but fourteen days, was carried out of her child bed, together with her infant, and was put into the common jail with thieves,

thieves, and murderers. Then did the biſhop ſend for the man, and told him that his wife had recanted, who was as well learned as he, and therefore perſuaded him that he ſhould not perſiſt in his own opinion, but that he ſhould recant alſo; and the better to induce him, he was ſuffered to go to his wife, and had a form of recantation given him, and he promiſed to ſubſcribe the ſame; but when he had told his wife what he had done, and ſhewed her the recantation, her heart clave in ſunder, and ſhe cried out 'Alas huſband, thus long we have continued one, and hath Satan ſo far prevailed with you as to cauſe you to break your vow, which you made with God in your baptiſm?' Hereupon the good man, ſeeing how they had beguiled him, began exceedingly to bewail the promiſe that he had made to the biſhop, and made his prayer to Almighty God, deſiring him that he might not live ſo long, as to call evil good, and good evil: and ſhortly after he died, having lien in priſon twelve weeks. Joane his wife continued long in priſon, till her infant through cold, and famine, her milk being dried up, died; and ſhe herſelf alſo ſurvived not long, but ended her life in priſon.

In Northampton, a godly ſhoemaker was burned for religion, and about the ſame time in the caſtle of Chicheſter, three godly confeſſors being in bonds for the truth, by reaſon of the cruel handling of the papiſts, died in priſon, and were buried in the fields.

At Cheſter one Hook a true witneſs of the Lord's truth, was burned for the ſame.

About the ſame time Dr Harpsfield caſt into Canterbury caſtle, fifteen godly perſons, of which number not one eſcaped, but were either burnt in the fire, or elſe famiſhed in priſon.

CHAP. LXI.

The Life of Sir JOHN CHEEK.

JOHN CHEEK being carefully brought up in learning, was ſent to Cambridge, where following his ſtudy hard, and having excellent natural endowments, he ſo profited in learning, that he was firſt choſen fellow of St John's College; then the univerſity orator, and the Greek reader in Cambridge; afterwards he had the honour to be the firſt Regius profeſſor of the Greek tongue in that univerſity; by which means he grew ſo famous, that king Henry the VIII. committed his ſon prince Edward, being now at that time full ſeven years old, to his tuition: his care in the education of that young prince was ſuch, that he not only inſtructed him in good letters, but ſowed thoſe ſeeds of religion in him, which daily fructified (through God's mercy) till he became famous, and an inſtrument of beginning an admirable reformation in the church of England, as you may read at large in his life, in my Second Part of the Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

Yea, by Sir John Cheek's means, the ſame ſaving truth was ſweetly inſtilled alſo into the lady Elizabeth, by thoſe who, through his procurement, had the guidance of her younger years, and ſtudies; amongſt whom, one was William Grindal, a hopeful young man of St. John's college in Cambridge, who wanting other means, Sir John Cheek took him in his ſervice, *anno Chriſti* 1544, and ſoon after preferred him to the lady Elizabeth, with whom he continued, ſo long as he lived, in favour and good eſteem; and when he died, his place was preſently ſupplied by Mr Roger Aſcham, who had been Mr. Cheek's ſcholar whilſt he was fellow in Cambridge, and was his ſucceſſor in the orator's place in that univerſity; a man dear to him for the ſimilitude of his ſtudies, but more, for his zeal to the true religion.

Anno Chriſti 1551. King Edward knighted Sir John Cheek, 1553, made him one of his privy council; but the king ſhortly after dying, Sir John Cheek was caſt into priſon by queen Mary, for favouring the title of the lady Jane: yet not long after getting his liberty, he amongſt many others, fled into Germany; and lived in good credit in the city of Straſburgh: but after a while, having obtained king Philip's ſafe conduct to paſs and repaſs by the means of the lord Paget, he went to Bruxels to ſee the queen's ambaſſadors: after which, as he and Peter Carew were bringing the lord Paget on his way towards Antwerp, they were by the provoſt marſhal apprehended, bound arms and legs, and ſo tied in a cart with ropes, and carried to the ſea ſide, where they were ſhipped, and thruſt under hatches till they came to England: then was Sir John Cheek clapped up in the tower cloſe priſoner, there was he put to a miſerable choice, either to forego his life, or that which was far more precious, his liberty of conſcience. No means, neither his great learning, his known integrity, nor the interceſſion of his friends, and (among the reſt) of Abbot Feckham, a man that could do much with queen Mary, could prevail for his pardon at any lower rate than by recanting his religion. This he was very unwilling to accept of, till his hard condition of impriſonment, joined with threats of much worſe in caſe of his perſeverance, and the many large promiſes made to his ſubmiſſion, with what other inſinuating means humane policy could invent, wrought ſo upon him, whilſt he conſulted with fleſh and blood, as drew from him an abrenunciation of that truth which he had ſo long profeſſed, and ſtill believed. Upon this he was reſtored to his liberty, but never to his comfort: for the ſenſe and ſorrow of his own apoſtaſy and the daily ſight of the cruel butcheries exerciſed upon others for their conſtant profeſſion of the truth, made ſuch deep impreſſions upon his broken ſpirit, as brought him to a ſpeedy, yet through God's mercy, to a comfortable end of his miſerable life. He died in September in London, at the houſe of Peter Oſburn Eſq; and his body was interred at St. Alban's Woodſtreet, *anno Chriſti*, 1557.

The next month after there came out another bloody commiſſion from the king and queen, further to kindle the fire of perſecution, by reaſon whereof all the quarters of the realm were full of perſecution, and the priſons were ſtuffed with the ſaints of God. And firſt, to begin with the town of Colcheſter, where the wind of perſecution began fiercely to ariſe, inſomuch as twenty three men and women were apprehended in one day; of which number one only eſcaped; the other twenty two were driven like ſheep to London, ready to lay down their lives for the goſpel's ſake. Yet the biſhops being afraid to execute ſo many together, drew up a very eaſy ſubmiſſion for them, to which moſt of them ſubſcribed, yet divers of them were afterwards apprehended again and executed.

Alſo about the ſame time Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thirty, Margaret Hide and Agnes Stanley, being ſent out of Eſſex to biſhop Bonner, were examined and ſtanding ſtedfaſt in the truth, were by him condemned and in Smithfield, all of them in one fire, moſt joyfully and conſtantly ended their lives.

Anno 1557. Stephen Gratwick was brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter, and after divers articles objected againſt him, the biſhop aſked him if he would recant; to whom he anſwered 'My lord, my faith is grounded more ſtedfaſtly than to change in a moment, yea it is no proceſs of time that can alter me, unleſs my faith were like the waves of the ſea:' whereupon the biſhop condemned him; then ſaid he with a loud voice, 'Lord, lay not my blood to their charge, if it be thy holy will;' as he went back to priſon, he began to ſpeak to the people; whereupon they cried out, 'Cut out his tongue or ſtop his mouth' Shortly after he, with William Moraunt, and one King, were burnt together in St. George fields in Southwark.

In the dioceſs of Canterbury, John Bradbridge, Walter Appleby and his wife, Edmund Allen and his wife, Joan Mannings, and a blind maid, were examined before the biſhop, and by him condemned, and all of them burnt in one fire at Maidſtone in Kent.

Alſo in the ſame dioceſs, John Fiſhcock, Nicholas White, and Nicholas Pardue, with four women were impriſoned for the truth. Amongſt theſe was one Alice Benden, who for a while was kept with the other in Canterbury caſtle, but afterwards was by the biſhop removed into a dungeon under ground, where none of her friends could come to her; there ſhe was fed with a half penny bread, and a farthing bear a day, neither could ſhe get any more for her money; her lodging was upon a little ſhort ſtraw between a pair of ſtocks, and a ſtone wall: there ſhe lay nine weeks, never changing her apparel, ſo that ſhe fell into a pitiful condition: this made her grievouſly to bewail and lament her eſtate, reaſoning with herſelf, why her Lord God did in ſo heavy a wiſe afflict her

her, and ſuffer her to be ſequeſtered from her loving priſon-fellows; in ſuch extreme miſery and in theſe dolorous mournings ſhe did continue till on a night, repeating that of the pſalmiſt: 'Why art thou ſo heavy, O my ſoul? and why art thou caſt down within me? Still truſt in God, &c. And God's right hand can change all this, &c. She received comfort in the midſt of her ſorrows, and ſo continued joyful till her releaſe. At laſt ſhe was ſent for to the biſhop, who aſked her if ſhe would yet go to church? promiſing favour if ſhe would do it: to whom ſhe anſwered, 'I am fully perſuaded by the great extremity which you have ſhewed towards me, that you are not of God, your doings being ſo ungodly, and that you ſeek my deſtruction; withal, ſhewing how lame ſhe was by reaſon of her ill lodging and diet, ſo that ſhe was ſcarce able to move herſelf without pain: hereupon the biſhop delivered her out of that filthy hole, and ſent her to another priſon, till ſhe, together with her other fellows were brought forth, and condemned to the fire.

At the place of their execution, they poured out their prayers with ſo much zeal and affection to the Lord, that their adverſaries could not but like it, and ſo preparing themſelves for the fire, in the midſt of the cruel flames, they comfortably reſigned up their ſpirits unto God. Bradbridges wife, who was one of them, had two children, whoſe names were Patience and Charity; and when ſhe was condemned by the biſhop, ſhe ſaid to him, 'My lord, if you will needs burn me, yet I hope you will then take and keep patience and charity? Nay, quoth the biſhop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them both.'

In the town of Lewis were ten faithful ſervants of God put into one fire, of which number Richard Woodman was one: he was by occupation an iron maker, dwelling in the pariſh of Warbleton, in the county of Suſſex. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this; there was one Fairbanck, the miniſter of that pariſh, who in the days of king Edward had often perſuaded his people, not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached: but in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, he wheeled about, and taught the clean contrary, whereupon Woodman admoniſhed him to teach them the truth, and reproved his inconſtancy: for this he was apprehended and carried before the juſtices, and by them was committed to the king's bench; where he continued for a year, and an half and then by doctor Story was removed to the biſhop's coal houſe: yet after ſome time he was releaſed, and ſo enjoyed his liberty, the biſhop only enjoining him that he ſhould be an honeſt man, and member of the true catholic church, founded on the prophets, and apoſtles, Chriſt being the Head of it.

Upon this delivery, the papiſts reported that he had conſented to the biſhop; but the contrary ſhortly after appeared: for he went from pariſh to pariſh, confirming, and ſtrengthening the brethren: hereupon the commiſſioners complained of him to Sir John Gage, the queen's chamberlain, telling him that Woodman went about baptizing children, and marrying perſons, with many ſuch lies, to make him the more odious: upon this information, divers warrants were ſent abroad for his apprehenſion: but thro' God's mercy, he had warning of the danger, and ſo kept himſelf out of the way.

Shortly after Sir John Gage ſent three of his men to apprehend him: Woodman being at plough with his ſervants, juſt in the way, as they were going to his houſe to ſeek him, they eſpying of him, arreſted him, and told him that he muſt go with them to their lord. This made his fleſh to tremble on the ſudden; yet he anſwered, that he would go with them; only he requeſted them that they would go with him to his houſe, till he had broke his faſt, and changed his apparel; which they conſented to. By the way he ſaid in his heart: 'Why am I thus afraid? They can charge me with no evil, and if they kill me for well doing, I ſhall be happy, &c. This much quieted his heart, though he was loath to part with wife, and children, and eſtate: 'Yet, ſaith he, as ſoon as I was perſuaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as joyful, and merry, I praiſe God, as ever I was in my life. This battle laſted not above a quarter of an hour, but it was ſharper to me than death itſelf, for the time it laſted.'

After breakfaſt, he aſked them for their warrant, that ſo he might the better prepare himſelf for his anſwer but they told him, that they had not their warrant there: then ſaid he to them, 'It is ſtrange that you ſhould come to fetch me away without a warrant, which makes me think you have none, but that you do it only to pick a thank with your maſter. Indeed I have heard that there were ſome warrants out for me, but that they were called in again, upon a letter which I wrote to the commiſſaries court, wherein I informed him that I was falſly accuſed, with baptizing children, and marrying, which I never did, being no miniſter, and therefore not appointed thereunto: wherefore ſatisfy yourſelves, for I will not go with you, unleſs you carry me by force, and if you attempt that, do it at your own peril:' and ſo he withdrew himſelf from them into his chamber: upon this they were ſo affrighted, that they preſently went their ways. Woodman conceived that God had hereby opened a door for his eſcaping, yet went he after them, and ſaid, 'Friends, if you have a warrant, I deſire you for God's ſake to ſhew it me, and I will go with you: but if you have none, I deſire you to depart in God's peace, and the king's.

Theſe men went ſtrait to fetch the conſtable, and ſome others to carry him away by force; but before they came, he was gone, as God would have it; they ſearched every corner of the houſe for him, and in the night after they made another ſearch, but to no purpoſe; yet afterwards he came home, and his wife told him all things. Then he, preſuming that great wait would be laid for him, told his wife that he would hide himſelf in a wood not far off, and ſo taking his Bible, with his pen and ink, he went into it, and lay there ſix or ſeven weeks, his wife bringing him meat daily, as he had need. Afterwards a report was ſpread abroad, that he was ſeen in Flanders; whereupon they gave over ſeeking for him any longer. So when all was huſhed, he went abroad amongſt his friends, and afterwards went over into Flanders, and France, but thought every day ſeven years till he was at home again, and therefore he returned as ſoon as poſſibly he could.

But as ſoon as his return was known, the popiſh clergy procured warrants, and cauſed his houſe to be ſearched often: thus he remained above half a year, ſometimes abroad, and ſometimes at home, doing his buſineſs openly, and yet his adverſaries had no power to lay hands on him, his hour being not yet come; but at laſt he was betrayed by his own brother, his father conſpiring together with him; for he had left a good eſtate in their hands to pay his debts, and to provide for his wife, and children: hereupon Richard Woodman ſent ſome friends to his father, requeſting him to come to an account with him, which he conſented to, and the day and hour were appointed; but againſt that time his father, and brother had diſcovered his being at home, and ſo divers were appointed to apprehend him. When they came near the houſe, a girl cried out to her mother, that ſome were coming to take her father; whereupon her mother ſhut the doors: and he hearing a voice, crept into a private hole. Then did his wife open the door, and they came in, and with a candle, ſearched every corner of the houſe, but could not find him; but when they were gone out, a traitor, to whom he had formerly ſhewed this ſecret place, aſked them whether they had ſearched over the window in his hall? then did they return to ſearch there, but could find no entrance into it. But Woodman perceiving that the place was diſcovered, and that they would break it open, he ſet his ſhoulders to ſome boards, and brake them down, and ſo leaped forth, and ran his way down a lane that was full of ſharp cinders, and being barefoot, the cinders did miſerably cut his feet; ſo that ſeeking to eſcape them, he fell into a miry hole, by reaſon whereof, one that purſued him laid hold of him: then carried they him back to his houſe; where his father met him, and bade him remember himſelf; 'So I do, I praiſe God. This day was appointed by God for me to be delivered into mine enemies hands, but wo be to him by whom I am betrayed, it had been good for him if he had never been born, if he ſpeedily repent not. The ſcripture is fulfilled on me:' the father ſhall be againſt the ſon, and the brother ſhall deliver the brother

brother unto death. Then they bound his arms, for which he rejoiced that he was counted worthy to be bound for the name of Chriſt. So he took his leave of his wife and children, and they preſently carried him away to Chriſtopherſon biſhop of Chicheſter.

The biſhop told him that if he would be reformed, he might enjoy his wife, and children, &c. To whom he anſwered, 'I love my wife, and children in the Lord; and if I had ten thouſand pounds in gold, I had rather forego it all than them: but yet I have them as if I had them not, and muſt not for their ſakes diſpleaſe God.'

After other diſcourſe, doctor Story moved the biſhop to ſend him away preſently to the Marſhal ſee; which he much rejoiced at, that ſo he might be amongſt his brethren and old priſon fellows, which the biſhop perceiving ſaid, 'Methinks he is not afraid of the priſon.'

Woodman. 'No I praiſe the living God.'

Story. 'This is an heretic indeed; he hath the right terms of all heretics. The living God: I pray you be there any dead Gods, that you ſay the living God?'

Woodman. 'Be you angry with me, becauſe I uſe the words which are written in the Bible?'

Story. 'Bible, bable. Bible, bable. What ſpeakeſt thou of the Bible?' After much other talk he was ſent to priſon, and ſeveral times after ſent for and examined, and at laſt condemned, and carried to Lewis in Suſſex where he, with five other men, and four women were burnt together in one fire.

About the ſame time one Ambroſe died in Maidſton priſon who otherwiſe had been burnt for the truth: and one Richard Luſh ſuffered martyrdom under the biſhop of Bath and Wells.

There was dwelling in the town of Linn one Simon Miller, a godly and zealous man, and a man that much deteſted and abhorred all idolatry. He going to Norwich, and ſeeing a multitude of people coming out of the church, coming from their popiſh ſervice, aſked aloud, where one might go to have the communion?

The people wondered at his boldneſs; and ſhortly after he was apprehended, and carried before Dunnings the chancellor, who examined him of his faith; and then had him to the biſhop's houſe, where he was kept priſoner: but by the connivance of his keeper, he went home to Linn, where he continued till he had ſet his houſhold affairs in order; after which he returned back to the biſhop's houſe, and conſtantly abiding in the profeſſion of the truth, was at laſt condemned and burned.

And there was burned together with him, one Elizabeth Cooper; who having formerly made a recantation in St Andrew's church in Norwich, was exceedingly troubled in mind for the ſame, and could have no peace of conſcience, till, going into the ſame church, before all the people, ſhe had retracted, and revoked her recantation: for which ſhe was apprehended, and carried to priſon, and after condemned. When the fire came firſt to her, ſhe a little ſhrunk crying Ho: whereupon Simon Miller put back his hand to her, bidding her to be ſtrong, and be of good chear, for, 'Good ſiſter,' ſaid he, 'we ſhall have a merry and joyful ſupper.' This ſo quieted her heart that ſhe ſtood very ſtill, being glad to finiſh that work that ſhe had before ſo happily begun. And ſo committing their ſouls into the hands of God, they ended their lives in the flames.

We heard before of twenty two perſons ſent up from Colcheſter, moſt of which, upon an eaſy ſubmiſſion, were ſent home again by Biſhop Bonner; amongſt which were William Munt, of Much-Bentley in Eſſex, and Alice his wife, and Roſe Allen her daughter. Theſe godly perſons, after their return, abſtained from the popiſh ſervice, and frequented the company of good people, and ſpent their time in reading, conference, and prayer; which ſo angered Thomas Tie, prieſt of the pariſh, that he procured divers others to join with him in petitioning againſt them to Lord Darcie.

He wrote alſo to Biſhop Bonner againſt them; ſo that they were fain to hide themſelves from that ſtorm that hung over their heads for a while. But upon the firſt Sabbath in Lent, at two o'clock in the morning, one Mr Edmund Tyrel, taking the conſtables and divers others with him, beſet Munt's houſe round about, and then called to him to open the doors; which being done, Tyrel, and his accomplices, went into the chamber where Father Munt and his wife lay, willing them preſently to riſe, for they muſt go with him to Colcheſter caſtle. Mother Munt hearing that, being very ſick, deſired that her daughter might firſt fetch her ſome drink, for that ſhe was very ill: then Tyrel gave her leave, and ſo Roſe Allen went with a candle to fetch ſome. As ſhe came back Tyrel met her, and bade her give her father and mother good counſel, and to adviſe them to be good catholics. She anſwered, They have better inſtructors than I, for the Holy Ghoſt doth teach them, I hope, which will not, I truſt ſuffer them to err? What, ſaid Tyrel, art thou of that mind ſtill? It is time to look to ſuch heretics as thou art. Sir, ſaid ſhe, 'After that way which you call hereſy, ſo worſhip I the Lord my God: I tell you the truth.

Tyrel. Then I perceive that thou wilt burn, goſſip, with the reſt of the company.

Roſe. No Sir, not for the company's ſake, but for my Chriſt's ſake, if I be called to it; and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyrel turning to his company, ſaid, This goſſip will burn; do you not think it? Then, ſaid one, Marry Sir, prove her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by. Then this cruel Tyrel took he candle out of her hand, and held it ſo long under her wriſt, till the very ſinews crackt aſunder. Then ſaid Tyrel to her, What whore, wilt thou not cry? To which ſhe anſwered, That ſhe had no cauſe, ſhe thanked God to cry, but to rejoice rather; and that he had more cauſe to weep, if he conſidered the matter well. At this he thruſt her from him, ſaying, Ah ſtrong whore, thou ſham kiſs beaſt, thou beaſtly whore, &c. Then ſaid ſhe, Sir, have you done what you will do? Yea, ſaid he; and if thou likeſt it not, thou mayeſt mend it. Mend it! ſaid ſhe: nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will.'

This Roſe Allen being afterwards aſked how ſhe could endure the pain of that cruel burning? anſwered, that at firſt ſhe felt ſome pain, but afterwards very little or none at all. Tyrel further ſearching the houſe, found in it one John Thurſton, and Margaret his wife, whom with the reſt, he carried away immediately to Colcheſter caſtle. Theſe five perſons with five others, were often examined of their faith, which they boldly confeſſed, and conſtantly adhered to, for which they were all of them condemned; ſix of them were brought forth in the morning, viz. William Bongeor, William Purchas, Thomas Renold, Agnes Silverſide, Helen Ewring and Elizabeth Folks; and at the place of martyrdom they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to almighty God; and then aroſe, and prepared themſelves for the fire: Elizabeth Folks putting off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who kiſſed her, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord; but the executioners would not ſuffer her, whereupon ſhe threw the petticoat, from her, ſaying, 'Farewel all the world: farewel faith, farewel hope;' and taking the ſtake in her hand, ſhe ſaid, 'Welcome love.' As the officer was nailing the chain to the ſtake, he miſſed his mark, and hit her a great blow with his hammer on the ſhoulder bone; at which ſhe lifted up her eyes to heaven, and with a ſmiling countenance prayed to God; and then proceeded to exhort the people again. When the fire was kindled about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the flames; whereupon the ſpectators cried, 'The Lord ſtrengthen you; the Lord comfort you; the Lord pour his mercies upon you, &c. and ſo they joyfully yielded up their ſpirits together. In the afternoon were brought forth, William Munt, John Johnſon, Alice Munt, and Roſe Allen; who after their prayers to God, were joyfully tied to the ſtake, calling upon God, and exhorting the people earneſtly to fly from idolatry, and ſo they ſuffered martyrdom with joy. John Thurſton aforenamed died in priſon, a conſtant confeſſor of Jeſus Chriſt.

George Eagles, a taylor by occupation, being eloquent, and of good utterance, gave over his calling, and applied himſelf to the profit of Chriſt's church; and when he ſaw ſo many of God's ſaints perſecuted and murdered for the truth, he wandered abroad into divers countries, where he could find any of his brethren, whom he earneſtly encouraged and comforted, now tarrying in one town then in another, as occaſion ſerved; lodging, ſometimes in houſes,

houſes, ſometimes in the fields, and woods; and for his exceſſive pains in travelling about he was called Trudge over; when he lay abroad he ſpent moſt of his time in earneſt and faithful prayer unto God; his diet was exceeding ſlender, ſo that for three years he drank nothing but water.

His abode was moſt about Colcheſter: but the devil at laſt ſtirred up his inſtruments to lie in wait for him, and ſpies were ſent abroad with a command to ſeize upon him whereſoever they found him, and to bring him either alive or dead. Yet he kept himſelf ſtill in ſecret places, ſo that they could not catch him: then did they procure a proclamation in the queen's name, that whoſoever could apprehend him ſhould have twenty pounds for his pains. At length he was eſpied at Colcheſter, whereupon a great multitude purſued him: and he, to eſcape them, firſt fled into a grove, and then into a corn field, where he hid himſelf, and all his purſuers, deſpairing to find him were returned, but only one crafty knave, who climbed up into a tree, and ſate there watching for him. Eagles hearing no noiſe, ſuppoſing all ſafe, roſe upon his knees, whereby this villain ſpied him, and coming down, laid hands on him, and carried him priſoner to Colcheſter, expecting the promiſed reward of ten pounds, but never got but a very ſmall ſum of money, for the reward of his treachery.

After he had been priſoner a while at Colcheſter; he was carried to Clemsford, where he ſpent the whole night in prayer, and from thence to London, where after he had been impriſoned a while, he was ſent back to Clemsford, there to be be tried at the ſeſſions, being accuſed of treaſon, for that he had aſſembled companies together, and though he defended his cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion and faith before the judges; yet the inditement went on, wherein he was charged, that he prayed that God would turn the queen's heart, or elſe that he would take her away; the firſt he confeſſed, but denied the ſecond, yet was he condemned for a traitor.

Much means was uſed to perſuade him to confeſs that he had offended the queen, and to aſk her forgiveneſs; which he refuſed to do, and ſo was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution.

All the way he read upon a pſalm book, and at the place he prayed unto God, ſtood very conſtant till he was turned off the ladder.

At his death this was remarkable; two thieves being to be executed with him, he exhorted them to embrace the truth, and to perſevere therein; whereupon one ſcoffingly ſaid, 'Why ſhould we doubt of going to heaven ſeeing this holy man ſhould go before us, as our captain in the way? we ſhall certainly flee thither ſtrait, ſo ſoon as he hath made us the entry;' but the other thief reproved him for it, and gave good heed to George Eagles' exhortation, earneſtly bewailing his own wickedneſs, and crying to Chriſt for mercy; whereas the other, the more he was bidden to leave off his ſcoffing, the more perverſe he was, and continued in his wickedneſs. At laſt coming to the place of execution, the penitent thief upon the ladder, exhorted the people to take heed to themſelves, and to beware by his example of tranſgreſſing the commandments of God, and ſo humbly commending his ſoul into the hands of God, he ended his life quietly and in a godly manner.

When the mocker came upon the ladder, he likewiſe would have ſaid ſomething, but his tongue did ſo fumble and falter in his head, that he was not able to ſpeak one word: he would fain have uttered his mind, but could not; then one bade him ſay the Lord's prayer, but neither could he do that, but dreamed out now and then a word: this ſpectacle much aſtoniſhed thoſe which took notice of God's juſt judgments upon him, for his former mocking at ſo ſerious a matter.

George Eagles being cut down before he was dead, was hacked and mangled by one William Swallow, bailiff of Chelmeford, his body opened, heart pulled out and ſo his body divided into four quarters, which were ſet up in ſeveral places. But ſhortly after God's terrible judgment fell upon this Swallow. His hair coming off his head, his eyes were ſo cloſed, that he could ſcarce ſee, the nails fell off from his fingers and toes, and a leaproſy overſpread his whole body, and his eſtate ſo waſted that he fell into beggary.

Alſo one Richard Pott, that had vexed and moleſted George Eagles, both in the inn, and as he went to execution; it pleaſed God that not long after, he fell down in his houſe foaming at mouth, and could neither ſpeak one word, nor underſtand what was ſaid to him, in which caſe he continued for three or four days, and ſo died.

About the ſame time there ſuffered at Norwich a godly, and conſtant martyr of Chriſt called Richard Crathfield, who being examined by Dunnings, the chancellor about the ſacrament of the altar and ſuch like queſtions, made a good confeſſion of his faith, and conſtantly adhered to the ſame, notwithſtanding all the flatteries and threatnings uſed to pervert him, for which he was condemned and delivered to the ſecular power; and a few days after was by the ſheriffs tied to the ſtake, where in the flames, he conſtantly, and comfortably ended his days.

In the ſame month a man called Frier, and the ſiſter of George Eagles, were burnt together in Rocheſter for the truth.

Mrs. Joyce Lewis was a gentlewoman born, brought up tenderly, and delicately in her youth; firſt married to one Appleby, and afterwards to Thomas Lewis of Manceter in Warwickſhire: in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, ſhe went to maſs, as others did: but hearing of the cruel martyrdom of Mr. Laurence Saunders at Coventry, ſhe enquired what was the cauſe of it? and being informed that it was for his oppoſing the maſs, ſhe began to be much troubled in mind, and reſorted to the houſe of Mr. John Glover, (before mentioned) deſiring him to diſcover to her the faults that were in the maſs, and of other things then urged as neceſſary to ſalvation.

Mr. Glover perceiving her troubled ſpirit, and reſtleſs deſire to be informed of the truth, moſt diligently inſtructed her in the ways of the Lord, proving by God's word, that both the maſs and all other popiſh inventions, were odious and abominable unto God, reproving her alſo for her too great delight in the vanities of the world, which ſhe was too much addicted to: and it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs this wholeſome counſel, that ſhe began to wax weary of the world, thoroughly ſorrowful for her ſins, and was much enflamed with a love to God, deſiring to ſerve him according to his word, reſolving to abandon whatſoever was diſpleaſing to him. So that, when afterwards her impetuous husband forced her to go to church, ſhe turned her back upon the holy water, which ſhould have been ſprinkled upon her, and manifeſted her deteſtation of the ſame; for which ſhe was accuſed to the biſhop, and a ſummoner was ſent for her.

The ſummoner giving the citation to her husband, he was ſo incenſed, that he bade him take it back again, or he would make him eat it: the ſummoner refuſing the firſt, he ſet a dagger to his heart, and forced him to eat it up, and to drink after it and ſo let him depart. Preſently after, both he and his wife were ſent for before the biſhop, and Lewis himſelf incontinently ſubmitted, provided that his wife would do the like alſo; but ſhe ſtoutly refuſed, telling the biſhop that by her rejecting the holy water, ſhe had neither offended God, nor broken any of his laws. This much enraged the biſhop, yet becauſe ſhe was a gentlewoman, he was content to give her a month's time to conſider of it, taking bond of her husband, at the month's end to bring her again.

When they came home, ſhe betook herſelf to earneſt, and fervent prayer to God, and oft reſorted to Mr. John Glover, who much encouraged her to ſtand to the truth, yet withal adviſed her to take heed of vain glory, and told her what it was like to coſt her, and therefore ſhe ſhould be ſure to be well grounded or elſe ſhe would not hold out.

The month being expired, Mr. Glover and ſome other friends, perſuaded her husband that he ſhould endeavour the preſervation of his wife, and rather forfeit his bond than caſt her into the fire: her husband anſwered, that he would loſe nothing for her ſake, and ſo delivered her up to the bloody biſhop, by whom ſhe was examined, and thro' God's mercy, was more ſtout and reſolute than ſhe was before death was threatened.

Incontinently ſhe was ſent to a ſtinking priſon, which was ſo noiſome, that a maid appointed to attend her, fell into a ſwoon. During her impriſonment ſhe was oft examined, and being found immovable, was at laſt adjudged for an heretic worthy to be burnt.

Being aſked by the biſhop why ſhe would not be preſent at the maſs and receive the ſacraments, ſhe anſwered, Becauſe ſhe found them not in God's word, otherwiſe, ſaid ſhe, 'I would with all my heart reverence, eſteem, and receive them:' the biſhop replied 'If thou wilt believe no more than is written in the ſcriptures, thou art in a damnable condition:' at this ſhe was much amazed, and and being moved by the ſpirit of God, ſhe told him, his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation ſhe was committed to the ſheriff then newly choſen who kept her in priſon all his year, and could by no means be forced to burn her, for which he was afterwards in great trouble; and hardly himſelf eſcaped death.

During all the time of her impriſonment, ſhe behaved herſelf ſo holily, and unblameably, that all that obſerved it, did much bewail that ſuch a woman as ſhe ſhould be put to death. At laſt a writ coming down for her execution ſhe ſent for her friends, conſulting with them, how ſhe might behave herſelf at the time of her death, ſo as might bring moſt glory to God, edification to his church, and ſo as might tend to the ſhame of her adverſaries. 'As for death, ſaid ſhe, I fear it not, for when I behold the amiable countenance of Chriſt my dear Saviour the ugly face of death doth not much trouble me:' ſhe alſo reaſoned moſt comfortably with them out of the ſcriptures about election, and reprobation.

The night before ſhe was to ſuffer, ſome prieſts ſent to her that they were come to hear her confeſſion; for they ſhould be ſorry that ſhe ſhould die without it. She returned anſwer, That ſhe had made her confeſſion to Chriſt her Saviour, at whoſe hands ſhe was ſure to have forgiveneſs of her ſins. As for the cauſe for which ſhe was to die, ſhe had no reaſon to confeſs that, but rather to praiſe God who counted her worthy to ſuffer death for his words ſake: and as for that abſolution, which they were authorized by the pope to give her, ſhe defied, and deteſted it from the bottom of her heart. The prieſts having received this anſwer, 'Well, ſaid they to morrow her ſtoutneſs will be tried;' and ſo in great diſcontent they departed.

All the night ſhe was wonderful chearful and merry, yet with a certain gravity, ſo that the majeſty of God's Spirit did wonderfully appear in her, which expelled the fear of death out of her heart.

She ſpent her time in reading, prayer, and conferring with her friends that came to comfort her.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan began to moleſt her, and to ſhoot his fiery darts againſt her, queſtioning with her, how ſhe knew that ſhe was elected to life, and that Chriſt died for her, &c.

Thoſe about her being acquainted with it, bade her anſwer the tempter in theſe words of Paul, 'which hath loved me, and given himſelf for me:' ſuggeſting alſo that her vocation by the word was a manifeſt token of God's love to her, eſpecially God's Spirit having wrought in her heart a love to God, and a deſire to obey him in all things &c. By this means, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the ſcriptures, Satan was put to flight, and ſhe received much comfort.

At eight o'clock in the morning the ſheriff brought her word that ſhe had but one hour to live in this world, and therefore, ſaid he, 'prepare yourſelf as it ſtands you in hand:' this meſſage ſo abruptly delivered, made her ſomewhat abaſhed: but a friend ſtanding by, ſaid, 'Mrs. Low is, you have cauſe to praiſe God, who ſo ſpeedily will take you out of this miſerable world, and make you worthy to be a witneſs to his truth, and to bear record unto Chriſt that he is the only Saviour.'

This ſo revived her, that ſhe ſaid; 'Mr. ſheriff, your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thank my God, who accounts me worthy to lay down my life in his quarrel.'

When the ſheriff came for her, one of her friends deſired him to give him leave to go along with her to the ſtake, which the ſheriff granted, for which he was afterwards much moleſted by ſome enemies of the truth. At the ſtake ſhe prayed earneſtly three times, and eſpecially that God would aboliſh the idolatrous maſs, to which almoſt all the multitude, and amongſt them the ſheriff himſelf, cried amen. Then taking a cup of beer, ſhe ſaid, 'I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the goſpel of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and that with the aboliſhment of popery:' her friends pledged her, and a great number of people, eſpecially of women, for which afterwards they were enjoined penance.

Being tied with a chain to the ſtake, ſhe looked with an exceeding chearful, and ruddy countenance; and ſtood ſo patiently, that the people much lamented for her, and with tears bewailed the tyranny of her popiſh adverſaries. When fire was ſet to her, ſhe neither ſtrived, nor ſtruggled, but with her hands lift up to heaven, ſhe quickly gave up the ghoſt. Some cruel papiſt ſuborned ſome to rail upon her and one was appointed to write down the names of her friends, yet God wonderfully preſerved them out of their hands.

There was one Ralph Allerton, who coming into his pariſh church of Bantly in Eſſex and ſeeing the people idle, or ill employed there, he exhorted them to go to prayer, whereunto they conſented: and prayer being ended, he read unto them a chapter out of the New Teſtament; for which, being informed againſt, he was forced to hide himſelf in woods, and other ſolitary places: but at laſt being apprehended, he was ſent to biſhop Bonner, who by his ſubtile perſuaſions, and flatteries, ſo prevailed with this poor man, that he drew him to recant his former profeſſion, and ſo diſmiſſed him.

But this baſe cowardize of his, brought him into ſuch bondage and terror of ſoul, and conſcience, and ſo caſt him down, that if the Lord had not been exceeding gracious to him, he had periſhed for ever, but the Lord looking with the eyes of mercy, after he had chaſtened him, raiſed him up again, giving him not only hearty, and unfeigned repentance, but alſo a conſtant boldneſs to profeſs his name, and goſpel even to the death.

This was quickly diſcovered by his adverſaries; whereupon he was apprehended, and again ſent up to Bonner, at which time enſued this conference.

Bonner. 'Ah Sirrah, how chance you are come hither again, I hope thou art accuſed wrongfully?'

Ralph. 'Yea, my lord, ſo I am, for I ſhould be ſorry to be guilty of ſuch things as I am accuſed of.'

Bonner. 'By ſaint Mary, it is well ſaid, but let me hear what thou ſayeſt?'

Ralph. 'I deſire to hear who are my accuſers? and what my accuſation is?

Bonner. Wilt thou ſo? Before God, if thou haſt not diſſembled, thou needeſt not fear to anſwer for thyſelf; but tell me, didſt thou not diſſemble?'

Ralph. 'If you will not produce mine accuſers, my conſcience conſtrains me to accuſe myſelf; for I confeſs that I have grievouſly offended God, by my diſſimulation at my laſt being before you, for which I am heartily ſorry, as God knoweth.'

Bonner. 'Wherein didſt thou diſſemble?

Ralph. In that I ſet my hand to a writing, that I did believe all that the catholic church teacheth, &c. Wherein I ſhamefully diſſembled, in that I did not diſcloſe my mind concerning the difference between the true, and untrue church.'

Bonner. 'Pray thee let me hear more of this gear; for I fear thou wilt ſmell of an heretic anon. Which is the true church as thou ſayeſt? Is not the church of the heretics?'

Ralph. 'I utterly abhor the church of the heretics, and the church catholic is that only which I embrace, whoſe doctrine is ſincere, pure, and true.'

Bonner. 'By Auſtin, that is well ſaid of thee: for by God almighty, if thou hadſt allowed the church of the heretics, I would have burnt thee: by our lady, how ſay you Sirrah, which is the catholic church.'

Ralph. 'My lord, it is true, the goſpel hath been preached, and perſecuted in all lands, firſt in Jewry by the ſcribes and phariſees, then by the Roman emperors, &c. and now alſo is the apoſtle Paul's ſaying fulfilled,' there

all

ſhall come grievous wolves among you, devouring the flock.

Bonner. 'Now by the bleſſed ſacrament, thou art the rankeſt heretic that ever came before me: now by ſaint All-hallows, thou ſhalt be burnt, thou whoreſon Varlet, thou pricklouce knave,' &c. And ſo after much more communication, he was ſent to the little eaſe, and afterwards had articles exhibited againſt him; to which he ſubſcribed thus, 'Except it be proved otherwiſe by the holy ſcriptures, I do affirm theſe articles to be true.' And ſo at laſt he was brought forth to his condemnation; where Bonner aſked him what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt him? To which he anſwered, 'You ought not to condemn me for an heretic, ſeeing I am a good Chriſtian. But go to, do as you have determined; for I ſee that truth is oppreſſed, and cannot find entertainment amongſt you.'

Then did the biſhop proceed to condemn him, and delivered him over to the ſecular power, by whom he was ſhortly after burned at Iſlington, together with James Auſtoo, and Margery his wife, and Richard Roth: all which perſons joyfully yielded up their ſouls to God in the midſt of the flames.

We have heard before of ten godly perſons that were burnt together at Colcheſter, at which time there were two other good women, *viz.* Margaret Thurſton, and Agnes Bongier, that ſhould have ſuffered with them, but it pleaſed God thus to prevent it. Margaret Thurſton, a little before they were to ſuffer, found a great trembling in her fleſh; whereupon ſhe went apart to make her earneſt prayer to God for his aſſiſtance; and in the mean time came the jailor; and whilſt ſhe ſtepped aſide to fetch her pſalter, he took forth the other priſoner, and left her behind.

The other called Agnes Bongier was left behind, becauſe her name was miſtaken in the writ: Agnes Bowyer, for Agnes Bongier: but when upon that occaſion ſhe ſaw herſelf ſeparated from the reſt of her other priſon fellows: oh what pitious moan that good woman made? How bitterly ſhe wept? What ſtrange thoughts came into her mind? How naked, and deſolate did ſhe eſteem herſelf without them? And how was ſhe plunged into care, and deſpair? It was piriful, and wonderful to ſee; and all becauſe ſhe did not with them, give her life in the defence of the truth, which ſhe was fully prepared, and reſolved to have done: and accordingly had that morning ſent away her little infant, which had ſucked on her during her impriſonment till then: yea ſuch an ardent deſire had ſhe to be ſacrificed with them, that death ſeemed far more welcome to her than life.

In this her great perplexity, a godly friend finding her aſked her, whether Abraham's obedience in purpoſing to offer up his ſon unto God, was not as much accepted as if he had offered him? To which ſhe thus anſwered, 'I know that Abraham's will was as much accepted with God, as if he had done the deed, becauſe he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not ſtayed him. But in this I am unhappy, in that the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity; and therefore Abraham's caſe and mine are not alike. Why, ſaid her friend, would you not willingly have gone with your company, if the Lord had ſuffered it? Yea, quoth ſhe, with all my heart, and becauſe I did it not, it is now my great grief, and trouble. Then ſaid he, my dear ſiſter, I pray thee conſider Abraham and thyſelf well, and thou ſhalt ſee that the caſe differs not at all. But alas! quoth ſhe, there was a far greater matter in Abraham's trial, for he ſhould have offered up his only child; but ſo ſhould not I. I know well, ſaid he, that Abraham ſhould have offered up his ſon; and have not you, ſaid the other, done the like by your ſucking babe? Conſider alſo that whereas he was commanded but to offer his ſon, you are heavy, and grieved becauſe you offered not yourſelf, which is more than Abraham's obedience, and therefore doubt not but it is accepted with God,' &c. After this diſcourſe ſhe was ſomewhat quieted, and wholly employed herſelf in reading, and prayer, wherein ſhe found much comfort.

Preſently after came a new writ, for the burning of theſe two good woman. When they came to the place of execution, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble, and hearty prayers unto God: and ſo riſing up they went joyfully to the ſtake, and being chained to it and in the midſt of the flames, with great rejoicing, and triumph they reſigned up their ſpirits unto God.

There was dwelling at Laxefield in the county of Suffolk one John Noyes, a ſhoemaker, and a godly man, whom ſome of his popiſh ſpiteful neighbours agreed amongſt themſelves to apprehend, and accordingly going to his houſe, they found him going out of doors, and one of them calling to him, aſked him whither he went? He anſwered, 'To a neighbour's of mine: to whom the other replied, Your Mr. hath deceived you now, you muſt come, and go with us: Noyes anſwered, Take heed that your Mr. deceive not you' So they took him, and carried him before the juſtices, who after examination, ſent him to Eye dungeon, and after he had lien there a while, to the biſhop at Norwich: There he was examined about the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, &c. To which he anſwered, that he believed Chriſt's body to be in heaven, and therefore not in the ſacrament: for which, ſentence was read againſt him by the biſhop. Afterwards a brother in law coming to comfort him, aſked him, whether being to die ſo painful a death, he was not afraid of it, when the biſhop came to paſs ſentence upon him? To which he anſwered, that he thanked God he feared it not at all. After this he was ſent to Laxefield to be burnt, and againſt the time of his burning, all the people in the town had put out their fires, only ſome ſmoak was ſpied in one chimney; whereupon the ſheriff and his officers went to that houſe, and brake open the doors, and ſo got fire.

John Noyes when he came to the place of execution, kneeled down, and repeated the one and fiftieth Pſalm, with ſome other prayers: and being bound to the ſtake, he ſaid: 'Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that is able to caſt both body, and ſoul into everlaſting fire.' Seeing his ſiſter weep, and make moan for him: he bade her not to weep for him but for her ſins. Then took he up a fagot, and kiſſed it, ſaying: 'Bleſſed be God that ever I was born to come to this' Then ſaid he to the people, 'They tell you, that they can make God of a piece of bread, but believe them not. Good people, bear witneſs, that I believe to be ſaved by the paſſion, and merits of Jeſus Chriſt alone, and not by mine own good works' When the fire was kindled, he ſaid: 'Lord, have mercy upon me: Chriſt, have mercy upon me: Son of David have mercy upon me,' and ſo he yielded up the ghoſt.

At the burning of two godly perſons at Norwich, there was preſent one Cicely Ormes; who told them that ſhe would pledge them of the ſame cup that they drank of: for which ſhe was apprehended, and carried before the chancellor, who aſked her, what it was that the prieſt held up over his head? She ſaid, 'Bread: and if you would make it any better, it is worſe.' For this he ſent her to priſon. Afterwards he ſent for her again, and told her, that if ſhe would go to church, and hold her tongue, ſhe ſhould be at liberty to believe as ſhe liſted: to whom ſhe anſwered, 'I will not conſent to your wicked deſire therein, do with me what you will: for if I ſhould, God would plague me for it.' The chancellor told her, that ſhe was an ignorant, and fooliſh woman, and that he had proffered her more favour than ever he ſhewed to any, but if ſhe perſiſted in her wilfulneſs, he muſt condemn her. She anſwered, that ſhe paſſed not for his threats, and that if he did proceed to it, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinful fleſh, as ſhe, through God's grace, would be content to lay it down in ſo good a quarrel. Then read he the bloody ſentence againſt her, and ſo delivered her to the ſecular power.

About a year before, ſhe had been apprehended, but through weakneſs had recanted; after which ſhe was never quiet in conſcience till ſhe had utterly renounced all her popiſh ſuperſtitions: and thereupon had gotten a letter drawn up to certify the chancellor, that ſhe repented of her recantation from the very bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again whilſt ſhe lived: but before ſhe could ſend this letter, ſhe was again apprehended, and dealt withal, as we have heard before.

When

When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kneeled down, and prayed earneſtly unto God: then riſing up, ſhe ſaid, 'Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, Three Perſons and one God: this I will never recant. But I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart, that I have ever been acceſſary to the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popiſh prieſts, and ſhavelings, whom I utterly renounce, and will never have to do with them again by God's grace. And good people, I would not have you think, that I expect to be ſaved, becauſe I offer myſelf here to death for the Lord's cauſe; but I believe to be ſaved by the death, and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt: and this my death ſhall be a teſtimony of my faith to you all here preſent: good people, as many of you as believe, as I do, pray for me.' When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kiſſed, and ſaid, 'Welcome the croſs of Chriſt: Welcome the ſweet croſs of Chriſt.' When the fire was kindled about her, ſhe ſaid, 'My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, and my ſpirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour:' and ſo calling up her head and eyes towards heaven, and holding up her hands againſt her breaſt, ſhe there continued them till the ſinews of her arms brake, and then they fell down; and ſhe yielded up her life unto the Lord as quietly as if ſhe had been in a ſlumber, and as one feeling no pain.

In the dioceſs of Chicheſter many godly perſons were perſecuted, condemned, and burnt for the truth.

About the ſame time, one Thomas Spurdance, a ſervant of queen Mary's was brought before the chancellor of Norwich, who aſked him, whether he had been with a prieſt at confeſſion? He anſwered, no, he had confeſſed his ſins to God, who promiſeth that if a ſinner confeſſeth, and forſaketh his ſins, he ſhall have mercy; and that, ſaith he, is ſufficient.

Chancellor. 'When did you receive the ſacrament of the altar?'

Spurdance. 'I will not meddle with it as you uſe it: the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper belongs to Chriſt's church; but you are none of Chriſt's members; for you teach laws contrary to Chriſt's laws.'

Chancellor. 'Doſt thou not believe that after the conſecration in the ſacrament of the altar there is the ſame body of Chriſt as was born of the virgin Mary?

Spurdance. 'No; for that body conſiſted of fleſh, blood, and bones; and here is no ſuch thing.

Chancellor. 'Thou denieſt Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament.

Spurdance. 'The ſervant is not greater than his Maſter: your predeceſſors killed my Maſter Chriſt, the prophets, and apoſtles, and now you kill the ſervants of Chriſt; ſo that all the righteous blood, which hath been ſhed ſhall be required at your hands.' After this he was examined by the biſhop, and when he could not be removed from his ſtedfaſtneſs, he was condemned, and burnt in Bury.

There were three godly men, viz. John Hillingdal William Sparrow, and Richard Gibſon brought before biſhop Bonner, and by him examined about the ſacrament of the altar, and ſuch like things, and they making a good confeſſion before him, and adhering to the truth, were by him condemned, and delivered to the ſecular power, by whom they were carried into Smithfield, and after their prayers made unto God, they were there conſumed in the fire.

About the ſame time were brought before Bonner, one John Rough a miniſter, and Margaret Mearing. This Rough was born in Scotland, and at the age of ſeventeen entered into the order of Black Friers at Stirling, where he remained ſixteen years, and then the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, taking a liking to him, procured him to be diſmiſſed thence to be his chaplain; with him he remained one year, during which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes and to give him ſome knowlege of the truth; and thereupon the earl of Arran, being governor of Scotland, ſent him into Ayr to preach there: in that place he remained four years, and then was appointed to abide in St. Andrews, where he had a penſion of twenty pounds *per annum*, from our king Henry VIII. But at laſt Mr. Rough conſidering the danger wherein he lived, and from his heart abhorring the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his country, and hearing of the freedom of the goſpel in England under king Edward VI. he reſolved to tarry no longer in Scotland, and preſently after the battle at Muſſelborough, he went firſt to Carliſle, and afterwards to the duke of Somerſet, lord protector of England, by whom he had a penſion of twenty pounds *per annum* granted him out of the king's treaſury, and was ſent to preach at Carliſle, Berwick, and Newcaſtle. At that time he married a wife, and was ſhortly called by the arch-biſhop of York to a benefice near Hull, where he continued till the death of king Edward.

In the beginning of queen Mary's reign, ſeeing the alteration of religion and the perſecution that was like to enſue, fearing his own weakneſs, he took his wife, and fled into Frizeland, dwelling at Norden, where he laboured hard for his living, knitting caps ſtockings, &c. But when he lacked yarn to employ himſelf about, he came over into England to make proviſion, and arrived at London, and hearing of the congregation of God's faithful people that met privately together, he joined himſelf to them, and after a while was choſen their paſtor, and continued moſt faithfully to perform his office amongſt them, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the goſpel of Chriſt. But at length, he, with Cuthbert Simſon, and others, by craft and treachery of a falſe hypocrite, and diſſembling brother, were apprehended in an houſe in Islington, where the church purpoſed to aſſemble themſelves according to their cuſtom for prayer, and preaching the word: then were they carried before the council, and after divers examinations, they ſent Mr. Rough to Newgate, and tranſmitted his examinations to biſhop Bonner.

Bonner minding to make quick diſpatch, within three days ſent for Mr. Rough out of priſon, and examined him upon the uſual articles, as about the ſacrament of the altar, &c. Mr. Rough anſwering to them according to the truth, was ſhortly after brought forth to his condemnation; at which time Bonner with many fair perſuaſions labored to withdraw him from the truth, and to draw him to make a recantation: but Mr. Rough juſtified his marriage, and ſaid, 'That his children begotten in wedlock, were legitimate; that he deteſted the maſs, and other ſervice uſed by them, and that if he ſhould live as long as Methuſelah, he would never come to church to partake with them therein: hereupon the biſhop proceeded to his degradation and condemnation, and ſo delivered him over to the ſecular power, who carried him back to Newgate.

Whilſt he was before the biſhop, he told him that he thanked God he had lived thirty years, in which he had never bowed his knee to Baal; and that he had been twice at Rome, and there had ſeen that which he had often heard before; viz. That the pope was antichriſt: that he had ſeen him carried about on mens ſhoulders, and the falſe named ſacrament before him, and that the people ſhewed more reverence to the pope, than to that which they accounted their God. Bonner hearing this, roſe up in a rage, and ſaid; 'Haſt thou been at Rome, and ſeen our holy father the pope, and doſt thou blaſpheme him on this ſort?' And with that he flew upon him, and plucked off a piece of his beard.

At the ſame time when Mr. Rough was burnt, there was alſo burnt with him one Margaret Mearing againſt whom the biſhop having no particular charge, examined her upon the uſual articles; to which ſhe anſwered in particular, adding that ſhe would ſtand to the truth which ſhe had profeſſed even to the death; for ſaith ſhe, 'the very angels in heaven do laugh you to ſcorn, to ſee the abominations that you uſe in the church;' then did the biſhop condemn her, and ſo both of them ended their lives joyfully together in the fire.

Not long before Mr Rough's apprehenſion, he went into Smithfield, to ſee the burning of Auſtoo before mentioned; and as he returned back, a friend met him, and aſked him where he had been? Where ſaid he? 'even where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been; for I have been to learn the way.' Alſo Margaret Mearing, after the apprehenſion of Mr Rough, hearing that one Scarjeant was ſuſpected to have informed againſt him, ſhe went to his houſe, and enquired whether one Judas did not dwell there? To whom they anſwered, that there dwelled none ſuch there. No, ſaid ſhe, dwelleth not Judas

das here that betrayed Christ? His name is Serjeant, and so went her way. Shortly after seeing Cluny the bishop of London's summoner going to her house, she followed him in, and asked him whom he sought for? Marry for you, said he, and so apprehended her, and carried her away.

Cuthbert Simpson, who was apprehended with Mr Rough, was deacon of the same church, a faithful and zealous man, labouring incessantly to preserve the flock from the errors of popery, and to secure them from the danger of persecution; yea, the pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man was admirable: and it pleased God that a few nights before Mr Rough dreamed that Cuthbert was taken by two of the guard, and that he had about him the book, wherein were contained the names of all that belonged to the congregation, wherewith being much troubled, he awaked, and told his dream to his wife, and afterwards falling asleep, he again had the same dream, and awaking said to his wife, 'O Kate, I cannot be quiet; I must get up, and go to my brother Cuthbert:' but whilst he was making himself ready, Cuthbert came in, and brought that book of names, and accounts of the congregation with him. Then Mr Rough told him his dreams, and charged him that he should no more carry that book about him: Cuthbert answered, dreams are but fancies, and therefore I will not lay aside the book. But Mr Rough straitly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it; whereupon Cuthbert left it with Mr Rough's wife, and within two or three days after was carried to the tower.

Having lain there a few days, the constable of the tower, and recorder of London sent for him, and examined him of those which came to the English service; to whom he answered; that he would declare nothing. Then they caused him to be cruelly racked upon an iron rack, and asked him if he would yet tell them; but he still answered them as before; then was he loosed, and carried to his lodging again. The sabbath following they sent for him again, examining him as before; but he still refused to answer. Then the lieutenant swore by God, that he should confess, and so caused his two fore-fingers to be tied together, and an arrow betwixt them, and then drew forth the arrow so violently, that the blood followed; and when that prevailed not, they racked him twice; and he still remaining constant, they sent him to his prison.

Afterwards the lieutenant came to him again, and asked him, whether he would yet confess? He answered, that he had said as much as he would. Then was he sent to Bonner, at whose hands said he I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness to the truth of Christ.

Bonner before all the people said thus of him. You see this man what a personable man he is; and for his patience, if he were not an heretic, I should much commend it: for he hath been thrice racked in one day, and in my house he hath endured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience once moved.

The night before this blessed martyr Cuthbert Simpson was condemned by Bonner, he lying in the stocks in the bishop's Coal house, a little before mid night, heard as he thought, one coming and unlocking the first, second, and third doors, and though he neither saw torch nor candle yet he saw a great light in the prison; and he that came in said to him, ah, and so vanished; this brought exceeding joy and comfort to his soul, as himself related to sundry persons afterwards.

The next day he was brought before the bishop in his consistory, and charged with sundry articles; to which he made a clear and full answer; whereupon he was condemned. There were also condemned with him at the same time, one Hugh Fox, and John Devenish, who also were apprehended with him at Islington; and so these blessed servants of Jesus Christ were burnt together in Smithfield, finishing their lives with much constancy and joy.

About the same time, there was one William Nichols apprehended by the instruments of Satan at Haverford West in Wales, who was also condemned, and burnt there.

Presently after William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, were apprehended in Norfolk: the persecutor of them was Sir John Tyrel, who charged his servants to search for Seaman; one of which, named Robert Baldwin, was neighbour to Seaman, and one in whom he put much confidence yet did this treacherous person, together with his other fellow, to gratify their master, search Seaman's house in the night time; and finding him at home, they carried him presently away to their master: as they went on the way, a strange light fell from the element betwixt them, and parted them: after which Baldwin, though at that time in his best age, never after enjoyed good day, but pined away till he died.

When he came before Sir John Tyrel, he asked him, why he did not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and worship it? Seaman answered because it was no sacrament, but an idol, and therefore he would not worship it: then did Tyrel send him away to Norwich to bishop Hopton, who after examination, condemned him.

Thomas Carman was apprehended, for that he pledged Richard Crathfield, at the time of his burning: for this cause, being examined by the bishop, and adhering constantly to the truth, he also was condemned.

Thomas Hudson was by occupation a glover, and it pleased God to enlighten him with the truth, he applied himself to learn to read and profited much in the knowlege of the scriptures, and considering the danger that he was in, he absented himself from his house, travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At last he returned home to visit and comfort his wife and children: but perceiving that his abode there would be dangerous, he devised with his wife, to make him a place amongst his fagots to hide himself in, in which place he remained all day long, reading, and praying continually for the space of about half a year: at last came the vicar of the town to the woman, enquiring for her husband, and threatening to burn her, if she would not betray him to them: when Hudson understood this, he waxed every day more valiant, and zealous than other, continually praying, reading, and singing of Psalms, to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations, and vehement prayers. At last he walked openly about the town, inveighing against the mass, and other popish trumpery; and afterwards returning home, he fell upon his knees, and spent three days, and nights in praying, reading, and singing of Psalms. But the constables being provoked by one of his popish neighbours, went one morning to apprehend him.

When Hudson saw them come in, he said: 'Now mine hour is come: welcome friends, welcome, you are they that will lead me to live with Christ for which I thank God, and the Lord enable me thereunto, for his mercy sake in Christ Jesus: for it had been long his desire, and prayer, that if it were the Lord's will, he might lay down his life for the gospel's sake.' Then they took him, and carried him to the vicar, who was commissary, who asked him if he did not believe in the sacrament of the altar? Hudson answered, that it was worm's meat, and that he did believe in Christ crucified. 'Dost not, said the other, believe the mass to put away sins? God forbid, said Hudson, for it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet.' This so enraged the vicar, that he stamped fumed, and called him villain, &c. Afterwards he asked Hudson whether he would recant? 'The Lord forbid, said Hudson, I had rather die many deaths than to do so.' Then did he lead him to Norwich to the bishop, and all the way as he went, he sung psalms, and was very merry: he lay in prison about a month, spending all his time in reading, and invocating the name of God, and so at last was condemned.

These three godly persons being carried out to execution together, when they came to the stake, made their humble prayers to almighty God; after which being chained to the stake, Thomas Hudson suddenly slipped out from under the chain, to the wonder of many, divers fearing lest he would have recanted. His two friends at the stake cried out to comfort him all that they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But Hudson felt more in his heart, than they knew of: for (poor soul) he was full of grief, and heaviness of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of feeling his Christ; and therefore being much troubled, he went aside, and fell down upon his knees, praying most vehemently, and

earneſtly to the Lord, who at laſt, according to his wonted mercies, ſent him comfort; and then he aroſe joyfully, as a man new raiſed from death to life, and ſaid, 'Now, I thank God, I am ſtrong, and paſs not what man can do unto me.' And ſo returning to his fellows at the ſtake, they all joyfully met together, yielding up their ſpirits with much conſtancy, and comfort, to the Lord.

Commiſſary Berry, which had a great hand in the death of theſe, and divers other godly perſons, was a very vicious man in his life and converſation, a great ſwearer and a whoremaſter, perſecuting the godly, and compelling men to idolatry. But though the Lord had leaden feet, yet he had iron hands, and at laſt found him out by a terrible judgment; for on a ſabbath day, this Berry having made a great feaſt, after dinner went into his chamber, and there continued with his whore till evenſong, and then went to church and adminiſtered the ſacrament of Baptiſm: but as he came out of the church, he fell down ſuddenly to the ground, with an heavy groan, and never ſtirred after, nor ſhewed ſo much as one ſign of repentance. About the ſame time alſo, Dunnings the chancellor, a mercileſs tyrant, died ſuddenly, as the other had done before him.

About the ſame time, Joan Seaman, mother to the ſaid William, being about ſixty years old, was cruelly perſecuted by Sir John Tyrel; ſo that ſhe was forced to forſake her houſe, and many times to ly in buſhes, groves, and fields. Thus ſhe continued for ſome time, till her huſband, being eighty years old fell ſick, which ſhe hearing of, returned home, not regarding her own ſafety, ſo much as the faithful performance of her duty to her huſband, whom ſhe carefully attended, till it pleaſed God to take him away by death: then, by God's providence, ſhe fell ſick, and ſhortly after departed this life in her own houſe, whereby ſhe was delivered from the rage of her mercileſs enemies; yet ſuch was their malice, that they would not ſuffer her to be buried with Chriſtian burial, but her friends were fain to put her into a hole by a motes ſide.

Alſo in the town of Wetherſet, there was one mother Bennet, a good woman, who was perſecuted out of the town, for not going to maſs, &c. Yet at laſt ſhe returned privately to her own houſe, and there ſickened, and departed this life joyfully; and, being denied burial, was laid in a grave by the highway ſide. She was very merciful to the poor, and her huſband once merrily ſaying to her, that if ſhe had been ſparing, they might have been much richer; ſhe anſwered, Alas! good huſband, be content, let us be thankful, God hath given us enough: I cannot hoard up, and ſee the poor want, and thereby diſpleaſure God: but huſband, let us be rich in good works, and ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and have all good things given us.

Immediately after there were three other godly perſons, William Harris, Richard Day, and Chriſtian George a woman, impriſoned and condemned at Colcheſter. When they were brought to the ſtake, they poured out their fervent prayers to God, and in the midſt of the flames triumphed over their enemies, praiſing God, and dying chearfully.

In the month of June, *anno Chriſti* 1558, came out a ſharp proclamation againſt good books, either brought from beyond ſeas, or printed in this realm, that whoſoever ſhould be found to have any of thoſe books, or having them, do not forthwith burn the ſame, without ſhewing or reading them to any other perſon, ſhould be reputed, and taken for a rebel, and ſhall be preſently executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

Shortly after this proclamation, forty godly men and women, were aſſembled together in a back cloſe, near Iſlington to pray, and read God's holy word: and while they were together, there came a man, and looking over the hedge, ſaluted them, ſaying, That they looked like perſons that meant no hurt, and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an hour after came the conſtable of Iſlington, with ſix or ſeven armed men in his company. Theſe he left in a private place near at hand, and with only one in his company, he went amongſt them, viewing them, and what books they had, commanding them to deliver their books to him. They underſtanding that he was the conſtable, refuſed not to do it. Then came forth the other armed men, commanding them to ſtand and not depart: they anſwered, that they would be obedient, and ready to go whether they would carry them. Then were they led to Sir Roger Chomley, the recorder of London. By the way ſome of the women eſcaped, and more might, if they had liſted. The recorder, after examination, ſent them to Newgate, and if they would have heard maſs, they might have been delivered; but they refuſed, and therefore at laſt were brought before Bonner; who after examination, finding them conſtant, condemned them, and thirteen of them were burnt in Smithfield, and ſix at Brainford.

Amongſt theſe godly perſons, there was one Roger Holland, who had much bickering with Bonner, who in concluſion ſaid thus unto him; 'God hath heard the prayers of his ſervants, which have been poured forth with many tears for the afflicted ſaints, whom you have daily perſecuted, as you do us now; but this I dare be bold in God to ſpeak, (which by his ſpirit I am moved to ſay) that God will ſhorten your cruelty, ſo that for a time you ſhall not moleſt his church. And, dear brethren, that you may perceive the truth of this, know that after this day, in this place, there ſhall not any by him be put to the trial of fire and faggot.' Which accordingly came to paſs; for they were the laſt that were burned in Smithfield for the teſtimony of the truth.

Bonner hearing this, ſaid, 'I perceive, Roger, thou art as mad in thy hereſy as ever thou waſt; and now in thy anger thou wouldeſt become a railing prophet; but though thou, and all thy companions, would ſee me hanged, yet I ſhall live to burn you; yea, and will burn every one of you that come into my hands: and ſo he departed.

Then Roger exhorted the people to repent, and to think well of them that ſuffered for the teſtimony of the goſpel; adding moreover, that God would ſhorten thoſe cruel and bloody days, for his elect's ſake.

Upon that day they ſuffered, a proclamation was made that none ſhould ſpeak to, or talk with them, or teach them, upon pain of impriſonment without bail, with divers other cruel threatenings. Yet did the people cry out, deſiring God to ſtrengthen them. They alſo prayed for the people, that God would ſend them his word. Then Roger embracing the ſtake, ſaid, 'Lord, I humbly thank thee, that thou haſt called me from the ſtate of death, to the light of thy heavenly word, and now alſo to the fellowſhip of thy ſaints, that I may ſing, and ſay, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hoſts. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Lord, bleſs theſe thy people, and ſave them from idolatry.' And ſo, with his fellows praying and praiſing God, they ſweetly ended their lives in the flames.

Amongſt the ſix that ſuffered at Brainford, was one William Pikes, who, whilſt he was at liberty about midſummer time, and at noon-day, took his Bible, and going into his garden, ſat down to read upon it. When ſuddenly there fell four drops of freſh blood upon his book, he not knowing whence it came; whereupon he called his wife, and ſhewed them to her, ſaying, 'I well perceive the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and God grant me grace to abide the trial:' and ſo they went to prayer: and not long after he was apprehended, and burnt, as you have heard before.

Amongſt theſe perſons apprehended at Iſlington, was one Thomas Hinſhaw, a young man of about twenty years old, whom Bonner, after ſundry examinations, ſent him to Fulham; and there alſo he laboured to pervert him from the truth, and not prevailing, he kept him in the ſtocks, and ſent Dr Harpſfield his arch-deacon, to him; who after much reaſoning, fell into a great chafe, aſking him, if he thought that he went about to damn his ſoul? Hinſhaw anſwered, that he was perſuaded, that they went about to uphold their dark and deviliſh kingdom: and that they did it not out of any love to the truth. This ſo enraged Harpſfield, that he went and complained to the biſhop of him; who thereupon ſent for Thomas Hinſhaw into his garden, and there, in an arbor, cauſed him to put down his breeches, and the biſhop having gotten two willow rods, fell a whipping of him till he

he was out of breath, and till he had wasted one of the rods upon him, and so returned him to prison; but not long after, it pleased God that this Hinshaw fell sick of a fever, and being more like to die than live, the bishop, by importunity, was prevailed with to let him go home to his master, (Mr Pugson in Paul's Church-yard) where he remained sick for the space of a year; and in the mean time Queen Mary died, and thereby he escaped burning.

Amongst the aforesaid persons apprehended at Islington there was also one John Willes, who was by Bonner first set in the stocks in his coal house, and then removed to Fulham, where he was kept in the stocks also, and often examined: the bishop having a stick in his hand, wherewith he often rapped him on the head, and flirted him under the chin, and on the ears: and when this prevailed not, he had him into his orchard, and there wasted a rod upon him to the stumps, and then called for another; after which he returned him to prison. And many times examined him, and amongst other talk said to him, Ye call me bloody Bonner; a vengeance on you all; I would fain be rid of you, but I think you have a delight in burning; but if I might have my will, I would sew up your mouths, and put you in sacks, and so drown you.

On a time Bonner came to the stocks, where he lay, saying, How like you your lodging and fare? Willes answered, Well, if it would please God that I might have a little straw to lye upon. Whilst they were talking together came in Willes's wife, great with child, and near her count, intreating the bishop for her husband, and said, that she would not go out of his house, but there lay her belly, except her husband might go with her. Then said Bonner to Willes, How sayest thou, thou heretic: if thy wife and her child should miscarry and perish, dost not thou think that their blood would be required at thy hands? In brief, the bishop could not be rid of the woman; and therefore fearing lest she should cry out in his house, he was at last content upon easy terms, to release him. Yet would he have a kinsman of Willes's to pass his word to bring him before him again the next day, or else, saith he, thou art an heretic as well as he. The man having no greater a charge than that, neglected to bring him: yet shortly after, Willes of his own accord went to him, and there subscribing a paper which had no great matter in it, was dismissed.

Mr Richard Yeomans, a godly minister, who had been formerly curate under Dr Taylor at Hadley, and was left by him to supply his place, when he was removed from it. But after a while he was put out of that place.

He was a very holy old man, of the age of seventy, was well seen in the scriptures; and being put out of Hadley, he went up and down from place to place, exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, and earnestly to give themselves to prayer, and to prepare themselves for the patient bearing of the cross; with boldness to confess the truth before their adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown of everlasting happiness. But at last, perceiving that his adversaries lay in wait for him, he went into Kent, selling points, pins, and laces, and such trifles, to get something wherewith to maintain himself, his poor wife, and children. At last, a justice of peace, one Mr Moyle, took him, and laid him in the stocks; but after a while, having no evident matter against him, released him.

Then returned he secretly to Hadley, and abode with his poor wife, locked up in a chamber for about a twelvemonth together, spending much of his time in reading and prayer, and the rest in carding wool, which his wife did spin; and by such like poor means they maintained themselves.

At length the parson of the parish perceived that this good old man was thus kept private by his wife; and therefore taking some officers with him, in the night time he brake open the doors, and searching the house, found father Yeomans in bed with his poor wife and children; whereupon in an anger he said, 'I thought I should find a knave and a whore together; and withal would have pulled off the bed-cloaths. But father Yeomans held fast, saying, 'Neither knave nor whore; but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance;' and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this favour, and I defy the pope and all his popery. Then had they him away to the cage, and there set him in the stocks.

In the same place there was one John Dale, who had lain two or three days there. The occasion was this; he had been at church when the parson and his curate were at their Romish service; and the poor man being offended at it, in the fervency of his spirit, said, 'O miserable and blind guides, will you ever be blind leaders of the blind? will you never amend, and see the truth of God's word? will neither the threats nor promises of God work upon your hearts? will the blood of the martyrs nothing molify your stony spirits? O obdurate, hard hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable persons, whom nothing can do good upon!' For this the parson caused him to be laid in the stocks.

The next day the parson called hard upon Sir Henry Doile, to send them both to prison. Sir Henry earnestly laboured to persuade the parson, they being so old, to let them go with that punishment. But the parson was restless till he had gotten a warrant, whereby he sent them both to Burry goal. As they went, they were carried pinioned and bound like thieves: and when they came thither, because they continually reproved popish practices, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon.

In that place, John Dale, by reason of evil keeping, fell sick and died, and his body was buried in the fields. After this, father Yeomans was removed to Norwich prison, where he was still used very cruelly: at last he was examined of his faith; and he boldly and constantly confessed that he was of that faith which was set forth by King Edward VI. of blessed memory, from which he would in no wise vary. And being commanded to submit himself to the pope, he answered, I defy him, and all his detestable abominations: yea, I will have nothing to do with him, nor with any thing that appertains to him.' For this he was degraded, condemned, and burnt at Norwich.

There was living also in Hadley, a young man called John Alcock, by trade a Shearman, who, after the martyrdom of Dr Taylor, used in the church of Hadley to read the service in English, till the coming of parson Newhall thither: after which, this Alcock being in the church, when the parson was going by with the procession, Alcock neither moved his hat, nor showed any reverence to it; which the parson taking notice of, ran to him, laid hands on him, and called for the constable, commanding him to have him to the stocks. The constable happened to be his master, and told the parson that he should not go to the stocks, but should be forth coming and so the parson went on in his procession. The constable told Alcock, that he was sorry for him, that if he behaved himself not wisely, the parson would effect his destruction. Alcock answered, 'Sir, I am sorry that I am a trouble to you; but as for myself I am not sorry, but I commit myself into the hands of God; who, I trust, will give me a mouth, and wisdom to answer according to the truth.' Yet, saith the constable, take heed of him, for he is a bloodsucker, and will use you the worse for my sake, against whom he hath an old grudge.

I fear not, saith Alcock, he can do no more than God will give him leave, and happy shall I be, if God will call me to die for his truth's sake.

Then went they to the parson, who said to him, Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar? 'I say, quoth Alcock, as you use the matter, you make a shameful idol of it, and you are false idolatrous priests, even all of you.' I told you, quoth the parson, that he was a stout heretic: and so the next day he carried him to London, where he was clapt up in Newgate, and after many examinations and troubles, because he would not submit to ask forgiveness of the pope, nor to be reconciled to the Romish church, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, by reason of his cruel handling and evil keeping, he contracted a sickness whereof he died: yet then did not their malice end towards him, for they would not suffer him to be buried with honest and decent burial, but put him into a hole in the fields.

Mr Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman in the diocese of Winchester, who might have lived a pleasant and honourable life in this world, yet chose rather, through the strait

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Rate of perſecution to enter into the kingdom of heaven: for which end he manfully ſtood for the defence of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, againſt popiſh ſuperſtition: and therefore being apprehended, was carried before Dr White, biſhop of Wincheſter, who examined him upon ſundry articles: as about auricular confeſſion: the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, &c. To all which he made ſtout anſwer, according to the truth, and was condemned for the ſame.

When he was brought by the ſheriff to the place of execution, he put off his apparel, which was very rich, and betook himſelf unto fervent prayer unto God. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, one Dr Seaton willed him to recant, and he ſhould have his pardon; but he rejected it, like a faithful ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt. The Doctor turned to the people, and bad them not to pray for him any more than they would pray for a dog. Mr Benbridge ſtanding at the ſtake, with his hands lift up to heaven, the Doctor again urged him to recant; to whom he ſaid, 'Away Babylonian, away.' Then was the fire kindled which burnt off a piece of his beard, yet was he nothing moved with it: then the fire took hold of his legs, and his ſtockings being of leather, the pain was ſo grievous that he cried out, 'I recant.' At which words ſome of his friends plucked away the fire, and the ſheriff returned him to priſon. But it pleaſed God ſo to awaken his conſcience, that recanting his recantation, he was that day ſe'nnight carried to the fire again, and there burned.

Shortly after, four godly perſons, viz. John Cook, Robert Miles, Alexander Lane, and James Aſhley, were examined before the biſhop of Norwich: the chief matter alledged againſt them was, for not going to church. And when they had given a good account of their faith, they were condemned and burned together at St Edmund's Bury, not long before the ſickneſs of Queen Mary.

About the ſame time Alexander Gouge, and Alice Driver, were hunted after by one Mr Noone, a juſtice in Suffolk, ſo that for their ſafety they were fain to hide themſelves in an haymow: but the juſtice with his men coming to it, and ſticking pitchforks into the mow, at laſt diſcovered them, and ſent them to Milton goal, where after they had lain a time, they were removed to Bury; and there, at the aſſizes, they boldly confeſſed Chriſt crucified, defying the pope, with all his ſuperſtitious trash. And Alice Driver compared Queen Mary, in her perſecution, to Jezabel, for which the judge cauſed her ears preſently to be cut off, which ſhe joyfully ſuffered, thinking herſelf happy that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the name of Chriſt.

After this they were removed to Ipſwich, and there examined before Dr Spenſer chancellor of Norwich. The chief matter that they inſiſted upon was about Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, wherein Alice Driver did ſo baffle them, that they had nothing to ſay. Whereupon ſhe thus concluded, 'God be praiſed, you are not able to reſiſt the ſpirit of God in me a poor woman. I was an honeſt poor man's daughter, and never brought up in the univerſity, as ye have been; yet in the defence of God's truth, and in the cauſe of my Maſter Chriſt, by his grace, I will ſet my foot againſt the foot of any of you all in maintainance of the ſame, and if I had a thouſand lives, they ſhould all go in payment thereof. Then did the chancellor condemn her, and delivered her to the ſecular power. Gouge alſo, ſticking faſt to the truth, was condemned; and ſo both of them ended their lives ſweetly together in the fire at Ipſwich. When the chain was faſtened about Alice Driver's neck, 'O, ſaid ſhe, here is a goodly handkerchief, God be praiſed for it.

As they ſtood at the ſtake, ſome came to take them by the hand; whereupon the ſheriff bade his men lay hands on them; but thereupon there came ſuch a multitude to them, that the ſheriff was fain to let them alone.

There was one Bate, a barber, that was a very buſy man about burning them; but preſently after God's judgment fell upon him, ſo that within three or four weeks after he died in much miſery.

The ſame month that Queen Mary died, there were burned at Bury three godly perſons, whoſe names were Philip Humprey, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

There lived in Cornwal, an honeſt poor woman, whoſe huſband was much addicted to the popiſh ſuperſtitions practiſed in thoſe days, and would force his wife to join with him in the ſame, which was a great trouble to her ſpirit: whereupon ſhe prayed earneſtly unto God for his mercy and direction; and it pleaſed God, that one night as ſhe lay in her bed, ſhe received abundance of joy and comfort in her ſoul, inſomuch as leaving huſband and children, to enjoy the peace of her conſcience, ſhe went about ſpinning for her living; yet at laſt ſhe returned to her huſband again, where, after a while, ſhe was accuſed by her neighbours, apprehended and carried to Exeter to the biſhop.

The chief matter for which ſhe was condemned was, for denying the real preſence, and ſpeaking againſt their idolatry. The biſhop bad her remember her huſband and children; ſhe anſwered, 'I have them, and I have them not; whilſt I was at liberty, I enjoyed them; but now, ſtanding here, as I do, in the cauſe of Chriſt, and his truth, where I muſt either forſake Chriſt or my huſband; I am content to ſtick to Chriſt only, my heavenly ſpouſe, and to renounce the other.' The biſhop, after much other talk, gave her a month's liberty to bethink herſelf; in which time ſhe, going into one of the churches, ſaw a Dutchman making new noſes to many images, which had been defaced in King Edward's time; to whom ſhe ſaid, 'What a madman art thou to make new noſes for thoſe images, which within a few days will loſe their heads? For this being complained of to the biſhop, ſhe was clapt up cloſe priſoner, and had no more liberty. During her impriſonment, ſhe was tried by great ſufferings, threatenings, taunts, and ſcoffs, called Anabaptiſt, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runagate. She was tried by liberty, to go whether ſhe would; ſhe was tried by flattery, and many fair promiſes; ſhe was tried with huſband, goods, and children, yet nothing would prevail: her heart was fixed, ſhe had caſt anchor, and utterly condemned this wicked world, with all the bait and allurements of it: ſhe was wholly without learning, yet ſo verſed in the ſcriptures, that ſhe could not only fitly and appoſitely quote them, but name the book and chapter alſo.

Her adverſaries ſeeing that by no means they could remove her from her conſtancy, at laſt condemned her, and delivered her to the ſecular power. Then did the gentlemen of the country exhort her yet to call for grace, and to forſake her fond opinions, and ſo return to her huſband and children; 'For, ſaid they, thou art an ignorant woman, and theſe things are too high for thee to meddle with.' 'I am, ſaid ſhe, indeed; and yet with my death I am content to be a witneſs of Chriſt's death; and I pray you delay me no longer; my heart is fixed, I will never ſay otherwiſe than I have, nor turn to their ſuperſtitious doings.' Then ſaid the biſhop, 'The devil leadeth her!' 'No, my Lord, quoth ſhe, it is God's ſpirit that leadeth me.'

When ſhe heard her ſentence of death pronounced, ſhe lifted up her voice, ſaying, 'I thank thee, my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I long ſought for.' Then was ſhe again promiſed life if ſhe would recant. 'Nay, that I will not, ſaid ſhe; God forbid, that for this natural and temporary life, I ſhould loſe life eternal; I will never turn from my heavenly huſband to my earthly; from the fellowſhip of angels to mortal children; and if my huſband and children be faithful, then am I theirs: God is my father, God is my mother, God is my ſiſter, my brother, my kinſman; God is my friend, and that moſt faithful.'

Then was ſhe led forth to execution, multitudes of people going with her. At the place where ſhe was to ſuffer, the popiſh prieſts again ſet upon her; but ſhe prayed them to ſpeak no more to her; and then ſaid, 'God be merciful to me a ſinner; God be merciful to me a ſinner. In the flames ſhe ſtood with admirable patience, and ſo finiſhed her courſe with joy. She had ſuch a chearful and lively countenance, as though ſhe had been prepared for the day of her marriage; was very patient in her words and anſwers; ſhe had always been ſober in meat, drink, and apparel; ſhe would never be idle, and was a great comfort to as many as talked with her; liberal to

to the poor, according to her ability, and in her trouble would take no money when it was proffered her. 'For,' said she, I am going to a city, where money beareth no mastery; and whilst I am here, God hath promised to feed me.'

In the city of Bristow, there was one Richard Sharp, a weaver, who being apprehended for religion, was carried before Dr Dalby the chancellor; who after examination about the sacrament of the altar, so wrought upon him by persuasions, that he drew from him a promise to make a public recantation, and the time and place were appointed for it: but after this promise, Sharp felt such an hell in his conscience, that he was not able to follow any business, but decayed in his body, and wholly lost his colour: whereupon on a sabbath, going to his parish church, he went to the quire door, and with a loud voice said, 'Neighbours, bear me record, that yonder idol, pointing to the altar, is the greatest and most abominable that ever was, and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God.' Hereupon the constable was commanded to apprehend him; but he let him alone, and Sharp went home to his house; yet afterwards was he apprehended in the night, and carried to prison, and continuing constant, was by the chancellor condemned, and burnt, which he patiently endured, sealing the truth with his blood.

At the same time there was burnt with him another citizen of Bristow, called Thomas Hale, whom two of the aldermen fetched out of his house in the night; to whom he said, you have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do it you. He was condemned by Dalby for saying, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol; and patiently yielded up his spirit unto God in the flames.

Also Thomas Benson of the same city, weaver, was apprehended, and examined before Dalby, and by him was committed to prison, for saying, that the sacrament was nothing but bread, as they used it; and for denying five of their seven sacraments: and shortly after he was condemned, and executed, dying in a godly, constant, and patient manner.

The last that suffered martyrdom in queen Mary's time, were five godly persons at Canterbury; their names were John Cornford, Christopher Brown, John Hurst, Alice Smith, and Catherine Knight. The things for which they were persecuted and condemned were, for denying Christ's real presence in the sacrament of the altar; and for saying, that wicked men do not receive Christ's body; that it was idolatry to creep to the cross; that saints should not be prayed to, &c. When sentence of condemnation was read against them, John Cornford being moved in spirit with a vehement zeal for God, in the name of himself and his fellows, said: 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his holy Spirit, and authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church; we do here give into the hands of Satan to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers, and heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy word, or that do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church or feigned religion; so that by this thy most just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory, and our comfort, and to the edification of all our nation. good Lord, so be it, amen.' And this excommunication of his, took such effect against the enemies of the truth, that within six days after queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English papists with her: yet the arch deacon and his associates condemned, and hasted the execution of these godly persons, knowing that the queen was sick past recovery. When they came to the place of their execution, they made their prayers to almighty God, and amongst all other things, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed; wherein God answered their prayers, and they joyfully and comfortbaly in the fire resigned up their spirits unto God.

CHAP. LXII.

The Scourging of some in the Reign of Queen Mary.

AMONGST those that were persecuted, and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christ in the reign of queen Mary, there was one John Fetty, a godly man dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwel, who was accused, and complained of to the parson of the parish by his own wife, for that he went not to church, nor would partake of their idolatrous services: whereupon the parson caused the constables to apprehend him. But it pleased God that his unnatural wife, immediately upon it, fell mad; and the constables were so far moved with pity, that they let him go home to look to his wife, and children, who otherwise were like to perish: and this good man (forgetting the unkind and wicked act of his wife) was very careful of her, and so cherished and provided for her, that through God's mercy, she was well amended, and recovered her wits again, within the space of about three weeks. Yet such was the power of Satan in this wicked and malicious woman's heart, that so soon as she was recovered, not regarding her husband's kindness, she again accused him; whereby he was apprehended, and cast into Lollard's tower; where he was put into the tormenting stocks, with a dish of water, and a stone in it set by him to shew what favour he should receive at their hands. There he lay for many days, sometimes hanging by one leg and one arm, sometimes by the other, and at other times by both.

At last one of his children, of about eight or nine years old, came to the bishop's house to see if he could get leave to speak with his father; and one of the bishop's chaplains meeting with the boy, asked him what he looked for? The child answered, 'that he came to see his father that was in Lollard's tower: Why, said the priest, thy father is an heretic;' the boy, being of a bold and quick spirit, and well educated by his father answered, 'My father is no heretic, but you are an heretic; for you have Balaam's mark on you.' With that the priest took him by the hand, and led him into the bishop's house, where amongst them, they stripped the child naked, and cruelly whipt him, till he was all over gore blood. Then Cluny, the bishop's sumner, putting on his shirt, and carrying his coat on his arm, led him to the prison with the blood dropping at his heels to his father. At his coming in, the boy fell on his knees, and craved his father's blessing: the father being full of grief to see his child so cruelly dealt with, said, 'Alas William who hath done this to thee?' The boy answered, as I was coming to see you, a priest with Balaam's mark, took me into the bishop's house, where I have been thus used.' Hereupon Cluny violently plucked him from his father and carried him back into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days: and then Bonner minding to appease the poor man for the usage of his child, sent for him out of Lollard's tower to his chamber. Whilst this Jo. Fetty was standing there with the bishop, he spied a great pair of black beads hanging by his bed, and thereupon said to him, 'My lord, I think the hangman is not far off, for the halter (pointing to the beads) is here already.' This much enraged the bishop, yet Fetty spying also a crucifix standing in the window, said, 'my lord, what is that? the bishop answered, it was Christ. Was he handled, said Fetty, so cruelly, as is here pictured? Yea, said Bonner, that he was: and even so cruelly, said Fetty, do you handle such as come before you; for you are to God's people, even as Caiaphas was to Christ.' The bishop was so enraged at this, that he swore he would burn him, or spend all that he had to his gown: yet afterward bethinking himself of the danger that the child was in by reason of their cruel usage of him; he discharged him, bidding him go home, and carry his child with him, which accordingly he did, with an heavy heart for his poor boy, who within fourteen days after died.

Also when Dr Crome was to make his recantation; there came in one of the guard to a tradesman's shop, in Bowlane, where they asked him what news at court! 'the old heretic, said he, Dr Crome hath recanted before the council, and next Sunday will do the same at Paul's cross: hereupon Richard Wilmot apprentice in the same shop, of about the age of eighteen, said, I am sorry to hear that news; for if Crome shall say otherwise than he hath done formerly, it is contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience which will accuse him before God for it,' He also added further, that what Dr Crome had taught was agreeable to the holy scriptures,

wherein God hath revealed his will. 'Well, said the other, it was never merry world since the Bible was translated into English and heretic that caused it to be done (meaning the lord Cromwel) and therefore was rewarded according to his works.' After other such like talk came in the matter of the shop, and with him another young man called Thomas Fairfax, the master asked what was the matter? the queen's servant (whose name was Lewis,) answered, that he had a knavish boy to his man, whom, if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him. In brief, the business being again rehearsed, Thomas Fairfax spake to Lewis, confirming what the other had said: whereupon Lewis went away in a rage to the court. The next day these two young men were sent for to the lord mayor, and by him, with Chomley the recorder, they were examined a part, and then sent apart to the two counters: their masters hearing of it, made great friends to the lord mayor and recorder for their release, but it could not be obtained without address to the council, who judged them heretics and traitors, and therefore worthy to die: yet at last by much importunity their lives were spared, and they were ordered to be whipped three market days at a cart's tail through the city of London. Yet at last, great friends being made to the privy council, they remitted that, and ordered them to be whipped in the companies hall, before the master and wardens, which was accordingly done, their bodies being stripped naked from the waist upward, and their feet fastened to an iron ring in the midst of the hall; and then two men disguised in visors, coming with two great rods, whipt them so cruelly, that Wilmot could not lie in his bed of six nights after, and could never recover his health again.

There was also one Thomas Green, servant to a printer; who gave to certain honest men a book called antichrist; which his master hearing of, examined him where he had it; he answered, of a Frenchman: then said his master, there is heresy and treason in it, and so sending for Clony, he bade him put him into Lollard's tower, which accordingly he did: but when he had lain there a while, he removed him to the bishop's Coalhouse; and there putting upon his right leg and left arm bolts and fetters, he set him, cross fettered in the stocks, on the morrow he came to him, saying, 'Come, let me shift your hand and leg that you be not lamed' and so he remained six days. Then was he sent for by doctor Store, who examined him about the book: he answered, that going to Newgate to visit some Christian friends that lay there for the testimony of the truth, he met with a Frenchman, who came thither for the like purpose, and after some further acquaintance with him, he bought this book of him. Then Story would have had him to bring forth this Frenchman, but he answered, that he could not do it. Upon this he was returned to the Coalhouse, where he lay in the stocks ten days and nights more.

Then was he again sent for to Dr Story, and whilst he was examining, two other prisoners were brought to him; whereupon his wife [Mrs. Story,] was in a great rage, and swore a great oath, saying, 'It is a pity but an hundred or two of these heretics were put into a house together, and I myself would set fire to them.' Then was Green again returned to the Coalhouse. After long imprisonment and frequent examinations, Dr Story sent for him to Christ's hospital, and commanded him to be stripped, and then calling for two beadles, he caused them to give him almost an hundred stripes; adding moreover, that if he might have his will, he would cut out his tongue; and then he dismissed him.

There was also one Steven Cotten, who was twice whipped by bishop Bonner.

Also one James Harris of Billerica in Essex, being apprehended, and sent up to Bonner, was examined by him, when he had been at church? To whom he answered, that he had not been at church of above a twelvemonth before, but once; and then, through fear, he received the popish sacrament, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting it with all his soul. Then the bishop would have had him shriven himself to a priest, which because he refused to do, the bishop took him into his garden, and there whipped him most cruelly.

Also one Robert Williams, a smith, being apprehended and sent to Bonner, the bishop after examination took him into his garden, and there in an arbor scourged him cruelly with rods.

There was in Collingborow, a poor shaved man, who because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter, was apprehended and sent to Salisbury, to Dr Geffery the chancellor, who cast this poor creature into a dungeon, and afterwards caused him to be cruelly whipt by two beadles.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Story of divers worthy Servants of Christ, who escaped burning by the death of Queen Mary.

RICHARD WHITE and John Hunt being apprehended, and examined by the major of Marlborow, were sent to Salisbury, and kept a long time in Lollard's tower; and at last were brought before bishop Capon, and other commissioners, and there examined of their faith, and they made a stout and zealous profession of the same, from which they could not be removed neither by frowns nor flatteries; so that at length, at the sessions they were condemned, and with other malefactors were delivered over to Sir Anthony Hungerford, the high sheriff, to be executed: but the evening after, Mr Clifford, son in law to Sir Anthony, came to him, exhorting and intreating him earnestly in no case to have a hand in the death of those two innocent persons. Sir Anthony hearing him, went strait to justice Brown to ask his advice, what he should do in the matter. justice Brown told him, that if he had not a writ from above for their execution, he could not answer it, but if he had he must then do his office. The sheriff hearing this, took his horse the next day, and went out of town, leaving these men in prison. The chancellor, Dr. Geffery, hearing of his departure, rode after him, and overtaking him, told him that he had delivered over into his hands two condemned men and wondred that he went away before he had executed them according to his office; the sheriff answered, that he was no babe which was to be taught of him what belonged to his office. 'If you have, said he, a writ to discharge me for the burning of them; I know what I have to do: Why, said the chancellor, did not I give you a writ under my hand for it? Well, said the sheriff, that is not a sufficient discharge for me: if I have not a writ from the superior powers, I will not burn them for any of you all.' Dr Geffery hearing this, returned home, and presently fell sick upon it.

Not long after came down a writ from above to the under sheriff, for their execution; but he being a godly man, cast the writ into the fire, saying, 'I will not be guilty of these mens blood.'

Within four days after the chancellor died: about which time Richard White and John Hunt being in a low and dark dungeon, were going to prayer, but on a sudden, knowing no reason for it, they burst both out into a great weeping, so that they could not speak a word; and the next morning they understood that just at the same time the chancellor died. Presently after the bishop died also: so that these two holy men continued in prison till queen Mary's death, and by that means it pleased God to deliver them.

In the time of queen Mary's sickness, one Coxe a promoter, taking the constable, and some others with him, went to the house of Mr William Living, a minister in Shoe lane, and there searching amongst his books, found a book of astronomy made by *Johannes de sacro Bosco*, wherein were many figures: Coxe taking this book, and Mr. Living, and his wife, carried them away to Darbishire's house, the bishop of London's chancellor; and by the way, carrying the book open, he said, 'I have found him at length; it is no marvel though the queen be sick, when there are such conjurers in corners, but now I trust he shall conjure no more.'

Darbishire examined him, and told him that he was a schismatic, and a traitor; to whom Mr Living answered, 'I would be sorry that were true, but I know I am no traitor, for I have always taught obedience according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults have been raised, I have suppressed them by God's word. But, said the

the chancellor, you deny the church of Rome, and therefore Cluny take him away, and put him into the Coalhouse.'

Then did Cluny violently hale and draw him, and carrying him to his house, there robbed him of all his money, his psalter and New Testament, &c. After which he carried him to the coalhouse, and there put both his arms and legs into the stocks, saying, that except he gave him forty shillings he would put a collar of iron about his neck also. 'I am never able to pay so much, said Mr. Living, and so he was left in the stocks.

At evening a kinswoman of his brought him his supper, who seeing how miserably he was used, told Cluny that she would give him ten groats to let him at liberty: Cluny took her money and so let him out to eat his supper, but presently after set him in the stocks again. Within a few days he was removed into Lollard's tower, and there put into the stocks.

His wife also was sent to Lollard's tower; but the queen's sickness being mortal, upon the request of friends, giving sureties to be forthcoming, they were released; by which means it pleased God, that they escaped death.

It was known that some of Mr Living's books were at the house of one John Lithals, in Southwark; whereupon a constable, and some of the queen's servants went to that house, breaking open his doors and chests, and seizing upon the books; and afterwards, watching for Lithal's coming home, they apprehended him, and carried him to Darbishire's house, by whom he was examined, and after sent to Lollard's tower. By the way Cluny, and another dragged him into Paul's church, and there would have had him hear mass, which he refused: whereupon they carried him forthwith to Lollard's tower, and hanged him by the hands and feet in the stocks, where he lay three days, and three nights, till he was so lame that he could neither stir nor move. Then Cluny coming to him, he profered him some gold, and money which he had about him to release him out of the stocks, which Cluny accepted of, and so let him out. After he had lien there about three weeks, Bonner being sick at Fulham, many of his neighbours came to the chancellor, and made great suit for the release of Mr Lithal, and the queen's disease increasing upon her, they obtained their request, and he was released.

Edward Grew, minister at a town called Broke, was by the malice of his adversaries enforced to fly from his habitation; and though very aged, yet to travel up and down for the keeping of a good conscience. At last, notwithstanding his circumspection, he was apprehended, and carried to Colchester castle, where he remained a prisoner till the coming in of queen Elizabeth of happy memory, by which means he was released.

William Brown, minister of little Stanham, in Suffolk, for preaching a bold sermon against the mass, was persecuted by one Robert Blomefield, constable, who fetching the under sheriff for his assistance, in the night time they brake into the minister's house, and apprehended him, and the next day he should have been carried to the council: but it pleased God suddenly to strike the said Blomefield with sickness, so that he could not go with him. Then did the under sheriff send him prisoner to Ipswich, and from thence he was removed to Bury jail, and so at last he was sent to the council, by whom he was committed to the Fleet, where he lay divers months; but it pleased God to put such answers into his mouth when he was examined by the council, that at last they dismissed him, and he returned to his former charge: but when he still refused to say or to be present at mass, he was put out of his place, himself and wife being constrained to fly and hide themselves from the fury of their adversaries; till at last, not long before queen Mary's death, it pleased God to deliver this good man, by taking him to himself.

But a terrible hand of God followed Blomefield, his persecutor, both by sickness, and a consumption of his estate; so that being rich before, he became poor; also his eldest son, and his wife, died of a pining disease. Then he sought to repair his estate by marrying a rich widow, yet all would not do: his body was full of botches and sores, and shortly after he died, being wasted both in body and estate; so that he died much worse than nothing.

There was one Elizabeth Young, who to preserve her conscience from pollution, left the land, and fled to Embden: yet after a while, came back again, and brought with her divers good books, which she dispersed abroad amongst God's people; for which at last she was apprehended, and often examined before the inquisitors of heretical pravity: they asked her why she would not go to mass? She answered, because her conscience would not suffer her, and she had rather that all the world should accuse her than her own conscience. Then they called her traitorly whore, and heretic, and such like vile names, threatening to rack her, and burn her, and so returned her to prison, charging her keeper, that she should one day have bread, and the other day water; which when she heard, she said, 'If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger.'

Afterwards they examined her about the sacrament; to which she answered, That when she received the sacrament in spirit and faith, she received Christ: to which a doctor answered 'Ah whore, in spirit and faith, whore; hark thou ill favoured whore how I believe;' and so he told her how he believed about transubstantiation: to which she answered, and I Sir have told you how I believe: whereupon he replied, 'ah ill favoured whore; nothing but spirit and faith, whore?' After divers other examinations, two women suing for her release, she was at last discharged and set free.

There was dwelling in Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, an aged woman of sixty years old, called Elizabeth Lawson, who being apprehended for an heretic, because she would not go to church to hear mass, was cast into a dungeon; where having lien a while, she was removed first to Norwich, and then to Bury jail, and remaining constant in the truth, was at last condemned to be burnt. Then did the high sheriff take her home with him to his house, and assayed by all means both fair and foul to pervert her; but when nothing would prevail, he returned her to prison, and there she continued almost three years: during which time her son, and many others were burnt: whereupon she would often say, 'Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with others of thy children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine.'

At last queen Mary dying, she was delivered out of prison, and not long after resigned her soul to God.

This is very observable, that before her imprisonment she was much troubled with the falling sickness, but after she was cast into prison, she never had a fit more, but was in good health, and enjoyed much joy and comfort in her soul.

There was dwelling in the town of Seale in Kent, one William Watt's, who being apprehended by his popish enemies, was carried before the bishops and justices at Tunbridge, who laboured very much to withdraw him from the truth; but when by no means they could prevail, they committed him prisoner to the constable, who carried him to an alehouse, where the constable drank so liberally, that at last he fell asleep. Watt's his wife seeing this, persuaded her husband to go his ways, for as much as God hath made way for his escape: But William Watt's would by no means be persuaded thereunto, Whilst they were reasoning the case together, a stranger over hearing them, said to him, 'father, go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer; the Lord hath opened the way for thee.' Upon this Watt's went his way and his wife returned to her house at Seale: but whilst she was telling some friends of her husband's great deliverance, he came in amongst them; which when his wife saw, she was much troubled, and persuaded him by all means to haste away before search should be made after him: he answered, that he would first eat some meat, and pray with his family, which accordingly he did, and then went and hid himself in an holly bush hard by. But no sooner was he gone out of doors, but in came the constable, and many more with him, searching all the house, breaking open chests, and piercing the featherbeds, so that he made much spoil in the house: but it pleased the Lord to hide his servant, and to deliver him from the danger. His wife was carried to the stocks, where she lay two days before she was freed.

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In London was one Dabney a painter, a godly man, who being apprehended by an apparitor, was carried to Bonner; but when they came thither, they were bid to ſtand ſtill a while, becauſe the biſhop was buſy in examining of others; and before he had finiſhed with them, a meſſenger came in haſte, deſiring the biſhop to prepare himſelf ſpeedily, for that the general proceſſion tarried for him: then were all other buſineſſes laid aſide; the biſhop and his family haſting away to accompany the proceſſion, by reaſon whereof, Dabney was left alone: he ſeeing this, went down into the court, and there walked up and down in a melancholy poſture; the porter ſeeing him thus to walk alone, and thinking him to be ſome citizen that came about buſineſs, aſked him, if he would go forth; Yes, ſaid he, with a good will, if you will let me out: with that the porter opened the wicket, and let him depart. After this, much ſearch was made for him, but the Lord preſerved him from the danger.

Mr Alexander Whinſhurſt, a godly miniſter, being informed againſt to Bonner, he ſent forth one of his ſlies to apprehend him; who, after ſearch, meeting with him, took him, and carried him towards the biſhop's houſe: and as they went through Paul's church, Mr Whinſhurſt eſpied Dr Chadley walking there, who having been of his antient acquaintance in Oxford he intreated him, that for old acquaintance ſake, he would prevail ſo far, that he might be examined before Dr Martin, rather than any other: the doctor in ſcorn anſwered him with the words of Chriſt, 'When thou waſt young thou girdeſt thyſelf, and wenteſt whither thou wouldeſt; but being aged other men ſhould gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldeſt not.

Then was he carried to Story and Cooke, who laboured by all means, both fair and foul, to pervert him from the truth; but he carried himſelf very reſolutely before them, not ſhrinking at all from his former profeſſion.

Hereupon they ſent him to Clunie's houſe in Pater Noſter-row, by whom he was committed to Lollard's tower; but the Lord pleaſed ſo to order it, that when he came thither, Cluny and his family were very buſy, ſo that he was left alone in his hall; only there was another woman whoſe huſband was in trouble, about whom ſhe ſtaid to ſpeak with Cluny.

She ſeeing Mr Whinſhurſt ſtand there, ſaid to him, 'Alas! good Sir, if you pleaſe you may eſcape the hands of your cruel enemies; for as much as they be all abſent that ſhould look to you, whereby God hath opened the way for your deliverance, and therefore loſe not the opportunity if you be wiſe.' At theſe words he looked about him, and went out of doors, walking but a leiſurely pace, ſo that he might have been eaſily taken again, if any had looked after him; but it was God's will that he ſhould thus eſcape the fury of his adverſaries.

There was one Boſom's wife, who living at Richmond with her mother, was much called upon to go to church, and at length, through importunity, ſhe aſſented thereto; but when ſhe came to church, ſhe behaved herſelf in every thing contrary to that which others did; when they kneeled, ſhe ſtood; when they turned forwards, ſhe turned backwards, *&c.*

This her carriage was ſo public, that the church-warden and conſtable came, and attacked her in the queen's name, commanding her and her mother to meet them the next day at Kingſton: and accordingly the next morning they went thitherward, and meeting the officers at the ferry by the way, they ſaluted them by their names. The officers had no power to ſpeak unto them, but went their ways; but afterwards they ſtamped and ſtared, and were much vexed that they had thus let them go.

The woman ſeeing that they regarded them not, went back again; and the good woman retired herſelf to London, by which means the Lord mercifully delivered her from their cruelty.

There was dwelling at Windonham in Norfolk, the Lady Anne Knevet, being near an hundred years old, who all the time of Queen Mary kept herſelf from their popiſh church, neither ſuffered any of their papiſtical traſh to be adminiſtered in her houſe; but had the Engliſh ſervice daily performed, which was uſed in King Edward's days. For this ſhe and her family were many times threatened by meſſengers, that the biſhops would viſit her 'ere long; to whom ſhe ſtill anſwered, That if his lordſhip ſent word before hand, his entertainment ſhould be accordingly. But God, by his merciful providence, ſo overawed their hearts, that ſhe lived in ſafety all that troubleſome time: yea, though there were ſometimes preſent at her ſervice great enemies to the truth, and ſuch as had much authority; yet coming in, they would kneel down amongſt the reſt at prayer, and had no power to trouble her for the ſame.

This good lady was much given to hoſpitality, and entertained into her houſe many of the perſecuted members of Jeſus Chriſt; and though they were never ſo poor, they were looked upon by her as friends to the goſpel, and not ſuffered to depart without meat and money.

Alſo the lady Elizabeth Vane was a great harbourer and ſupporter of the afflicted martyrs and confeſſors of Chriſt, for which ſhe was oftentimes in great danger, and yet God mercifully delivered her.

There was in Suſſex one Mrs Roberts, a godly and virtuous gentlewoman, who all the time of Queen Mary's reign, was earneſtly addicted to the truth, and never went to their popiſh ſervice, nor would pollute her conſcience with hearing their idolatrous maſs: and not far from her, there dwelled Sir John Gilford, a juſtice of peace, who was as fervent on the contrary to promote popery: he hearing of her, firſt ſent his wife to tempt her by fair words, and gentle perſuaſions to go to church, and to obey the queen's laws as others did; but ſhe, conſtantly adhering to the truth, would by no means be perſuaded to defile her conſcience with their idolatrous ſervice.

Then did Sir John Gilford ſend his officers and ſervants to carry her by force to church; but by the way as they carried her, ſhe, through anguiſh and grief of ſpirit, fell into a ſwoon, ſo that they were forced to carry her home again.

Afterwards Sir John went himſelf to her houſe, reſolving, whatever came of it, to have her to church: but, behold the good providence of God! juſt as Sir John Gilford was going up the ſtairs to her chamber, he was taken with ſuch violent and terrible pains of the gout, that he could go no further; and ſo was fain himſelf to be carried home, proteſting and ſwearing, that he would never trouble this gentlewoman any more: and ſo, through God's mercy, ſhe eſcaped the danger.

There was alſo in Nottinghamſhire, one Mrs Lacy, a very holy woman, againſt whom, through the malice of her adverſaries, a proceſs was ſent forth and ſhe was driven to ſuch ſtraits, that ſhe was forced to hide her Bible, and ſome other good books in a dunghill. She had one of her own brothers a juſtice of peace, but he being a papiſt, ſhewed her little favour: yet, though kindred failed, God did not fail her; for before ſhe was apprehended, it pleaſed God that Queen Mary died; and ſo ſhe eſcaped the danger.

There was in Norfolk one Croſman's wife, a good woman, who being taken notice of for her not coming to church, the conſtable of the Hundred came to apprehend her. She had a young child that juſt at that time was crying very hard; but it pleaſed God, that as the conſtable came in with his company, the child gave over crying, and the mother having notice of the danger, ſlipped with the child in her arms, into a corner behind the chimney; the child continued quiet all the time that they were ſearching the houſe, and when they could not find her they departed: and ſo the poor woman, through God's merciful providence, eſcaped the danger.

There was at the town of Stoke in Suffolk, a great number of godly people, with whom, by reaſon of their number and unanimity, the biſhops were afraid to meddle. They kept conſtantly to their private meetings, and came not at all to the popiſh ſervice: yet at laſt an order was ſent to them, that within ſixteen days after Eaſter, they ſhould all receive the popiſh ſacrament, or elſe ſtand to the peril that would follow.

Hereupon theſe godly people meeting together, conſidered what to do, and reſolved that none of them would receive it: only there was one John Foxe that was very urgent with his wife to obey the order, and prevailed with

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the priest to come and give it her the seventh day after Easter; but the day before she went to the meeting and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her: they bade her be of good chear, for they would make their earnest prayers unto the Lord both for her and her husband, and accordingly they did so; and thro' God's mercy they found success; for the very next day John Foxe came of his own accord unto them, and confessed and bewailed his rashness and inconsiderateness, promising, through God's help, to be more strong in the faith, to the great comfort both of them and his wife.

About half a year after, the bishop of Norwich sent his apparitors amongst these good people, straitly charging them to go to church the Sunday following, or else presently to appear before the commissary, to render an account of their absence: but they, having notice before hand of the apparitor's coming, kept themselves out of the way, to avoid the summons: and so not being at church at the time appointed, nor appearing before the commissary, he first suspended them, and three weeks after excommunicated them: and when an officer was appointed to apprehend some of them, they absented themselves out of the town, and so escaped the danger all queen Mary's time.

No less wonderful was God's mercy to the private congregation in London, whom he preserved all Queen Mary's reign, notwithstanding all the malice and searchings of their adversaries, and the strictness of the laws against them. First when they were to have met in Blackfriar's, at Sir Thomas Carden's house, privy watch was set for the apprehending of them; but through the Lord's vigilant eye over them, the mischief was prevented, and they escaped the danger.

Also, when they were met about Aldgate, some spies were sent to discover them; but it pleased God, that Thomas Simpson the deacon, espying them, bad them presently disperse themselves, which if they had not done, they had been all taken, the constable coming presently after to search for them.

Another time, about the great conduit in Cheapside, as they passed through a little alley into a clothworker's chamber, where they were to meet together, they were espied by some of their adversaries, and the sheriffs were presently sent for to apprehend them; but they being privily warned of the danger, presently departed, one of the Bishops Sumner's looking on, but having no power, or else fearing to meddle with them.

At another time, they publicly assembled together in a ship at Billingsgate, that belonged to a godly man of Ley, where, though the people took notice of them, yet, thro' God's mercy, they were freed from danger. Yea, twice or thrice, they assembled together in another ship, between Ratcliff and Redriff, where they had prayers, preaching, and the sacrament administered; and though many took notice of it, yet non meddled with them.

At another time, being met together at an honest cooper's house in Pudding lane; whilst they were there, the bishop's officer came into the house, and having talked a while with the goodman of the house, went away again, having no power to meddle with them.

Another eminent danger they escaped in Thames-street, near the water, where being met together in the night, they were discovered, and the house beset that none should escape; but there being an honest mariner amongst them, he seeing no other way to avoid the danger, slipt out at a back door, and swam to a boat, and bringing it thither, took all these good people, and making oars of his shoes, conveyed them away from the danger.

Sometimes some were sent to spy out their doings, and to take their names; but when they came thither, God hath so wrought upon them, that themselves have been caught, and have asked them forgiveness for their wicked purpoles against them.

We have heard before of the extreme danger that they were in at the taking of Mr Rough their minister, and Mr Simpson their deacon, if God by a dream had not warned Mr Rough, to charge Mr Simpson to lay aside that book wherein all their names were contained.

This congregation began presently after Queen Mary entered into her reign, and were sometimes more, sometimes less; sometimes two hundred in number: and towards the latter end of Queen Mary they much increased. They had also divers ministers first Mr Scamler, then Mr Foule, then Mr Rough, then Mr Bernher, and lastly Mr Bentham, who in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was made bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. This Mr Bentham escaped wonderfully, when the last seven martyrs (mentioned before) were burned in Smithfield: the occasion and manner was this; when these prisoners were brought forth of Newgate, a proclamation was made, in the king and queen's name, straitly commanding that none should pray for them nor speak to them, nor once say, God help them; notwithstanding which, this godly company resolved to go to, and comfort the prisoners; and accordingly, as they were guarded with bills and glaves, they press'd towards them and forcing their guard from them, they embraced and kiss'd them, carrying them in their arms (whereas they might as easily have conveyed them away) to the place where they were to suffer. Then giving way to the officers, these martyrs were led to the stake, and the forementioned proclamation was again published, notwithstanding which Mr Bentham inflamed with zeal and Christian charity, when he was set to them turning to the people, with a loud voice said, 'We know that these are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and pray to God to strengthen them;' and so turning to them, he prayed to Almighty God to strengthen them. whereupon all the people, with one consent, said, Amen; which did so confound the officers, that they knew not whom to accuse, or whom to apprehend.

Not long before Queen Mary's death, the city of Calais in France which had been two hundred and eleven years in the possession of the English, was taken by the bloody duke of Guise, who put multitudes of persons of all ages and sexes to the sword. At which time there were many godly persons in that town; and the Lord, whose wakeful eyes of providence do continually watch over his so ordered, that few or none at all of those that favoured Christ and his gospel, in that terrible massacre miscarried: and, amongst others that escaped after a wonderful manner, there was one John Thorpe, and his wife, a godly couple, who, lying sick at that time, were cast out into the fields, in a hopeless and helpless condition also, a young infant that sucked upon the mother, was taken in the fields and born away by the soldiers; yet, behold the admirable providence of God! they were by strangers fetched to a place almost a mile off; and, being recovered the next day, as they travelled towards England, they chanced into the same inn, where they found their young child, and so came all over in safety.

In the second year of Queen Mary, there was one Edward Bennet, dwelling at Queenhithe, who was desired to carry a New Testament to a godly man that was prisoner in Newgate; but as he went in, the keeper discovered it, and thereupon carried him before Chomley the recorder, who, after examination, committed him to the Compter in Woodstreet, where he continued twenty five weeks. Then Dr Story coming to examine other prisoners, Bennet, looking out at a grate, desired him to be good to him, and to help him out of prison: 'Yea, said Story, thou hast been with me before, and dost not believe in the sacrament, and therefore I will help thee out;' and so he took him, and delivered him to Cluny, to be put into the bishop's coal house, and there he lay in the stocks for a week.

Then Bonner sent for him, and examined him, and finding him constant in the truth, sent him back again, saying, that shortly he should go to Fulham and be whipt. Afterwards they sent Dr Cranmer's recantation to him, hoping thereby to draw him to recant; but he answered, that his faith was not founded on any man's books, but upon his that had redeemed him.

Two or three days after, he, with five more, were sent for to come to the bishop's chappel to mass; at the end whereof those five were returned to prison, and afterwards burned: but Bennet being behind, and walking towards the gate, the porter opened it for company to go out; and so Bennet going out amongst them, escaped.

Afterwards, he being amongst those that were appre-

hended at Iſlington. Bennet with ſeven more was left behind; yet he went after the reſt to the biſhop's houſe, and knocked at the gate to come in: the porter ſaid that he was none of the company; 'Yes, ſaid he, but I am.' and knocked again: but the porter not opening the door one of the congregation that ſtood by ſaid, 'Edward thou haſt done well; do not tempt God; go thy way.' And to he, taking this warning as ſent of God, departed, and thereby eſcaped the danger.

There was in the town of Shakerley, in Lancaſhire one Jeffery Hurſt, who by his father was bound apprentice to a ſailor; and when he came out of his time, having a great mind to get knowledge, he learned to read and write, and afterwards got him a bible, and other good books, whereby he attained a good meaſure of knowledge in the ſcriptures. Then he married the ſiſter of Mr George Marſh, of whoſe martyrdom we have heard before, by whoſe ſociety he much bettered his knowledge, and was careful to walk anſwerable thereunto. But in the firſt year of Queen Mary, he abſtaining from their idolatrous ſervices, was taken notice of, and often reproached for a lollard and heretic; and at laſt they lay in wait to apprehend him, which he having notice of, was compelled to leave wife, child and all, and to fly into Yorkſhire: yet divers times he returned by night to viſit and comfort his wife, and uſually brought with him ſome good miniſter or other; at which time, about twenty honeſt perſons uſed to repair to his houſe, and ſo they ſpent the night in prayer, preaching, and ſometimes adminiſtering the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; and ſo away before the day brake leſt he ſhould be diſcovered.

Not far from his houſe there dwelt one Juſtice Leland, who having notice one time of J Hurſt's coming home, took a prieſt and ſome others with him, to ſearch his houſe for him; but it pleaſed God that J. Hurſt had notice of their coming, and ſo hid all his books in a great tub and then crept himſelf under it, and they covered him with ſtraw; only in his chamber window he willingly left a part of the Bible, and Tindal's New Teſtament in Engliſh and another book or two. When the juſtice and his company came into the houſe, they made a diligent ſearch for him and his books, breaking open his cheſts and boxes &c. At laſt they found theſe books in his chamber window; then the juſtice aſked the prieſt what books they were? he told him that one was Tindal's Teſtament, which was plain hereſy, and none worſe than it: and for the other books they were not fit to be looked on, for they might do much harm. Then the juſtice aſked his mother (an aged woman of about ſixty) and one of his brothers, where Jeffery was? They anſwered, they could not tell. Then he ſwore by God's body he would have him, and if his mother would not tell where he was, he would lay her in Lancaſter dungeon.

But to be brief, he bound the mother and brother in an hundred pound bond, to bring in Jefferey within fourteen days, and ſo departed.

When the time came, Jefferey and his ſiſter went to the juſtice, who cauſed a maſs to be ſung, and bad Jefferey firſt to go and ſee his Maker, and then he would talk further with him: Jefferey anſwered, 'Sir, my Maker is in heaven; and ſure I am that by going to your maſs I ſhall get no edification; and therefore pray you have me excuſed.' The juſtice replied, by God, I ſhall find you an heretic, but I will not loſe the maſs for all your prating; and ſo he went into the chappel. When maſs was ended, he ſent for them, and cauſed his prieſt to read a long ſcroll unto them about the ſeven ſacraments: after which the juſtice threatened them; yet at length he ſuffered them to depart, putting in ſureties to appear again at three weeks end, and then to go to Lancaſter jail. But it pleaſed God that four days before the time appointed, news came down of the queen's death, whereby they eſcaped.

Not long after this, Juſtice Leland, ſitting in his chair, and talking with his friends, fell down ſuddenly, and died, never ſo much as once ſtirring after.

There was living in Kent one Thomas Wood, a baker, who being convented before Dr Kennel chancellor, Dr Chadſey, and ſome others; at his appearance they aſked him why he came not to church, and whether he had received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? he anſwered, that he had not, neither durſt receive it as they adminiſtered it.

Kenall. 'Thou heretic, what's the reaſon that thou daſt not receive it?'

Wood. 'There are three cauſes why I dare not do it: 1. Becauſe ye eat and drink up all alone; whereas Chriſt ſaith, 'Eat ye; drink ye all of this,' &c. 2. Becauſe ye hold it up to be worſhipped, contrary to God's command, 'Thou ſhalt not bow down nor worſhip.' 3. Becauſe ye adminiſter it in a ſtrange tongue, contrary to St Paul's rule.'

Kenall. 'Thou heretic, are not theſe words plain enough, 'This is my body?' wilt thou deny the ſcripture?'

Wood. 'I will not deny the ſcripture; God forbid; Chriſt ſaith, 'I am the Vine; I am the Door; the Rock is Chriſt:' all which are figurative ſpeeches, wherein one thing is ſpoken, and another thing is underſtood.'

Kenall. 'Theſe heretics will not learn: art thou wiſer than the queen and her counſel, and all learned men of the realm?'

Wood. 'St Paul ſaith, The wiſdom of the wiſe of this world is fooliſhneſs before God:' and, 'If a man will be wiſe, he muſt become a fool that he may be wiſe.'

Kenall. 'Doſt not thou believe, that after the prieſt hath ſpoken theſe words, 'This is my body,' that there remains no more bread and wine, but the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt, as he was born of the Virgin, and did hang upon the croſs.'

Wood. 'I pray you, Mr Chancellor, give me leave to aſk you another queſtion: when God commanded Ezekiel to ſhave off his hair, and to burn a third part in the fire, and this, ſaith he, is Jeruſalem? I pray you, was it hair that was burnt, or Jeruſalem?'

Kenall. 'It did ſignify Jeruſalem.'

Wood. 'Even ſo the words of Chriſt, 'This is my body,' are to be underſtood &c.

Chadſey. 'I will prove that Chriſt is here preſent under the form of bread and wine, but not in quantity and quality.'

Kenall. 'Yes, here preſent in quantity and quality.'

Chadſey. 'He is here preſent under a form, but not in quantity and quality.' Yes, ſaid the one; No, ſaid the other. Whereupon the contention grew ſo hot between the doctors, that they foamed again: and Dr Kenall, in a great rage, roſe up and departed the church.

Then ſaid Wood, 'Behold, good people, they would have us to believe that which they do not believe themſelves, nor can agree upon. This cauſed all the people to give a great ſhout; and thus, as God delivered Paul by dividing his judges, the phariſees and ſadducees, between themſelves, ſo he delivered this his ſervant by dividing theſe doctors between themſelves.

Mr Thomas Horton, a godly miniſter in the reign of Queen Mary, flying, amongſt many others, beyond ſea, made it a great part of his work to travel between Germany and England, to procure means for the relief of the poor exiles which lived in baniſhment for the truth's ſake: and one time, as he paſſed between Maſtrick and Cullen, he fell into the hands of ſome rovers, who led him away with them; but being in great danger, the Lord was pleaſed wonderouſly to deliver him out of the hands of theſe bloody villains, whoſe name be praiſed for the ſame.

There was one Thomas Sprat, ſometime a ſervant to Mr Brent, a juſtice in Kent, who becauſe his maſter was a cruel perſecutor of the truth, left his ſervice, and went to Calice, from whence he often uſed to come into England, together with one William Porrege, about their neceſſary affairs; and about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary it fell out, that they landing at Dover, were travelling on foot towards Sandwich; and as they were upon the way, they met with Mr Brent, and the two Blachendens, with their ſervants, being ten or twelve horſemen; and though Thomas Sprat eſpying Mr Brent, was much diſmaid, ſaying to his friend, 'Yonder is Mr Brent, the Lord deliver us out of his hands; but ſeeing there is no remedy, let us go forwards:' and ſo ſhadowing his face with his cloak, they went on. Mr Brent hear-

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ed them not; but one of his servants looking better upon them, said to his master, Yonder goes Thomas Sprat: at which words they all stopped their horses, and called to Thomas Sprat to come to them. 'They call you, said W. Porrege, and therefore there is no remedy but we must be taken;' and thereupon persuaded him to go to them, for that there was no means of escaping, themselves being on foot upon those plain downs, and the other on horse back; yet Sprat would not go: whereupon they called him again, and Mr Brent said, 'Ah sirrah, why come you not when you are called?' his companion likewise still moved him to go, seeing there was no way for him to fly away: No, said Sprat, I will not go to them; and with-al ran away. They seeing that, set spurs to their horses, and rode after him; but before they overtook him, he gat to an hedge, and made shift to scramble through it; yet they were so near him, that they struck at him with their swords: then they rode to the end of the hedge, and so pursued him; but before they came to him, he was gotten to a steep hill, which they could not ride down; and so getting to a wood, he escaped, notwithstanding all their diligence.

Then did two of them question with William Porrege, asking him whence he came, and how he came into Sprat's company? he answered, that they came from Calais, and happened into the same passage-boat, and that they were going to Sandwich; and so without any more ado let him depart; wherein God's goodness did also marvelously appear, for that one of the Blachenden's knew this Porrege, but as God would have it, he was following the chace of Sprat, till the other had dismissed him: and thus the Lord wonderfully delivered these his servants from this danger.

There was also one John Cornet, apprentice to a minstrel at Colchester, who being sent to a wedding in a town called Roughedge, at the request of some, sang a song against the mass, and misproceedings of the queen, for which he was accused by a priest, and first imprisoned by the constable, and afterwards sent to the earl of Oxford, who caused him to be put into irons and chains, and to be so manacled, that the blood sprang out at his finger-ends. In this case his master forsook him; and his mother, instead of relieving, fell a cursing of him; yet it pleased God so to order it, that the earl, instead of sending him to bishop Bonner, as his manner was, who would certainly have burned him, commanded him to be sent back to Roughedge, and there to be whipped till blood followed, and so to be banished the town for ever, which was done accordingly, and thereby he escaped further danger.

There was also one Thomas Brice, who being in the house of John Scale, in the town of Hortin-g, the bailiff, with some others, came into the house to search for him; and though they knew his stature, and what apparrel he wore, yet the Lord so blinded them, that when he stood before them, and they asked for him, yet they knew him not; and he, before their faces, quietly took up his bag of books and departed, and they had no power to lay hands on him.

And at another time, he, with one Springfield, being in an house in Gravesend, a promoter dogged them thither, and had so beset the house, and all the way to the water side, that it had been impossible for them to escape, but that the Lord stirred up an hostler in the same house to convey them by a back and private way to the water side, a mile off the town; by which means, thro' God's gracious protection, they were delivered.

CHAP. LXIV.

The great troubles, and wonderful deliverance of the Lady Katharine, dutchess dowager of Suffolk: who was the only daughter and heir to the Lord William, baron of Willoughby and Eresby, and the last wife of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

IN the first year of Queen Mary's reign, Steven Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, knowing this good dutchess to be no friend of his, intended first to work his revenge upon her husband, Richard Berty, Esq; for whom he sent an attachment by the sheriff of Lincolnshire, whom he straitly charged immediately to attach the said Richard, and without taking bail, to bring him up to London. Mr Berty having a clear conscience, and not knowing wherein he had offended the queen, could not conjecture what should be the cause of this strange process, except it were some quarrel for religion. Yet the sheriff out of respect to him, notwithstanding the strait charge adventured to take bond of him for his appearing before the bishop on Good Friday following. And accordingly Mr Berty, at the time appointed made his appearance at Winchester house in Southwark which the bishop being informed of, came forth in a great rage to him, asking him how he durst so arrogantly set light by two former processes of the queen's? Mr Berty answered that he now perceived that whereas he thought it before great extremity to be attached at the first, having shewed no contumacy: yet now he gathered by his lordship's words, that he had formerly sent some ordinary processes for him which yet never came to his hands.

Winchester. 'Yea marry, I have sent two *sub pœna's*, and that by no worse a man than by Mr Solicitor, which I know came to your hands, and therefore I will make you an example to all others for your obstinacy.

Berty. 'I never received any, and therefore I humbly desire your lordship to suspend your displeasure, and the punishment, till you know the truth, and then if I have deserved it, I refuse not double punishment.

Winchester. 'Well, I have set this day apart for devotion, according to the holiness of it, and therefore I enjoyn you in a thousand pound bond, not to depart without leave, and to appear again to morrow by seven o'clock.

Accordingly Mr Berty appeared at the time appointed; whereupon the bishop said to him, 'It is the queen's pleasure that you shall presently pay four thousand due to her father, from Dr Charles, late husband to your dutches, whose executrix she was.

Berty. 'If it please your lordship, that debt is estalled, and according thereto truly answered.

Winchester. 'Tush, the queen will not be put off with estalments in the time of Kett's government (so in scorn he called the governmet of king Edward.)

Berty. 'The estallment was appointed by king Henry the VIII. and by special commissioners confirmed by king Edward, which the lord treasurer, being another executor, undertook to discharge.

Winchester. 'If that be true, I will shew you favour; but Mr Berty, I must admonish you of another thing, because I mean you well; I hear ill of your religion; and pray you is your lady now as forward to set up mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused a dog in a rochet to be carried with her, which she called by my name? Or doth she now think her lambs as safe as she did when she saw me vail my bonnet to her out of my window in the tower; at which time she said, that it was merry with the lambs, when the wolf was shut up. And at another time when my lord her husband invited me amongst other lords to dinner, desiring every lady to chose him whom she liked best, and so place themselves together; your lady taking me by the hand, said, that seeing she might not sit by her husband whom she liked best, she had chosen me whom she loved worst.

Berty. 'My lord, of the device of the dog she was neither the author, nor allower: for her words she can answer herself; and for the mass, she hath from learned men be taught to abhor it, and therefore if she should outwardly allow it, she should be a false Christian to Christ, and a masquing subject to her prince. You knew my lord, one judgment reformed, is better than a thousand transformed temporizers.

Winchester. 'Yea marry, deliberation is good, if she were to come from an old religion to a new; but she is to return from a new one to an old one; when I was her ghostly father, she was as earnest a papist as any.

Berty. 'To this, my lord she told a friend lately, that religion went not by age, but by truth, and therefore she was to be turned by argument, not by compulsion.

Winchester. 'Pray you, do you think it possible to persuade her?

Berty.

Berty. 'I trust you shall find no fruits of infidelity in her.'

Then did the bishop persuade Mr Berty to take pains in her conversion promising him large favours thereupon, and so dismissed him.

When Mr Berty was returned home, he and his dutchess had frequent informations from their friends, that the bishop intended to call her to an account for her faith, and therefore they devised how by the queen's license, they might go beyond sea, for which they had good occasion, there being great sums of money due to Dr Charles from the emperor, and divers others. And therefore in pursuance thereof, Mr Berty made such friends to the queen that he obtained her license to pass and repass at his pleasure. And accordingly in the first year of queen Mary's reign, he went beyond sea, leaving his dutchess behind him, who yet by agreement betixt them, followed ere long; the manner whereof followeth.

She dwelt at this time in her house called the Barbican; and when she was to go, she acquainted none of her servants with it, but one old gentleman; neither did she take any but the meanest of her servants with her, fearing lest the best would not run so dangerous an adventure She took also her young daughter, being but a year old.

As she departed from her house between four and five o'clock in the morning, an herauld that lay in her house, hearing some noise, rose up, and with a toren in his hand came down, so that she fearing to be discovered, was forced to leave most of her child's necessaries behind her, and commanded her servants to haste away to the Lion Key taking with herself only two women, and her child. She was no sooner out of doors, but the herauld followed; whereupon she stepped into the Charterhouse gate, that he could not see her; yet the herauld finding the bundle of her child's cloaths, fell to ransacking of them, and she in the mean time hasted away, knowing the place only by name where she should take boat. Her servants also having divided themselves, none but one of them knew the way thither. Thus she, attired in a mean habit, and they that were with her, took their way into Finsbury fields: where, by the especial providence of God near Moorgate, she and all her company met together: and so they went directly to Lion Key. There a barge was ready for her, but the morning was so extream misty that the stearsman feared to adventure out, but that they urged him thereunto.

Not long after, the council was informed of her departure, whereupon some of them came presently to her house to search out the manner of her escape, and to inventory her goods: and withal they appointed searchers to apprehend and stay her: so that the fame of her departure was at Leigh, a town at the land's end, before she got thither.

When she arrived there, the old gentleman before spoken of, had her privately to a merchant's house, near Leigh, naming her mistress White, there she stayed till she had made some new provision for her child in the room of that left behind her at the Barbican.

When the time came that she was to take ship, she was again almost discovered: but through God's merciful providence, escaped that danger also: and being twice carried into the seas, almost within the sight of Zealand, by contrary winds, was both times driven back to the place whence she came; and at her last return, the searchers suspecting that she might be in that ship, examined her servant that came to provide some fresh victuals, who framed his tale in such a simple manner of a mean merchant's wife that was a shipboard, that they ceased to search any further: and so at last, through God's merciful providence, she arrived safely in Barbant, where she met with her husband, who apparelled her and her women like the Netherlandish frowns, and so they travelled together towards Cleveland: and coming to Santon, they took a house therein to shroud themselves, till they had resolved whither to retire for their further safety.

About five miles from this place, was Wesell, an hanse town in the duke of Cleves dominion, to which place many Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister, one Francis de Rivers, who having formerly been in England, had received some courtesies from this good dutchess: him therefore did Mr Berty make use of to obtain leave of the magistrates for their private living there: but ere this could be effected, there was a muttering in Santon, that they were greater personages then they gave themselves out to be; so that the bishop and magistrates resolved together, suddenly to apprehend and examine them, both of their condition and religion; but God's wakeful eye of providence stirred up a gentleman of Santon to give Mr Berty secret notice of this their purpose; whereupon taking only his wife, child, and two women, he walked about three o'clock in the afternoon in the month of February, as it were but to take the air, purposing that night to get to Wesell; and the better to conceal his intention, they went on foot, and left the rest of their family at Santon.

They had not gone above an English mile, before there fell a mighty rain, which dissolved the frost and ice, and so made the ways deep and slippery, which proved extream tedious to these new lacquies, never before accustomed to such walks; and so their march being but slow, they were overtaken by the night, which caused them to send their women to some villages which they passed by, to hire them a cart to ride in for the ease of their wearied limbs, but none could be gotten, so that in the mean time Mr Berty was forced to carry the child, and the dutchess his cloak and rapier.

At last near seven o'clock in the dark night they came to Wesell, seeking, after such a tedious journey to repose and refresh their wearied limbs in an inn. But going from inn to inn, through the whole town, they all refused to entertain them, though they profered large money for the same: the inholders suspecting Mr Berty to be a Lanceknight, and the dutches to be his trull. In the mean time the poor babe cried bitterly: the dutchess wept as fast, the weather was extream cold, and the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.

Mr Berty destitute of all worldly succour and relief for him and his, in this their deplorable condition, resolved to have his dutchess, with her infant, into the porch of the great church, and so to buy some coals, food and straw for their repose that night, or at least till he could procure some better lodging.

Mr Berty at this time could speak little Dutch and could meet with none that could speak either English, French, Italian or Latin, till at length passing towards the church porch, he heard two boys talking in Latin together: whereupon stepping to them he promised them two stivers to bring him to a Waloon's house; and so, through God's goodness, he at last happened upon the house where monsieur de Rivers supped that night, who had procured the protection of the magistrates for them.

At the first knocking the good man of the house came to the door, asking Mr Berty what he was? He told him that he was an English gentleman, that desired to be brought to monsieur de Rivers his house: the man wished him to stay a while, and so going back to his guests, told monsieur de Rivers that he thought that the English gentleman, whom a little before he was speaking of, had sent his man to speak with him: monsieur de Rivers going to the door, and seeing Mr Berty, his dutchess and infant in that lamentable case with rain, mire and dirt, and in apparel so unlike to that which he had formerly seen them in England, was so overwhelmed with sorrow and tears, that for a good while he could neither speak to them, nor they to him: yet at last they saluted each other, and he brought them into the house, into which they entred, God knows, full joyfully. Mr Berty changing his apparel with the good man of the house, the dutches with his wife, and their infant with the child of the house.

A few days after monsieur de Rivers helped them to hire a fair house in the town, where discovering themselves more freely, they lived in such a good fashion as their present condition would afford The discourtesy which the inn keepers had shewed them at their first coming to town was presently spoken of all abroad, insomuch as a godly minister, the Sabbath following openly reproved their incivility towards strangers, shewing, that not only princes sometimes are entertained in the habit of private

vate perſons, but angels alſo in the ſhape of men, &c. Whilſt they thus paſſed the time in ſome content after their tedious travels, hoping that they had found a reſting place, they had private notice give them by Sir. John Maſon, queen Mary's embaſſador in the Netherlands, that a deſign was laid for their apprehenſion, and carrying back into England, by the lord Paget; and the plot was this, the duke of Brunſwick being to paſs by that city with ten companies of ſoldiers to aſſiſt the houſe of Auſtria againſt the king of France, was ſuddenly to apprehend and carry them away from Weſell. Mr Berty being informed of this, was fain preſently to take his dutches and his child, and to fly into the Palatinate, where he found protection in Winebeim, till the means which he brought with him out of England was almoſt ſpent, and they began to faint under their heavy burdens, being almoſt out of heart and hope in this their diſtreſſed condition. At which time it pleaſed God wonderfully to provide for them by a way and means that they never dreamed of.

In the firſt part of my marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, you may in the life of John a Laſco, read, that he being driven out of England in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, after many troubles and adventures, returned into Poland, his native country, where he found great favour with the king; and underſtanding the condition of Mr Berty and his dutches, whom he had known in England, he made report thereof to the king of Poland, and the palatine of Vilna, who preſently wrote to them to come into Poland, offering them great kindneſs if they would accept of their invitation. Yet conſidering that hereby they ſhould remove further from their native ſoil, and from all their acquaintance, into a far country; and at their arrival there, it might be, they ſhould not find their entertainment anſwerable to their toil and hazard in their journey; they knew not well what to do: whereupon they adviſed with Mr Barlow, ſometimes biſhop of Chicheſter, who was then in the palatinate, deſiring him to go before them to Poland, and by him they ſent letters to the king, and palatine of Vilna, returning them many thanks for their kind profers; by him they alſo preſented them with ſome jewels which were all the remainder of thoſe which they had brought out of England: deſiring the king under his broad ſeal, to aſſure them of that which by his letters he had ſo honourably profered to them.

Mr Barlow arriving ſafely with his letters, by the aſſiſtance of the palatine of Vilna, eaſily procured what they deſired. Whereupon the dutches, with her huſband and family began their journey towards Poland, in April *anno Chriſti* 1557.

By the way they met with many dangers: one was occaſioned by a captain of the Lantgrave's, who for a ſpaniel of Mr Bertye's, quarreled with them and with his horſemen fet upon them by the way, thruſting their bore-ſpears through the wagon, wherein the women and children were, yet through God's mercy, none of them were hurt. Mr Berty had only four horſemen with him, and in the brabble the captain's horſe were ſlain under him Preſently a rumour was ſpread all over the country, that the Lantgrave's captain was ſlain, which exceedingly incenſed the common people againſt them, it being reported that they were Walloons which had done it. The dutches underſtanding the danger that they were in, perſuaded her huſband to leave them, and by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe to recover ſome town for his ſafety, till they came to him. Mr Berry attempting this, was eagerly purſued by the countrymen; and the captain's brother, who thought, that according to the report, the captain had been ſlain indeed; and in the purſuit they came ſo near unto him, that he had certainly been murdered, but that, as God would have it, ſpying a ladder that leaned againſt a window, he left his horſe, and ran up the ladder, whereby he got into a cock loft on the top of the houſe, where, with his rapier and dagger, he defended himſelf for a ſpace: and it pleaſed God that the burgomaſter, and another magiſtrate that could ſpeak Latin came to the houſe, and perſuaded him to ſubmit himſelf to the order of the law. Mr Berty knowing himſelf to be clear, and the captain to be alive, was content to yield himſelf to them upon condition that the magiſtrate would promiſe him ſafety, and to protect him from the rude multitude: this the magiſtrate promiſed, whereupon he delivered up his weapons and himſelf into his hands, and was committed to ſafe cuſtody till the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tried.

Then did Mr Berty preſently write to the Lantgrave, and to the earl of Erbagh, declaring his caſe unto them. The next morning the earl of Erbagh came to the town, whither the dutches alſo with her waggon was now come. The earl having heard of the dutcheſs before, went to her, and carried himſelf with much civility and reſpect towards her: whereupon the townſ-men ſeeing how ſubmiſſively the earl behaved himſelf, and by this time underſtanding the captain to be alive, both they and the other authors of that ſtir began to ſhrink away, making all the friends they could to Mr Berty and the dutches, that they would not report their doings after the worſt ſort. And thus, thro' God's merciful providence, eſcaping this great danger, they proceeded on in their journey, and through the ſame good hand of providence arrived at laſt in ſafety in Poland, where, by the king they were entertained with all curteſy and humanity; and the king alſo placed them ſafely and honourably in the earldom of Crozan, in which place they had abſolute power of government, the ſame which the king himſelf formerly had, ſo that it proved to them as a quiet haven after a tempeſtuous ſea, and there they lived with much honour and comfort till the death of queen Mary.

CHAP. LXV.

The troubles of many of thoſe which fled for Religion in Queen Mary's days beyond the Seas, eſpecially at Frankford.

MANY godly perſons, miniſters, and others, ſeeing the change of religion by queen Mary, and the ſtorm of perſecution ariſing, that they might reſerve themſelves for better times, fled beyond ſea, and June 27. 1554 Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood, with their companies, arrived at Frankford, which were the firſt Engliſhmen that deſired to make there abode their.

The ſame night of their arrival came to them Mr Valeran Pullen, one of the miniſters of the French church, and told them that he had obtained of the magiſtrates a church for all ſuch as ſhould come out of England for the goſpel's ſake, eſpecially from Glaſtenbury, who were Frenchmen. To which they anſwered, That they had great cauſe to praiſe God who had ſtirred up the hearts of the magiſtrates to ſhew ſuch favour to the French; but ſeeing few of them who were already, or ſhould hereafter come from England, underſtood the French tongue, it would not be convenient for them to join themſelves to that church.

Hereupon the next day the conferred with Mr Morellio, another miniſter of the French church, and with Mr Caſtalio, an elder of the ſame, both of them godly and learned men, by whoſe advice they concluded that a ſupplication ſhould be drawn up and preſented to the magiſtrates to know whether they would ſuffer, both ſuch as were already come, and ſuch others as might repair thither from England, to remain ſafely within their city. This ſupplication was ſubſcribed by Mr Sutton, Mr Whittingham, and the reſt of the Engliſh; as alſo by Mr Morellio, Caſtalio, and one Adrian a citizen, with whom they lodged.

The magiſtrates granted this requeſt: whereupon July 8. by the advice of Morellio and Caſtalio, who ſhewed themſelves fathers to all Engliſh men ſo long as they lived, addreſs was made to Mr John Glawberge, one of the chief ſenators, for a place or church, where they and all other their countrymen, might have God's word truly preached, and the ſacraments ſincerely adminiſtred in the Engliſh tongue. He promiſed them kindly his furtherance, and accordingly moved it to the whole ſenate, and July 24. it was granted that they ſhould have liberty to preach and adminiſter the ſacraments in the church, which the Frenchmen had, each other day in the week, and upon Sabbath days at different hours: but withal it was required that the Engliſh ſhould agree with the French in doctrine and ceremonies, that ſo they might give no offence to them. They were alſo required to approve and ſubſcribe the ſame confeſſion of faith, which the French men had then preſented,

ſented, and were about to publiſh in print, which was accordingly done by all the aforenamed, and by ſome others which by this time were come to them.

Thus far God's mercy did greatly appear to them. But Satan envying their peace and welfare, when they had withdrawn themſelves from the reach of their common enemies the papiſts, ſhortly after he ſet them at diſcord amongſt themſelves, raiſing up a perſecution where they leaſt expected it, as in the proceſs of the ſtory you ſhall find.

Theſe holy men having obtained ſo much favour of the magiſtrates, began to conſult what form of ſervice they ſhould uſe: for (it was told them) that they were not bound ſo ſtrictly to the French ceremonies, but if one allowed of the other, it was ſufficient.

Hereupon the Engliſh Service Book was peruſed, and by generall conſent it was concluded, That anſwering the miniſter aloud, the Litany, Surplice, and many other things ſhould be omitted, becauſe they might prove ſcandalous to thoſe reformed churches.

It was further agreed, That the miniſter, inſtead of the Engliſh confeſſion, ſhould uſe another form more ſuitable to that ſtate and time, after which a pſalm was to be ſung; and then the miniſter, after prayer to proceed to his ſermon, at the end whereof a form of prayer was preſcribed for all eſtates, and in particular for England, which was to be concluded with the Lord's prayer; and then the miniſter was to rehearſe the articles of the faith, and ſo to diſmiſs the people with a bleſſing.

It was alſo concluded that ſundry things ſhould be omitted in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. All which being agreed on, they proceeded to chooſe the miniſter and deacons, and ſo entered their church. July 29.

Then they thought good forthwith to advertiſe their brethren, and countrymen diſperſed, of this ſingular mercy of God to them, the like whereof could not as yet be obtained in any other place, and to deſire them, that laying aſide worldly reſpects, they would repair thither, that they might altogether with one heart and mouth, lament and bewail their former ſins; and alſo to give thanks to their heavenly Father, who had given them ſuch a church in a ſtrange land: theſe letters were ſent to Straſborough, Zurick, Desburg and Embden, Aug. 2.

Alſo becauſe they conceived that the church could not long continue in good order, without diſcipline, there was a form of government drawn up, and agreed on, unto which all that were preſent ſubſcribed.

Shortly after the Engliſh at Strasborough returned this anſwer, that they had conſidered the contents of their letter, and perceived that the principal effect was, that they might have one or two ſent them to take the chief charge of their church; for which end they might get Dr Poinet, Dr Cox, Dr Bale, or Mr Scory, or any two of them; and if they diſliked this, they would appoint one from Stratsborough, and another from Zurick, to come to them. Mr Grindall alſo at the ſame time wrote to Mr Scory at Embden, perſuading him to be the ſuperintendent of that church at Frankford, who in two ſeveral letters to his private friends, profered his ſervice to that congregation. But before the receipt of his letters, the church had written to Mr Knox at Geneva, to Mr Haddon at Straſborough, and to Mr Lever at Zurick, whom they elected for their miniſters, and advertiſed Mr Scory by a general letter of the ſame.

Sept. 16. Theſe of Frankford wrote again to the Engliſh at Zurick, in this form. 'Grace, mercy and peace; after long expectation of your anſwer to our letter, we thought fit once more to put you in remembrance, and as formerly, ſo now again we earneſtly require on God's behalf, that you would ſeriouſly weigh and conſider this call of God, and the neceſſity of this congregation: we have throughly learned your eſtate, and alſo made you acquainted with ours; and we heartily wiſh that we might together bewail our ſins, pray for our brethren who are under the tyranny of antichriſt; and to inſtruct and edify one another. Finally to ſpend the time of our perſecution together, and to redeem theſe days which are ſo evil. If you ſtay there for the improvement of your learning, ſurely you might ſo benefit yourſelves here, that you ſhould have no cauſe to repent: you cannot here lack the ſociety of learned men, and for their works which are in print, you may here be abundantly furniſhed with them. But we need not, brethren, be large in reaſoning, for we know that God's ſpirit that worketh in your hearts, will prevail more with you than any arguments of ours; not doubting but the ſame Holy Spirit knocks at the door of your conſciences, not only to move you to hearken to our requeſt, but alſo to avoid the offence and ſcandal which will be given to our poor brethren in England, whoſe expectations cannot otherwiſe be ſatisfied. Remember, brethren, that we write as thoſe who altogether ſeek our Father's honour, the diſcharge of our duty, and the comfort of our afflicted countrymen. The ſame ſweet Father grant, for his mercy's ſake, that we may aſſemble together to promote the building of his temple, and to hinder falſe workmen and underminers; and diligently, in our ſeveral places, to endeavour to promote this work, till it come to perfection. Farewel in Chriſt. From Frankfort, Sept. 16. 1554.

To this letter, they that ſtudied at Zurick returned this anſwer:

'Being placed here in quietneſs, with many and great advantages to our ſtudies, we have by this our letter returned anſwer to your earneſt requeſt, which was, that to diſcharge our duty and conſcience, and to increaſe and inſtruct your congregation with our pains and preſence, we would remove from hence to you; urging it upon our conſciences, in regard of that great need which you have of us; and for the further encouragement of us, you have ſignified and aſſured us, that with you we may, and ſhall uſe the ſame order of ſervice in God's worſhip, as was laſt ſet forth by King Edward VI. Wherefore, for the better enabling us to underſtand your requeſt, and for the charitable performance of duty upon both parts, we have ſent unto you Mr Richard Chambers, our beſt friend, a charitable man, and one that is tenderly affected to the church of Chriſt; intreating him to travel to you, and with you for us, that this buſineſs moved by writing may be fully debated betwixt you; and we all agree to, and ſhall perform whatſoever he ſhall ſay and promiſe in our names to you. We beſeech you therefore, in the name of God, conſcientiouſly to conſider both your ſtate and ours: and if you ſhall conclude with the ſaid Mr Chambers for our coming to you, then let him not lack your charitable help in neceſſary proviſion for our continuance with you. Thus beſeeching God that your doings may tend to his glory, and the ſpeedy comfort of his afflicted church, we wiſh you all health, and increaſe of true knowledge in Chriſt our Lord and Saviour. From Zurick, Oct. 7. 1554.'

October 13. following, they wrote alſo another letter to the ſame purpoſe, concluding thus:

'Dear brethren, conſidering that we are not only all of one nation, but alſo members of the ſame myſtical body of Jeſus Chriſt our head; we ought therefore, eſpecially in this time of our exile, and worthily deſerved affliction, by all means poſſible to aid and comfort one another, beſeeching God, for his mercy's ſake, to aſſuage his wrath, to give us repenting hearts, to grant patience to our brethren in England, and mercifully to look down upon his vineyard that is miſerably ſpoiled and trodden under foot; and after theſe fatherly chaſtiſements, to return us to our native homes, and to enable us to work fruitfully in the ſame. If, upon the receipt of theſe our letters, you ſhall without cloak or forged pretence, only ſeeking Chriſt's honour, advertiſe us by your letters, that our being there is ſo needful as you have already ſignified, and that we may as freely and uprightly ſerve God (whereof private letters received from Frankfort make us much to doubt), as the order laſt taken in the church of England permitteth and preſcribeth, for we are fully reſolved to admit and uſe no other; then about Eaſter next, (for before we cannot) God proſpering us, and no juſt cauſe intervening, whereby our purpoſes may be diſappointed, with one conſent we agree to join ourſelves to you, and moſt willingly to perform ſuch ſervice there, as our poor condition and calling will permit. In the mean ſpace, we ſhall moſt entirely beſeech God ſo to aſſiſt you with his holy ſpirit, that your doings may

may help to confound papistry, set forth God's glory, and shew such light in the face of the world, that both the wicked may be ashamed, having no just cause to reproach; and also our weak brethren confirmed and won to the truth. From Zurick, Oct. 13. 1554.'

Subscribed by Robert Horn, Richard Chambers, Thomas Lever, Nicholas Karvile, John Mullings, Thomas Spencer, Thomas Bentham, William Cole, John Parkhurst, Roger Kehle, Robert Beamont, Laurence Humphrey, Henry Cockraffe, John Pretio.

Oct. 14. following, Mr Whitehead came to Frankfort, and by the request of the congregation, took the place upon him for a time, and preached upon the epistle to the Romans.

Not long before, Mr Chambers had conference with the church at Frankfort, in the behalf of the English students at Zurick, and saw that they could not assure him the full use of the English service book, without hazarding their church; whereupon he returned to Zurick whence he came: and about the same time, Mr Knox, coming from Geneva, was chosen their minister; and so the business rested for a while. Yet shortly after they wrote again to them at Zurick in this manner:

'We have recived two letters from you, one dated Oct. 13. sent us from Strasburg; the other of the 27th of the same, sent us by our dear friend Mr Chambers, and have conferred with him at large touching the contents thereof; and whenas, after divers assemblies, and long debates, Mr Chambers perceived that we could not in all points warrant the full use of the service book, which seemeth to be your full scope and aim, and also conscientiously weighing the great benefit offered to our whole nation in this city; he not only rejoiced greatly at the same, but also promised to travel with you, in persuading you to the furtherance thereof.

As touching the substance of the book, we desire the observation of it as much as you, so far as God's word commands: but for the unprofitable ceremonies, as well by his consent, as by ours, they are not to be used. And though they were tolerable, as some of them are not, yet being in a strange commonwealth, we could not be suffered to use them: and surely it were better that they should never be practised, than that they should prove the subversion of our church, which would be much hazarded by the use of them. If a larger door be opened there for the same, than to us, upon your persuasions, you shall find that we will not draw back; for this is very necessary, if we wish the comfort and gathering together of our dispersed brethren. If any think that the not using the book in all points will increase our godly fathers and brethrens bands in England, or will tend to the dishonour of the laws of our late sovereign of famous memory, King Edward VI. he seemeth little to weigh the matter, or else hindered by ignorance, knoweth not that even they themselves, upon consideration of circumstances have altered many things; and if God had not in these wicked days prevented, would have altered more: and we doubt not but in our case they would have done the like. These few lines touching our communication we have written to you, referring the rest to the prudence of our good friend Mr Chambers, who can testify that we have shewed ourselves conformable in all things which are in our power, and most desirous of your companies, as we formerly wrote to you. God's spirit move your hearts to do that which shall be most for his glory, and the comfort of your brethren. Frankfort, Nov. 15. 1554.

Subscribed. Your loving brethren, John Bale, Edward Sutton, John Makebray, William Whittingham, Thomas Cole, William Williams, George Chidley, William Hammon, Thomas Steward, Thomas Wood, John Sianton, William Walton, Jasper Swift, John Geoffersay, John Gray, Michael Gill, John Stamford, John Wood, Thomas Sorby, Anthony Carrier, Hugh Alford.

Nov. 23. the English at Strasburg wrote also these letters to the English at Frankfort.

'When we consider what inward comfort it would be for the faithful people of England, now dispersed for the gospel's sake, and wandering in strange countries, as sheep without shepherds, to be gathered together in one congregation, that with one heart, one mind and mouth, they might glorify God. We have always, and still do think it our duties, not only to desire, but also to labour the effecting of it: and now understanding the good will of the magistrates of Frankfort towards you, and others of our dispersed countrymen, who also have granted a church, wherein we with others may serve God; and not doubting of their further friendship in permiting us freely to use our religion, according to that godly order set forth and received in England. We do not only bless God for this great mercy, but also think it not fit to refuse so friendly an offer, or to let slip so good an occasion. Therefore not doubting their good furtherance, nor distrusting your good conformity and readiness in reducing the English church with you to the former perfection which it last had in England, so far as possibly it can be attained, lest by much altering the same, we should seem to condemn the chief authors thereof; who, as they now suffer, so are they ready to confirm that fact with the price of their blood; and should also give occasion to our adversaries to accuse our doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutability; and should cause many godly to doubt of that truth wherein they have formerly been persuaded; and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purposed. For the avoiding of these, and obtaining the other, moved hereunto in conscience, and provoked by your gentle letters, we have thought fit to send over unto you our beloved brethren, the bringers hereof, to travel with the magistrates and you concerning the premises, whose wisdom, learning, and godly zeal, as they are known to you, so their doings in this business shall be fully approved of by us. And if they obtain that which we trust will not be denied at any hand, we intend God willing to be with you February the first next, there to help to set in order, and establish that church accordingly, and so long to remain with you as shall be necessary, or till just occasion shall call some of us away: and we doubt not but our brethren of Zurick, Embden, Duesborough, &c. will do the same, as we have requested them by our letters; hoping that you by yours will make the like request: farewel. Strasburg, Nov. 23. 1554.

Your loving friends, James Haddon, Edwin Sands, Edmund Grindall, John Huntington. Guido Eaton, John Gefferey, John Pedder, Thomas Eaton, Mighell Reymiger, Augustine Bradbrige, Arthur Saul, Thomas Steward, Christopher Goodman, Humphry Alcockson, Thomas Lakin, Thomas Grafton.

This letter being read to the congregation, Mr Grindal declared the occasion of their coming, which was chiefly for establishing the English service book; not that they meant (as they said) to have it so strictly observed, but that such ceremonies and things which the country could not bear, might well be omitted, so that the substance and effect thereof might be retained.

Then Mr Knox and Mr Whittingham asked, what they meant by the substance of the book?

They answered, that they had no commission to dispute of those things, only they requested the congregation to answer these three queries.

1. What parts of the book they would admit?
2. Whether they would allow them a several church?
3. What assurance they might have for their quiet habitation?

To the first answer was made, That what they could prove to be consistent with the word of God, and the country could permit, that should be granted them.

For the second they answered, That they understood by the magistrates, that the time was unseasonable to move for such a thing, till the council brake up at Ausburg.

To the third they answered, That a general grant was made, at their first coming thither, to the whole English nation, and the freedom of the city was offered to all such as were desirous of it, in as ample a manner as they could require, which to them was sufficient.

They also by these messengers wrote back this letter to them at Strasburg.

'As it was ever most true, so at this time we find it fulfilled,

fulfilled, that whereſoever God hath laid a foundation to build his glory upon, there he continues till he hath perfected his own work. All thanks and praiſe therefore be to him who hath ſo moved your hearts as not to neglect the furtherance of the ſame: and as the work is of great excellency, ſo the adverſaries neglect not craftily to undermine it, or at leaſt by falſe reports, and diſgracing the work begun, to diſcourage the labourers, which ſhould travel in the finiſhing of it. But truth ever cleareth itſelf; and as the ſun diſpels the clouds, ſo miſreports by trial are confounded. Our brethren ſent from you can teſtify our anſwers to the particulars of your letters, to whom we have agreed in all things which ſeemed expedient for the ſtate of this congregation. As for ſuch ceremonies, as the order of the country will not bear, we neceſſarily forbear; yet with as little alteration as may be poſſible, (according as you deſire in your letters) ſo that no adverſary can be ſo impudent, as either to blame our doctrine of imperfection, or us of inconſtancy, except he be wilfully ignorant, rather ſeeking how to find fault, than to amend things amiſs. Neither do we diſſent from them who are ſpending their bloods for the doctrine whereof they have made a moſt worthy confeſſion: and yet we think not, that any learned or godly man will ſtand in defence of thoſe ceremonies to death, which even the book confeſſeth may upon occaſions be altered and changed. And if the not full uſing of the book cauſe any godly perſon to doubt of the truth which they formerly embraced, or retard their coming hither, ſurely either they were not well inſtructed, who for the breach of a ceremony will neglect ſuch a ſingular benefit, or elſe things have been miſrepreſented to them by falſe brethren, who ſpare not every where to ſow ſome poor reaſons to hinder ſo worthy an enterpriſe. And whereas ye write, that the firſt of February next ye will come to help to ſet in order and eſtabliſh this church, as we willingly deſire it for your company's ſake, and that you might ſee our godly order here obſerved; ſo we cannot but ſignify, that if ye take ſuch a journey for the eſtabliſhing of ceremonies, it will tend more to your charges, than to any general profit, except ye reſolve to ſtay longer with us than two months, as you write to our countrymen at Denſborough and Embden, &c.

The reſt we refer to our brethren, Mr Chambers and Mr Grindall, who by their diligent enquiry have learned ſo much of our eſtate as we wrote unto you in our former letters; that is, that we have a church freely granted to preach God's word purely, and to adminiſter the ſacrament ſincerely, to execute diſcipline truly; and as for the book, we will practiſe it ſo far as God's word warranteth, and the ſtate of this country will permit. Farewel. Frankfort. Dec. 3.

Your loving friends, George Whitnall, Thomas Whitnal, John Knox, Joſeph Bale, William Whittingham, Edward Sutton, Thomas Wood, William Williams, John Stanton, Joſeph Samford, John Fox, William Kethe, Joſeph Makebray, William Walton, Michael Gill, Laurence Kent, John Holdingham.'

Preſently after the receipt of this letter, the divines of Straſburg returned this anſwer:

'Grace, mercy, and peace; we have received your letter, and therewithal an anſwer to certain articles, by which we perceive, as alſo by the report of Mr Chambers and Mr Grindall, your eſtate; but ſeeing the time ſerves not for the preſent to move the magiſtrates for thoſe requeſts, the obtaining whereof was the principle cauſe of our ſending to you, we cannot agree to any general meeting at any cerain time, either to remain with you, or otherwiſe; but when you ſhall find the time convenient to move the magiſtrates for the quiet habitation for all comers, eſpecially for the ſtudents, and for a ſeparate church, wherein the book may be uſed, in ſuch a manner as no reaſonable man ſhall juſtly blame, and that we may have aſſurance thereof under the magiſtrates hands; upon this information we ſhall conſult what is farther to be done on our part, hoping that God will direct us ſo as may be moſt for his glory in the end, whatſoever may be judged of it for the preſent. Straſburg, Dec. 13. 1554.

Your loving friends, James Haddon, Edwin Sands, Edmund Grindal, &c.

Hereupon Mr Knox, Mr Whittingham, and others, tranſlated the Engliſh ſervice book into Latin, and ſent it to Mr Calvin at Geneva, requeſting his judgment thereupon, and declaring to him that ſome of their countrymen went about to force them to the uſe of it, and would admit no other, ſaying, That it was moſt abſolute, and that if ever they came into their own country, they would endeavour to eſtabliſh it there again.

Mr Calvin having peruſed it, returned this anſwer, 'I find in the Engliſh liturgy many tolerable follies, by which word I mean, that there is not that purity which is to be deſired: theſe things, though they could not at firſt be amended, yet ſeeing there was no manifeſt impiety in them, they were for a ſeaſon to be tolerated.' Theſe letters bore date from Geneva, Jan. 20. 1555.

Theſe letters being read in the congregation at Frankfort, many which before were for all the parts of the book, were wholly alienated from it. Whereupon it was concluded, that Mr Knox, Mr Whittingham, Mr Fox, and Mr Cole, ſhould draw forth ſome order fit for their ſtate and time, which being finiſhed, was tendred to the congregation, being the ſame with that uſed at Geneva: this was well liked by moſt, only ſuch as were for the Engliſh ſervice book could not abide it. Hereupon, Feb. 6. a liturgy was framed, part taken out of the Engliſh book, and other things added as the ſtate of the church required; which, by the conſent of the congregation was to be continued till the laſt of April following; and if any contention ſhould ariſe in the mean time, the matter was to be determined by theſe five notably learned men, viz. Calvin, Muſculus, P. Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret; which agreement being put in writing, all gave their conſents to it, and hereupon the holy ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was comfortably adminiſtered.

This happy concord continued till March 13. following; at which time Dr Cox, and ſome others, coming out of England to Frankfort, began to break the order agreed upon; firſt, in anſwering aloud after the miniſter, contrary to the church's determination, ſaying, That they would do as they had done in England, and that they would have the face of an Engliſh church there. Yea, the Sabbath following, one of that company, without the conſent of the congregation, went up ſuddenly into the pulpit, and read the litany, Dr Cox and the reſt anſwering aloud, thereby breaking the order of that church. Hereupon Mr Knox began to preach in the afternoon, he having gone over ſo much in Geneſis, was come to the ſtory of Noah; and in the proceſs of his ſermon he ſaid, 'As ſome things ought to be kept ſecret, ſo ſuch things as tend to the diſhonour of God, and the diſturbance of his church, ought to be diſcloſed and openly rebuked; and ſo ſhewed, that, after long trouble and contention, a godly agreement was made amongſt them, which that very day had been very ungodly broken; which thing, ſaid he, became not the proudeſt of you all to have attempted: adding further, That as by the word of God we muſt ſeek our warrant for the eſtabliſhing of religion, without which warrant nothing ought to be obtruded upon Chriſtians; ſo ſeeing in the Engliſh book there are ſome things ſuperſtitious, impure, and imperfect, which I undertake to prove before all men, I will not therefore conſent that they ſhall be received of this church: and in caſe any will go about to burthen our free congregation therewith, ſo often as I come into this place, my text offering juſt occaſion, I will not fail to ſpeak againſt it. He alſo affirmed, that amongſt many other things which provoked God's anger againſt England, ſlackneſs in reforming religion when they had opportunity was one, and therefore now they ought to be the more circumſpect how they laid their foundation: and whereas ſome were not aſhamed to ſay, that reformation was perfected in England, he proved the contrary by the want of a good diſcipline, as appeared by the troubles which good Mr Hooper had ſuſtained in King Edward's time about the rochet, &c. As alſo, that ſome men were permitted to hold three, four, or five benefices, to the ſcandal of the goſpel, and to the ſtarving of many poor ſouls.

This ſpeech of his was much ſtomached by ſome, eſpecially ſuch as had been pluraliſts in England, who ſharply

ly reproved him ſo ſoon as he came out of the pulpit: and the Tueſday following was appointed to ſpeak more fully about theſe buſineſſes: at which time doctor Cox and his company made earneſt requeſt to be admitted to have voices in the congregation: to this ſome anſwered, that this could not be granted, till the matters in controverſy betwixt them were firſt determined, and till they ſhould ſubſcribe to their diſcipline, as others had before them, &c.

But Mr Knox intreated that they might be ſatisfied in their requeſt, unto whom ſome others adhered, by which means they became the greater part, and ſo were admitted members of the church; which was no ſooner done, but Dr Cox forthwith forbade Mr Knox to meddle any more in that congregation.

Hereupon the next day Mr Whittingham went to Mr Jo. Glauburge (who had procured the church for them) and complained to him, that certain newly come out of England, had forbidden their miniſter, who was appointed to preach that day, and intended to ſet up an order, which, he doubted, would not be well taken; which he thought fit to acquaint him with, leaſt any inconvenience ſhould fall out.

Hereupon he preſently ſent and commanded that there ſhould be no ſermon that day; and ſending for monſieur Valeran, the French miniſter, commanded him that two learned men ſhould be appointed of either part; and that he and they ſhould conſult and agree upon ſome good order, and make report to him thereof accordingly. Upon this Dr Cox and Mr Lever of the one ſide, and Mr Knox and Mr Whittingham on the other ſide, were appointed to decide the controverſy, and Mr Valeran was appointed to ſet down in writing what they agreed upon: but when they came to ſpeak of the morning ſervice, and Dr Cox ſaid, 'I will have it thus,' they could not agree, and ſo brake off.

Then did the congregation draw up a ſupplication, preſenting it to Mr Glauburge, and intreating him that it might be conſidered of by the ſenators: the tenor whereof was this:

'Let it not moleſt you (moſt grave and worthy ſenators) that your affairs are interrupted with a few words. But leaſt we ſhould trouble you with prolixity, the matter briefly is this: when your great humanity had through the providence of God, granted us a church, we undertook forthwith (as became us) to conſult about orders, and to draw up a liturgy; and becauſe we found in the prolix and ceremonious book of England, many things, to ſpeak the leaſt of them, not ſo perfect; we thought fit to reduce it to the perfect rule of the ſcriptures, and to accommodate ourſelves to the example of the church wherein we live, and to which we have ſubſcribed. But when this proved offenſive to ſome of our countrymen (although the greateſt part agreed thereto) as declining from the decrees of our elders, we were for a few months put to no ſmall trouble: but at length when it could not be otherwiſe, for peace ſake, we gave place to them, and ſuffered them to pick out of their book the beſt things, upon this condition, that the ſame ſhould continue without alteration, at leaſt till the laſt of April, at which time, if any new contention ſhould ariſe, that then the whole matter ſhould be referred to theſe five worthy men, Calvin, Muſculus, Bullinger, Martyr, and Viret. What need many words? The condition was willingly accepted, and confirmed by both parties, which alſo was drawn up in writing; and thanks were given to God, with great joy, every one thinking that day to be the end of all diſcord; they alſo received the holy communion as the token and ſeal of their mutual agreement, which had been omitted for the ſpace of three months. Mr Valeran joined with us herein, and was a further of concord, and a witneſs of this our agreement. But now lately ſome of our countrymen came to us, who have endeavoured by all means to obtrude that large volume of ceremonies upon us, to break the covenant, and to overthrow the liberty of our church, granted by your benevolence; which alſo they enterpriſe under the name of your defence, abuſing the authority of your name to the ſatisfying of their luſts. We here omit many things that would make for our cauſe, and remit them to our brethren, by whom (moſt honourable ſenators) you may underſtand the cauſe of our contention, and ſo may know eaſily what to judge of the whole matter.

What manner of book this is for which they ſo earneſtly contend, you may conſider by the epiſtle which Calvin lately wrote to us, in which he hath ſignified his mind plainly, both of the book, and of the uprightneſs of our cauſe.

We could have pointed out to you the fooliſh and fond things of the book, but paſſing over others, we ſhall inſtance only in this one; within theſe three years aroſe a great conflict between the Engliſh biſhops, and the biſhop of Glouceſter [Mr Hooper] a man worthy of perpetual memory, whom we now hear to be burnt. This man being made biſhop by king Edward the VI. according to this book, there was obtruded upon him by other biſhops, a rochet, and a biſhop's robe; this man being learned, and having been long brought up in Germany, becauſe he refuſed thoſe proud things that are admired by fools, was caſt into priſon; and at length, being overcome by their importunity, he was compelled to his ſhame, to give place to their impudency, to the common grief and ſorrow of all godly minds.

But happily you will ſay, wherefore ſpeak we of theſe things which appertain not to us? Yea verily, we think it concerns you much, for if theſe men, armed with your authority, ſhall do what they liſt, this evil in time ſhall be eſtabliſhed by you, neither ſhall there be any end of this controverſy in England. But if it ſhall pleaſe your honours to moderate between us, that this whole matter may be referred to thoſe five men above mentioned, not we alone that are preſent, but all poſterity; yea our whole Engliſh nation, and all good men, to the perpetual memory of your names, ſhall be bound unto you for this great benefit. We might have enlarged this narration, for we want not other reaſons, but we fear that you would want time, by reaſon of your ſerious buſineſs; therefore we leave the reſt to the conſideration of your wiſdoms.

March 22 Mr Glauburge came to the Engliſh church, and ſhewed the congregation, that it was commanded by the magiſtrates (when by his means the church was granted) that they ſhould agree with the French church both in doctrine and ceremonies: and that they underſtood that their falling from that order had cauſed much contention amongſt them; therefore he ſtraitly charged and commanded, that from thenceforth they ſhould not diſſent from that order; for if they did, as he had opened the church doors for them, ſo he would ſhut them again, and that ſuch as would not aſſent thereto, ſhould not ſtay in that city; willing them preſently to conſult hereof, and give him an anſwer before he departed.

Hereupon Dr Cox ſpake to the congregation, ſaying, I have read the French order, and do think it good and godly in all points, and therefore deſire you to obey the magiſtrates commandment about it; upon which ſpeech the whole congregation aſſented, and a report was made thereof to Mr Glauburge by Dr Cox, Mr Lever, and Mr Whittingham before he departed. Dr Cox alſo requeſted him, that notwithſtanding their ill behaviour, he would be pleaſed to ſhew them his accuſtomed favour and goodneſs, which he moſt gently and lovingly promiſed.

At the next meeting of the congregation that order was put in practice to the comfort and rejoicing of the moſt part. Yet ſuch as would fain have had the Engliſh ſervice book, left not the matter thus. For ſeeing Mr Knox to be in great credit with the congregation, they endeavoured by a moſt cruel, barbarous and bloody practice to diſpatch him out of the way, that thereby they might attain their end of bringing in their ſervice book.

They had amongſt them a book of his, called, An Admonition to Chriſtians, written in Engliſh; wherein by occaſion he ſpake of the emperor, of Philip his ſon, and Mary queen of England. This they preſented to the magiſtrates; who, upon the receipt of it, ſent to Mr Whittingham, and aſked him what manner of man their miniſter Mr Knox was? He anſwered, that to his knowlege he was a learned, wiſe and godly man. Then ſaid one of the magiſtrates, ſome of your countrymen have accuſed him to us of high treaſon, againſt the emperor's majeſty, his ſon, and the queen of England: here is the book, and the places which they have turned down, the true and perfect ſenſe whereof, we command you (*ſub pœna pacis*) to bring to us in Latin at one o'clock in the afternoon.

This he did accordingly, at which time, having conferred amongſt themſelves, they commanded that Mr Knox ſhould preach no more, till their pleaſure were further known. The words concerning the emperor were theſe, ſpoken by him in the pulpit in a town in Buckinghamſhire, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign: 'O England, England, if thou wilt obſtinately return into Egypt; that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy or league with ſuch princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, ſuch as the emperor, who is no leſs an enemy to Chriſt than was Nero; if for the pleaſure and friendſhip, I ſay, of ſuch princes, thou return to thine old abominations uſed in the times of popery, then aſſuredly (O England) thou ſhalt be plagued, and be brought to deſolation by the means of thoſe whoſe favour thou ſeekeſt, and by whom thou art drawn to fall from Chriſt, and to ſerve antichriſt.'

But the magiſtrates abhorring this bloody deſign, when certain of Mr Knox's enemies followed them, to know what ſhould be done with him, they ſhewed evident ſigns of diſliking their unnatural ſuit; and withal ſent for Mr Williams, and Mr Whittingham, willing them that Mr Knox ſhould depart the city, leaſt they ſhould be forced to deliver him, if the emperor's council (which then lay at Auſpurg) ſhould upon the like information ſend for him.

March 25. The night before Mr Knox's departure, he made a moſt comfortable ſermon at his lodging, to about fifty perſons then preſent, about the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, and of the unſpeakable joys prepared for the elect, which in this life ſuffer trouble, and perſecution for the teſtimony of his bleſſed name. The next day he was brought three or four miles on his way, by ſome of thoſe perſons, who with great heavineſs of heart, and plenty of tears committed him to the Lord.

And the ſame day one Adulphus Glauburg, a doctor of law, and nephew to Mr John Glauburg the ſenator, whom Dr Cox and his party had won to them, ſent for Mr Whittingham, and told him that three doctors, thirteen batchelors of divinity, and ſome others had obtained of the magiſtrates, the full uſe of the Engliſh book, and therefore he commanded him not to meddle any further to the contrary; 'For, ſaith he, it is fully concluded of that ſo it ſhall be.' And ſuppoſing that Mr Whittingham would oppoſe it what he might, the next day he ſent for him again, and before Dr Cox and others he renewed the ſame charge. Mr Whittingham anſwered, That if it were ſo concluded, he would willingly obey; not doubting but that it might be lawful for him and ſome others, to join themſelves to another church. But Dr Cox beſought the lawyer that that might not be permitted: Mr Whittingham anſwered, that it would be too great cruelty to force men contrary to their conſciences to obey their diſordered doings; adding, that if it would pleaſe the magiſtrates to give him and others the hearing, they would diſpute the matter againſt all the contrary part, and doubted not to prove, that the order which they ſought to eſtabliſh, ought not to be admitted in any reformed church, the lawyer anſwered, that there ſhould be no ſuch diſputation, commanding him again to deal no further in that matter.

The congregation hearing of the tyrannical dealing of this doctor, they ſent Mr Gilby with ſome others to Mr John Glauburg, by whoſe command they had received the French order, to mind him of the ſame, and to ſhew him that certain lately come in amongſt them, had ſought to overthrow their church by bringing in the Engliſh ſervice book; to which he anſwered, that he was informed that both parties had conſented thereto, and thereupon he had referred the whole buſineſs to his couſin the lawyer. Then he enquired for Mr Whittingham, whereunto they anſwered, that he was ſtraitly charged by his couſin to meddle no more in that matter. Upon this anſwer he gently intreated Mr Gilby and the reſt to be contented, and he would ſee that nothing ſhould be uſed, but what ſhould be tolerable, with which anſwer they departed.

But March 28. Dr Cox aſſembled the Engliſh miniſters, and told them, that the magiſtrates had allowed them the uſe of the Engliſh book, and therefore he thought it requiſite that a biſhop, ſuperintendent, or paſtor together with elders and deacons, ſhould be choſen. To which Mr Chriſtopher Goodman anſwered, that he thought fit that they ſhould firſt agree upon ſome godly order for the church, and to have the conſent of the congregation thereto, that ſo it might appear that they deſpiſed not their brethren, to this it was anſwered, that for the order it was already agreed upon, for other order than was contained in the Engliſh book they would not have; and ſo nothing was further done.

Then did the oppreſſed congregation deſire Mr Whittingham to go to Baſill and Geneva, where it pleaſed the Lord to ſtir up the magiſtrates hearts to grant them churches, and ſo at his return it was thought good by ſuch as determined to go away, to endeavour a reconciliation before their departure, as Mr Calvin had counſelled them; and the rather, for that ſome of Dr Cox's company had ſtiled publicly their departure to be a ſchiſm: whereupon they wrote this enſuing letter to the paſtor and whole congregation.

'For as much as, through God's mercy, we have obtained a church in another place, we thought good to advertiſe you of the ſame; and to the intent that ſlanderous reports may ceaſe, as alſo that if any offence be taken or given, the ſame may come to trial, we deſire that you for your part would appoint two arbiters, and we ſhall appoint other two, who hearing the matters, may determine where the fault reſteth, at which time we undertake to defend our departure againſt the ſlanderous reports of ſome that unlearnedly term it a ſchiſm. This, brethren, we thought good to ſignify to you, judging it to be the only means for peace; whereof, how deſirous we are, our tedious journey may be a ſufficient proof, being perſuaded that hereby ſtrife may be ended, charity revived, friendſhip continued, God's glory advanced, and our brethren edified, farewel, Aug. 17. William Williams, Will. Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Chriſtopher Goodman, Tho. Cole, John Fox, Tho. Wood, Will. Kethe, Jo. Kelke, Jo. Hilton, Chriſtopher Soothous, Nic. Purſon, Jo. Eſcot. Tho. Crafton, Will. Walton, Laurence Kent, Jo. Hellingham, Ant. Carrier.'

This letter was read publicly in the congregation by the paſtor, but anſwer they could get none, ſave this, that ſince they were minded to depart, they might depart at their pleaſure; but for the reference, or ſatisfaction, they would aſſent to neither: whereupon not many days after, the oppreſſed church departed from Frankford, to Baſil, where Mr. Fox, with ſome other of them ſtaid, the reſt went to Geneva, where they were received with great favour and courteſy, both by magiſtrates, miniſters and people; and ſhortly after entring their church that remained at Frankford, after that by their violent proceedings they had driven theſe godly brethren away, they preſently after fell out amongſt themſelves, and had ſuch continual bickerings and contentions, as could by no means be pacified, till at the end of queen Mary's reign the church was diſſolved, and they returned into their own native country again. The large and full diſcourſe whereof, it being not pertinent to my ſcope, who ſo pleaſes to read, may find it in a book called, *A Diſcourſe of the Troubles at Frankford.* Printed *anno Chriſti* 1575. and reprinted 1642.

CHAP. LXV.

God's Judgments upon the Perſecutors of his Church and Children.

FROM the firſt general plantation of the goſpel in this kingdom under king Lucius, there was never any king or queen of England, in whoſe reign ſo much Chriſtian blood was ſhed: as in four years ſpace, during the reign of queen Mary: under whom there ſuffered, one archbiſhop, four biſhops, twenty one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty four artificers, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, twenty ſix wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants; in all two hundred ſeventy ſeven. Sixty four more were perſecuted for their faith, and profeſſion; whereof ſeven were whipped, and ſixteen periſhed in priſon, and were buried in dunghills; many lay in captivity, and condemned, but were delivered and ſaved by the happy entrance of our glorious queen Elizabeth: beſides thoſe many who were forced to fly the land, and live in exile.

But as queen Mary was prodigal of the lives of her beſt ſubjects, and a perſecutor of the goſpel, ſo God followed her with his plagues, both in her life and death; for while

whilſt ſhe lived, nothing proſpered which ſhe took in hand. I ſhall only inſtance in ſome few particulars.

Firſt, The faireſt and greateſt ſhip which ſhe had, called Great Harry, was burnt by lightning from heaven; the Chriſtian world at that time not affording ſuch another.

Then would ſhe needs marry Philip king of Spain, thereby ſubjecting England unto ſtrangers; yet do what ſhe could, ſhe could never ſet the Engliſh crown upon his head.

Then did ſhe attempt the reſtitution of abbey lands, and had all the aſſiſtance that the pope could afford her therein yet ſhe was finally croſſed of her deſires about them.

Then did God plague her, and her land with a grievous famine, ſo that many of her poor ſubjects were fain to live upon acorns.

Then did ſhe loſe Calice which had been in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, during the reign of eleven kings, viz. from king Edward the third's time, with which loſs ſhe was ſo affected and afflicted, that ſhe told ſome of her courtiers, that if they opened her body when ſhe was dead, they ſhould find Calice written in her heart.

Again, never had woman worſe ſucceſs in her child birth than ſhe. For if ſhe was with child, and did travel, why was it never ſeen? If ſhe was not with child, why was the kingdom ſo abuſed? ſome in the pulpit returning thanks for her ſafe delivery, and taking upon them to tell that it was a ſon, and a goodly prince.

Then God having thus croſſed her in her hopes of children, which above all things ſhe moſt deſired, he alſo bereft her comfort and honour, by withdrawing from her the company and affection of her huſband, by whoſe marriage ſhe had promiſed to herſelf ſuch a world of felicity and content; ſo that now ſhe could neither enjoy him whom ſhe had married, nor have liberty to marry another. And when all theſe hands of God would work nothing upon her to cauſe her to repeal her bloody laws, or to abſtain from her bloody perſecution of the ſaints of God; the Lord ſtruck her with a lingring and pining ſickneſs, whereof ſhe died; having only reigned five years, and five months; a ſhorter reign than any of the kings of England enjoyed ſince the conqueſt, Richard the third only excepted.

The two laſt years of her reign, as there was in them moſt violence and bloodſhed for religion's ſake, ſo were they moſt grievous for temporal calamities; for beſides the loſs of Calice, and the fruitleſs attempt upon Breſt in Brittany, which proved both chargeable and diſhonourable; the land was alſo grievouſly afflicted with horrible tempeſts, mortal diſeaſes, plagues and famines. In the former of which years, hot burning agues, and other ſtrange diſeaſes took away much people; ſo that between October the twentieth, and the laſt of December, there died ſeven aldermen in London, whereof five had been the lord mayors of the city. The ſame year wheat was ſold for four marks the quarter. Malt for two pound four ſhillings the quarter. Peas at two pound ſix ſhillings eight pence. Whereas after the next harveſt, wheat was ſold for five ſhillings a quarter: malt at four ſhillings eight pence; and in ſome places a buſhel of rie was exchanged for a pound of candles which came to four pence.

In her fifth year near Nottingham was a marvellous tempeſt of thunder, which beat down all the houſes, and churches in two towns, caſt the bells out of the churchyard, and ſome ſheets of lead were carried four hundred foot off into the fields, writhen as if they had been of leather. Trees were torn up by the roots, and carried twelvefcore feet off. Divers men were ſlain, &c.

Alſo the ſame year in the harveſt time was a great mortality; ſo that much corn was loſt in the fields for want of workmen to gather it, whereby a great ſcarcity enſued. Sir Richard Baker.

In the next place let us conſider the Lord's dealing with the chiefeſt of thoſe who were inſtruments of cruelty: and firſt to begin with Steven Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter. We have before heard of his wretched and woful death, about the midſt of Queen Mary's reign, and therefore we will not again ſpeak of it: only I will add this, That being, upon his death bed, put in mind of Peter's denying his Maſter, he anſwered, 'I have denied Chriſt with Peter, but I never repented with Peter.'

Alſo Morgan biſhop of St Davids, who ſat upon the condemnation of the bleſſed martyr biſhop Ferrar, whoſe place he unjuſtly uſurped; preſently after, he was ſtricken with ſuch a ſtrange hand of God, that the meat which he did eat would not go down, ſometimes vomiting it up at his mouth, ſometimes through his noſtrils, after an horrible manner; and ſo he continued to his death.

Mr Leyſon alſo being high ſheriff at his burning, having ſet away Mr Ferrar's cattle into his own grounds, many of them would never eat any meat, but lay bellowing and roaring till they died.

Juſtice Morgan, who ſat upon the condemnation of the Lady Jane Grey, not long after fell mad, continually crying out, 'The Lady Jane, the Lady Jane; take away the Lady Jane;' and ſo continued till he died.

Dr Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, that had condemned many of the faithful ſervants of Chriſt, was, in the midſt of his rage, ſuddenly ſtricken by the revenging hand of God as he ſat in his chair, and ſo died.

Berry, commiſſary of Norfolk, another bloody perſecutor, four days after Queen Mary's death, having made a great feaſt, at which he had one of his curteſans, and then going to church in the afternoon, where he adminiſtered the ſacrament of baptiſm, as he returned homewards, with an heavy groan he fell down to the ground, and never ſtirred afterwards.

Biſhop Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, a cruel perſecutor of the holy and harmleſs ſaints of God: as he was upon a ſabbath-day looking upon his men that played at bowls, was ſuddenly ſtricken with the dead palſy, and being carried to his bed, was wiſhed to remember the Lord; Yea, ſaid he, ſo I do, and my Lord Cardinal alſo; and ſo died after a deſperate manner.

Another ſuffragan that ſucceeded him in that place, having been before Bonner's inſtrument in perſecuting the ſaints, going to Cardinal Pool, in his chamber at Greenwich, to receive his bleſſing, as he went from him, fell down the ſtairs and brake his neck.

John Cooper of Watſam, in the county of Suffolk, a very honeſt man, and one that harboured ſuch as were perſecuted for the truth, had a couple of bullocks, which one William Fenning, his popiſh neighbour, deſired to buy; Cooper told him, that he kept them for his own uſe, and therefore would not ſell them. Hereupon this Fenning went and accuſed him of treaſon, for praying, That if God would not take away Queen Mary, that then the devil would. This wicked accuſation, though it was altogether falſe, yet Fenning ſuborned two knights of the poſt to ſwear to it; whereupon John Cooper was hanged, drawn, and quartered, all his goods ſeized on and his wife and nine children were turned out of doors, being deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence.

But ſhortly after God's revenging hand purſued one of thoſe falſe witneſſes, called Grimwood; for as he was at harveſt work, ſtacking of his corn, his bowels ſuddenly fell out, and he immediately died miſerably.

The parſon of Crondal in Kent, being preaching upon Whitſunday, told his people, that he had received the pope's pardon from Cardinal Pool, whereby he ſtood now as clear in conſcience as when he was firſt born, and therefore he cared not now if he ſhould die the ſame hour. The words were ſcarce out of his mouth, when ſuddenly he fell down dead in the pulpit, and never ſpake word more.

A little before Queen Mary's death, died Dr Capon, biſhop of Saliſbury, a great perſecutor of the ſaints; and about the ſame time Dr Jefferey his chancellor (of whoſe perſecutions we have heard before); as he was in the midſt of his buildings, ſuddenly being ſtruck by the hand of God, yielded up his ghoſt. Wherein this is further obſervable, that juſt at that time he had appointed to call before him almoſt an hundred godly perſons, and to examine them by inquiſition; which miſchief was by this means prevented.

Mr Woodroffe, ſheriff of London, uſed much to rejoice at the torments of the poor ſaints of Chriſt; and ſo cruel was he, that when Mr Rogers was carried in a cart from Newgate to Smithfield, by the way his children were brought to ſee him, and the people made way for their coming to the cart; but Mr Woodroffe commanded his men to break the car-man's head for ſtaying the cart: but ſhortly after, vengeance overtook him, he being ſtricken

with

with a deadneſs all one ſide of his body, ſo that he was not able to turn himſelf in his bed, in which manner he languiſhed till he died.

Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, was afterwards arraigned and hanged. As he ſtood at the bar he ſaid publicly, 'This is juſtly fallen upon me, for that I betrayed the innocent blood of that good and juſt man George Eagles, who was condemned through my means, and I ſold his blood for a little money.'

The like vengeance of God fell upon Richard Potto and Juſtice Browne, both cruel perſecutors of the ſaid George Eagles.

Mr Swingfield, a deputy in Thames-ſtreet, hearing that Mrs Angel a midwife, and a good woman, was at a woman's labour in Crookedlane, he took three other with him, and beſet the houſe, and apprehended her, and carried her to Bonner's officers, by whom ſhe was caſt into Lollard's tower. This Mrs Angel was great with child, and by reaſon of the fright, and a fall which ſhe caught in her apprehenſion, ſhe fell the next day in labour, and was delivered in that priſon, having no woman with her to help her in her extremity. But within ten weeks after, Deputy Swingfield, and the other three that came with him to apprehend her, all four died.

There was one Burton, bailiff of Crowland in Lincolnſhire, who in the days of King Edward was a ſeeming zealous proteſtant; but as ſoon as Queen Mary came to the crown, he turned papiſt, and endeavoured to perſuade his neighbours to ſet up the maſs; but they being not forward therein, this Burton on the Sabbath went to church, and when the curate was beginning to read the Engliſh ſervice, he went to him, and ſaid, 'Sirrah, will you not ſay maſs? buckle yourſelf to it you knave; or, by God's blood, I'll ſheath my dagger in your ſhoulder.' The poor curate being affrighted herewith, betook himſelf to the maſs. But ſhortly after this, Burton, with one of his neighbours, rode together upon the Fen-bank, a crow took her flight over his head with her uſual note, and voiding her excrements, they fell on his noſe, and ran down his beard, withal, yielding ſuch an horrible ſtink, that cauſed him to fall a vomitting in a moſt violent manner; whereupon haſting home, he gat him to bed, but could eat nothing, the ſtink and vomiting ſtill continuing, which made him with oaths and fearful execrations, to curſe the crow that had poiſoned him; and ſo he continued in extreme pain till his death.

As we have heard before of James Abbes martyr, that was burnt at Burry; as he went towards the ſtake ſome poor people met him, craving his alms, and becauſe he had no money to give them, he plucked off his apparel to his ſhirt, and diſtributed it amongſt them, withal exhorting them to be ſtrong in the Lord, and, as faithful followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in the truth of the goſpel, which, ſaid he, with God's aſſiſtance, I will now in your ſight ſeal with my blood. But whilſt he was thus exhorting them, there came one of the ſheriff's men, who hearing him, cried out aloud to the people, moſt blaſphemouſly ſaying, 'Good people, believe him not, he is an heretic and a madman, and out of his wits; believe him not, for it is hereſy which he ſpeaketh.' And as Abbes continued his godly exhortation, ſo this wicked wretch belched forth his blaſphemous exclamation till they came to the ſtake, at which the conſtant martyr was burned. But as ſoon as the fire was kindled, the fearful ſtroke of God's juſtice fell upon this wretch, who immediately before the people fell diſtracted, wherewith a little before he had charged the bleſſed ſervant of Chriſt, and pulling off his cloaths in a furious manner, he ſaid, 'Thus did James Abbes the true ſervant of God, who is ſaved, but I am damned;' and ſo he ran about the town, ſtill crying out, that James Abbes was a good man, and was ſaved, but he was damned. Hereupon his maſter cauſed him to be bound, cloathed, and kept in a dark room; but as ſoon as the company was departed, he tore off his clothes, ſtill raging and crying out, 'James Abbes was the true ſervant of God, and is ſaved, but I am damned:' and thus he continued to his death.

One Clerk, an open enemy to the goſpel, and to all the true preachers of it, hanged himſelf in the tower of London.

One Troling Smith, a great papiſt, fell down in the ſtreet ſuddenly, and died.

Dale, a promoter and perſecutor, was eaten of lice and died.

Cox, an earneſt proteſtant in King Edward's days, and in Queen Mary's a papiſt and promoter, going well to his bed, was found dead in the morning.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to thoſe that lay there for religion, and one that uſed to go to Bonner, Story, Chomley, &c. crying out, 'Rid my priſon, rid my priſon; I am too much peſtered with theſe heretics:' he died a miſerable death, his body being ſo ſwoln that he was more like to a monſter than a man, his entrails alſo were ſo rotten, that none could abide the ſtink of him.

His ſon James, to whom he left a great eſtate, ſoon waſted it all, jeeringly ſaying, 'Ill gotten, ill ſpent:' and as he went along Newgate market, he ſuddenly fell down and died.

John Peter, ſon in law to this Alexander, an horrible blaſphemer, who uſed upon every occaſion to ſay, 'If it be not ſo, I pray God I may rot 'ere I die:' he was alſo very cruel to the poor ſaints in priſon; but God met with him for all, for his body roted away by piece-male, whereby he died.

Juſtice Leland, the perſecutor of Jefferey Hurſt, died ſuddenly.

Robert Baulding, as he was apprehending Will. Seaman martyr, was ſtricken with lightning, whereupon he pined away, and died.

Robert Blomefield, the perſecutor of William Browne, ſhortly after conſumed away and died.

Dr Foxford, chancellor to biſhop Stokeſly, a cruel perſecutor, died ſuddenly.

Paul, town clerk of London, a bitter enemy to the profeſſors of the goſpel, hanged himſelf.

The very next day after the death of Queen Mary, died Cardinal Pool, and it was thought that he took an Italian pill which cauſed it.

At Brightwell in Barkſhire, one Laver ſaid, that he ſaw that ill-favoured knave Latimer, when he was burnt at Oxford, and that he had teeth like an horſe. But the Lord ſuffered not this ſcorn and contempt of his ſervant to go unpuniſhed; for that very day, and about the ſame hour that Laver ſpake theſe words, his ſon wickedly hanged himſelf.

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was ſhortly after ſo plagued by God with ſickneſs, that the hair of his head, and the nails of his fingers and toes came off, and his eyes were ſo cloſed up, that he could ſcarcely ſee: his wife alſo was taken with the falling ſickneſs, which ſhe was never before troubled with.

Bloody Bonner, though he died in his bed, yet lay under the ſpiritual judgment of impunitency; and as he had been a perſecutor of the light, and a child of darkneſs, ſo in darkneſs, at midnight, his carcaſe was tumbled into the earth: and as he himſelf had been a murderer, ſo he was laid amongſt thieves and murderers, a place by God's judgment fitly appointed him.

I ſhall add but one ſtory more, and I have done, and that is of Dr Williams, chancellor of Gloceſter, a great perſecutor of the ſaints, who, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when commiſſioners were ſent down for the reſtoring of religion in that city, was invited to dinner by Mr Jennins dean of Gloceſter, and was requeſted by him, after dinner, to ride forth with him to meet the commiſſioners which were near at hand, 'No, ſaid Williams, I will never ſee them.' The dean therefore going without him, Williams returned home, and preſently one poſted after the dean, and told him that the chancellor was at the point of death. The dean preſently meeting with the commiſſioners, told them this ſtory, who haſted to Gloceſter to viſit and comfort the chancellor: but before they could get to him, he had breathed forth his laſt, and thereby verified his own word, that he would never ſee them.

Job xxxi. 3. *It is not deſtruction to the wicked, and ſtrange puniſhments to the workers of iniquity.*

2 Theſſ. i. 6. 7. *It's a righteous thing with God to recompenſe tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, reſt with us, &c.*

Roma din titubans variis erroribus acta
Corruet, et mundi deſinet eſſe caput.

Rome tottering long, laden with errors ſtore,
At laſt ſhall fall, and head the world no more.

THE

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF OUR BLESSED

LORD AND SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST.

IN the 6th month after John, firnamed the Baptift, was conceived, the angel Gabriel (who had in time foretold to Daniel, the coming of the Meffias, by a definite number of weeks) was fent by God to Nazareth in Galilee, to the bleffed Virgin Mary, that was betrothed to Joſeph, of the ſame tribe of Judah with herſelf, and of the ſtock of David, who, after ſalutations, declared unto her that ſhe ſhould bring forth the Son of God, and ſhould call his name JESUS: and having more fully taught her of the admirable manner of her conception, to be performed by the power of the Holy Ghoſt overſhadowing her, with great faith ſhe ſaid, 'Be it to the hand maid of the Lord according to thy word.' Luke i. 26, 28.

Chriſt being thus conceived, the mother of our Lord went into the hill country, with haſte into a city of Juda (to wit, Hebron, a city of the prieſts, ſituate in the mountains of Judea, Joſh. 21. 10, 11.) where, when ſhe entered into the houſe of Zacharias the prieſt, and had ſaluted her couſin Elizabeth, ſhe, perceiving the child to ſpring in her womb, was filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and declared that Mary was bleſſed which believed, and confirmed that thoſe things ſhould be performed that were told her of the Lord: to whom for an anſwer the bleſſed Virgin (imitating that ſong of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 1.) rehearſed that divine hymn, 'My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, &c.' After which Mary tarried with her about three months. Luke i. 36. 59.

Not long after, Joſeph finding his betrothed wife Mary with child was willing to put her away privily: but being warned of God in a dream, and informed that ſhe had conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and ſhould bring forth her ſon Jeſus, who ſhould ſave his people from their ſins, he taketh his wife. Mat. i. 18, 24.

When the time of Mary's delivery drew near, there came forth a command from Auguſtus, that all the Roman world ſhould be taxed, which taxing was firſt made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria, Luke ii. 1. whereupon Joſeph went up from Galilee, from the city of Nazareth into Judea, into the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, becauſe he was of the houſe and lineage of David, that he might be taxed with Mary his wife, being great with child. Luke ii. 4, 5.

During their abode there, Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God in the fulneſs of time was born of the bleſſed Virgin Mary at Bethlehem, Matth. i. 25. and ii. 1, 5. Gal iv. 4. in the four thouſandth year of the world (ſaith the learned primate of Ireland, Dr Uſher) whom Mary rolled in ſwadling cloathes, and laid him in a manger, becauſe there was no room in the inn. Luke ii. 7.

Chriſt being thus born, his nativity was revealed by an angel of the Lord to ſhepherds that were keeping their flock by night in the neighbouring fields, which word, a multitude of the heavenly hoſt receiving, prayed for glory to God, peace to the earth, and good will to men; when they were departed, the ſhepherds making haſte to Bethlehem, found Mary and Joſeph, and the child lying in the manger, and they publiſhed that which was told them concerning the child, and ſo returned praiſing, and glorifying God. Luke ii. 8, 20.

The eighth day after his nativity the child was circumciſed, and his name was called Jeſus, which was ſo appointed by the angel Gabriel, before he was conceived in the womb. Luke ii. 21.

Preſently after, the wiſe men from the eaſt being guided by a new and extraordinary ſtar, came to Herod to Jeruſalem, and there, having learned that the birth-place of Chriſt was Bethlehem of Judea, they went thither, and entering into the houſe which was pointed out to them by the ſtar that ſtood over it, they found the little child and Mary his mother, and falling down they worſhipped him, and opening their treaſures, they offered unto him, gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh. Then being warned of God in a dream that they ſhould not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way. Matth. ii. 1, 12.

The fortieth day after her delivery, Mary went up to Jeruſalem to the temple, both that ſhe might preſent him to the Lord according to the law of the firſt born; and and alſo that ſhe might offer for herſelf a pair of turtle doves, or two young pigeons (ſhe being ſo poor that ſhe could not offer a lamb) according to the law concerning women that had lain in. Luke ii. 22, 23, 24, 27. with Levit. xii. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8.

When his parents, Joſeph and Mary brought the child Jeſus into the temple, to do for him according to the law, there came in at the ſame time Simeon of Jeruſalem, to whom it was revealed by God that he ſhould not die before he had ſeen the anointed of the Lord, whom he took in

in his arms, and praiſed the Lord, adding propheſies, both concerning Chriſt and his mother. At the ſame inſtant came Anna, a propheteſs, the daughter of Phanuel, who alſo acknowleged the Lord openly, and ſpake of him to all that looked for redemption in Jeruſalem. Luke ii. 25, 28.

Thus when Joſeph and Mary had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth, Luke ii. 39.

Some time after, the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joſeph in a dream, warning him to fly into Egypt, thereby to provide for the life of the child, and to eſcape the malicious deſigns of Herod, who having by the wiſe men heard that one was born king of the Jews, ſought to deſtroy him: and accordingly Joſeph, when he awaked, took the young child and his mother by night, and went into Egypt, where he remained until the death of Herod. Matth. ii. 13, 14, 15.

But Herod, thinking that the young child had ſtill been at Bethlehem (being further provoked by the wiſe mens not returning to him) that he might deſtroy Him amongſt the reſt, ſent forth ſome of his ſoldiers, who killed all the children which were in Bethlehem, and in all the coaſt thereof from two years old and under, according to the time of the ſtar firſt ſeen in the eaſt, concerning which he had enquired of the wiſe men. Matth. ii. 16.

After the death of Herod, who had ſought the life of the young child Jeſus, the angel of the Lord appeared again to Joſeph in a dream whilſt he was in Egypt, commanding him that he ſhould return with the young child and his mother into the land of Iſrael, for that he that ſought his life was dead: and accordingly when Joſeph awaked, he performed what was by the angel enjoyned him Matth. ii. 19. 20, 21.

But when he was come back into the land of Iſrael, he heard that Archilaus reigned in Judea in the room of his father Herod, he therefore feared to go thither: and being warned of God in a dream, he departed into the parts of Galilee (which Tetrarchy Herod had given by Will to Antipas) and there dwelt in the city of Nazareth, from whence Jeſus took the name of Nazarene. Matth. ii. 22, 23. and the primitive Chriſtians of Nazarenes. Act. xxiv. 5.

When Jeſus was twelve years old, at the feaſt of the paſſover, he was brought to Jeruſalem by his parents, Joſeph and Mary; and when the ſeven days of unleavened bread were ended, his parents returning home, Jeſus ſtaid behind them. But ſo ſoon as they miſſed him, they ſought him three days, and at laſt found him in the temple ſitting in the midſt of the doctors hearing them, and aſking them queſtions, ſo that all that heard him were aſtoniſhed at his underſtanding and anſwers. Luke ii. 41, 47.

Then went Jeſus down with his parents to Nazareth, and was obedient to them Luke ii. 51. and during his minority, followed his father's trade of a carpenter, eating his bread in the ſweat of his brows, as appears by the ſpeeches of his fellow citizens. 'Is not this the carpenter, the ſon of Mary?' Mark vi. 3.

The thirtieth, and the laſt jubilee falling in the thirtieth year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in the beginning of his goſpel, John, his forerunner proclaimed in the wilderneſs: 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make his paths ſtrait. Mark i. 1, 2. and opening the acceptable year of the Lord, or the time of his divine pleaſure, in which, our good God vouchſafed to manifeſt that Great One to the world, Iſa. lxi. 2. Luke iv. 19. For in the thirteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caeſar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, Herod Antipas Tetrarch of Galilee, his brother Philip Tetrarch of Ituræa, and the region of Trachonitis, and Lyſanias Tetrarch of Abilene, under the prieſthoods of Annas, and Caiaphas, came the word of the Lord unto John the ſon of Zacharias in the deſert, Luke iii. 12. according unto whoſe command this Nazarite, both prieſt and prophet of the Lord, did baptize in the deſert of Judea, in which there were many cities which are mentioned, Joſh. xv. 16. preaching the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins Matth. iii. 1. Mark i. 4. Luke iii. 3. endeavouring that Chriſt that came after him might be made known to Iſrael. John i. 7, 8, 13. which that he might more certainly know, this ſign was given him of God, that upon whom he ſhould ſee the Holy Ghoſt deſcending and remaining, he ſhould thereby know that it was he that ſhould baptize others with the Holy Ghoſt, John i. 23. Its moſt probable (ſaith the learned Dr Uſher) that this his miniſtry began on that moſt convenient day, the tenth of the ſeventh month (about the nineteenth day of our October) which was both penitential, being joined with ſolemn faſt, in which whoſoever did not afflict his ſoul, ſhould be cut off from his people, and alſo expiatory, in which the high prieſt went into the holy of holies to expiate the ſins of the people with blood that was offered: and that ſame day in which by the ſound of trumpet the jubilee was commanded to be proclaimed over all the land, Levit. xxv. 9.

So John Baptiſt, the preacher of repentance and remiſſion of ſins, to be attained by the blood of Chriſt that was to come, paſſing through every region round about Jordan, lifted up his voice like a trumpet, ſaying, 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand:' whereupon there went out to him Jeruſalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan (eſpecially that huge multitude which returned from Jeruſalem, the feaſt of tabernacles being ended about the beginning of our November) and were baptized of him in Jordan, confeſſing their ſins. Matth. iii. 2, 3. 5, 6. Mark i. 5.

And when all the people were baptized, Jeſus came alſo from Nazareth of Galilee to Jordan to be baptized of John. Luke iii. 21. Matth. iii. 13. Mark i. 9. which office John denied at firſt to perform as ſtanding in need himſelf to be baptized of Chriſt; but the Lord urging that thus it behoved that all righteouſneſs ſhould be fulfilled, he baptized him. Matth. iii. 14, 15. Jeſus then beginning to be about thirty years old. Luke iii. 23.

At this time there was made a moſt illuſtrious manifeſtation of the bleſſed Trinity: for the Son of God in the human nature that he aſſumed, aſcending out of the water and praying, the heavens were opened, and the Holy Ghoſt was ſeen in a bodily ſhape like a dove, deſcending upon him, and the voice of the Father was heard from heaven ſaying, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed. Matth. iii. 16. 17. Mark i. 10. 11. Luke iii. 21, 22.

Jeſus being now full of the Holy Ghoſt, returned from Jordan, and was driven by the Spirit into the deſert, where for forty days and nights, being tempted by the devil, he remained amongſt wild beaſts, not eating any thing, and when the days were ended he was an hungry. Luke iv. 1, 2. Matth. iv. 1, 2. Mark i. 12, 13. Satan taking this opportunity, ſet upon him with a threefold temptation, all which being ended, he departed from him for a ſeaſon. Matth iv. 3, 11. Luke iv. 3, 13. and the angels came and miniſtred unto him. Matth. iv. 11. Mark i. 13. After which Jeſus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee. Luk iv. 14. John the Baptiſt, the next day after Chriſt's coming to him, when the Jews from Jeruſalem ſent ſome prieſts and Levites of the ſect of the Phariſees to him, as he was baptizing at Bethabara by Jordan, to aſk him who he was, he profeſſed clearly that he was not the Chriſt; he denied alſo that he was Elias, or that prophet (foretold by Moſes. Deut. xviii. 15. the ſame indeed with Chriſt. Act. iii. 22. and vii. 37. but by the Jews thought to be another), he told them alſo that he was, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, make ſtrait the way of the Lord:' and then added the teſtimony of Chriſt, 'I baptize with water, but there ſtands one among you whom ye know not, he it is who cometh after, and is preferred before me, whoſe ſhoe latchet I am not worthy to unlooſe, John i. 19, 28. with chap v. 33.

The next day John ſeeing Jeſus coming to him, ſaith, 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world.' This is he of whom I ſpake, there comes one after me that is preferred before me, for he was before me, &c. and I ſaw him, and teſtify that this is the Son of God. John i. 29, 34.

The day after, John ſtood and two of his diſciples with him, and ſeeing Jeſus walking, ſaid, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' which, when the two diſciples heard, they followed Jeſus, and tarried with him that day, for it was about the tenth hour. One of theſe was Andrew, who brought

his brother Simon to Jeſus, and then Jeſus ſaw him, he ſaid, 'Thou art Simon, ſon of Jonas; thou ſhalt be called Cephas.' John i. 35, 42.

The next day Jeſus going into Galilee, commanded Philip (which was of Bethſaida, the city of Andrew and Simon Peter) to follow him. Philip finding Nathaniel under a fig-tree, brought him to Jeſus, who declared him truly to be an Iſraelite in whom there was no guile. John i. 43, &c. withal hinting, that himſelf was that ladder of heaven foreſhewn to Jacob in his dream, Gen. xxviii. 12. upon which the angels of God were ſeen aſcending and deſcending, John ii. 1, 11.

On the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee to which Jeſus was invited, together with his mother and diſciples, where he turned water into wine, the beginning of his miracles: and his glory being hereby made manifeſt, his diſciples believed in him, John ii. 1, 11.

After this he went down to Capernaum, he, his mother, and brethren (or kinſmen) and his diſciples, and tarried there not many days. John ii. 12. And thus we are come to Chriſt's entering upon his public miniſtry, whoſe acts ſhall be ſet forth according to four diſtinct paſſovers out of the harmony, of the four goſpels contrived by Dr. Richardſon, biſhop of Ardah in Ireland, and recorded by the primate Dr. Uſher: in which this is ſingular, that ſaint Matthew only is found not to obſerve the order of time which is conſtantly obſerved by the other three Evangeliſts; excepting only the parentheſis of John's being caſt into priſon by Herod. Luke iii. 19, 20.

The firſt paſſover of the miniſtry of Chriſt. John ii. 13. *from which the firſt year of the ſeventieth, and laſt week of Daniel began, in which the covenant is confirmed with many.* Dan. ix. 27. *with* Matth. xxvi. 28.

JESUS went to Jeruſalem to the paſſover, and going to the temple he ſcourged out them that bought and ſold there: and for a ſign of his authority, he declared unto them that the temple of his body ſhould be diſſolved by the Jews, and be raiſed again by himſelf. John ii. 13, 14. 19.

He wrought miracles, and many believed on him, but he did not commit himſelf to them becauſe he knew what was in man. John ii. 23, 24, 25.

He inſtructed Nicodemus, the diſciple that came to him by night, in the myſtery of regeneration, and about faith in his death, and the condemnation of unbelievers. John iii. 1. 21. Then leaving Jeruſalem, he went into the land of Judea with his diſciples, ver. 22. There he tarried and baptized (viz. that the hands of his diſciples, who had been before baptized, either by himſelf (or by John.) At this time John baptized in Ænon for he was not yet caſt into priſon. John iii. 23, 24. There aroſe a queſtion between ſome of John's diſciples and the Jews about purifying, verſe 25. Then did John inſtruct his diſciples, who told him of Jeſus in a way of emulation, concerning himſelf, and his office, and of the excellency of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, giving this notable and laſt teſtimony of him before his impriſonment, ver 26, &c. For preſently after, Herod the Tetrach caſt John into priſon for reprehending his inceſt with his brother Philip's wife, and other evils done by him, Mark vi. 17, 20. Matth. xiv. 3, 4, 5.

Jeſus hearing that John was caſt into priſon, and that the phariſees had heard that there were many made diſciples by him, and baptized, viz. by the hand of his diſciples, he left Judea, (having ſtaid there about eight months) and went into Galilee, John iv. 1, 2, 3. Matth. iv. 12. But in his way he muſt needs go through Samaria, where he brought the Samaritan woman near the city Sychar, and the citizens thereof, to the knowlege and acknowlegement of him, four months before the harveſt (or the paſſover) about the middle of the ninth month called Ab. John iv. 5, &c.

Jeſus having ſtaid two days in Sychar he went onward in his journey into Galilee, John iv. 43. This was his ſecond return from Judea into Galilee after his baptiſm, and being received of the Galileans who had ſeen what things he had done at Jeruſalem, he preached with great fame in their ſynagogues, John iv. 45. Luke iv. 14, 15. Mark i. 14, 15.

In Cana of Galilee he healed the ſon of a nobleman that lay ſick, John iv. 46, 54. he wrought miracles alſo in Capernaum, and afterwards came unto Nazareth where he had been brought up; and entring into the ſynagogue (as his cuſtom was) he expounded to them the prophecy of Iſaiah concerning himſelf: the citizens at firſt wondering, but afterwards being filled with wrath, they thruſt him out of the city, and endeavoured to have caſt him down headlong from a hill; but he, paſſing through the midſt of them went his way, Luke iv. 16, 30.

Jeſus then leaving Nazareth dwelt at Capernaum, and there ſo taught them on the Sabbath days that they were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, Luke iv. 31, 32. Mark i. 21, 22. Alſo at the ſynagogue in Capernaum, he caſt out an unclean ſpirit, commanding him that he ſhould not tell who he was, Luke iv. 33, 37. Mark i. 23, 28 After which he aroſe and went out of the ſynagoge into the houſe of Simon and Andrew, where he healed Simon's wife's mother that lay ſick of a fever, Luke iv. 38, 39. Mark i. 29, 30, 31. Matth. viii. 14, 15.

About ſun-ſet Jeſus healed all the ſick folk which were brought to him, and caſt out devils, commanding them to hold their peace, Luke iv 40, 41. Mark i. 32, 33, 34. Matth. viii. 16, 17 In the morning he went into a deſert place to pray, and when Simon and others ſought, and would have ſtaid him, he anſwered, that he muſt preach to other cities alſo, Luke iv 42, 43, 44. Mark i. 25, 39.

Then Jeſus went through all Galilee, and taught in their ſynagogues, and caſt out devils, Luke iv. 44. Mark i. 39. and as he ſtood by the lake of Genazereth a great multitude preſſed upon him: he entred therefore into Simon's ſhip, and taught the multitude from thence, Luke v. 1, 4. and when he had left ſpeaking, at his command there was a great draught of fiſhes taken; at which Simon Peter and Andrew, James and John being aſtoniſhed, he commanded them to follow him, and he would make them fiſhers of men, Luke v. 4, 11. Mark i. 16, 20. Matth. iv. 18. 22.

Then Jeſus went through all Galilee, teaching in their ſynagogues, and healing every diſeaſe; and his fame went through all Syria, and a great multitude followed him, Matth. iv. 23, 24, 25.

In a certain city Jeſus healed a leper, who, though he was forbidden, yet publiſhed it: and they came to him from every place to hear him, and to be healed; inſomuch as he could no more openly enter into the city, but was in deſert places, and prayed, Luke v. 12, 16. Mark i. 40, 45. Matth. viii. 1, 4.

Then again Jeſus entred into Capernaum, his own city after ſome days, and taught them at home, and before the ſcribes and phariſees, and a great multitude; he forgave ſins to one ſick of a palſy, who was let down through the roof of a houſe, and healed his diſeaſe to the aſtoniſhment of them all, Luke v. 17, 26. Mark ii. 1, 12. Matth. ix. 1, 8.

Then went Jeſus forth again by the ſea ſide, and all the multitude came unto him, and he taught them, and as he paſſed by, he ſaw, and called, Levy, or Matthew, ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom, Luke v. 27, 28. Mark ii. 13. 14. Matth. ix. 9.

Jeſus in the houſe of Levi defended both himſelf and his diſciples for eating with publicans, and excuſeth and vindicates them againſt the phariſees for their not faſting, Luke v. 29, 39. Mark ii. 15, 22. Matth. ix. 10, 13. And it came to paſs on the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt (*i. e.* the firſt Sabbath of the new year, inſtituted after their coming out of Egypt, and beginning from the month Niſan, or Abib) Jeſus going through the corn fields, cleared his diſciples from the charge of the phariſees, becauſe they plucked the ears of corn; and explained the doctrine of the Sabbath, Luke vi. 1, 5. Mark ii. 23, 28. Matth. xii. 1, 8.

The ſecond paſſover of the miniſtry of Chriſt, from which the ſecond year of the ſeventieth week of Daniel begins.

AFTER this was the feaſt of the Jews, and Jeſus went up to Jeruſalem, and healed on the Sabbath day a man that had an infirmity thirty eight years, who lay at the pool of Bethesda: and made a moſt divine apology to the Jews, who ſought to kill him becauſe he ſaid that 'God was his Father,' John v. 1, 47.

Afterwards he went from thence and entred into a ſynagogue and taught, and healed one that had a withered hand: whereupon the phariſees went forth, and ſtraightways, with the Herodians, took counſel how they might deſtroy him, Luke vi. 6, 11. Mark iii. 1, 6. Matth. xii. 9, 14.

But Jeſus when he knew this, withdrew himſelf to the ſea, and healed the multitudes that followed him, ſtraitly charging them that they ſhould not make him known, and commanded his diſciples that a ſmall ſhip ſhould wait on him, becauſe of the multitude that thronged him, Mark iii. 7, 12. Matth. xii. 15, 21.

And it came to paſs in thoſe days that he went into a mountain to pray: and when it was day, he choſe twelve, whom he called apoſtles, who are ſpecified by name, Luke vi. 12, 16. Mark iii. 13, 19.

And he came down with them from the mountain, and ſtood in a plain, where a great multitude came to him and he healed them all, Luke vi. 17, 18, 19.

After this they went into an houſe, and the multitude came together again ſo that they could not ſo much as eat bread, and when his kinſmen heard of it they went to lay hold on him, for they ſaid, 'He is beſide himſelf, Mark iii. 19, 20, 21.

When Jeſus ſaw the multitude, he went up into a mountain, and when he was ſet, his diſciples came unto him: and then he preached that long, and excellent ſermon, firſt to the apoſtles, and afterwards to all the people, Luke vi. 20, 49. Matth. v and 6, and 7.

Now when he had ended all his ſayings in the audience of the people he entred into Capernaum, where he healed the centurion's ſervant that lay ſick of the palſy, ready to die, Luke vii. 1. 10. Matth. viii. 5, 13.

The day following he went into the city of Naim, and raiſed one that was dead, and carrying out to his burial, which was the only ſon of a widow: whereupon his fame ſpread abroad, Luke vii. 11, 17.

John the Baptiſt, being yet in priſon, and being moved with the relation of his diſciples concerning the fame, and deeds of Jeſus, ſent two of them unto him, ſaying, 'Art thou he that was to come, or ſhall we look for another?' and when they were returned with his anſwer, Chriſt gave a large teſtimony of John. After which he upbraided ſome of the cities for their ingratitude, and yet willingly ſubmitted to the ſole good pleaſure of his Father, who hid his Son from ſome, and revealed him to others, Luke vii. 18, 35. Matth. xi. 2, 30.

Then Simon the phariſee, deſired him that he would eat with him, and as they were at meat he defended againſt Simon, and abſolved the woman, a ſinner, that waſhed his feet with her tears and wiped them with the hair of her head, both kiſſing, and anointing them, Luke vii. 36, 50.

It came to paſs afterwards that he went from city to city preaching, and his diſciples were with him, and certain women miniſtred unto him, Luke viii. 1, 2, 3.

Then they brought unto him one that had a devil that was both blind and dumb, and he healed him, and zealouſly defended himſelf againſt the phariſees and ſcribes that came down from Jeruſalem, that blaſphemed him, ſaying, 'He caſteth out devils through Beelzebub, Mark iii. 22, 30. Matth. viii. 22, 37.

Then ſaid ſome of the Scribes and Phariſees to him, 'Maſter, we would ſee a ſign of thee,' to whom, when he had ſharply rebuked them, he would give no other ſign but that of Jonas. Matth. viii. 38, 45.

Whilſt Jeſus ſpake to the people, it was told him that his mother and brethren ſtood without deſiring to ſee, and to ſpeak with him: but Jeſus anſwering, ſhewed them whom he accounted for his mother, and brother, and ſiſter. Luke viii. 19, 20, 21. Mark iii. 31, 35. Matth. xii. 46, 50.

The ſame day Jeſus went out of the houſe and ſat by the ſea-ſide, and great multitudes were gathered unto him, ſo that he went into a ſhip, and ſat, and taught the multitude many things, by the parable of the ſower, and by divers other parables. Luke viii. 4. 18. Mark ix. 1, 31. Matth. xiii. 1, 53.

Alſo the ſame day when it was evening, he ſaid unto them, 'Let us lanch forth unto the other ſide of the lake:' and when he had given an anſwer to ſome that would follow him, and ſent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ſhip, and by the way there aroſe a great tempeſt, but he rebuked the wind, and calmed the ſea, and ſaved his diſciples. Luke viii. 22, 25. Mark iv. 45, 41. Matth. viii. 18, 27.

When they came to the other ſide into the country of the Gadarenes, or Gergaſenes, which was on the oppoſite ſhore to Galilee, and when he was gone on land, there met him two poſſeſſed with devils, very fierce (Mark and Luke mention but one) out of whom Jeſus caſt the devils, and ſuffered them to go into the herd of ſwine; whereupon the Gadarenes deſired him to leave their coaſts. Then did the poſſeſſed perſons importune him that they might abide with him; but he denied their requeſt, and ſent them back to publiſh about Decapolis what great things Jeſus had done for them: after which he paſſed over again by ſhip to the other ſide, and from thence went unto his own city (Capernaum.) Luke viii. 26, 36. Mark v. 1, 16, 17, 20. Matth. viii. 28, 33, 34.

And it came to paſs that when Jeſus was returned, the people received him gladly, for they waited for him, and he was by the ſea ſide. Luke viii. 40. Mark v. 21. and there came to him the diſciples of John, ſaying, 'Why do we and the Phariſees faſt oft, but thy diſciples faſt not?' to whom he gave anſwer. Matth. ix. 14. 17.

Whilſt Jeſus yet ſpake, behold there came Jairus, one of the rulers of the ſynagogue, beſought him greatly for his only daughter, being about twelve years old, who lay at the point of death: and as he was going, even at Jairus door, a woman that had an iſſue of blood twelve years was ſuddenly healed by touching the hem of Jeſus garment: and the daughter of Jairus being now already dead, was reſtored to life by his word only: and he ſtraitly charged them that no man ſhould know it. Luke viii. 41, 56. Mark v. 22, 43. Matth. ix. 18, 16.

When Jeſus was departed thence, two blind men followed him, whoſe eyes he opened, ſtraitly charging them (but to no purpoſe) that no man ſhould know it. Matth. ix. 27. 31.

As they went out, behold, they brought unto him a dumb man poſſeſſed with a devil, and when the devil was caſt out, the dumb ſpake, and the multitude marvelled: but the Phariſees blaſphemed. Matth. ix. 32, 33, 34. 35.

Then went Jeſus round about all the cities, and villages, teaching, and healing their diſeaſes. Then went he into his own country, and his diſciples followed him, and he taught in their ſynagogues on the Sabbath days, and was again contemned of them and called the Carpenter: yet were they aſtoniſhed at his doctrine. Mark vi. 1, 6. Matth. xii. 54, 58. and he went round about their villages teaching. Mark vi. 6.

Jeſus was moved with compaſſion towards the multitude when he ſaw the great harveſt, and the few labourers, and thereupon commanded his diſciples that they ſhould 'pray the Lord that he would ſend forth labourers.' Matth. ix. 35, 38.

Then ſent Jeſus the twelve apoſtles by two and two, having ſufficiently inſtructed them with commands and power to preach, and to heal diſeaſes. Luke ix. 1, 5. Mark vi. 7, 11. Matth. x. 1, 42.

And it came to paſs when Jeſus had made an end of commanding his diſciples, that he departed thence to teach and preach in the cities, and the twelve departed, and went through the towns preaching the goſpel, and healing every where. Luke ix. 6. Matth. xi. 1, 12, 16.

About this time (November 7th.) Sejanus was killed: after whoſe death, Tiberius Cæſar ſoon knew that all the crimes which he had charged upon the Jews, were feigned by

by himſelf: wherefore he commanded the governors of all the provinces, that in every town they ſhould ſpare that nation, except very few that were guilty perſons: but that they ſhould alter none of their cuſtoms, and ſhould make much account of them as lovers of peace, and their cuſtoms as conducing to public tranquillity.

About this time alſo was John Baptiſt beheaded. Mark vi. 17, 28. Matth. xvi. 6. 11, 12. and when his diſciples heard of it, they came, and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told Jeſus. Mark vi. 29.

The fame of Jeſus went abroad, Herod the Tetrarch, and others, hearing it, declared their opinions about him, and Herod deſired much to ſee him. Luke ix. 7, 8, 9. Mark vi. 14.

The apoſtles returning, told Jeſus what things they had done. Luke ix. 10. Mark vi. 30.

When Jeſus had heard of the death of John, and of the deeds of the apoſtles, he ſaid unto them, 'Come ye yourſelves apart into a deſert place, and reſt a while:' for by reaſon of the multitude they had not leiſure to eat: he therefore, taking the twelve with him, went by ſhip privately into a deſert place, of the city called Bethſeda: but when the multitude heard it, they followed him on foot out of all cities, and out went him, and he taught and healed them. Luke ix. 10, 11. Mark vi. 31, 32. Matth. xvi. 13, 14.

Then Jeſus went up into a mountain, and there ſat with his diſciples, and the paſſover was nigh. And when it was evening, he fed above five thouſand men, beſides women, and children, with five barley loaves, and two little fiſhes, and there remained twelve baſkets full of fragments. And when the Jews (ſeeing his miracles) would have made him a king; Jeſus conſtrained his diſciples to go before him unto the other ſide, oppoſite to Bethſeda, towards Capernaum: and he himſelf went into a mountain to pray: and when they had gone about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, in the fourth watch of the night, Jeſus went to them, walking upon the ſea, and would have paſſed by them: but they being affrighted, he told them who he was, rebuked Peter and ſaved him from ſinking, ſo that they were amazed: and they drew to ſhore and came to the land of Genazeret: and when he came out of the ſhip, as ſoon as it was known, they brought their ſick that they might touch the hem of his garment, and they were preſently made whole. John vi. 1, 21. Luke ix. 12, 17. Mark vi. 35. 56. Matth. xvi. 15, 36.

The next day after that Jeſus was paſſed over, the people which ſtood on this ſide the ſea, took ſhipping and came to Capernaum ſeeking Jeſus, to whom he preached in the ſynagogue of Capernaum about the Bread of Life, and affirmed to the Jews that murmured, that he was that Bread of Life. From that time many of his diſciples went back, but the apoſtles would not go away, notwithſtanding he called one of them a devil. John vi. 22, 27.

The third paſſover of the miniſtry of Chriſt, John vi. 4. *From which the third year of the ſeventieth week of Daniel began.*

THE Scribes and Phariſees which came from Jeruſalem, came to Jeſus, and when they ſaw ſome of his diſciples to eat with defiled, that is, unwaſhen hands, they found fault, becauſe they did not walk after the tradition of the elders, to whom Jeſus anſwered concerning traditions, that they fruſtrated the commands of God that they might keep the traditions of men: and he taught the people, which he alſo expounded to his diſciples at home, that nothing which enters into a man, but that which cometh from within, that defileth a man. Mark vii. 1, 23. Matth. xv. 1. 20.

Then he aroſe from thence and went into the borders of Tyre and Sydon, and he could not be hid. For a Canaaniti{ſ}h woman, a Gentile, a Syrophœnician by nation, came to him, earneſtly beſeeching him for her daughter, that was vexed with a devil; whom, when he had commended for the greatneſs of her faith, he caſt the devil out of her daughter. Mark vii. 24, 30. Matth. xv. 21, 28.

And again departing from the coaſts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the ſea of Galilee, through the midſt of the coaſt of Decapolis, and they brought unto him one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his ſpeech, whom he healed, and charged him that he ſhould tell no man, but all in vain. Mark viii. 31, 37.

Then went he up into a mountain and ſat there, and healed many, ſo that the multitude wondered. Matth. xv. 29, 30, 31.

In thoſe days, when there was a very great multitude that had remained with him three days, he fed four thouſand men, beſides women and children, with ſeven loaves, and a few little fiſhes, and there remained ſeven baſkets full of fragments. Mark viii 1, 9. Matth. xv. 32, 38.

And ſtrait way Jeſus entered into a ſhip with his diſciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha, or the coaſts of Magdala. Mark viii 10. Matth. xv. 39.

And the Phariſees came to him, requiring a ſign from heaven, who after he had deeply ſighed, he denied any ſign but that of Jonas, to thoſe hypocrites, who knew how to diſcern the face of the ſky, but the ſigns of the times: and leaving them, he entered again into a ſhip and paſſed to the other ſide. Mark viii. 11, 12, 13. Matth. xvi. 1, 4.

And when his diſciples were come to the other ſide, they had forgotten to take bread, and they had but one loaf with them in the ſhip. Then Jeſus ſaid unto them, 'Take heed of the leaven of the Phariſees and Sadducees, and of the leaven of Herod:' and they reaſoned amongſt themſelves becauſe they had forgotten to take bread: but Jeſus rebuking them that they had forgotten the miraculous multiplication of the loaves, gave them to underſtand that he ſpake not of the leaven of bread, but of their doctrine. Mark viii. 14, 21. Matth. xvi. 5, 21.

Then came Jeſus to Bethſaida, and they brought to him a blind man, whom he led out of the town, and anointed his eyes with ſpittle, and he recovered his ſight, and Jeſus forbade him to tell it. Mark viii. 22, 76.

And Jeſus went with his diſciples into the towns of Cæſarea Philippi: and it came to paſs as he was alone praying, and was now in the way, that he aſked his diſciples, 'Whom do men ſay that I am?' When they had anſwered, he ſaid unto them, but 'whom do ye ſay that I am?' And when Peter anſwered, he pronounced him happy, annexing promiſes, and forbade his diſciples to tell any man that he was the Chriſt. He alſo foretold his death and reſurrection, and called Peter Satan, becauſe he rebuked him for ſo ſaying. Then he preached to his diſciples, and to the multitude, of the croſs, which every one muſt bear that would follow him, and at length foretold his tranſiguration. Luke vii. 18, 27. Mark viii. 27, 28. Matth. xvi. 13, 28.

And it came to paſs about eight days after theſe things (or ſix intermediate days) that he was tranſfigured in an high mountain. And when they came down from the mountain, he charged them that they ſhould tell no man what they had ſeen till he was riſen from the dead: and they kept it cloſe, queſtioning one with another, 'what the riſing from the dead ſhould mean,' and they aſked him, why do the Scribes ſay that Elias muſt firſt come; and they received an anſwer by which they underſtood that Jeſus ſpake of John Baptiſt, as that Elias. Luke vii. 28, 36. Mark ix. 1, 13. Matth. xvii. 1, 13.

And it came to paſs the next day when they were come down from the hill, and were come to his diſciples, he ſaw a great multitude about them, and the Scribes queſtioning with them: and ſtrait way when all the multitude ſaw him, they were greatly amazed, and running to him, ſaluted him: and as he was aſking about their queſtioning with his diſciples, the father of a lunatic child anſwered him, that it was about his child that had an unclean ſpirit, both deaf and dumb, and that his diſciples could not caſt him out. Then Jeſus having caſt out the ſpirit, reſtored the child to his father whole: and being at home, he ſhewed his diſciples the reaſon why they could not caſt out this devil. Luke vii. 37, 42. Mark ix. 14, 29. Matth. xvii. 14, 21.

And they departed thence and paſſed through Galilee, and he would not that any man ſhould know it: and he taught his diſciples concerning his death and reſurrection: but they underſtood not that ſaying, and being exceedingly ſorry,

ſorry, were afraid to aſk him, Luke vii. 43, 44, 45. Mark ix. 30, 31, 32, Matth. xvii. 22, 23.

When they were come to Capernaum they aſked Peter about Jeſus his paying tribute money. And when Jeſus was come into the houſe, he prevented Peter, telling him, that he ſhould find a piece of money in a fiſhes mouth, and bade him pay that for tribute both for himſelf and for Jeſus, Matth. xvii. 24, 27.

At Capernaum Jeſus aſked his diſciples what it was that they diſputed of among themſelves by the way, at which, when they were ſilent at the firſt, they afterwards told him that it was, who ſhould be the greateſt in the kingdom of heaven: then Jeſus taking a child, and ſetting him in the midſt, taught them that they ſhould have humility even as a child. He alſo warned the world of offences, admoniſhing us to take heed that neither hand, foot, nor eye make us to offend. That little ones are not to be deſpiſed. How our brother ſinning againſt us, is to be reproved, as alſo to be bound and looſed by the church: and to be forgiven to ſeventy times ſeven times, as he ſhewed in that parable of the two debtors to the king, Luke vii. 46, 47, 48. Mark ix. 33, 37. Matth. xviii. 1, 35.

Then ſaid John to him, 'we ſaw one caſting out devils through thy name,' whom Jeſus taught that he was not to be forbidden, and again warned them not to offend little ones, and to take heed again that neither hand, foot, nor eye cauſe them to offend, Luke vii. 49, 50. Mark ix. 38, 40.

After theſe things Jeſus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, becauſe the Jews ſought to kill him. Now the feaſt of tabernacles was at hand: and Jeſus went not up to the feaſt, as his brethren would have him do, who as yet believed not on him: but he went up after them, not openly, but as it were in ſecret, John vii. 1, 10.

And it came to paſs that when the time was come that he ſhould be received, he ſet his face to go to Jeruſalem, and he ſent meſſengers before his face, and they went into a village of the Samaritans to make ready for him, but they would not receive him, wherefore they went into another city, and Jeſus rebuked his diſciples who would have commanded fire to come down from heaven upon them, Luke vii 51, 56.

And as they were paſſing in the way, Jeſus gave an anſwer particularly to ſome that would follow him, Luke vii. 57, 62.

After theſe things Jeſus ſent ſeventy diſciples by two and two into every city and place where he himſelf would come, giving them inſtructions, and arming them with power, Mark x. 1, 16.

The multitude enquiring after Jeſus at the feaſt, and murmuring concerning him, Jeſus in the midſt of the feaſt, taught in the temple: and they wondring at his doctrine, he anſwered, 'that his doctrine was not his own but his that ſent him:' He alſo anſwered many things to them who reproached, and objected againſt him, and officers were ſent to apprehend him. In the laſt and great day of the feaſt, Jeſus crying out concerning faith in him, there was a diviſion concerning him amongſt the people: but the officers which were ſent, and Nicodemus defended both his perſon and cauſe before the phariſees that ſpake againſt him, John vii. 11, 53.

Then went Jeſus unto the mount of Olives, and early in the morning he ſat and taught in the temple, where, being not willing to condemn the woman that was taken in adultery, he warned her to ſin no more. As he was teaching in the treaſury of the temple, he affirmed that he was the light of the world, and defended his bearing record of himſelf. He taught many things concerning the Father himſelf, and told them whither he goes, and who he is: alſo of their father Abraham: of the ſervitude of ſin and of the devil: of himſelf, that he had not a devil as they ſuppoſed: that whoſoever kept his ſayings ſhould not taſte of death, concluding with theſe words, before Abraham was, I am; whereupon they took up ſtones to throw at him: but Jeſus hid himſelf and went out of the temple, going through the midſt of them, and ſo paſſed by, John viii. 1, 59.

As Jeſus paſſed on the way, he ſaw one begging that was blind from his youth, who being made to ſee, after many examinations both of himſelf, and of his parents, he was caſt out of the ſynagogue, who afterwards meeting Jeſus, he worſhipped him, John ix. 1, 41.

Then preached Jeſus that he is the door of the ſheep, and the good Shepherd: as alſo concerning thieves, and hirelings: and there was again a diviſion amongſt the Jews for thoſe ſayings, John x. 1, 21.

At this time the ſeventy returned to him with joy, whom Jeſus further warned and inſtructed: and rejoicing in ſpirit, he told them privately that their eyes were happy, Luke x. 17, 24.

Then came to him a certain lawyer, aſking him, what he muſt do to inherit eternal life? Jeſus ſent him to the law, and by the parable of the man that fell amongſt thieves, taught him who was his neighbour, Luke x. 25, 37.

Afterwards it came to paſs, that as he went, he came to a certain town, and was received into the houſe of Martha, ſhe herſelf miniſtring to him, whilſt Mary heard the words of Jeſus, for which ſhe was preferred before Martha, Luke x. 38, 42.

And it came to paſs as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceaſed, one of his diſciples ſaid unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his diſciples: whereupon he, the ſecond time preſcribed to them the Lord's prayer: uſing arguments alſo to ſtir them up to conſtancy in prayer, and for the confirmation of their faith in obtaining their ſuits, Luke xi. 1, 13.

Then caſt Jeſus a devil out that was dumb, and the multitude marvelled, and he confirmed againſt ſome blaſphemers, that he did not caſt out devils through Beelzebub, Luke xi. 14, 26.

And it came to paſs as he ſpake theſe things, that a certain woman of the company ſaid unto him, 'Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee,' &c. to whom he replied, Luke xi. 27, 28.

And when the multitude were gathered thick together, he began to ſay: 'This generation ſeeks a ſign, but there ſhall be none given but that of Jonas:' adding, that the queen of the South, and the Ninivites ſhould condemn that generation, charging them to take heed that the light which was in them, were not darkneſs, Luke xi. 29, 36.

When Jeſus had ſpoken theſe things, a certain phariſee deſired him that he would dine with him: and wondring that Jeſus had not firſt waſhed, he was ſeverely reprehended, with the reſt of the phariſees, by Jeſus for their outward holineſs, or ſimulation, and for their inward wickedneſs, covetouſneſs and pride: and he pronounced a wo likewiſe to the lawyers, Luke xi. 37, 54.

In the mean time when there was gathered together an innumerable company, Jeſus ſaid to his diſciples, 'Take heed of the leaven of the phariſees which is hypocriſy: and fear not them which kill the body, Luke xii. 1, 12.

And one of the company ſaid to him, Maſter ſpeak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me: to whom Jeſus ſaid, who made me a judge? And upon this occaſion he preached againſt covetouſneſs in the parable of the rich man that would build great barns: as alſo againſt all anxious, diſtruſtful, and unprofitable carking about the neceſſaries of this life; commanding them rather to ſeek the kingdom of God: and to be like them that wait for the coming of their Lord as becomes every faithful and wiſe ſteward: telling them that he would ſend the fire of diviſion into the earth, and upbraided them that they could not find out that that was the appointed time, Luke xii. 13, 59.

There were preſent at that ſeaſon ſome that told him of the Galileans, whoſe blood Pilate had mingled with their ſacrifices, from which occaſion he preached repentance, and propounded to them the parable of the fig-tree, that had no fruit, Luke xiii. 1, 9.

As he taught in one of their ſynagogues on the Sabbath day, behold, there was a woman that had a ſpirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together; whom Jeſus healed, and defended his deed againſt the ruler of the ſynagogue that was full of indignation. Then did he likken the kingdom of heaven to a grain of muſtard ſeed, and to leaven, Luke xiii. 10, 21.

Then went he through all the cities, and villages teaching, and journeying towards Jeruſalem, to wit, to the feaſt of dedication, Luke xiii. 22.

As

As he went, one said to him, are there few that shall be saved? To whom he answered, commanding to strive to enter in at the strait gate, Luke xiii. 23. 30.

On the same day some of the pharisees came to him, saying, Get thee out, and depart hence, for Herod will kill thee; to whom he gave a resolute answer, Luke xiii. 31. 35.

And it came to pass as he went into the house of one of the chief pharisees to eat bread, there was one present that had a dropsy, whom he healed, and defended the deed though it was done on the Sabbath day. He also spake a parable to them that were bidden, and instructed him that had invited him. Luke xiv. 1, 14.

And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, 'Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God: to which Jesus answered and propounded to them the parable of the great supper, and of the several excuses that those that were invited, made. Luke xiv. 15, 24.

And there was a great multitude that went with him, and he turned and preached unto them, that life itself is to be laid down for Christ. He also propounded to them the parables of the man that was about to build a tower, and of the kings going to war. Luke xiv. 25, 35.

And there came to him all the Publicans and sinners for to hear him, and the Scribes and Pharisees murmured, whereupon he spake unto them the parables of the lost sheep, of the groat, and of the prodigal son. Luke xv. 1, 32.

He also told his disciples the parable of the unjust steward accused to his Lord: together with the application of the same: and the Pharisees, that were covetous, when they heard these things, derided him. Then preached he against them, and taught many other things, and declared the parable of the rich man faring deliciously, and of Lazarus the beggar. Luke xvi. 1, 31.

Moreover he said to his disciples, 'Wo to them by whom offences come,' and taught, that a brother sinning against a man is to be forgiven. Luke xvii. 1. 14.

Hereupon his disciples said to him, 'Lord encrease our faith,' to whom he answered concerning the power of faith; and by the parable of the servant coming from the plough and straight way ministring, he shewed that they are unprofitable servants when they have done all, having done no more than what was their duty. Luke xvii. 5. 10.

And it came to pass as he went to Jerusalem, that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee, and as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten lepers, who, as they were going according to his command, to the priests, they were cleansed, of whom one of them came back to Jesus to give him thanks, and he was a Samaritan. Luke xvii. 11, 19.

The Pharisees asking Jesus when the kingdom of God would come? he answered, 'That the kingdom of God would not come with observation:' but that it is within: and further said to his disciples, that according to the days of Noah and Lot, so shall be the day in which the Son of man shall be revealed: but that he was first to suffer many things. Luke xvii. 20, 37.

Then spake he to them a parable that they should always pray, by the example of the widow interceeding to the unjust judge: whereas God is a righteous revenger. Luke xviii. 1, 8.

He spake also to some that persuaded themselves that they were just, and despised others, the parable of the Pharisee, and Publican praying in the temple. Luke xviii. 9, 14.

And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the Dedication, and it was winter, and Jesus walked in the temple of Solomon's porch: then came the Jews round about him and said unto him, 'How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou beest the Christ, tell us plainly?' which he avouched by his works, saying, 'I and the Father are one:' whereupon they again took up stones to stone him. And he defending himself to be God by the scriptures, and his works, they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hands. John x. 22, 39.

Then he went again beyond Jordan where John at first did baptize, and there he abode, and many resorted to him; and as he was wont, he taught them, and healed them and many believed on him there, Luke xviii. 40, 41, 42, Mark x. 1, 19. Matth. xix. 1, 2.

Then came to him the pharisees tempting him, saying, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? Jesus denied it, and gave an answer to the pharisees objecting the bill of divorce which Moses commanded: he answered his disciples also who said, that then its better for a man not to marry, Mark x. 2, 12. Matth xix. 3 12.

At this time they brought unto him little children that he should lay his hands upon them, and pray, and his disciples forbade them; for which, being rebuked by Jesus, he laid his hands upon them and blessed them, and then departed from thence. Luke xviii. 15, 16, 17. Mark x. 13, 16. Matth. xix. 13, 14, 15.

Jesus going from thence, as he was in the way, there met him a young man, one of the rulers, very rich, saying unto him, 'Good Master, what must I do to inherit eternal life?' And Jesus having spoken concerning the title that he gave him, sent him to the commandments, and he replying, that he had observed them, Jesus loved him: but bidding him to sell all that he had, and give it to the poor, he went away sorrowful. Luke xviii. 18, 30. Mark x. 17, 31. Matth. xix. 16, 30.

Then Jesus inveighed bitterly against covetous rich men: and when Peter said, 'Behold we have left all to follow thee,' he made notable promises to all such, whereof some were peculiar to the apostles: adding withal, 'that many which were last should be first, and the first should be last,' which he declared by a parable of labourers in a vineyard: For many were called but few chosen. Luke xviii. 28, 29, 30. Matth. xix. 27, &c. Mark x. 23. &c

Lazarus of Bethany being sick, his sisters sent to tell Jesus thereof, who as soon as he heard it, tarried two days in the place where he was: but afterwards he said to his disciples, 'Let us go again into Judea:' they said to him, 'the Jews of late sought to stone thee, and goest thou thither again?' Jesus answering, said unto them, Lazarus sleepeth, (meaning that he was dead.) Let us go to him (said Thomas) that we may die with him. John xi. 1, 6.

Jesus came nigh to Bethany, and found that Lazarus had been buried four days: and Mary hearing of it, came quickly to him out of the town, where Martha also met him, and Jesus seeing her weep, he wept also, and coming to the grave, he bade them remove the stone, and giving thanks to his father, called Lazarus out of the grave, whereupon many believed on him: but some went to the Pharisees and told them what things Jesus had done. John ii. 17. 54.

Hereupon the Pharisees called a council, where Caiaphas prophesied concerning Jesus, and from that day they consulted together that they might put him to death, commanding that if any one knew where he was, they should give them notice that they might take him. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but went unto a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples. John xi. 54.

After this they went up to Jerusalem, and as they were in the way, Jesus went before them, and they were afraid, and he again took the twelve, and began to tell them what things should happen unto him, but they understood none of those things. Luke xviii. 31, 34. Mark x. 32, 33, 34. Matth. xix. 17, 18, 19.

Then came to him James and John, the sons of Zebedee, and their mother, desiring that they might sit, the the one on his right hand, and the other on his left; but he repelled them with his answer, and when the rest were displeased with their request, he admonished them all, that he that would be great and first amongst them, must be the minister and servant of all. Mark x. 35, 45. Matth. xix. 20, 28.

And it came to pass when Jesus came nigh to Jericho, a certain blind man sat begging by the way side, and asking who it was that passed by, and hearing that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he (though he was rebuked) earnestly implored his mercy, and being called by Jesus, he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God. Luke xviii. 35, 43.

Then Jesus entered, and passed through Jericho, and espying

eſpying Zacheus in a ſycamore-tree, he ſaid unto him, I muſt abide at thy houſe to day, Luke xix. 1, 10.

And as Jeſus went out of Jericho, a great multitude followed him: and he reſtored ſight to two blind men, whereof Bartimeus was one, and they followed him, Mark x. 46. 52. Matth. xix. 29. 34.

Being come nigh to Jeruſalem, becauſe they thought that the kingdom of God ſhould immediately appear, as he went forwards, he told the parable of the noble man that went into a far country, who gave to his ten ſervants ten pounds to occupy therewith till he returned, and when he came back, knowing which had gained moſt by trading, he rewarded each of them according to the proportion of their gain, Luke xix. 11, 27.

Now the paſſover was at hand, and many went out of the country up to Jeruſalem before the paſſover, that they might purify themſelves, John xi. 55. 56, 57.

And Jeſus, ſix days before the paſſover, came to Bethany, and they made him a ſupper, and Lazarus ſat with him, and Mary anointed his feet, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, whom Jeſus defended againſt Judas: and much people came thither, not only for Jeſus ſake, but that they might ſee Lazarus: but the chief prieſts conſulted how they might put Lazarus to death, becauſe many of the Jews believed by reaſon of him, John xii. 1, 11. Mark xi. 1, 7. Matth. xxi. 1, 7. Luke xix. 28 35.

After this Jeſus went before, aſcending up to Jeruſalem; and it came to paſs that when he was nigh to Bethphage, and Bethany, at the mount of Olives (the 29th day of our March) he ſent two of his diſciples for an aſs colt that was ty'd. Matthew mentions the dam alſo: and they brought the colt unto Jeſus, and caſt their garments on the colt, and ſet him thereon, and much people that came to the feaſt, met him, many caſting their garments in the way, and others cut down branches of the trees and ſtrewed them in the way, and when he was come unto the decent of the mount of Olives, the company that went before and that followed, cried, 'Hoſanna to the Son of David; then ſaid ſome of the phariſees to him, Maſter, rebuke thy diſciples: Jeſus anſwered them; and the phariſees thereupon ſaid amongſt themſelves, perceive ye not that we prevail no thing? Behold the world is gone after him, John xii. 12, 18. Luke xix. 36, 40. Mark xi. 8, 9, 10. Matth. xix. 8, 9.

When Jeſus was come nigh, ſeeing the city, he wept over it, foretelling the utter deſtruction thereof, John xii. 19. Luke xix. 41, 42, Mark xi. 10, 11.

And when he was entred into Jeruſalem, all the city was moved ſaying, who is this? And Jeſus entred into the temple of God, and caſt out thoſe that bought and ſold in it, and healed both blind, and lame in it: and juſtified the children who cried, Hoſanna, in the temple, againſt the prieſts, and ſcribes that were diſpleaſed at it. He alſo taught daily in the temple, thoſe that heard him being very attentive: but the chief prieſts and elders of the people ſought to deſtroy him, Luke xix. 45, 46. Mark xi. 11. Matth. xxi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Some Greeks of thoſe that came to worſhip at the feaſt, deſired to ſee Jeſus, and he anſwered them that told him: alſo by preaching of his paſſion, and calling upon his Father he received an anſwer from heaven, which ſome thought to be thunder, others an angel: and ſpeaking again of the lifting up of the Son of man from the earth, he anſwered them that aſked him, 'who this Son of man was?' Then going from thence, he hid himſelf from them: and when it was evening, he went with his diſciples unto Bethany: and though he had done ſo many miracles amongſt them, yet did they not believe, that the word of Iſaias might be fulfilled. Yet nevertheleſs many of the rulers believed on him, but did not confeſs him for fear of the Phariſees. Jeſus crying out therefore, preached concerning faith in him. John xii. 20, 50. Mark ii. 17.

On the morrow when he came from Bethany, he was an hungry, and ſeeing a fig-tree that had only leaves on it, he curſed it, and it ſtraitway withered. Then they came to Jeruſalem, and entring into the temple, he again caſt out thoſe that ſold and bought there, and would not that any ſhould carry a veſſel through the temple; and crying out, he taught concerning faith in himſelf: but the chief prieſts ſought how they might deſtroy him: for they feared him, becauſe all the people were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine: and when evening was come Jeſus went out of the city, Mark xi. 12, 19. Matth: xxi. 18, 19.

And when they returned in the morning, as they paſſed by the fig-tree, they ſaw that it was dried up by the roots, which Peter ſhewing to Jeſus, he preached unto them of the power and virtue of faith, but eſpecial in prayers. And they came again into Jeruſalem, and as he was walking in the temple and teaching, the chief prieſts, elders, and ſcribes came unto him ſaying, by what authority doſt thou theſe things? Jeſus anſwered by aſking them concerning John's baptiſm. He alſo ſpake unto them the parable of the two ſons, aſking them, which of the two did the will of his father? and applied it unto them. As alſo the parable of the vineyard let out to huſband men, and of their killing the heir of the vineyard, together with the application thereof: and from that hour they ſought to take him: but they feared the people, for they took him for a prophet. Again he propounded to them the parable of the marriage of the king's ſon, and the refuſals, and excuſes of ſome that were bidden, and the wickedneſs and puniſhments of others, eſpecially of him that had not on the wedding garment. Then went the phariſees, and took counſel how they might entangle him in his talk: wherefore they ſent out unto him their diſciples, with the Herodians ſaying, Is it lawful to give tribute to Ceſar, or not? Theſe being aſtoniſhed at his anſwer, left him, and went their way, Luke xx. 1, 8, 9, 19, 20, 40. Mark xi. 20, 33, and 12, 1, 12, 13, 37. Matth. xxi. 19, 46, and 22. 1, 46.

The ſame day there came to Jeſus the Saduces, aſking him of the woman that had ſeven brethren to her huſbands, which of them ſhould be her huſband in the reſurrection, and when the multitude had heard his anſwer whereby he proved the reſurrection, they were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine: then a phariſee that was a lawyer, tempted him, aſking which was the great commandment in the law? to whom he anſwered, and aſked the phariſee whoſe ſon Chriſt is? and no man was able to anſwer him a word, neither durſt any man from that day forth, aſk him any more queſtions, Luke xx. 41, 44.

Then ſpake Jeſus to the multitude, and to his diſciples concerning the ſcribes and phariſees, denouncing eight woes againſt them: and turning his ſpeech to the city of Jeruſalem, he accuſed her of cruelty, and obſtinacy, and foretold her deſolation, Luke xx. 45, 46, 47. Mark xii. 38, 30, 40. Matth. xxiii. 1, 39.

And as Jeſus ſat over againſt the treaſury he ſaw a widow caſting in two mites, whom he preferred before them that caſt in more, Luke xxi. 1, 4. Mark xii. 41, 44.

When he was gone out of the temple his diſciples ſhewed him the ſtately buildings, and ſtones of it, whereupon he foretold the ruin thereof, Luke xxi. 5, 36. Mark xiii. 1, 37. Matth. xxiv. 1, 51.

And as he ſat on the mount of Olives over againſt the temple, his diſciples aſked him when theſe things ſhould be, and what ſhould be the ſign of his coming, and of the end of the world? To whom he at large anſwered concerning the ſigns of them both: and warned them to watch, and be ready, becauſe they knew not the hour when the Lord would come, and he taught the ſame thing by the parable of the ten virgins: as alſo by the parable of the talents delivered to the ſervants to trade withal; and deſcribed the judgment of this world (perhaps as a type of that) by ſetting the ſheep on the right hand, and the goats on the left, and giving ſentence upon each of them. By day he taught in the temple, but at night he went into the mount of Olives: and all the people came unto him early in the morning, and he taught them in the temple, Matth. xxv. 1, 46. Luke xxi. 37, 38.

And it came to paſs when Jeſus had finiſhed theſe ſayings, he ſaid unto his diſciples, Ye know that after two days is the paſſover, and the Son of man ſhall be betrayed to be crucified: about which time they conſulted together in the palace of the high prieſt, that they might kill Jeſus: but they ſaid, not on the feaſt day, leſt there be an uproar amongſt the people, Mark xiv. 1, 2. Matth. xxvi. 1, 5.

As Jeſus was in the houſe of Simon the leper, he defended a woman that poured an alabſter box of ointment on his head, as he ſat at meat, againſt his diſciples that murmured

mured at it, and foretold his burial, Mark xiv. 3, 9. Matth. xxvi. 6, 13.

Then entred Satan into Judas, who offered himself and covenanted to betray him, Luke xxii. 1, 3. Mark xiv. 10, 11. Matth. xxvi. 14, 15, 16.

The fourth and last Passover, in which Christ (our passover) was sacrificed, 1 Cor. v. 7 *and so an end was put to all the Legal Sacrifices which prefigured this only one. The fourth, or middle year of the last week of Daniel now beginning,* Dan. ix. 27.

IN the first day of unleavened bread, when the passover was slain (April 2.) his disciples asked him where they should prepare it? Then he sent Peter and John into the city, telling them that there should meet them a man bearing a pitcher of water, by following of whom, they should find a guest-chamber ready furnished by the good man of the house, Mark xiv. 12, 16. Matth. xxvi. 17, 18, 19.

And in the evening he went thither with the twelve, and when they had sat down and eaten, Jesus said, I have greatly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: and he commanded them to divide the cup amongst themselves: saying, I will not any more eat of the passover, or drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come; then said he, one of you shall betray me, and they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, Is it I? and he answered, It is he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish: and to Judas, asking is it I? he answered, Thou hast said, Luke xxii. 14, 18. Mark xiv. 17, 18. 21. Matth. xxvi. 21, 25.

Also whilst they were eating, Jesus instituted the sacrament of his body and blood in bread and wine, after he had supped, adding, I will not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine, till I shall drink new with you in the kingdom of my Father? But, behold, saith he, the hand of him that betrays me, is with me at the table, then they began to enquire amongst themselves if any among them should do this, Luke xxii. 19, 23. Mark xiv. 22, 25. Matth. xxvi. 25, 26.

There was also a strife amongst them which of them should be accounted greatest: when supper was ended, Jesus arose and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself therewith, and began to wash, and wipe his disciples feet, and Peter's also, who at first denied it, but afterwards desired it. This being done, Jesus sat down again, saying, I have shewed you an example, that as I have done, you might likewise wash one anothers feet: he that will be greatest amongst you, let him be the least: yet he added, I do not speak of you all; for I know whom I have chosen. When he had said these things he was troubled in spirit and testified, saying, One of you shall betray me: his disciples therefore looking one upon another, were uncertain of whom he spake; Peter therefore beckened to the beloved disciple that he should ask who it was: Jesus answered, he it is to whom I shall give a sop after I have dipped it, and he gave the sop to Judas, and said unto him, what thou dost, do quickly. Judas having received the sop went out immediately; and it was night, John xiii. 2, 38. Luke xxii. 24, 30.

When Judas was gone out, Jesus said, now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him: and he told them of his sudden departure, and exhorted them to the mutual love one of another. He said also, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired you, that he might winnow you as wheat: but I have pray'd for thee: and do thou strengthen thy brethren; and when Peter, too confidently, said, I will lay down my life for thee, he answered, the cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice. Then said he unto them, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and he that hath not a sword, let him buy one: some answering here are two swords, he said, It is enough, Luke xxii. 31, 38.

Then did Jesus comfort them against the sorrow which they conceived for his death; and to the questions of Thomas, Philip, and Judas (who is also Lebbæus, surnamed Thaddæus, another of the sons of Alphæus, and brother of James) he answered every one particularly, promising them that the Holy Ghost should be their teacher: and left his peace with them: and again admonished them of his approaching death, and of the joyful fruit thereof: adding, arise, let us go hence: and when they had sung an hymn, they went out towards the mount of Olives, John xvi. 1, 31. Mark xiv. 26. Matth. xxvi. 30.

In the way as they were going, by the parable of the vine, and the branches, he exhorted them to bring forth fruit, and to remain in the love of God towards them, and mutually to love one another, and to abide patiently the hatred of the world, which hates Christ himself: and that they should not be offended for persecutions, John xv. 27. And again he comforted them against sorrow for his death by the promise of sending them the Comforter, the spirit of truth, whose office against the world, and towards them he describeth. And admonisheth them that 'yet a little while and they shall not see him:' and they not understanding what that meaned, he explained it unto them: and told them that their aforesaid sorrow should be turned into joy, by the example of a woman bringing forth a man child: as also by the promise of his returning to them, by the love of the Father towards them, and by his ready hearing of their petitions, that they should make in his name. And when he said, 'I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world,' and again, 'I leave the world and go unto the Father,' his disciples answered, Lo, now thou speakest plainly: we believe thou camest from God: to this Jesus replied, that the time was now come that they should be scattered every one to his own, and that himself should be left alone, and at last concluded with a most divine prayer to the Father for the mutual illustration of his own, and the Father's glory: as also for the apostles, and the whole company of believers. John xvi. 1, 33. and xvii. 1, 26.

When Jesus had spoken these things, he went with his disciples (as he was wont over the brook Cedron, to the mount of Olives. Then said Jesus unto them, 'all ye shall be offended because of me this night. But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee:' and when Peter said, 'Though all men should be offended, yet will not I;' Jesus said, 'To day, even this night before the cock-crow thou shalt deny me thrice:' but both he and all the disciples replied, 'Though we should die with thee, yet we will not deny thee. John xviii. 1. Luke xxii. 39. Mark xiv. 27, 31. Matth xxvi. 31. 35, 36.

Then came they to a place called Gethsemane, where was a garden into which Jesus entered, and his disciples, unto whom he said, 'Pray ye that ye enter not into temptation: sit here, while I go and pray yonder'. And he took Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee with him, and began to be very sorrowful, and he said unto them, 'Tarry here and watch,' and going from them about a stone's cast, he kneeled down and prayed that the cup might pass from him: and there appeared an angel from heaven strengthening him. Then he returned and finding his disciples sleeping, he reprehended and admonished them: and then went the second time, and prayed more earnestly, and being in an agony, his sweat was as drops of blood: and coming again, he found them sleeping for sorrow, for their eyes were heavy: and therefore he again admonished them, and they knew not what to answer. Then left he them, and went away again and prayed the same words: after which coming to his disciples, he said unto them, 'Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold the time is come, and the son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners: arise, let us be going: behold he is at hand that doth betray me.' Luke xxii. 46. Mark xiv. 32, 42. Matth. xxvi. 36. 46.

While Jesus yet spake, behold Judas (who knew the place, because Jesus often resorted thither with his disciples) with the chief priests, Pharisees, captains of the temple, and elders of the people, and officers, and a band sent from them, came thither with lanthorns, and torches, and a great multitude with swords and staves. And Judas had given them a sign, saying, 'Whomsoever I shall kiss, the same is he, and he straight way kissed Jesus: to whom Jesus said, 'Wherefore art thou come? Betrayest thou the son of man with a kiss?' John xviii. 23. Luke xxii. 47, 48 Mark xiv. 43, 44, 47. Matth. xxvi. 47. 56. But Jesus knowing all things that should come unto him, went out, and said unto them, whom seek ye, they said unto him, Jesus of Nazareth, Jesus said unto them, 'I am he:' and they went backwards and

fell to the ground. He aſked them again, and anſwered them as at firſt: adding, 'If ye ſeek me, let theſe go away. John xviii. 4. 9. Then they took him; and when thoſe that were about Jeſus ſaw what would follow, they ſaid to him, 'Lord ſhall we ſmite with the ſword?' And Peter ſtruck off the right ear of Malchus. To whom Jeſus ſaid, 'Put up thy ſword: cannot I pray, and have more than twelve legions of angels? Shall not I drink of the cup that my Father hath given me? Suffer you thus far:' and he touched his ear and healed him. And Jeſus ſaid unto them, 'Do you come as out againſt a thief with ſwords and ſtaves? But this is your hour, and the power of darkneſs.' Then all his diſciples left him and fled, and a certain young man (of their company) being laid hold of, left his linen cloth, and fled from them, John xviii. 10. 11 Luke xxii. 49, 50, 51. Mark xiv. 48, 52. Matth. xxvi 57 75.

Then they bound Jeſus, and brought him, firſt to Annas the father in law of Caiaphas, who ſent him bound to Caiaphas the high prieſt, who formerly had propheſied, that it was 'expedient that one man ſhould die for the people.' There were all the chief prieſts, and elders, and ſcribes of the people gathered together. Then Caiaphas aſked Jeſus concerning his diſciples, and his doctrine: Jeſus anſwered 'I ſpake openly to the world, aſk them that heard me?' then one of the officers ſmote him with a ſtaff: to whom he ſaid, 'If I have well ſpoken, why ſmiteſt thou me?' then all the council ſought falſe witneſſes againſt him, and found none. At laſt two witneſſes came, but their teſtimony agreed not. Caiaphas then ſaid, 'Anſwereth thou not to what they witneſs againſt thee?' But Jeſus held his peace. Then he adjured him to tell whether he were the Chriſt, and Jeſus anſwered, 'I am: and ye ſhall ſee the ſon of man ſitting at the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.' Wherefore they judged him guilty of death for this blaſphemy. Then did they mock him, and ſpit upon him, and cruelly beat him with buffets and ſtaves: and covering his face, they ſaid, 'Propheſy who ſmote thee?' and many other things ſpoke they againſt him reproachfully. John xviii. 12. 27. Luke xxii. 54. 65. Mark xiv. 53. 72. Matth. xxvi. 57. 75.

Peter followed afar off that he might ſee the end; and ſo did another diſciple that was known to the high prieſt, and went with Jeſus into the palace, but Peter ſtood without at the door: then that other diſciple ſpake to her that kept the door, and brought him in. And as Peter was warming himſelf at the fire (for it was cold) the maid that kept the door aſked him, and affirmed that he was one of his diſciples, but he denied it, or that he knew him, or knew what ſhe ſaid. A little after he went out into the porch, and the cock crew. And as he was going out another maid ſaw him, and ſaid to the by-ſtanders, 'This fellow was alſo with Jeſus of Nazareth;' alſo another ſaid, 'Thou art alſo one of them:' then he again denied it with an oath: and about an hour after, they that ſtood by ſaid, 'Thy ſpeech bewrayeth thee:' and the couſin of Malchus amongſt the reſt ſaid, 'Did not I ſee thee in the garden with him?' and while he yet ſpake, the cock crew the ſecond time: then the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter, and he remembering the words of Jeſus, went out, and wept bitterly. John xviii. 25. &c. Luke xxii. 55, &c. Mark xiv. 66. &c. Matth. xxvi. 69, &c.

As ſoon as it was day, the elders of the people and the chief prieſts, and the ſcribes, came together, and led him into their council, ſaying, 'Art thou the Chriſt:' Jeſus ſaid unto them, 'Ye will not believe, nor anſwer me, nor let me go.' Yet he ſaid, that he was the Son of God: to which they replied, what need we any further witneſs. Luke xxii. 66, 67.

Then ſtraitway in the morning the whole multitude of them aroſe, and led him bound to Pontius Pilate, the governor: from Caiaphas to the hall of judgment (April 3d) But they went not into the judgment hall leſt they ſhould be defiled that they could not eat the paſſover: and Jeſus ſtood before the governor. Pilate therefore came forth unto them, and ſaid, 'What accuſation bring you againſt this man?' they anſwered, 'If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee:' and they accuſed him, ſaying, 'We found this man perverting the nation, and forbidding to pay tribute unto Cæſar, ſaying, that he himſelf is Chriſt a king;' and when he was accuſed of the chief prieſts and elders, he anſwered nothing. Then ſaid Pilate, 'Heareſt thou how many things they witneſs againſt thee?' But he anſwered him not a word, ſo that Pilate marvelled. Then ſaid Pilate to them, 'Take ye him, and judge him according to your law:' but they replied, 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death?' Pilate then entered into the judgment hall again, and calling Jeſus, ſaid unto him, 'Art thou the king of the Jews?' Jeſus anſwered, 'Sayeſt thou this of thyſelf, or did others tell it thee of me?' Pilate ſaid, 'Am I a Jew? thine own nation, and the chief prieſts have delivered thee unto me: what haſt thou done?' Jeſus anſwered, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Pilate therefore ſaid unto him, 'Art thou then a king?' Jeſus anſwered, for this cauſe came I into the world, that I might bear witneſs unto the truth.' Then ſaid Pilate to him, 'What is truth?' And when he had ſaid this, he went out again to the Jews, and ſaid unto them, 'I find in him no fault at all.' And they were the more fierce, ſaying, 'He ſtirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning in Galilee to this place.' Pilate hearing of Galilee, aſked him if he were a Galilean? and when he knew that he belonged to Herod's juriſdiction, he ſent him to Herod, who was in Jeruſalem in thoſe days. When Herod ſaw Jeſus he was exceeding glad; but being deceived of his hopes of ſeeing a miracle, and Jeſus not vouchſafing any anſwer, either to him, or to the chief Prieſts and Scribes that vehemently accuſed him, after he had ſet Jeſus at naught, and mocked him, he ſent him back to Pilate, arrayed in a gorgeous robe; and Herod and Pilate were made friends that very day. John xviii. 28. 40. Luke xxiii 1. 16. 25. Mark xv. 1. 5. Matth. xxvii. 11. 26.

Then Pilate, when he had called the chief prieſts and the rulers, and the people, he ſaid unto them, 'Neither I nor Herod find any fault in him, nor any thing worthy of death; I will therefore chaſtiſe him and releaſe him.' For he was of neceſſity (according to the cuſtom), every feaſt, to deliver to the people one priſoner, whomſoever they would. And the multitude crying out aloud, began to deſire that he would do unto them as he ever had done. Then ſaid Pilate, 'Ye have a cuſtom that I ſhould releaſe one unto you at the Paſſover: will ye therefore that I releaſe unto you the king of the Jews, or Barabbas?' For he knew that the chief prieſts had delivered him up of envy: but they ſtirred up the people that they ſhould rather deſire Barabbas, who was a notable thief, who lay bound for inſurrection and murder in the city. When Pilate was ſet down on the judgment ſeat, his wife ſent to him, ſaying, 'Have thou nothing to do with that juſt man; for I have ſuffered many things in my dream by reaſon of him this day.' Pilate therefore ſpake unto them again, being willing to releaſe Jeſus, 'Which of them will ye that I releaſe unto you? They all cried out, ſaying, 'Not him but Barabbas. Pilate replied, 'What then will ye that I ſhall do unto him whom ye call king of the Jews?' and they all cried out again, 'Crucify him.' Pilate ſaid unto them the third time, 'Why? what evil hath he done? I find no cauſe of death in him; I will therefore chaſtiſe him and let him go.' But they cried the more earneſtly, 'Crucify him;' and were very inſtant, with loud voices, deſiring the ſame. Mark xv 6 15.

Then Pilate took Jeſus and ſcourged him, and the ſoldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and clothed him with purple, ſaying, 'Hail king of the Jews,' and beat him with ſtaves. Pilate therefore went forth again unto them, and ſaid unto them, 'Behold, I bring him forth unto you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him.' Then Jeſus came forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the robe; and Pilate ſaid unto them, 'Behold the man!' When the chief prieſts and officers ſaw him, they cried out, ſaying, 'Crucify him! Crucify him!' Pilate replied, 'Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him.' Then ſaid the Jews, 'He ought to die, becauſe he made himſelf the Son of God.' When Pilate heard that, he was the more afraid, and went again into the judgment hall, and ſaid to Jeſus, 'Whence art thou?' But Jeſus gave him no anſwer.

Then

Then said Pilate to him, 'Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee?' Jesus answered, 'Thou couldest have no power, unless it were given thee from above.' From thenceforth Pilate sought to release him; but the Jews cried out, 'Then art thou not Cæsar's friend.' When Pilate heard this, he sat on the judgment seat, in the place called the Pavement, and it was the preparation of the Passover, and about the sixth hour: then said he to the Jews, 'Behold your king!' The chief priests answered, 'We have no king but Cæsar.' When Pilate therefore saw that he prevailed nothing, but rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, 'I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see you to it.' And all the people answered, and said, 'His blood be upon us and our children.' Then Pilate being willing to content the multitude, released unto them Barabbas: and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him over to their will, that he might be crucified. John xix. 1. 16. 17. 30.

Then the soldiers of the governor, when they had led Jesus into the hall called Prætonium, they called together the whole band; and when they had stripped him, they put upon him a scarlet robe, and platted a crown of thorns and put it on his head, and a reed in his right hand, and bowing the knee, they mocked him, saying, 'Hail, king of the Jews.' And when they had spit on him, they took the reed, and smote him on the head; and when they had mocked him, they took off the purple, and put his own cloaths on him, and led him out to crucify him. Matth. xxvii. 27. 31. Mark xv. 16. 17.

Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests, confessing his sin unto them; and casting the silver pieces into the temple, went and hanged himself: and they bought with them the Potters field that the prophecy might be fulfilled. Matth. xvii. 5. &c.

And Jesus came forth carrying his cross; but as they were leading him, they found one Simon of Cyrene, as he came out of the country, whom they took, and compelled to carry the cross after Jesus: there were also two thieves that were led with him to be crucified. And there followed a great multitude of people, and of women that lamented, to whom Jesus turned, and foretold the lamentable destruction of Jerusalem. And when they were come unto the place called Calvary, but in the Hebrew Golgotha, they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrhe, and vinegar mingled with gall, and when he had tasted it, he would not drink it; and they crucified him there (and it was the third hour), and two thieves with him, one on the right hand, and the other on the left. And Jesus said, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do?' And Pilate wrote a superscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and put it on the cross; which, at the request of the chief priests, Pilate would not alter. And after they had crucified him, they divided his garments into four parts, to every soldier that was employed in his execution a part, and cast lots for his seamless coat, whose it should be, that the scripture might be fulfilled; and sitting down, they watched him there, and the people stood beholding him: but they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, 'Oh! thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself: if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.' Likewise also, the chief priests and rulers, with the people, and scribes and elders, mocking and scoffing, said amongst themselves, 'He saved others, himself he cannot save. If he be the king of Israel; if that Christ be the chosen of God, let him come down from the cross, and we will believe him; he trusted in God, let him deliver him now if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.' The soldiers also mocked him, and coming to him, offered him vinegar, saying, 'If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.' The thieves also that were crucified with him cast the same in his teeth; and one of them continuing his railing against him, the other being converted rebuked him, and said unto Jesus, 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' To whom Jesus answered, 'To day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' And there stood by his cross the mother of Jesus, and his mother's sister, Mary, the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple whom he loved standing by, he said to his mother, 'Behold thy Son!' and to the disciple, 'Behold thy mother.' And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over all the land, or country, until the ninth hour; and about the ninth hour, Jesus cried out with a loud voice, 'Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani?' and some that stood by said, he calleth Elias. Luke xxiii. 26. 38. Matth. xxvii. 32. 50. Luke xxiii. 44. 45. 46.

After this, when Jesus knew that all things were accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said, 'I thirst.' Now there was set there a vessel full of vinegar, and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop or a reed, and put it to his mouth, saying, with the rest, 'Let alone, let us see if Elias will come to save him, and take him down.' But Jesus, when he had received the vinegar, said, 'It is finished.' And then again he cried with a loud voice, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;' and bowing his head he gave up the ghost. And when the centurion saw that he so cryed out, and gave up the ghost, he glorified God, saying, 'Truly this is a just man; truly this is the Son of God. Mark xv. 38. 42.

And behold the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent, and the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of their graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. And the centurion, and they that stood over against, and they that watched Jesus, when they saw the earthquake, and the things that were done, feared greatly, saying, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things that were done, smote their breasts, and returned: and his acquaintance, and the women which followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things, among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the Less, and mother of Joses, and Salome, who also when he was in Galilee followed him, and ministered unto him, and many other women that came up to Jerusalem with him. Luke xxiii. 47. 48. 49. Matth. xxvii, 51. 56.

The Jews therefore, that the bodies should not remain on the cross on the Sabbbath (for that Sabbath was an high day), because it was the preparation, besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken down. The soldiers therefore came and brake the legs of the two thieves, but not of Jesus, because he was already dead. Yet one of them with a spear pierced his side, and there came out blood and water, and these things were done that the scriptures might be fulfilled. John xix. 31. 37.

And when the even was now come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, there came Joseph of Arimathea, a rich man, and an honourable councellor, who also looked for the kingdom of God, a good and a just man, and one who had not consented to the counsel and deed of them; being a disciple, but secretly, for fear of the Jews, came boldly to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus: Pilate marvelled that he was already dead, and calling the centurion, asked him, and when he knew it, he gave the body to Joseph. There came also Nicodemus (which at first came to Jesus by night), and brought a mixture of myrrhe and aloes, about a hundred pound weight; and they took the body of Jesus, and wrapped it in a linen cloth with the spices, as the manner the Jews was to bury. And Joseph laid it in his own new sepulchre, which he had hewen out of a rock, wherein yet never man was laid, and which was in a garden in the place where Jesus was crucified, rolling a great stone to the door of the sepulchre; and Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joses, who came with him from Galilee, beheld where they laid him, sitting over against the sepulchre; and they returned and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the Sabbath day, according to the commandment. John xix. 38. 42. Luke xxiii. 50. 56 Mark xv. 42. 47. Matth. xxvii. 57. 61.

The next day [April 4.] the Pharisees betought Pilate, that he would command the sepulchre to be made sure until

til the third day, adding their reaſon, which, when he had yielded to, they went and made the ſepulchre ſure, ſealing the ſtone, and ſetting a watch.

In the end of the Sabbath, or when the Sabbath was now paſt [April 5th] when it dawned towards the firſt day of the week, in the morning very early whilſt it was yet dark, came Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Salome, bringing ſpices which they had bought, that they might ſee the ſepulchre, and anoint Jeſus: and they ſaid, who ſhall roll away the ſtone from the door for us? and when the ſun was riſen, coming to the ſepulchre they ſaw the ſtone rolled away: for behold there was a great earth-quake: for the angel of the Lord came down from heaven and rolled away the ſtone, and ſat upon it: and they went in, but found not the body of the Lord Jeſus: and it came to paſs, as they were much perplexed thereat, behold two men came to them in ſhining raiment; their countenances were as lightening, and their garments white as ſnow. Matthew and Mark mention but one angel: and the keepers for fear did ſhake, and became as dead men. And when the women were afraid and bowed their faces to the earth, the angels ſaid to them, 'fear not ye, I know that ye ſeek Jeſus that was crucified: but why ſeek ye the living amongſt the dead? He is not here: he is riſen as he is ſaid, come and ſee the place where the Lord was laid, and remember what he ſaid, whilſt he was in Galilee with you ſaying, The Son of man muſt be delivered into the hands of ſinful men, and be crucified, and the third day riſe again: but go ye quickly, and tell his diſciples, and Peter, that he is riſen from the dead, and behold he goes before you into Galilee, there ye ſhall ſee him, behold, I have told you.' Then the women remembred the words of Jeſus, and they departed quickly out of the ſepulchre with fear and wonder, and great joy, and ran to tell his diſciples: but they ſaid nothing to any man as they went; for they were afraid. And when the women told theſe things to the eleven, and to all the reſt, their words ſeemed to them as idle tales. But Mary Magdalene telling Peter, and the other diſciple whom Jeſus loved, 'They have taken away the Lord and we know not where they have laid him;' Peter and that other diſciple went out, and came to the ſepulchre; but that other diſciple did out run Peter, and came firſt to the ſepulchre, and when he ſtooped down, he ſaw the linen cloaths lying, but went not in. Then came Peter following him, and went into the ſepulchre, and ſaw the linen cloaths ly, and the napkin that was about his head not lying with them, but wrapped together in a place by itſelf: then went in that other diſciple, and ſaw and believed, and Peter went unto his own home, wondring at what was done; for as yet they knew not the ſcriptures, that he muſt riſe again from the dead. And the diſciples went to their own home. But Mary Magdalene ſtood without at the ſepulchre weeping, and whilſt ſhe wept, ſhe ſtooped down in the ſepulchre and ſaw two angels in white, ſitting, the one at the head, the other at the feet, where the body of Jeſus had lain; and they ſaid unto her: 'woman why weepeſt thou? She ſaid, They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him;' and when ſhe had thus ſaid, ſhe turned back, and ſaw Jeſus, but knew not that it was he. And Jeſus ſaid to her, why weepeſt thou? Whom ſeekeſt thou? ſhe, ſuppoſing that it had been the gardiner, ſaid, if thou haſt born him hence, tell me where thou haſt laid him, and I will take him away; Jeſus ſaid to her, touch me not, but go and tell my brethren ſaying, I go, &c. And ſhe came and told his diſciples, and thoſe that had been with him, as they were weeping, and mourning, that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſaid theſe things to her; but they believed her not. And as the women went from the ſepulchre (perhaps Mary Magdalene was abſent) that they might tell his diſciples, behold Jeſus met them, and ſaid unto them, all hail, and they came and held him by the feet, and worſhipped him. Then ſaid Jeſus to them, be not afraid, go and tell my brethren that I go into Galilee, there they ſhall ſee me. John xx. 1, 2, 18. Luke xxiv. 1, 12. Mark xiv. 1, 11. Matth. xxviii. 1, 8, 9, 10.

Now when they were going, behold the watch went into the city, and ſhewed to the chief prieſts all the things that were done; and when they were aſſembled with the elders, they took counſel, and gave large money to the ſoldiers that they ſhould ſay, That his diſciples came and ſtole him away whilſt they ſlept; and if it come to the governor's ears (ſaid they) we will perſuade him, and ſecure you. So they took the money, and did as they were taught; and this ſaying is commonly reported amongſt the Jews to this day. Matth. xxviii. 11, 15.

And two of them went into the country that ſame day to a village ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, called Emaus; and as they journeyed, Jeſus went along with them; and they, telling what things were done concerning Jeſus of Nazareth, how he was crucified, and that he roſe again, &c. Jeſus ſhewed them out of the ſcriptures that it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to enter into his glory. And in the village, when he had taken bread, and given thanks, and broken it, he was known to them, their eyes being opened, though he appeared in another form, and he vaniſhed out of their ſight. And they roſe up that ſame hour, and returned to Jeruſalem to the eleven, who ſaid to theſe two, 'The Lord is riſen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon.' Then they told, them what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread; but neither believed they them Luke xxiv. 13. 35. Mark xiv. 12. 13.

Whilſt they yet ſpake, it being eveing, in the firſt day of the week, the doors being ſhut where the diſciples were gathered together for fear of the Jews, came Jeſus himſelf and ſtood in the midſt of them and ſaid, 'Peace be unto you:' but they were affrighted ſuppoſing that they had ſeen a ſpirit; but he upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardneſs of heart, becauſe they had not believed thoſe that had ſeen him ſince he was riſen: and he ſaid unto them, 'Why are you troubled? ſee my hands and my feet: a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones:' and he ſhewed them his hands and his feet and his ſide: and while they yet believed not for joy, and wondred, he ſaid unto them, 'Have ye here any meat?' and he did eat a piece of broiled meat and an hony-comb: and his diſciples rejoiced that they had ſeen the Lord. And he ſaid unto them, 'Theſe are the words that I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you: that all things muſt be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moſes, and in the prophets, and in the Pſalms of me.' Then he opened their underſtandings that they might underſtand the ſcriptures, and ſaid unto them, 'Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached in his name among all nations, and ye are witneſſes of theſe things. And behold I ſend the promiſe of my Father among you: but tarry ye at Jeruſalem till ye have received power from on high. He ſaid again unto them, peace be unto you: as my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you. Go ye unto all the world and preach the goſpel to every creature: he that believes and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: but he that believe not ſhall be damned. And theſe ſings ſhall follow them that believe: in my name they ſhall caſt out devils: they ſhall ſpeak with new tongues: they ſhall take up ſerpents: and if they drink any deadly thing it ſhall not hurt them: they ſhall lay their hands on the ſick, and they ſhall recover.' And when he had ſaid theſe things, he breathed on them, and ſaid, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted to them, and whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.' Thus Jeſus appeared five times in the firſt day of his reſurrection. John xx. 19, 23. Luke xxiv. 36. 49. Mark xiv. 14, 18.

But Thomas called Dydimus was not with them when Jeſus came, and the reſt of the diſciples told him. 'We have ſeen the Lord:' but he very confidently profeſſed that he would not believe it. After eight days (April the 12th) Thomas being then preſent with the reſt, Jeſus came, the doors being ſhut, and ſtood in the midſt, and ſaid unto them, peace be unto you, and abundantly ſatiſfied Thomas his unbelief, John xx. 24, 29. Luke xxiv. 16, 26.

Then the eleven diſciples went into Galilee unto the mountain that he had appointed them. And when they ſaw him, they worſhipped him, but ſome doubted: and when Jeſus came unto them, he ſaid, 'All power is given unto me both in heaven and earth, go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c. and lo I am with you to

the

the end of the world. Matth. xxviii 16. 20. After that, Jesus was seen of above five hundred brethren at once: and after that to James 1 Cor. xv 6, 7.

Afterwards Jesus shewed himself to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias; or at least to seven of them as they were fishing: for they having fished all night, and caught nothing, in the morning, Jesus unknown unto them, stood upon the shoar, and bid them cast their net on the right side of the ship, and they caught an hundred fifty and three great fishes: and Jesus said unto them, come and dine; and none of them durst ask him, who art thou? knowing it was the Lord. When they dined, he warned Peter thrice of his pastoral charge, as he loved Jesus, and forewarned him what kind of death he should die. And to Peter's question concerning John, he gave an answer that was not rightly understood of the brethren, John xxi. 1, 24.

Last of all he appeared to his disciples in Jerusalem, and led them out as far as Bethany, and he lift up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven. Luke xxiv. 38, 50. Matth. xxviii. 19

This Jesus Christ was promised to Adam in paradise presently after his fall in those words, 'The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head;' but whether he should come of Jew or Gentile, not a word was told him After this Abraham (the Hebrew) was given to understand that of his seed should come the Messiah; but of what tribe, nothing was revealed. To Jacob indeed it was shewed, that of the tribe of Judah should Shiloh come, but whether male, or female, nothing certain David was assured that a son of his should sit upon his throne for ever; but till Isaias, it was not known that he should be born of a pure virgin; that a woman should compass a man. Isa. vii 14. Behold a virgin, that famous virgin (the original sets it forth with an accent) spoken of Gen. iii. 15. 'shall conceive and bear a son' The very place of his birth was not set forth till Micah did it. Mic. v. 2. Not the just time till Daniel foretold it. Dan. ix. 24. Thus by degrees, and piecemeal (as it were) God spake of old to the fathers by his servants the prophets. Heb. i. 1. Every age almost brought forth some new thing touching the babe of Bethlehem (lapt up in the swathbands of the holy scriptures) either in express and evident terms and testimonies, or else in mirrors, and miracles, lastly John Baptist (*Fibula legis & gratiæ* as one calls him) the buckler of the law, and gospel, pointed him out with his finger, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' &c

Now this Jesus Christ is the most excellent person in the world; the fairest amongst men; worth ten thousand of us, as the people said of David. 2 Sam. xviii 3. Look upon him as he is described, Heb i 1, 2 3. For his nobility, he is God's own Son; for his riches, he is heir of all things; for his wisdom, he made the world; for his eminency, He is the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person; for his might, he upholdeth all things by the word of his power: for his merits he hath by himself purged our sins; for his preferment, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on High. *Trap's Treat*

The quality and kind of Christ's death is remarkable for three characters which were engraven on the death of the cross, which he died on.

1. For the painfulness of it. The nature of that death was painful; for death itself is painful; no man pays that debt with ease When Asa dies he cries, ah my feet. When David dies he complains, O my cold body. When the Shunamite's child dies, he cries, ah my pained head. When Uzzah dies, he cries, oh my leprous skin. Life is a precious pearl; but there are three things besides, which made Christ's death painful.

1. Violence. It's painful to die of any violent disease but when five deaths do all concur, and strive which of them shall dispatch the poor man soonest, this must needs be more painful Such was Christ's death, which made him complain, Psal. xxii. 16. 'They pierced my hands and my feet, and John xix 34. One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith there came out blood, and water.' Here are five deaths that invaded a living man; death on each hand, and on each leg, and death on his side though this last, came a little too late. Now a violent death it must needs be, when strong and great nails did pierce the most nervous parts of his body, his hands and his feet.

2. Slowness, four leisurely violent deaths seized on him. Blood is the life of the living creature: then look how long his blood was coming out, his life was dropping out as long. 'Tis a great aggravation for a man to be long a dying and yet cannot die, to have his torment quick, and yet his death slow is an image of hell, where men seek death, and yet cannot find it. Christ's slow death was divided into four quarters. Death at each hand, and at each foot made his pain the greater. The weight of his body did hang upon these four tormenting nails, his pierced hands and feet, as if death had delighted to hold Christ long at sea, and to deny him it's last sad service. Christ had been before dying a terrible death in the garden when he was boiled (as it were) in a bloody sweat: and two circumstances shew that the two thieves death was nothing in slowness of torment comparable to Christ's death.

1 The sad and direful preparations to Christ's death, as he was the night before in a soul death when those *Thromboi haimatos*, as it were drops, or great hail stones of blood, frozen, or hardned, together (as Stephanus thinks) through extream terror: when he was scourged and crowned with thorns.

2 He was so weakned in body thereby, that he was not able to bear his own cross: which made him complain. Psal. xxii. 17. 'I may tell all my bones, my strength is dried up like a potsherd:' so that Christ began to die the night before, and continued dying twenty four hours, the Lord's anger and curse being on him, and then bodily pain, with the curse of the law all this time wrought upon him, and Christ, in bearing the pains of the second death, did suffer that which all the elect should have sustained in their souls for ever. Isa. liii. 6 'The Lord laid upon him the iniquity of us all:' and though Christ died but one death for all the elect, yet in the extremity of the pain, it was many deaths to him.

3 Many degrees of life were taken from him. Consider how much of life Christ had, and the removing it by violence must be so much the more painful. Now life natural had in Christ a sweet and a peaceable dwelling: the possession of life was with exceeding delights: it was planted beside the glorious God head personally, and so had sweet company, and that made it pleasant. It had not been so much to take away the life of a common man whose life is not privileged with grace, and the grace of a personal union with God.

The second character that was engraven on Christ's death, was, that it was shameful, and reproachful. Now shame is, first, fundamentally in the cause: sin, and sin acted by men against the law of God is the only foundation of shame: Exod. xxxii. 25. 'Aaron made the people naked to their shame. So 2 Sam. xiii. 13. Shame and sin are near a kin. And thus Christ was no more capable of shame than he was of sin. He came out of the womb cloathed with the white robe of innocency, and he never contracted one black spot on that fair robe of the highest image of God from the womb to the grave, and therefore there was no shame fundamentally in Christ.

2. There is shame formally in sin: and that, first, in being ashamed actively. Secondly In bearing of shame passively. In the former consideration, because sin is a shameful thing in itself. Jer. xi. 13. There is an internal blushing, and shame rising from sin; the conscience of the sinner (if it be not cauterized) thinking ill of sin, and esteeming itself base in doing it. Rom vi. 21. 'What fruit had you in those things whereof you are now ashamed?' So Christ thought ill of sin, and esteemed the creature base in sinning. 2. Christ our Lord being our surety, though he could not be ashamed of any sin he did himself; yet being made a sin for us, he did bear the shame of our sin: and thus he was not free from shame passively, as it is a punishment of sin. Isa. l. 6. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting, Heb xii 2. He endured the cross, despising the shame.' So then in these respects Christ did bear our shame.

1. In that though he was the Lord of glory, 'and thought it no robbery to be equal with the Father;' yet he abased himself to become man: yea, the lowest of men,

a ſervant. Phil ii. 6, 7, 8 Matth. xx. 28. Iſa. xlix. 7.

2. All the tokens of reproach and ſhame were on his ſufferings: As,

1 In geſtures: they put a crown of thorns on his head; and a reed for a ſceptre in his hand to mock his kingly power They ſaluted him with mocks, and bowing the knee to him.

2. In words. They cried out, 'Hail, king of the Jews;' they ſcorned his propherical dignity, when they blindfolded him, ſaying, 'Prophely who it is that ſmote thee.' And to deride his prieſt hood, they put a robe on him: and when he was on the croſs offering himſelf as our prieſt in a ſacrifice to God, all that paſſed by, wagged their heads, and ſhot out their lips, ſaying, 'He truſted in God, let him deliver him,' &c. Then did they ſpit in his face, which in the law was a great ſhame. Deut. xxv. 9, 50 Job xxx 10.

3. His death was ſhameful, the death of a thief, and robber: ſo it is called, Chriſt's reproach. Heb. xiii. 13 'Let us go forth bearing his reproach.' It was a ſhameful thing to ſee the Lord of glory, bearing his own croſs on his back, and all the children, and baſe ones of the city wondring at him, and crying out upon him. This is called the reproach, or ſhame of Chriſt. Heb. xi. 26. Pſal. xxii 7

4 They ſhamed him in pulling off his garments, and ſcourging him As, Jer xiii. 26. They brought him bound to Pilate as if he had been a common thief Matth. xxvi 2 Hence Iſa. liii 3. 'He was deſpiſed, and rejected of men: and we hid as it were our faces from him.' He had all ſhame put upon him: he was branded as the greateſt thief of the three: he went out at the gate of life, bleeding, pained, curſed, ſhamed, forſaken deſpiſed and mocked. Even the ſun ſeemed to be aſhamed to ſee its Creator in ſo painful and ſhameful a condition, and therefore hid its head.

The third character which was engraven on Chriſt's death, was the curſe of God. Now the curſe that Chriſt was made, Was,

1 The Lord's pronouncing him a curſe, Deut. xvi. 23. 'Curſed is he that hangeth on a tree;' which Paul applies to Chriſt. Gal. iii 10. 13. This was indeed a ceremonial curſe; but had a ſpecial relation to Chriſt, who was under a real, and moral curſe.

2 God's devoting and ſetting him apart in his eternal counſel for ſuffering the puniſhment of ſin.

3. The diſhonour that was put upon him; and ſo was Chriſt under a curſe. Pſal. xxii. 7. 'He was a worm and no man,' Iſa. liii. 3. 'The leaſt of men:' the contempt and refuſe of men. Acts iv. 11, 'The ſtone, rejected by the builders' Hanging is the death of the pooreſt, and baſeſt of men: and thus was Chriſt uſed. Acts v. 30. 'Whom ye ſlew and hanged on a tree. Acts ii. 23. 'Whom by wicked hands ye have crucified and ſlain' Hanging is more than ſlaying: it is putting him to a baſe death that is curſed of God and man: and this to be inflicted on a king lineally deſcended of the blood royal, the kingly tribe of Judah the only man on earth that by birth and law had title to the crown of Judea, was the worſt that men or devils could do.

The LIVES of the FATHERS, AND OTHER EMINENT DIVINES.

The Life of IGNATIUS, who died *Anno Chriſti*, 111.

IGNATIUS ſaw Chriſt in the fleſh, being about 12 years old at his crucifixion: the occaſion of his apprehenſion was this, Trajan returning from the Parthian war, commanded gratulatory ſacrifices to be offered in every city; and when he came to Antioch, Ignatius was required to be preſent at thoſe ſacrifices; but he, before Trajan's face did ſharply reprove their idolatry: for which cauſe he was delivered to ten ſoldiers to be carried to Rome. He was paſtor at the church at Antioch next after the apoſtle Peter.

As he paſſed through Aſia ſtrictly guarded with that troop of ſoldiers, he confirmed the congregations through every city where he came, preaching the word of God to them, and giving them wholeſome exhortations; eſpecially charging them to avoid the hereſies lately ſprung up, and which at that time overflowed the church: requiring them ſtedfaſtly to cleave to the traditions of the apoſtles, and to their doctrine.

When he came to Smyrna where Polycarp was biſhop, he wrote an epiſtle to the church at Epheſus, making mention of Oneſimus their paſtor; and another he wrote to the church of Magneſia on the river Meander, wherein he forgetteth not Dama their biſhop: Another he wrote to the church at Trallis whoſe paſtor at the time he mentioneth to be Polybius, to which epiſtle he prefixed an exhortation to them not to refuſe martyrdom, leſt thereby they ſhould loſe the hope that was laid up for them: for which end he uſeth theſe expreſſions:

'From Syria,' ſaith he, 'even till I came to Rome, I had a battle with beaſts, as well by ſea as by land, night and day, being bound amongſt ten cruel leopards, (ſo he called the ten ſoldiers that guarded him) which, the more benefits they received at my hands, became ſo much the worſe to me: but I, being exerciſed, and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more to bear the croſs, yet hereby am I not juſtified. Would to God I were once come to the beaſts that are prepared for me, which I wiſh alſo to fall upon me with all their violence: whom alſo I will provoke, that without delay they ma, devour me, and not abſtain from me,

as they have from some others, whom for fear they have left untouched: and if they be unwilling to it, I will compel them to fall upon me: pardon me, I pray you, I know well how much this will avail me. Now I do begin to be a disciple of my master Christ, I neither regard things visible, so I may gain Christ.' *Ignis, crux, Bestiarum conflictationes, ossium distractiones*, &c. *i. e.* Let fire, cross, breaking of my bones, quartering of my members, crushing my body, and all the torments that man and the devil can invent fall upon me, so I may enjoy my Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

Writing to Polycarp, whom he knew to be a holy man, he commends to him the congregation at Antioch, praying him to be careful of the business there, and especially for the election of a godly bishop in his room; thereby proving himself to be a sincere and right pastor, taking such care of his flock, not only whilst he lived, but even after his death. When his martyrdom approached, he said, *Frumentum Dei sum: dentibus ferarum molar, & mundus Dei panis inveniar:* I am God's corn; when the wild beasts have ground me to powder with their teeth, I shall be his white bread. He was so humble, that he disdained not to learn of any: he suffered martyrdom the eleventh year of Trajan at Rome, *Anno Christi* 111. His usual saying was, *Amor meus crucifixus est.* My love is crucified, meaning either Christ the object of his love: or that his affections were crucified to the world, as Gal. vi. 14.

Nicephorus reports, that when Ignatius was a child, our Saviour would take him up in his arms, and shew him to his disciples. It may be, he was one of those little children that were brought to Christ that he should touch them; or that little child whom Jesus took, and set in the midst of his disciples to learn them humility: he saw Christ after his resurrection, as himself writes in one of his epistles, *Ergo vero, & post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi*, &c. Truly I did see him after his resurrection in the flesh, and do believe that it is he, &c.

He used to say, *Nihil præstantius est pace bonæ conscientiæ:* that there is nothing better than the peace of a good conscience.

'That good and wicked men are like true and counterfeit money, the one seems to be good, and is not, the other both seems and is good.

'That the lyons teeth are but like a mill, which though it bruiseth, yet wasteth not the good wheat, only prepares and fits it to be made pure bread. Let me (saith he) be broken by them, so I may be made pure manchet for heaven.

'Parents ought to afford these three things to their children; correction, admonition and instruction, both in human arts, and God's word: all which preserves them from idleness and folly, gives them wisdom, and learns them subjection and obedience to their superiors.

'Other graces are but parts of a Christian's armour: as the shield of faith, the sword of the Spirit, &c. But patience is the panoply or whole armour of the man of God: the enemy foils us without it; but we foil him by it.

'Grace flowing from the blessed Spirit of God, makes the soul like a fountain whose water is pure, wholesome and clear: for grace beautifies, cleanseth, and so saveth the whole man.'

He wrote divers epistles, to St. John: to the Ephesians: to the Magnesians: to the Trallians: to the Romans: to the Philadelphians: to Polycarp, &c. Concerning which the learned Scultetus saith: *Inter dubia & incerta numero epistolas Ignatii, & Polycarpi. Nondum enim inter orthodoxos convenit, sintne epistolæ istæ celeberrimorum martyrum Ignatii & Polycarpi, an aliorum:* for which he gives his reasons.

The life of Polycarp, who died anno Christi 170.

POLYCARPUS was disciple to St. John, and bishop of Smyrna: he going with St. John to a bath at Ephesus, and espying Cerinthus the heretic in it, said, *Fugiamus ocius*, &c. Let us depart speedily, for fear least the bath wherein the Lord's adversary is, do fall upon us; as one of the fathers made haste out of the house of a wicked man, which soon after fell to the ground.

The history of his martyrdom is excellently set forth in an epistle written by his own church at Symrna, to the brethren of Pontus, out of which, so much as concerns this matter, I shall transcribe.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus; mercy to you, peace, and the love of God the Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied, Amen. We have written unto you (brethren) of those men which have suffered martyrdom; and particularly of blessed Polycarp, who, by shedding his blood, hath (through God's mercy) put an end to this persecution; the manner whereof we shall now relate to you: this holy man hearing of the cruel persecution abroad, was therewith nothing terrified, but retained the immoveable tranquillity of his mind, and continued still in the city, till at length he was persuaded through the importunity of his friends, to betake himself to a certain farm place, not far from the city; where he remained, with a few others, exercising himself night and day in prayer making humble supplications, as his usual manner was, for the peace, and tranquillity of all the churches in the world. Having been in prayer, three days after his apprehension, and now fallen asleep, he saw in a vision by night the pillow under his head on fire, and suddenly consumed to ashes, which when he awaked, he interpreted to them that were present, to foresignify that his life was near an end, and that his body should be burned for the testimony of Christ.

When the searchers were now at hand, and all the people cried out *Quæratur Polycarpus*: Let us search out Polycarp; at the earnest entreaty of his friends, he removed to another village, unto which the searchers coming, caught two boys, and scourged them, till one of them confessed, and led them to Polycarp's lodging: yet might he easily have escaped, but he would not, saying, 'The will of the Lord be fulfilled:' and so coming to them, he communed with them very cheerfully: so that it was wonderful to see, those which a little before knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and his grave and constant countenance, lamented that they had so employed themselves for the apprehension of so worthy a person; but he on the contrary commanded that the table should be presently spread for them, intreating them to eat, and dine well, requesting but one hour's space to make his prayers unto God, in which they assenting to, he arose, and went to prayer, and being replenished with the grace of God, he so poured out his soul, that all that heard him praying were astonished at it, yea, many of his enemies were sorry that so holy, honest, and aged a man should be put to death.

The hour being now come wherein he was to set forwards, they set him upon an ass, and brought him to the city of Smyrna upon a solemn feast day, and there met him Herod the justice of peace, and his father Nicetus, who receiving them into their chariot, said unto him, What harm is it to say Lord Cæsar, to sacrifice, and so to be saved? At first he answered nothing, but when again they urged him, he said, I will not do according to your counsel; they perceiving that he would not be persuaded, gave him very rough language, and at last tumbled him out of their chariot, whereby he brake his shins: but he, as though he had received no injury nor hurt at all, went bolt upright, cheerfully and apace towards the theatre: and being come thither, a voice came down from heaven (though by reason of the great tumult few heard it) 'Be of good cheer, O Polycarp, and play the man;' the speaker no man saw, but the voice was heard by many of us.

The multitude was in a rage, and the proconsul demanded of him whether he were that Polycarp? yet withal, beckoning to him to deny it, he said, 'Have respect unto thine age; tender thyself; swear by the fortune of Cæsar; repent of what is past, and say, Remove the wicked.' But Polycarp looking about upon the multitude with a stedfast countenance, and casting his eyes up towards heaven, said, 'Remove O Lord these wicked.' Yet the proconsul urged him again, saying, 'Swear, and I will let thee go; blaspheme, and defie Christ, and thou shalt be safe;' to whom Polycarp answered, *Octoginta sex annos illi jam inservivi*, &c. Fourscore and six years have I served Christ, neither hath he ever offended me in any my thing, and how then can

I revile

I revile my king that hath thus kept me? The proconſul ſtill urged, and ſaid, 'Swear by the fortune of Cæſar;' Polycarp replied, if thou requireſt of me this vain glory, that I ſhould proteſt the fortune of Cæſar, pretending that thou knoweſt not what I am? Know then that I am a Chriſtian: and if thou deſireſt to know the doctrine of Chriſtianity, appoint a day, and thou ſhalt hear it. 'Perſuade the people unto this,' ſaid the proconſul. Truly ſaid Polycarp, I thought it my part to make this tender unto you, becauſe we are commanded of God to give unto governors and powers whom he hath ordained, the honour, and obedience which is due unto them, and not hurtful unto us; but as for theſe people, I deem them not competent judges, and therefore will not purge myſelf before them: then ſaid the proconſul, 'I have wild beaſts to devour thee, unleſs thou repent.' Polycarp anſwered, bring them forth: for we have determined with ourſelves not to repent, not to turn from the better to the worſe: 'tis more convenient for you to turn from evil to that which is good and juſt. I will, ſaid the proconſul, 'tame thee with fire, if thou ſet naught by the wild beaſts, and wilt not repent;' to which Polycarp anſwered, you threaten me with fire which ſhall laſt but an hour, and is quickly quenched; but thou art ignorant of the everlaſting fire at the day of judgment, and of thoſe endleſs torments which are reſerved for the wicked. But why make you all theſe delays? appoint me to what death you pleaſe. Whilſt he ſpake theſe things, he was repleniſhed with joy, and boldneſs, and his countenance appeared ſo full of grace, and gravity, that it was evident, that he was nothing troubled with the cruel threats of the proconſul: but on the contrary, the proconſul himſelf began to be amazed and ſent for the cryer, commanding him in the midſt of the theatre to cry three times; Polycarp hath confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian. Hereupon the multitude both of Jews, and Gentiles, inhabiting Smyrna, cried out in a great rage. *Iſte Aſiæ Doctor*, &c. This is that doctor of Aſia the father of the Chriſtians, the overthrower of our gods, who hath taught many that our gods are not to be adored; and thereupon they cried to the proconſul, that a lion might be let looſe to devour him; but he told them that he might not do it, for that the game of beaſts was now finiſhed: then they cried with one voice, that Polycarp ſhould be burned alive; to which, when the proconſul had aſſented, the multitude forthwith carried logs, and wood, out of their ſhops and booths; eſpecially the Jews, after their wonted manner, were very forward herein.

The pile being prepared, Polycarp put off his apparel, the faithful aſſiſting, and contending amongſt themſelves, who ſhould touch his body at his farewel; being thus made ready, when they would have nailed him to the ſtake, he ſaid; 'Nay, ſuffer me even as I am: for he that hath given me ſtrength to come to this fire, will alſo give me patience to perſevere therein without your faſtning of my body with nails,' then they bound his hands behind him, which done, he prayed thus

'O Father of thy well beloved and bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt, through whom we have known thee; O God of angels, powers, and of every living creature, and of juſt men which live in thy preſence; I thank thee that thou haſt graciouſly vouchſafed this day, and this hour, to allot me a portion amongſt the number of martyrs, to drink of the cup of Chriſt, unto the reſurrection of everlaſting life, both of body and ſoul, through the operation of the holy Spirit, amongſt whom I ſhall this day be received into thy ſight for an acceptable ſacrifice; and as thou haſt prepared, and revealed this beforehand, ſo thou haſt now accompliſhed and fulfilled the ſame. O thou moſt true God, which canſt not lie; wherefore for all theſe things I praiſe thee, I bleſs thee, I glorify thee, through the everlaſting biſhop and ſhepherd of our ſouls Chriſt Jeſus; to whom with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, and glory, world without end;' Amen.

Having ended his prayer, the tormentors kindled the fire. The flame vehemently flaſhed about, which was terrible to the beholders. But the flame framing itſelf after the manner of a vault, or ſail of a ſhip, with the bluſtering blaſts of wind, touched not the holy martyrs body, which ſent forth a fragrant, and a ſweet ſmell like unto frankincenſe, or ſuch like precious perfume; but the cruel perſecutors perceiving that the fire touched not his body, called for a tormentor, charging him to thruſt him into the ſide with a ſpear; which being done, their iſſued out ſuch abundance of blood as quenched the fire, to the great aſtoniſhment of the beholders.

Then did the Jews ſtir up Nicetes, the father of Herod, and his brother Dalces, to move the proconſul, that his body might not be delivered to the Chriſtians; leaſt (ſay they) leaving Chriſt, they fall to worſhip him; this they ſaid thro' their ignorance, not knowing that we can never forſake Chriſt, which died for our ſalvation, to worſhip any other. For we worſhip Chriſt as the Son of God; the martyrs we love as the diſciples, and followers of the Lord, and that worthily, for the invincible love which they bear to their King and Maſter, &c. Hereupon the proconſul cauſed his body (to ſatisfy the Jews) to be laid upon a pile of wood, and burnt.

Irenæus being young, was acquainted with him, and writeth of him, that Anicetus being biſhop of Rome, Polycarp went thither, and queſtioned with him about the celebration of Eaſter. He ſaith alſo, that there is extant an epiſtle of Polycarp's unto the Philippians, very profitable for ſuch as are careful for their ſalvation; where they may know the true character of faith, and the right rule of doctrine.

It is ſaid of him, that he was *teſtis fidelis, conſtanſque veritatis*: a faithful and conſtant witneſs to the truths nay, by his wiſdom, zeal, and piety, he recalled many from hereſy, and errors.

He ſo deteſted heretics, that when Maricon (of his former acquaintance) met him at Rome, and wondering that he took no notice of him, ſaid, doſt thou not know me Polycarp? Yea, ſaid he, 'I know thee well, thou art the eldeſt ſon to the devil.'

His manner was to ſtop his ears if at any time he heard the wicked ſpeeches of heretics, and to ſhun thoſe very places where ſuch ſpeeches had been uttered. He ſuffered martyrdom in the ſeventh year of Verus, *anno Chriſti*, 170, of his age 86.

In the midſt of the flames he made this excellent prayer, 'O God the Father of thy beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, thro' whom we have received the knowlege of thee; O God the Creator of all things, upon thee I call, thee I confeſs to be the true God; thee I glorify. O Lord receive me, and make me a companion of the reſurrection of thy ſaints, through the merits of our great high prieſt, thy beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt; to whom with the Father and God the Holy Ghoſt be honour, and glory for ever,' amen. He was a biſhop about 63. years.

Hierom writing of him, ſaith, that he was in great eſteem through all Aſia, for that he was ſcholar to the apoſtles, and to them that did ſee and were converſant with Chriſt himſelf; and therefore his authority was of great credit, not only with his own church, but with all other churches about him.

There is extant an epiſtle of his to the Philippians, but Scultetus judgeth it ſpurious.

The Life of DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA, *who died Anno* Chriſti 96.

DIONYSIUS Areopagita was born at Athens of eminent parents, he was very ſtudious; he travelled into Egypt to get ſkill in aſtronomy; at the age of 25 years, at Heliopolis, whilſt he lived with Apollophanes the philoſopher, he ſaw that general eclipſe of the ſun at our Saviour's paſſion, and as one amazed, ſaid, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſolvitur*: either the God of nature now ſuffers, or the frame of the world ſhall be diſſolved; and to another, *ignotus in carne patitur Deus*, &c. God, unknown in the fleſh, doth ſuffer, for whoſe ſake the univerſe is covered with thick darkneſs.

Saint Paul coming to Athens, act. 17. and eſpying an altar there with this inſcription, *ignoto Deo*, took occaſion from thence to preach of the true God, of the reſurrection, and judgment to come; whereupon by the great philoſophers of that city, he was accounted a wicked, and ſacreligious perſon, for which he was carried by them to Mars his hill, where the court of the Areopagites ſat, which was the chiefeſt judicatory in that city; but before thoſe judges

nages he preached with ſuch divine eloquence, and forcible arguments, that through God's mercy he converted this Dionyſius, the chief preſident of the judges, with Damaris his wife, who uſed Paul very courteouſly, and were inſtructed by him in the knowlege of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. At which the whole city was much amazed; for all men accounted Dionyſius a very wiſe and judicious man; but now he was not aſhamed of a maſter to become a ſcholar: ſo that within three years ſpace, he became an admirable inſtrument to propagate the goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Then was he by Paul ordained paſtor of the church at Athens, where for a great while he preached the word of God with great wiſdom, zeal and diligence; and as a wiſe harveſt-man brought in many ſheaves of corn into God's barn. Afterwards he went to Epheſus to viſit St John, and St. Paul; by whoſe perſuaſion (leaving one Publius to look to his flock at Athens) he went to Rome, at which time Clemens governed that church. And having converſed a while with Clemens, he intreated him to go into Joan to preach the goſpel there, and to give knowlege of ſalvation to that nation: this he willingly undertook; and judging Paris to be the fitteſt place to reſide in, he ſo laboured amongſt them, that in a ſhort ſpace, through God's bleſſing, he brought many ſheep into the fold of Chriſt, and that not only of the meaner ſort, but many rich, noble, and great perſons, who overthrowing the temples of their falſe gods, erected now places for the ſervice of the true God. But this progreſs of the goſpel being envied by Satan, the enemy of Chriſt's church; he ſtirred up the idolatrous prieſts, who ſuborned many to diſpatch Dionyſius; but there was ſuch a gracious luſtre, and radiancy in his countenance, that when they beheld him, ſome of their hearts failed them: others were ſo affrighted, that they fled away.

Shortly after, Siſinius the Præfect. gave command that Dionyſius, with his fellows, ſhould be apprehended; and when he was brought before him, he ſharply reproved him, for that he had preached againſt the worſhip of their gods, who, by reaſon of his ſermons, had loſt their former honour and eſteem: he therefore required him to confeſs his error, and to ſtop up that breach which he had made; leaving off thoſe novelties, and unheard of doctrines, that by his recantation the people might ſee how vainly they had been ſeduced, and ſo return to their antient rites and cuſtoms again.

To this Dionyſius with great zeal, wiſdom, and eloquence anſwered: that they were no gods whom they worſhipped, but idols, and the works of mens hands, and that it was through meer ignorance, folly, and idolatry that they adored them: adding, that there was but one true God, according as he had preached: at which word Siſinius was exceeding incenſed, commanding him to be laid upon an hurdle, and gentle fire to be made under him to roaſt him. Some others relate, that he was thrown to hungry wild beaſts, which yet would not tear him: then that he was put into an hot oven, which would not burn him. Whereupon he was the ſecond time brought before Siſinius, who cauſed him publicly to be beaten with many, and cruel blows by his officers: and when this prevailed not, he ſtanding up, ſaid: ſeeing thou haſt contemned our gods, derided the emperors edicts, and by magic haſt wrought many miracles to delude the people, whereby thou haſt ſeduced them from the obedience of the emperor, I will therefore that thou ſhalt be forthwith beheaded. Dionyſius nothing terrified herewith, told him that he worſhipped ſuch gods as would periſh like dung upon the earth; but as for myſelf (ſaid he) 'Come life, come death, I will worſhip none but the God of heaven and earth.'

This ſo enraged the Præfect, that he commanded him preſently to be executed: whereupon he was haled out of the city to the top of an high mountain, and delivered to the officers to be tormented, which was accompliſhed with all the cruelty that could be: then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven he ſaid, 'O Lord God almighty thou only begotten Son, and holy Spirit: O ſacred Trinity, which art without beginning, and in whom is no diviſion: receive the ſoul of thy ſervant in peace, who is put to death for thy cauſe and goſpel:' which prayer being ended, he was beheaded with a ſword which was made dull on purpoſe that his pain might be the greater.

He ſuffered martyrdom in the reign of Hadrianus, *anno Chriſti* 96. and of his own age 110.

He uſed to ſay, 'that he deſired theſe two things of God: firſt, that he might know the truth himſelf; Secondly, that he might preach it as he ought unto others.'

He wrote ſundry epiſtles (as ſome affirm) and ſome other works; all which Scultetus for very good reaſons rendred by him, judgeth to be ſpurious.

The Life of JUSTIN MARTYR, *who died* Anno Chriſti 139.

JUSTIN Martyr was born at Neapolis in the country of Paleſtine; his father was Priſcus Bachius, by whom in his youth he was ſet to ſchool, where he profited ſo much, that in a ſhort time he became a famous philoſopher; for being exceedingly inflamed with a deſire of knowlege, he would not be ſatisfied in his mind, till he had gotten inſtructors ſingularly ſeen in all kinds of philoſophy. Firſt he applied himſelf to be a ſcholar to a certain ſtoick: but finding that by his help he nothing profited in divine knowlege, after a time he left him, and went to one of the ſect of the Peripatetiks; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a ſtipend for his teaching: whereupon Juſtin accounting him no philoſopher, left him, and departed. And being not yet ſatisfied in mind, but deſirous to hear of further learning, he adjoined himſelf to one that profeſſed the Pythagorean ſect, a man of great fame, and one that highly eſteemed of himſelf: whom after he had followed a time, his maſter aſked him, whether he had any ſkill in muſic, aſtronomy, and geometry, without the knowlege whereof he ſaid, he could not be apt to receive the knowlege of virtue and felicity; for that his mind muſt be drawn from the knowlege of ſenſible matters, to the contemplation of things intelligible: He ſpake much in commendation of theſe ſciences, how profitable and neceſſary they were: and becauſe Juſtin declared himſelf to have no ſkill therein, he turned him away; which much grieved Juſtin, who conſidering with himſelf, what time was requiſite for the learning of theſe ſciences, and purpoſing to defer it no longer, betook himſelf to the ſect of the Platoniſts for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore chooſing to himſelf a ſingularly learned man of that ſect, that was lately come into thoſe parts, he remained with him, profiting not a little in contemplation of ſupernatural things, and inviſible forms: inſomuch as he hoped ere long through the ſharpneſs of his wit, to attain to the comprehenſion and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato's philoſophy.

And thus he employed his youth: but afterwards being grown to riper years, he was converted to the knowlege and profeſſion of Chriſtianity by this means: beholding the conſtancy, courage and patience of the Chriſtians in their torments and ſufferings, he was wonderfully moved therewith, which made him thus to reaſon; that it was impoſſible for that kind of people to be ſubject to any vice, or carnality, which would certainly diſable them to ſuſtain ſuch ſharp adverſity, and much more the bitterneſs of death.

Hereupon (naturally affecting knowlege) he began to love and embrace the Chriſtian religion. This himſelf teſtifies in the end of his firſt apology; telling us moreover, that being afflicted in mind about finding out the truth, he reſolved for more privacy to retire himſelf unto a grange near the ſea-ſide, where he might be free from the concourſe of the people; whither as he went, there met him a grave ancient father, of a comely viſage, and gentle behaviour, who began to reaſon with them; and after long diſputation, told him plainly that there was no knowlege of the truth amongſt the philoſophers, who neither knew God, nor were directed by the Holy Ghoſt: he alſo further reaſoned with him of the immortality of the ſoul, of the reward of the godly, of the puniſhment of the wicked: ſo that Juſtin, being convinced by his arguments, voluntarily aſſented to him, and demanded of him by what means he might attain to the knowlege of the true God?

The old man counſelled him to read and ſearch the word of God; and to adjoin prayer thereto. But what man (quoth Juſtin) ſhall I uſe for my inſtructor therein? And who ſhall be able to help me, if theſe philoſophers (as you ſay) lack the truth, and are void of the ſame? To which the old father anſwered; There have been, ſaith he, before theſe philoſophers others more ancient than they, who were juſt men, and beloved of God; and who ſpake by the Spirit of God: fore ſeeing, and fore propheſying of thoſe things which now we ſee are come to paſs, and therefore are called Prophets. Theſe only have known the truth, and revealed it to men neither fearing, nor reſpecting the perſons of any. They were ſeduced with no opinions of man's invention, but only ſpake, and taught thoſe things which themſelves both heard and ſaw, being inſpired with the Holy Spirit of God, whoſe writings and books are extant, out of which the reader may receive great profit, and knowlege of many things: as of the firſt creation of the world, and of the end of the ſame, with all other things that are neceſſary for us to know. Neither in their teaching do they uſe any demonſtrations: the things taught being of themſelves more certain than that they need any ſuch demonſtration: the accompliſhment of their propheſies which we ſee fulfilled, conſtraining us of neceſſity to believe the words and doctrine which they have taught: their doctrine alſo being confirmed by wonders and miracles, which induce us to give credit to it. They preached of God the creator and maker of things: they propheſied alſo before of Chriſt the Son of God, ſent to be the Redeemer of the world; which the falſe prophets, ſeduced by falſe and wicked ſpirits did not, but only took upon them to work certain prodigious wonders, for men to gaze at, that thereby they might gain belief to their falſe and unclean opinions: but remember before all things to make thy prayers to Almighty God, that he will open a gate of light to thee: for otherwiſe the knowlege of theſe things cannot be attained to by every man, but they are revealed only to ſuch to whom God and his Chriſt give underſtanding.

The old father having declared theſe, and many other things to Juſtin, departed from him, exhorting him carefully to follow thoſe things which he had ſpoken: after which he ſaw no more. But Juſtin was preſently wonderfully inflamed in his mind to know and ſtudy the prophets, in compariſon of which, all other philoſophers now ſeemed vain and unprofitable to him, and ſo in time he became a Chriſtian, and was baptized.

After this he became an earneſt defender of the truth, travelling up and down, and diſputing againſt all thoſe which were enemies and oppoſers of it, fearing neither peril of life, nor danger of death, ſo that he might maintain the doctrine of Chriſt againſt the malicious blaſphemers of the ſame, and alſo increaſe the number of Chriſtian believers, as may appear by his vehement diſputations againſt the heathen philoſophers, and by the long diſputation of his at Epheſus againſt Tripho, and alſo by his confutations of heretics: yea, and by his apologies which with great zeal and courage he exhibited to the emperor and magiſtrates againſt the perſecutors of the Chriſtians, and in their juſt defence: all which do ſufficiently teſtify the ſame.

The firſt apology which he wrote, was to the ſenate of Rome, in which he wrote with great liberty, telling them, that of neceſſity he was compelled thus to utter his mind unto them: for that in perſecuting the Chriſtians, they neglected their duty, and highly offended God, of which they had need to be admoniſhed: this apology he alſo ſent to Antoninus Pius the emperor: writing alſo to Urbicius, lieutenant of the city, he told him, that he had put men to torments, and death, for no offence committed, but only for the confeſſion of the name of Chriſt; which proceedings, ſaith he, neither becometh the emperor nor his ſon, nor the ſenate. In the ſame apology he alſo defended and purged the Chriſtians from thoſe crimes which were falſely charged upon them by the Ethnicks.

In his ſecond apology writing to Antoninus the emperor, and his ſucceſſors, with like gravity and freedom of ſpeech, he declareth unto them how they had the name and repute of virtuous Philoſophers, maintainers of juſtice, lovers of learning, &c. But whether they were ſo indeed, their acts declared. As for himſelf he profeſſeth that neither for flattery nor for favour he wrote unto them: but that he was conſtrained to ſue unto them for righteouſneſs in their judgments and ſentences: for, ſaith he, it becomes princes to follow uprightneſs and piety in their judgments, not tyranny and violence: he alſo in plain words chargeth, as well the emperor as the ſenate with manifeſt wrong; for that they did not grant to the Chriſtians that which was not denied to all other malefactors, but judged them to death, not convicted: but out of an hatred to their name. 'Other men' ſaith he, 'which are appeached in judgment, are not condemned till they are firſt convicted: but for us, you take the name for a ſufficient crime; whereas indeed you ought to ſee juſtice done rather upon our accuſers. So that if a Chriſtian that is accuſed, deny his name, him you releaſe, being not able to charge him with any other offence: but if he ſtand to his name, you condemn him; whereas it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, and ſo according to their demerits to ſee juſtice done upon them.'

And in another place, 'You examine not the cauſes, but hurried on with raſh affections, as with the ſpur of fury, you ſlay and murder the innocent without any reſpect of juſtice: and if any will ſay, ſome of them have been taken in evil doings; I anſwer, that you uſe not to enquire after thoſe things; but condemn them before due examination of their offences, for the cauſe above mentioned; hereby it appears that you degenerate from the goodneſs of your predeceſſors, whoſe examples you follow not; for your father Adrian, of famous memory, cauſed to be proclaimed, that Chriſtians accuſed before the judge ſhould not be condemned, unleſs they were found guilty of ſome notorious crime, &c.'

In the ſame apology he alſo proves, by firm and ſtrong arguments, that Chriſtians ought not at the ſole will and command of the emperor and ſenate to offer ſacrifice to idols, for which if they be condemned, they ſuffer open wrong; he affirms moreover, that the only true religion, is the religion of the Chriſtians, whoſe doctrine and converſation hath no fault. And although by theſe, and ſuch like perſuaſions he could not prevail with the emperor to love their religion, and to become a Chriſtian; yet thus much he obtained, that the emperor wrote to his officers in Aſia in the behalf of the Chriſtians, requiring and commanding them, that thoſe Chriſtians only that were found guilty of other crimes, ſhould ſuffer, and that none for the bare name of a Chriſtian ſhould be puniſhed, as hitherto they had been. By this it is apparent with what zeal, and faith Juſtin ſtrove againſt the perſecutors of his time, who (as he uſed to ſay) 'could kill, but could not hurt.'

At laſt he went to Rome, where he had many open diſputations, and public conferences with ſome philoſophers, eſpecially with one Creſcens, who was of the ſect of the Cynics, from whom he always bore away the bell, which tended to the ſhortning of his life, as himſelf foreſaw, and foretold in theſe words.

'I look for no other end than this, that I be betrayed by ſome one of them called philoſophers: or knocked on the head with a club by Creſcens, no philoſopher indeed, but a proud boaſter. For it is not meet to call him a philoſopher, which ignorantly reporteth that the Chriſtians are impious, and irreligious, to the end that he may flatter, and pleaſe ſuch as are over ſhadowed with the miſt of error, and ignorance. For if he impugn the doctrine of the Chriſtians, having never read, nor known the ſame, then he is full of malice, and far worſe than idiots, that ſometimes fear to reaſon of unknown matters, leaſt they ſpeak falſely; or if he hath read them, yet he underſtands not the myſtery, and majeſtical meaning thereof: or if in any thing he underſtands them, yet is he afraid to confeſs the truth, leaſt he ſhould be taken for one of them, and then he is far more wicked, &c. malicious, yea the bond-ſlave of vain glory, and brutiſh fear, I deſire that you may underſtand the truth, I have propoſed certain queſtions and interrogatories to him, whereby I have found, that he knows nothing; ſo that if you knew what I propounded, and what anſwer he made thereto, you would certainly give ſentence that he is altogether ignorant in our doctrine, &c.

And

And according to this his prediction, he was slain by the procurement of Crescens; being beheaded *anno Christi* 139. Suffering martyrdom with much cheerfulness under Verus the emperor; or as Epiphanius saith under Adrian.

Tatianus, a learned man, writeth thus of it; Crescens (saith he) being in Rome, passed all men in that filthy and unnatural sin of Sodomy, defiling himself with mankind; inferior also he was to no man in covetousness. He taught, that death was not to be feared, yet himself was so extreamly fearful of it, that he procured Justin's death as it were for a great evil; because that he preaching the truth, reprehended the philosophers as gluttonous and deceitful persons.

He confuted Marcian the heretic; and the Valentinians; he complained to the emperor Antoninus Pius of the cruelty of the proconsul in Asia against the Christians, who forbade them to read any books that spake of Christ.

His usual saying was, 'That which the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world: for as the soul is in, but not of the body; so Christians are in, but no part of the world.'

Also 'It is best of all not to sin: and next to that, to amend upon the punishment.'

Again 'That it is the greatest slavery in the world to be subject to one's own passions.'

He was one that did not only suffer in his Saviour's cause; but took great pains in defending it against all oppositions in his times. He got much repute for his constant zeal against idolatry, and superstition, and persuading the Gentiles to leave it as a vain and unprofitable service; declaring unto them the excellency and benefit of the true worship of God; so that he was a blessed instrument to bring many out of that miserable condition, cheerfully to embrace the faith of Christ crucified.

His works are these; a dialogue with Triphon the Jew; an apology to the senate of Rome; another to Antoninus Pius; an oration to the Gentiles, with some epistles; one *ad Zenam. & Serenum: Altera ad diognetum. Parænetica oratio ad Græcos.*

The Life of IRENÆUS, *who died* Anno Christi 182.

IRENÆUS was born in Asia of Greek parents, as both his name and writings do declare. In his younger years he was a scholar to, and a constant hearer of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. In his riper years he went into France, and was ordained minister by Photinus bishop of Lyons, and some other presbyters.

At this time the church of Christ was in great trouble, both by reason of the persecution raised by forreign enemies, but especially by reason of errors, and sects which then sprung up in that time, against which he diligently laboured and wrote much. His nature did well agree with his name, for he was a great lover of peace, and endeavoured to the uttermost to procure unity when controversies arose in the church: and therefore when the great controversy about keeping Easter day was renewed, and Victor the bishop of Rome would have excommunicated the Eastern church as schismatics, for disagreeing with him therein: Irenæus, with other brethren of the French church, being sorry to see contentions amongst brethren for such a trifle, met together in a council, and by common consent wrote letters unto Victor, subscribed with their names, intreating him to alter his purpose, and not proceed to excommunicate his brethren for that matter; and although themselves agreed with him in observing the same time, yet by many strong arguments and reasons, they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with those who followed the custom of their country in observing another day. He wrote also diverse other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of none effect.

After the martyrdom of Photinus; he was made bishop of Lyons, where he continued about the space of 23 years: by his frequent, faithful, and powerful preaching, and by his holiness of life, he brought most of that city from Gentilism to the knowlege and service of the true God. But the common enemy of mankind, envying the progress of the gospel, and the salvation of so many souls, beside the public persecution, stirred up a spirit of error, and falsehood in some heretics, (as Montanus, Theodosius, Alcibiades, and Maximilla) whereby he greatly disturbed the peace of the church. Hereupon Irenæus, and his fellow-labourers, to shew their care of the brethren sent abroad large epistles of things done amongst them: they sent also the tenets of Montanus into Asia with their judgments upon them. They wrote likewise letters to Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, desiring him heartily to endeavour to keep the church in unity; and when they could find no fitter a person for so weighty a business, they made choice of Irenæus for his holiness, gravity, and sincerity, whom they knew to be willing to undergo all travel, danger, and labour for Christ's cause and the churches good: him therefore they sent to Rome, writing by him in this manner:

'Father Eleutherius, we wish you health in all things, and always in God: we have requested Irenæus our brother, and fellow-labourer, to deliver these letters, whom we pray you to accept of as a zealous follower of the will of Christ,' &c.

This Irenæus wrote five books against the heresies of his times, which are yet extant; in the first of which, dilating upon the infinite profoundity of matters invented by Valentinus, mixed with many errors, he discloseth openly the malice of the heretic, being cloaked, and concealed as it were a serpent hid in his den: for revealing their profane ceremonies, and detestables mysteries, he writeth thus: 'Some (saith he) prepare their wedding chamber, and accomplish the service to be set over them that are to be consecrated with charmed words: and having thus done, they call it a spiritual marriage conformable to the celestial copulation. Some bring them to the water, and in baptizing, say thus; in the name of the unknown father of all things, in the truth, mother of all things, and in him which descended upon Jesus. Some others pronounce Hebrew words, to the end that young converts might be the more amazed.' And in his third book, he wrote that Valentinus came to Rome, in the time of Hyginus, ninth bishop in succession after the apostles: and also Cerdon another heretic, who sometimes professed the true faith, and privily taught the contrary: afterward he confessed his error, and yet again, being reprehended for the corrupt doctrine which he had taught, he refrained the company of the brethren: he taught that God who preached in the law, and prophets, was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. That Christ was known, but the Father of Christ was unknown, &c.

After him succeeded Marcion of Pontus, a shameless blasphemer, which encreased this doctrine.

He tells us also in his second, book that the working of miracles was frequent in his time. Some of the brethren (saith he) and sometime the whole church of some certain place, by reason of some urgent cause by fasting and prayer, have brought to pass that the spirits of the dead have returned into their bodies; and so by the earnest prayers of the saints, they been restored again to life, and have lived with us many years. Some by the like means have expelled devils, so that they which were delivered from evil spirits, have embraced the faith, and were received into the church; others have the spirit of prophesy to foreknow things to come: they see divine dreams, and prophetical visions: others cure the sick, and diseased, and by laying on of their hands restore them to health. For the gracious gifts of the Holy Ghost are innumerable, which the church, dispersed through the whole world, having received, dispenseth daily in the name of Jesus Christ, crucified under Pontus Pilate, to the benefit of the Gentiles, &c.

Whilst he was bishop of Lyons, the state of the church was very unquiet, troublesome and full of danger, because the Roman emperor had not called in the edicts of the fourth persecution: but in this dangerous time, Irenæus was valiant, laboured exceedingly by prayer, preaching, disputing, instructing and reproving with patience and wisdom: seeking the lost; strengthening the weak; recalling the wandring, binding up the broken hearted, and confirming those that were strong: whereupon Tertullian saith, *Tanta a vitæ integritate, & doctrinæ sinceritate gregi is præfuit*, &c. He governed the flock of Christ with such

ſuch integrity of life, and ſincerity of doctrine, that he was loved exceedingly by his own, and feared by others: but in the latter end of Marcus Antoninus Verus, God ſent peace to his church, ſo that the Chriſtians lived ſecurely: held councils, and did preach freely; as alſo in the reign of Commodus, who ſucceeded him; but in the reign of Severus the next emperor, he being a bloody and cruel man, was raiſed the fifth perſecution againſt the church, to the martyrdom of many thouſands: but eſpecially it raged at Lyons, in ſo much, as the blood of the ſlaughtered Chriſtians ran down the ſtreets: and at laſt this bleſſed ſaint, with many other of his flock, were carried between two hills, there was a croſs on the one hand, and an idol on the other, where they were put to their choice, to go either to the croſs to ſuffer, or to the idol to live; but they choſe the croſs, where they all conſtantly ſuffered martyrdom about the year 182. Irenæus being about the age of 60 years, or as ſome ſay 90.

'He uſed to compare the Heretics and Schiſmatics of his time to Æſop's dog, that loſt the ſubſtance of religion, whilſt they gaped too earneſtly after the ſhadow.'

Conſidering the vanity of all earthly things, he ſaid, 'What profit is there in that honour which is ſo ſhort-lived, as that perchance it was not yeſterday, neither will be to-morrow? and ſuch men as labour ſo much for it, are but like froth, which though it be uppermoſt, yet is unprofitableſt.'

Eraſmus thinks that he wrote in Latin; but Hierom reckons him among the Greek fathers: and even till this day ſome of his works are extant in Greek, which ſhews him to be a Grecian.

Varia ſcripſit, ſed ſoli quinque libri adverſus Hæreſis hodie ſuperſunt.

The Life of TERTULLIAN, *who died* anno Chriſti 202.

TERTULLIAN was born in Carthage, his father was a centurion of the proconſular order. He was carefully educated in all manner of learning, wherein he profited ſo much, that Lactantius ſaith of him, he was *in omni genere doctrinæ peritus*, ſkilled in all kind of learning: Hierom ſaith, that his works contained *cunctam ſeculi doctrinam*, all ſorts of learning. Vincentius Lyrinenſis ſaith, *Inter Latinos omnes hic factle princeps judicandus.* that amongſt the Latin fathers he was of chiefeſt account. His works which he hath left to us, ſhew that he was excellently verſed in phyſics, mathematics, and hiſtory. He was eminent for his ſtudy of, and knowlege in the civil law. Afterwards falling to the ſtudy of divinity, he attained to ſuch excellent ſkill therein, that at Rome he was made a preſbyter, where he remained to the middle of his age.

He flouriſhed under the emperor Severus, *anno Chriſti* 183. And burning in holy zeal, he became a great oppoſite to the Heretics of thoſe times, Marcion, Valentinian, Praxea, Hermogenes, &c. He was very expert both in Greek and Latin, and had great acuteneſs in diſputing and writing eloquently, as his books do ſufficiently declare: ſo that Vincentius Lyrinenſis ſaith, that the force of his arguments was ſuch, that whom he could not perſuade, them he compelled to conſent to him. God raiſed him in the time of great perſecution, to be as a pillar or ſtay to his poor afflicted church: for when the Chriſtians were vexed with wrongs, and falſely accuſed by the Gentiles, Tertullian taking their cauſe in hand, defended them againſt their perſecutors, and their ſlanderous accuſations, ſhewing that they never intended any ſtirs, or rebellions, either againſt the empire, or emperors of Rome, for ſo much as the manner of Chriſtians was to pray for the proſperous eſtate of their governors. And whereas they were falſely accuſed to be enemies to mankind, how can that be, ſaith he, when as the proper office of Chriſtians is to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, whereas all others do profeſs only to love their friends, and ſcarcely them? And as touching the horrible ſlander of murdering infants, how can that be true, ſaith he, in the Chriſtians, whoſe cuſtom is to abſtain from all blood, and things ſtrangled, ſo that it is not lawful for them when they feed at their tables to meddle with the blood of any beaſts? and as for filthy copulations, no ſort of men are more free than they, who have ever been the greateſt obſervers of chaſtity, and if they could, have choſen to live in perpetual virginity all their lives long; if they could not, their manner is to contract matrimony for the avoiding all whoredom and fornication. Neither can it be proved that the Chriſtians do worſhip the ſun; which falſe ſurmiſe, ſaith he, ariſeth only from this, becauſe they uſe to pray towards the eaſt. Much leſs was there any of them ſo mad as to worſhip an aſs's head, the occaſion of which ſlander aroſe from the Jews worſhipping the jaw bone of an aſs, from the ſtory of Sampſon, which therefore was falſely and wrongfully charged upon the Chriſtians. Likewiſe againſt all other lies and ſlanders raiſed by the Heathens againſt the Chriſtians, he clearly purgeth them, and evidently proves that they were perſecuted not for any deſerts of theirs, but only out of an hatred to their name and profeſſion.

He ſheweth alſo, that by thoſe grievous perſecutions the religion or number of Chriſtians was nothing impaired, but increaſed rather. The more (ſaith he) we are mown down by you, the more we riſe up. The blood of the Chriſtians proves the ſeed of the church. For what man (ſaith he) beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of the Chriſtians, will not ſearch and enquire into the cauſe; and when he hath found it out, will not conſent and agree to both: and when he agreeth to it, who will not be willing and deſirous to ſuffer for it? So that this profeſſion can never be extirpated, ſeeing the more it is cut down, the more it encreaſeth: for every man ſeeing, and wondering at the ſufferings of the ſaints, is moved thereby to ſearch into the cauſe; and in ſearching he finds it, and in finding he follows it.

And as Tertullian thus beſtirred himſelf in defending the innocency of the Chriſtians, ſo he compiled many excellent and fruitful works, whereof ſome are extant, others are not to be found. By theſe excellent apologies of his, he perſuaded the Emperor Severus to favour the Chriſtians, who prayed for his proſperity, and imputed the ſlaughter of his ſubjects at Bizantium, as a juſt judgment upon them for the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood.

Having written excellently againſt the heretics of his time, in the end of his book he made a catalogue of all the heretics that then tore the bowels of the church; yet, he continued theſe labours when the perſecution was at the hotteſt, not hiding his head, though the times were ſo dangerous.

Once, in great triumph, the Emperor Severus his ſoldiers, for the greater pomp, were to put on crowns of bays; but one Chriſtian ſoldier there was among them, who wore it on his arm; and being demanded the reaſon, he boldly anſwered, *Non decet Chriſtianum in hac vita coronari*, that a Chriſtian ought not to wear his crown in this life; upon which occaſion Tertullian wrote his book *De corona militis*. Cyprian when he would read Tertullian, uſed to ſay, *Da magiſtrum*, Give me my maſter. His manner was conſtantly to pray thrice a-day, at the third, ſixth, and ninth hours. Writing *De quatuor noviſſimis*, of death, judgment, heaven, and hell, he ſaith, *Hæc nos aliquando riſimus, cum de vobis fuimus: fiunt, non naſcuntur Chriſtiani.* I ſometimes ſcoffed at theſe things when I was a Heathen; I now perceive that we are not born, but made Chriſtians.

He was converted by reading the ſcriptures, and labours of other learned and holy men. In reading the ſcriptures he found them full of majeſty and truth: and ſaith he, *Quiquid agitur, prænunciabitur:* Whatſoever is done was in them foretold. And after his converſion, he was taken up night and day in the reading of them, and did, with great pains, get much of them by heart, and that ſo exactly that he knew each period. He highly commended Severus, for that, knowing many noble men and women to be Chriſtians, he did not only not puniſh them, but greatly praiſed them, and did publicly withſtand ſuch as were their enemies. Yet, notwithſtanding the great learning and famous virtues of this worthy man, through envy, as is conceived, at the Roman clergy, he fell into the error of Montanus: ſo that, though the glory of ſome of his writings was darkened by his errors, yet his learning ſhewed in thoſe very writings is admired by all poſterities;

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in ſo much as Cyprian, that excellent martyr, would let no day paſs without reading ſome part of him. He died in peace about the 63 years of his age, *anno Chriſti* 202.

Some of his uſual ſayings were theſe.

'If thou beeſt backward in thoughts of repentance, be forwards in thoughts of hell, the burning flames whereof only the tears of a penitent eye can extinguiſh.'

'If the devils without Chriſt's leave had no power over the Gadarens ſwine much leſs have they power over God's own ſheep.

'We ſhould not try mens faith by their perſons, but their perſons by their faith.

It is in vain to come to the God of peace, without peace; or to pray for the remiſſion of our own ſins, without forgiving others. We muſt not come to make an atonement with God at his altar, before we have made an attonement with our brother in our hearts.

His works are contained in ſeveral Tomes, *Quædam enim in uſum Eccleſiæ, & pro Eccleſia, quædam contra Eccleſiam ſcripta ſunt: Prima generis ſunt, De Patientia* lib 1. *De carne* Chriſti, l. 1. *De Reſurrectione carnis*, l. 1. *De Præſcriptionibus adverſus* Hæreticos, l. 1. *Adverſus Judæos*, l. 1. *Adverſus* Marcionem, l. 5. *Adverſus* Hermoginem, l. 1 *Adverſus* Praxeam, l 1. *De Corona Militis*, l. 1. *Ad Martyres*, l. 1. *De Virginibus velandis*, l. 1. *De Habitu Muliebri*, l. 1 *De Cultu Fœminarum*, l 1. *Ad Uxorem*, l. 2. *Ad* Scapulam, l. 1. *De Pallio*, l. 1. *De Teſtimonio Animæ*, l. 1. *De Anima*, l. 1. *De Spectaculis*, l. 1. *De Baptiſmo*, l. 1. *Contra Gnoſticos* l. 1. *De Idololatria*, l. 1, *De Judaicis Cibis Epiſtola. De Oratione. Apologeticus. Alterius Generis. De Fuga in Perſecutione. De Exhortatione Caſtitatis. De Monogamia. De Pudicitia. De Jejunio.*

The Life of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *who flouriſhed*, Anno Chriſti, 196.

SCULTETUS ſaith, that the Parentage, country, birth, breeding, and manner of converſion of Clemens are uncertain, ſome would have him to be born at Athens: but certain it is, that he was the diſciple of Pontenus, who moderated in the Catechiſtical ſchool at Alexandria, and after his death Clemens ſucceeded in that office, whence he was called Alexandrinus. He moſt flouriſhed about the year of Chriſt, 196. He was endowed with all manner of polite learning, and was ordained Preſbyter in Alexandria, where, by his fervent zeal and piety he much propagated the Chriſtian faith.

Photius ſpeaking of his writings, ſaith thus of them; *Dictio eſt florida, quæque; effurgit in Majeſtatem cum ſua vitate conjuncta, in quibus etiam eſt eruditio multa, & decens.* That the language is flouriſhing, and ariſeth into a certain majeſty joined with ſweetneſs, wherein is much learning in a comely manner adorned and and ſet forth He was an excellent hiſtorian, and a zealous confuter of the hereſies of his times.

He wrote many works, moſt of which are periſhed with time, to the great prejudice of the church, and grief of the learned: only three remain, *Protreptikos ad Gentes: Pædagoguas: & Stromata.* In the firſt, he exhorts the Gentiles and heathens to embrace the Chriſtian faith. In the ſecond, he informs thoſe which were newly converted how to carry themſelves. In the third, he directs grown Chriſtians in the doctrines which were fit for them in that eſtate. He complains much of the decay of zeal and of the want of the power of godlineſs amongſt profeſſors in his time.

He was maſter to Origen, who alſo ſucceeded him in his place in Alexandria. He was excellently verſed in the holy ſcriptures, and very careful to preſerve the doctrines which he had received from his predeceſſors in purity; whereupon in his firſt book intituled *Stromaton*, he thus writeth: This preſent tract of mine is not made for any oſtentation, but theſe monuments are laid up as helps againſt weakneſs of memory in my old age, that it may be to me a plain image and protracture of that effectual and lively doctrine which I was thought worthy to hear, &c. The time and manner of his death is uncertain.

He uſed to ſay, 'That ſuch as adorn themſelves with gold, and think themſelves bettered thereby, are worſe than gold, and not lords of it, as all that have it ought to be.

Out of the depth and bowels of the earth hath God diſcovered and ſhewed gold unto men, and they have made it the occaſion of all miſchief and wickedneſs.

Gold to many men is much dearer then their faith and honeſty: and the love of it makes many ſo covetous, as if they were to live here for ever.

Avarice is not the vice of gold, but of men which uſe it wickedly.

Scripſit non pauca: Ex quibus ad nos pervenerunt tria opuſcula. Protreptikos ad Gentes. Pædagogus. Stromata.

The Life of ORIGEN, *who died* Anno Chriſti 220.

ORIGEN was born *anno Chriſti* 189 his father, grandfather, and great grand father were Chriſtians.

He was by his father Leonides trained up from his infancy in the Chriſtian religion, and other good literature, but eſpecially in the knowlege of the ſacred ſcriptures, who demanded of him daily a certain taſk and cauſed him to rehearſe the ſame: and he (though a child) reſted not in the bare words of the ſcripture, but ſought farther into the profound ſenſe, and meaning of them, ſo that divers times he would gravel his father in the queſtions which he propounded to him; for this his father checked him to his face, admoniſhing him not to ſearch beyond the capacity of his years, nor beyond that the plain letter gave to underſtand: yet inwardly he rejoiced greatly, yielding unto God hearty thanks, who had made him the father of ſuch a ſon: yea, he many times uncovered the breaſt of his ſon as he lay aſleep, and kiſſ'd it, as the temple wherein the Holy Ghoſt had taken up his reſidence: he was called Origen Adamantius; the firſt name was given him for his ſublime and divine ſpeculations, who by ſweet and melliſluous allegories carries his reader's affections from terrene to heavenly meditations and contemplations: the ſecond name he had from the nature of the adamant, whoſe luſtre and hardneſs giveth it renown; for ſuch was this man's noble and generous mind, that he was not daunted, nor affrighted with any dangers, or afflictions whatſoever.

When he was but ſeventeen years old, his father being carried to priſon, he had ſuch a fervent mind to ſuffer martyrdom with him, that he would have thruſt himſelf into the perſecutors hands, had it not been for his mother, who in the night time privily ſtole away his cloaths, and his very ſhirt alſo: whereupon more for ſhame to be ſeen naked, than for fear to die, he was conſtrained to remain at home: yet when he could do no more, he wrote a letter to his father in priſon, in which he exhorted him thus, *Vide pater, ne quid mea cauſa ſecus facias*: ſee, O father, that you do not change your reſolution for my ſake.

After the death of his father, and the confiſcation of all his goods to the emperor, he with his poor mother and ſix brethren were brought to ſuch extream poverty, that he was forced to ſuſtain himſelf and them by teaching a grammar ſchool, till at length, being weary of that profeſſion, he wholly betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures and divinity: he alſo ſtudied the languages, and profited very much in the knowlege of Hebrew, and other tongues, comparing the Hebrew text with the ſeptuagint, as alſo with other tranſlations of Aquila, Symachus, and Theodoſion: and thus caſting himſelf upon the divine providence for his ſubſiſtence, it pleaſed God, that he was entertained by a religious and rich matron, together with his mother, and brethren.

This gentlewoman had alſo in her houſe at the ſame time a certain man of Antioch, a notable heretic, who ſo plauſibly demeaned himſelf, that ſhe entertained him as her dear friend and ſon: Origen being by this means neceſſitated to frequent his company, ſhewed forth a manifeſt proof of his cleaving to the right and true faith: for when as a great multitude not only of heretics, but of the orthodox alſo frequented the lectures of this Paulus (for ſo was his name) being counted a wiſe and profound man, yet Origen would never be perſuaded to join with him in prayer, deteſting his heretical doctrines.

During this time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of rhe-

toric and other human learning, wherein he profited exceedingly: and ſo being well accompliſhed with learning, and the catechiſt-ſchool at Alexandria being void at that time, every one being forced away by the thunderbolt of perſecution, he ſet upon preaching there, being now about 18 years old.

Unto his lectures many of the Gentiles reſorted, and were, by God's bleſſing upon his miniſtry, converted, as one Plutarch, who was afterwards crowned with martyrdom, and Heracles his brother, who afterwards ſucceeded Demetrius in the biſhop-rick of Alexandria, and many others. In this employment he proſpered exceedingly, and purchaſed to himſelf a famous name amongſt all the faithful, in that he chearfully embraced and encouraged all the martyrs, not only of his acquaintance, but even ſuch as were unknown unto him. He verified ſuch as were in deep dungeons and cloſe impriſonment, encouraged them when they were to receive their laſt ſentence, and after their ſentence pronounced; yea he accompanied them to the place of execution, putting himſelf often into great danger thereby: he boldly embraced, and kiſſed at their farewel, ſo that once the heathens in their furious rage had ſtoned him to death, if the divine power of God had not marvellouſly delivered him. And the ſame divine power and providence of God did at many other times protect and defend him, even ſo oft as cannot be told, being aſſaulted by the adverſaries for his prompt mind, and invincible courage in publiſhing the doctrine of Chriſt.

Yea, ſo extreamly was he hated by the infidels, that ſoldiers were oft fain to be hired to watch about his houſe by the multitudes of thoſe that repaired to him to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith; and the enemies rage was ſo vehemently bent againſt him for this cauſe, that he could not paſs ſafely in the ſtreets of Alexandria; he was alſo forced oft to change his lodging, thereby to prevent the purſuers. As he taught, ſo he lived, and as he lived ſo he taught; and God's grace working exceedingly with and by him, multitudes were converted to the Chriſtian faith by his miniſtry; hereupon Demetrius the biſhop, divolved the whole charge and care of the ſchool upon him alone, and he judging the reading of humanity to be out of ſeaſon, wholly applied himſelf to divinity lectures: and afterwards (his neceſſities being urgent) upon the advice of his friends he ſold all his authors of humanity, which he had diligently peruſed, and now lay by him, to one, upon condition that he ſhould allow him two pence a day for his maintenance, wherewith he contented himſelf; and to cut off all occaſions of youthly concupiſcence, all the day long he ſpent in the forenamed exerciſes, and a great part of the night he ſpent in meditating upon the holy ſcriptures, taking his reſt only for a few hours, and that not in his bed, but on the bare ground; he uſed alſo faſting often, and expounding the ſaying of our Saviour literally, would not wear two coats, neither ſhoes, but went bareſoot, not taking care for the time to come with a greedy or a covetous deſire. He inured himſelf to cold and nakedneſs, and abſtinence from wine, even to the amazement of his familiar friends, and to the offence of many who would willingly have relieved his neceſſities; by theſe means he was in great danger (through weakneſs of limbs, and faintneſs of body) to have deſtroyed and caſt away himſelf; yet this his ſtrict courſe of life won many, not of the common people only, but of the wiſe, learned and rich, to become zealous followers of his doctrine; many of which in thoſe times of perſecution ſuffered for the ſame, as you may ſee more at large in my *General Martyrology*.

Having many matrons and virgins, who upon ſundry occaſions reſorted to him, to prevent temptations to uncleanneſs, miſtaking theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, 'There are ſome that make themſelves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven ſake,' he gelded himſelf, the rather to prevent ſuch ſlanderous reports as might be raiſed of him, to the ſcandal of the goſpel.

The church of Achaia being at this time vexed with divers hereſies, Origen was ſingled out, and being furniſhed with letters teſtimonial from the church, was ſent to confute them. As he paſſed through Paleſtine, he was by the biſhops ordained a preſbyter, that thereby he might be armed with the more authority againſt the hereticks: wherein he did not run before he was ſent.

But his life and doctrine grew ſo renowned and eminent, as ſtirred up envy in the hearts of ſome againſt him, eſpecially in Demetrius the biſhop, who had formerly loved and preferred him: ſo that now on the contrary, he did all he could to darken and obſcure his fame; hereupon he ript up Origen's faults, and by his writings publiſhed them to the world, upbraiding him eſpecially with that raſh and inconſiderate act of diſmembring himſelf, for which he judged him unfit for the miniſterial office; thus in the height of Origen's fame theſe things were divulged, and his adverſary was potent, and thereupon he was forced to give way to the ſtorm, and to yield to the importunity of his enviers, and ſo left Alexandria, yet always retained his conſtancy and courage, preaching the goſpel with all diligence and painfulneſs, ſtriving to convert many to Chriſt, not troubling the church with ſchiſm, nor yet requiting his adverſary with ill language, but on the contrary, ſpeaking well of ſlanderers. The principal place wherein he taught was Cæſarea of Paleſtine, wherein he inſtructed many in the faith, and ſaw the fruits of his labours in the converſion of many to God, which afterwards proved famous in the church of Chriſt. Mammæa alſo the mother of Alexander Severus the emperor hearing of his fame, ſent for him to Antioch, and after ſhe had been inſtructed by him in the Chriſtian faith, diſmiſſed him honourably.

After this he wrote a learned epiſtle to Philip the emperor, who was deemed the firſt Chriſtian king of the Romans. He reclaimed Ambroſe from the hereſy of the Marcionites. He never affected wealth, but contented himſelf in a low condition, whereas having ſo many and great friends, he might have abounded in wealth if he had pleaſed.

Afterwards he returned to Alexandria again, and laboured hard in the affairs of the church, ſo that he continued above the ſpace of 52 years in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding the ſcriptures, even to the time of Decius and Gallus.

Divers and great perſecutions he ſuſtained, and ſometimes was ſo eagerly purſued, that ſcarce any ſhifting of place or country could preſerve him. In the reign of Decius, for the doctrine of Chriſt he under-went bands and torments in his body, racking with bars of irons, dungeons, beſides terrible threats of death and burning; and divers and ſundry other torments which he manfully and conſtantly ſuffered for Chriſt. At length hearing that ſome Chriſtians were carried to an idol temple to force them to ſacrifice, he out of his zeal, ran thither to encourage and diſuade them from it. This was the opportunity which his adverſaries expected, and therefore, letting go the other, they laid hold upon him, putting him to his choice, whether he would offer incenſe to the idol, or have his body defiled with a fowl and ugly black-more, which they had prepared for the purpoſe. Origen being in a miſerable ſtraight, at laſt choſe rather to offer incenſe than to have his chaſte body polluted by ſo filthy a creature; then did they preſently put incenſe into his trembling hands, and whilſt he demurred upon it, they took his hands and cauſed him to throw it into the fire: whereupon they preſently cried out, Origen hath ſacrificed. Origen hath ſacrificed. After which fact he was excommunicated by the church; and being ſo filled with ſhame and ſorrow, he left Alexandria and went into Judea, and when he came to Jeruſalem, being well known for his learned expoſitions, and gift of utterance, he was intreated by the miniſters to beſtow a ſermon upon the people in the church and open aſſembly, and after much importunity, being in a manner conſtrained thereto, he ſtood up, took his Bible, opened it, and the firſt place that he caſt his eye upon was this portion of ſcripture; 'Unto the wicked ſaith God, Why doſt thou preach my laws, and takeſt my covenant into thy mouth?' Which text ſo ſoon as he had read, he clapſed the book, ſat down, and burſt out into abundance of tears, the whole congregation weeping with him alſo, ſo that he was unable to ſay any more unto them. After this he wandred up and down in great grief and torment of conſcience, and wrote this lamentation:

'In the bitterneſs and grief of mind, I go about to ſpeak unto them which hereafter ſhall read this confuſed writing: But how can I ſpeak when my tongue is tied up, and my lips dare not once move or wag? My tongue doth not his office;

office, my throat is dried up, and all my ſenſes and inſtruments are polluted with iniquity.

But I will proceed, and firſt I will fall to the ground on my bare knees, and make my humble ſupplication unto the ſaints that they will help me, filthy wretch, which by reaſon of my ſins dare not crave ought at the hands of God. O ye ſaints and bleſſed of God, with wateriſh eyes, and wet cheeks ſoaked in dolour and pain, I beſeech you to fall down before the ſeat of almighty God, for me miſerable ſinner. Wo is me becauſe of the ſorrow of my heart: wo is me that my ſoul is thus afflicted, wo is me that I am compaſſed thus on every ſide, and ſhut up in my ſin, ſo that there is no health in me. Wo is me my mother that ever thou broughteſt me forth, for a ſkilful lawyer to be overthrown in his unrighteous dealing, for a religious man to fall into extream impiety. Wo is me my mother that broughteſt me forth, a righteous man to be converſant in unrighteouſneſs; an heir of the kingdom of God, to be now an inheritor of the kingdom of the devil: a miniſter to be found wallowing in impiety: a man beautified with honour and dignity, to be in the end blemiſhed with ſhame and ignominy, yea beſet with many evils, and choaked with infamous doings. Wo is me my mother that broughteſt me forth a lofty turret, yet ſuddenly thrown to the ground: a fruitful tree, yet quickly withered; a burning light, yet forthwith darkned; a running fountain, yet by and by dried up. Wo is me that ever I was decked with gifts and graces, and now ſeem pitifully to be deprived of all:

But who will miniſter moiſture to my head? and who will give ſtreams of tears unto mine eyes, that I may bewail myſelf in this my ſorrowful plight? Alas O my miniſtry, how ſhall I lament thee? O all ye my friends tender my caſe, and pity my perſon that am ſo dangerouſly wounded? Pity me, O ye all my friends, who am now become an abject perſon. Pity me O ye my friends, for that I am now with ſorrow come to naught. Pity me, O ye my friends, for that I have now troden under foot the ſeal and cognizance of my profeſſion, and joined in league with the devil. Pity me, O ye my friends, for that I am rejected, and caſt away from before the face of God: it is for my lewd life that I am thus polluted and branded with open ſhame. The Lord hath made and engrafted me into a fruitful vine, but inſtead of pleaſant cluſters, I have brought forth pricking thorns, inſtead of grapes I have brought forth brambles

But let the well-ſprings of tears be ſtirred up, and let my cheeks be watered; let them flow upon the earth and moiſten it, for that I am born in iniquity, and ſoaked in ſin, &c. Alas! what have I felt, and how am I fallen? Alas! how am I thus come to naught? There is no ſorrow comparable to my ſorrow; there is no affliction that exceedeth my affliction; no bitterneſs that paſſeth my bitterneſs: no lamentation more lamentable then mine; neither is there any ſin greater than my ſin, and there is no ſalve for me.

Where is that good Shepherd of ſouls? Where is he that went down from Jeruſalem to Jericho, which ſalved and cured him which was wounded by the thieves? Seek me out O Lord, that am fallen from the higher Jeruſalem: which have broken the vow I made in baptiſm: which have profaned my cognizance in that I dealt injuriouſly with thy bleſſed name. Alas! that ever I was a doctor, and now occupy not the room of a diſciple! thou knoweſt O Lord, that I fell againſt my will: whereas I went about to enlighten others, I darkened myſelf: when I endeavoured to bring others from death to life, I brought myſelf from life to death. When I minded to preſent others before God, I preſented myſelf before the devil. When I deſired to be found a friend and a favourer of godlineſs, I was found a foe and furtherer of iniquity; when I ſet myſelf againſt the aſſemblies of the wicked, and reproved their doings, there found I ſhame, and the moſt peſtilent wound of the devil. Some promiſed me that they would be baptized: but after that I departed from them, the devil the ſame night transformed himſelf into an angel of light, and ſaid unto me: when thou art up in the morning, go on, and perſuade them, and bring them to God: but the devil, going before me, prepared the way by whetting their wits to deviſe miſchief againſt one, ſilly wretch, ſowing in their minds hypocriſy, diſſimulation and deceit. But I (O unhappy creature) ſkipping out of my bed at the dawning of the day, could not finiſh my wonted devotion, neither accompliſh my uſual prayers, deſiring that all men might be ſaved, and come to the knowlege of the truth, whilſt in the mean time I wrapped myſelf in the ſnares of the devil. I gat me to thoſe wicked men; I required of them to perform the covenant made the night before, I ſilly ſoul, not knowing their ſubtilty, and we came to the baptiſm.

O blind heart, how didſt thou not remember? O fooliſh mind, how didſt thou not bethink thyſelf? O witleſs brain, how didſt thou not underſtand? But it was the devil that lulled thee aſleep, and in the end ſlew thy unhappy and wretched ſoul. He bound my power and might, and ſo wounded me. I anſwered but in a word, and became reproachfully defamed. I ſpake without malice, yet felt I ſpite. The devil raiſed an aſſembly about me, and pronounced againſt me that unjuſt ſentence, Origen hath ſacrificed. O thou devil, what haſt thou done unto me? How haſt thou wounded me? I bewailed ſometimes the fall of Sampſon, but I have fallen worſe myſelf: I bewailed formerly the fall of Solomon, but now have I fallen far worſe myſelf: I bewailed formerly the ſtate of all ſinners, yet now am I plunged into ſin myſelf: Sampſon had his hair cut off: but the crown of glory is fallen off my head. Sampſon loſt the carnal eyes of his body; but my ſpiritual eyes are put out. It was the wyleneſs of a woman that brought confuſion upon him: but it was my tongue that brought me into this ſinful condition: and as he afterwards wanted the comfort of his earthly poſſeſſions: ſo my tongue by this wickedneſs hath deprived me of thoſe ſpiritual gifts, which ſometimes have flown into me with heavenly riches: and as he endured thoſe things by leaving the Iſraelites, and cleaving unto foreigners; ſo I going about to ſave notorious ſinners, made myſelf captive to captives, and a bond ſlave unto ſin.

Alas! my church liveth, yet I am a widower. My ſons be alive, yet I am barren: every creature rejoiceth, and I alone am deſolate and ſorrowful, &c. Bewail me, O ye bleſſed people of God, who am baniſhed from God; bewail me who am deprived of all goodneſs; bewail me who am deprived of the Holy Ghoſt. Bewail me, who am thruſt out of the wedding chamber of Chriſt. Bewail me, who was once thought worthy the kingdom of God, but am now altogether unworthy. Bewail me, who am abhorred of the angels, and ſevered from the ſaints of God. Bewail me, for that I am condemned to eternal puniſhments. Bewail me, for that I am here on earth, and yet am tormented with the prick of conſcience. I do fear death for that I am wicked. I do fear the dreadful day of judgment for that I am damned for ever. I do fear the puniſhment, for that it is eternal. I do fear the evil angels that overſee the puniſhment, becauſe they are void of mercy. I do fear out of meaſure all the torments; and what I ſhall do I wot not, being thus on every ſide beſet with miſery. If there be any man that can, I beſeech him now to aſſiſt me with his earneſt prayers and ſorrowful tears. For now it behoveth me to ſhed infinite tears for my great ſin: who knoweth whether the Lord will have mercy upon me, and whether he will pity my fall? Whether he will tender my perſon? Whether he will be moved with my deſolation? Whether he will ſhew mercy unto me? Whether he will have reſpect to my humiliation, and incline his tender compaſſions towards me?

'I will proſtrate myſelf before the threſhold and porch of his church, that I may intreat all people both ſmall and great, ſaying unto them, trample and tread me under foot who am the unſavoury ſalt; tread upon me, who have no taſte nor favour of God: tread upon me, which am fit for nothing. Now let the elders mourn, for that the ſtaff whereon they leaned is broken. Now let the young men mourn, for that their ſchool-maſter is fallen. Now let the virgins mourn, for that the advancer of virginity is defiled. Now let the miniſters mourn, for that their patron and defender is ſhamefully fallen. Wo is me, that I fell ſo lewdly: wo is me that I fell moſt dangerouſly, and cannot riſe again. Aſſiſt me O holy Spirit, and give me grace to repent. Let the fountains of tears be opened, and guſh out into ſtreams, to ſee if that peradventure I may have

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the grace worthily and throughly to repent, and to wipe out of the book of my conſcience the accuſations printed therein againſt me. But thou O Lord, think not upon my polluted lips, neither weigh thou the tongue that hath uttered lewd things: but accept of my repentance, affliction, and bitter tears, the dolour of my heart and heavineſs of my ſoul, and have mercy upon me, and raiſe me up out of the mire of corruption, for the puddle thereof hath even choaked me up.

'Wo is me, that was ſometimes a pearl gliſtering in the golden garland of glory, but now am thrown into the duſt, and troden in the mire of contempt. Wo is me that the ſalt of God now lieth on the dunghil. But how great ſtreams of lamentations ſhall cleanſe and purify my humble heart? Now I will addreſs myſelf, and turn my talk unto God; Why haſt thou lifted me up, and caſt me down? for as thou haſt exalted me with the divine word of thy heavenly wiſdom, ſo me thinks, I ſtick in the depth of ſin which myſelf hath wrought. I had not committed this impiety, unleſs thou hadſt withdrawn thine hand from me. But it is thy pleaſure, O Lord, which art good to do all things graciouſly, and I on the other ſide, being a fool have fooliſhly fallen. But why, O Lord, haſt thou ſhut my mouth by thy holy prophet David? Have I been the firſt that ſinned? or am I the firſt that fell? why haſt thou thus forſaken me being deſolate, and rejected and baniſhed me from amongſt thy ſaints, and aſtoniſhed me when I ſhould preach thy laws? what man is he that is born of a woman, that ſinneth not? what man is he that was ever converſant here on earth, and did no iniquity? This I ſay, becauſe thou haſt forſaken me. David himſelf, who hath ſhut up my mouth, ſinned too bad in thy ſight, yet upon his repentance thou receiveſt him to mercy. Peter that was a pillar, after his fall, wiped it away with ſalt tears, not continuing long in the puddle of his infidelity. But they in favour were thought worthy of mercy. Wo is me that I fell moſt wickedly. Wo is me that my adventure in this thing proved ſo unfortunate: but now I humbly beſeech thee O Lord, call me back, for that I tread a moſt perilous and deſtructive way. Grant me that good guide and inſtructer, the Holy Ghoſt, that I be not made a pricking hedge hog, and become an habitation of devils; but that I may tread under foot the devil that trode upon me, and overcoming his ſlights, may be again reſtored to the joys of thy ſalvation. Remember not, O Lord, the iniquity of thine humble ſuitor. Remember not, O Lord, mine iniquity, who made anſwer with wicked language.

Now all ye which behold my wound, tremble for fear, and take heed that ye ſlumber not, nor fall into the like crime: but rather let us aſſemble together and rend our hearts, and provoke ſtreams of tears to guſh out of our heads; for when theſe run and flow upon the earth, there will follow remiſſion of ſins; the pains will be avoided, and the torments ſhall not be felt. I mourn and am ſorry from the heart-root, O ye my friends that ever I ſo fell: I am fallen and am bruiſed, ſo that there is no health in me: let the angels lament over me, becauſe of this my dangerous fall. Let the aſſemblies of the ſaints lament over me, for that I am ſevered from their bleſſed ſocieties. Let the holy church lament over me, for that I am wofully declined. Let all the people lament over me, for that I have my death's wound.

'I ſee the clouds in the ſky ſhadowing the light from me, and the ſun hiding his bright beams: you all do now ſee that the prophet David hath ſhut my mouth, I was conſtrained by the biſhops to ſpeak ſome words of exhortation, and taking the book of Pſalms into my hands, I prayed, and opened the book; and I lighted upon this ſentence which I am aſhamed to repeat, yet compelled to pronounce, 'Unto the wicked,' ſaith God, 'Why doſt thou preach my laws, and takeſt my covenant in thy mouth?' But bewail me, and lament this my bitter ſorrow: bewail me that am in the like caſe with the reprobate Jews; for that which was ſaid unto them by the prophet, now ſoundeth alike in mine ears. What ſhall I do that am thus beſet with manifold miſchiefs? Alas O death why doſt thou linger? herein thou doeſt ſpite and bear me malice. O Satan what miſchief haſt thou wrought unto me? how haſt thou pierced my breaſt with thy poiſonous dart? thinkeſt thou that my ruin will avail thee any thing at all? thinkeſt thou to procure to thyſelf any eaſe or reſt whilſt that I am grievouſly tormented? who is able to ſignify unto thee whether my ſins be not wiped and done away? whether I have not eſcaped the pains which I grievouſly feared? who is able to ſignify unto thee, whether I ſhall not again be coupled with and made a companion to the ſaints? O Lord I fall down before thy mercy ſeat, have mercy upon me who mourn thus out of meaſure, becauſe I have greatly offended: I ſhed many ſalt and bitter tears, and every living creature hath lamented my miſerable condition. Why haſt thou broken down my hedge and ſtrong holds: the wild boar out of the wood hath deſtroyed me, and the wild beaſts of the field have eaten me up. Rid my ſoul, O Lord, from the roaring lion. The aſſembly of the ſaints doth make interceſſion for me who am an unprofitable ſervant. Shew mercy, O Lord, to thy wandering ſheep which is ſubject to the rending teeth of the ravenous wolf: Save me, O Lord, out of his mouth; ſuffer me not to become the ſacrifice of ſin; but ſend down upon me thy holy Spirit, that with his fiery countenance he may put to flight the crooked fiend of hell, that I may be brought home again by thy wiſdom, that the bill of ſin written againſt me may be blotted out, that my lamentation may ceaſe in the evening, and that I may receive joy in the morning. Let my ſackcloth be rent aſunder, and gird me with joy and gladneſs. Let me be received again into the joy of my God: let me be thought worthy of his kingdom through the earneſt petitions of the church, which ſorroweth over me, and humbleth herſelf to Jeſus Chriſt in my behalf: to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

Whilſt Origen was a catechiſt at Alexandria, finding himſelf not ſufficient, neither able alone to ſearch out the profound myſteries of the holy ſcripture, neither the interpretation and right ſenſe thereof, becauſe of the multitude that frequented his ſchool from morning till night in ſeveral companies, one ſucceeding another, ſo that he wanted leiſure for his private ſtudies, he ordained Heraclas his familiar friend, who was expert in the holy ſcripture and a profound philoſopher, to be his fellow helper, committing to him the inſtruction of the inferior ſort which were lately come to the faith; reſerving to himſelf the teaching of thoſe that were farther and better entered.

Having alſo a great deſire to ſearch out the deep myſteries of the holy ſcriptures, he ſtudied the Hebrew tongue, and bought copies that were uſed amongſt the Jews: he ſearched out alſo other tranſlations beſides the vulgar, as that of Aquila, of Symachus, and of Theodoſion: theſe being compacted together in one volume, and the pages divided into ſeveral columns, ſetting each copy againſt other, and adding the Hebrew to them, he publiſhed the ſame, and entitled it *Hexapla*.

When the rumour was now every where ſpread abroad of the fame of Origen, many learned men came to try the truth of his doctrine, and to have experience of his utterance in preaching; yea many heretics and famous philoſophers reſorted to him, and were converted by him. Origen was the firſt that wrote commentaries upon the ſacred ſcriptures, being earneſtly ſolicited thereto by Ambroſe, who for his encouragement made him large allowance for his neceſſary expences, furniſhing him with ſeven ſwift notaries, who wrote that which he dictated to them.

Whilſt he continued at Alexandria, there came a ſoldier with letters from the governor of Arabia to Demetrius the biſhop of that ſee, and to the lieutenant of Egypt, deſiring them with all ſpeed to ſend Origen to him, which might communicate to him ſome part of his doctrine; hereupon he took his voyage into Arabia, and inſtructed the governor thereof, and hearing that Beryllus biſhop of Boſtra in Arabia, taught that our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, before his incarnation, had no being, and that he had no proper divinity but only his Father's divinity dwelling in him, about which hereſy many biſhops had dealt with him by conference and diſputation, and yet could not reclaim him; Origen was ſent for, who conferred with him at firſt to find the ground of his opinion, after which, perceiving him not to believe aright, he rebuked him, per-

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funded him with reaſons, convinced him by manifeſt proofs, and ſo reſtored him to the truth.

He wrote twenty two tomes upon the goſpel of St. John, twelve upon Geneſis, five upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah; annotations upon the firſt five and twenty pſalms; two books of the Reſurrection; one of principal Beginnings; ten called Stromateis. He wrote alſo commentaries upon Iſaiah in thirty tomes; upon Ezekiel twenty five tomes; upon the Canticles in ten books, &c.

Whilſt Origin executed his paſtoral office at Cæſarea (which was after he had left Alexandria) many flocked to his miniſtry, not only men of that country, but alſo infinite foreigners, who forſook their native ſoil came to be his diſcipies: amongſt whom were Theodorus and Athenodrus, two brethren, who after they had continued with him five years, profited ſo much in the holy ſcripture, that they were ordained biſhops in Pontus. And now Origin being above ſixty years old, and much worn and waſted by reaſon of his inceſſant ſtudies and painful exerciſes, at length permitted that thoſe things which he had publicly preached and diſputed of, ſhould, by his notaries, be copied out, which before he would not ſuffer to be done. About the ſame time alſo he wrote his book againſt Celſus the Epicure, intitled the *Word of Truth*. Then twenty five tracts upon the goſpel of St. Matthew; and twenty five upon the Minor Prophets; he wrote alſo above an hundred epiſtles.

About this time there aroſe ſome Hereticks in Arabia, who taught, that the ſoul dieth together with the body, and that in the general reſurrection they ſhould ariſe together, and be reſtored to life again. For which cauſe a ſynod was congregated, and Origen was ſent for, who ſo ſtrenuouſly diſputed againſt the heretics, that he withdrew their ſeduced minds from this foul error.

Decius ſucceeding Philip in the Roman empire, raiſed a perſecution againſt the church: wherein, amongſt others, Origen ſuffered grievous things: the ſpiteful devil deadly purſuing him with his whole troop, ſtriving againſt him with all the might and ſlight that could be poſſibly invented, ſo that for the doctrine of Chriſt, he ſuſtained impriſonments, torments of body, ſcourging at iron ſtakes, ſtench of dark and loathſome dungeons, and for many days, his feet lay ſtretched four ſpaces aſunder in the ſtocks; all which he patiently endured, together with the terrible threats of fire, and all that the enemy could invent againſt him. After all which he died under Gallus and Voluſianus, being ſixty nine years old, *anno Chriſti*, 220.

It is to be wondered at, what pious ejaculations, comfortable prayers and zealous exhortations he made, and gave to the Chriſtians in the extremity of his ſufferings, retaining his valour and conſtancy to the giving up of his ghoſt.

One ſaith of him, *Origeni nulla pars ætatis periit a ſtudiis*: that Origen's whole life was a continued ſtudy. And another ſaith, *Origenis ingenium ſufficiebat ad omnia perdiſcenda*; that he had ſuch pregnancy of wit that he could learn any thing: that he had a wonderful faculty in expreſſing himſelf *ex tempore*, and that he was wondrous quick and able to explicate obſcure places of ſcripture. Jerome ſtiles him *Magiſtrum eccleſiarum poſt Apoſtolos*. Another ſaith, *Quis ex ſcriptoribus qui poſt Origenem vixere non inſigniter ab eo adjutus*; who of all the writers that lived after Origen, that was not ſingularly holpen by his labours.

He uſed to ſay, 'That God's providence hath ordained all things for ſome end and purpoſe. He made not malice, and though he can reſtrain it, yet he will not. For if malice were not, virtue would not have a contrary, and ſo could not ſhine ſo clear. For the malice of Joſeph's brethren was the means whereby God brought about many admirable works of his providence, as the ſtory ſheweth.

Opera Origenis Tomis duobus Baſilæ 1536, *apud Frobenium ſunt edita.*

The Life of CYPRIAN, *who died* Anno Chriſti 259.

CYPRIAN was an African, born in the ancient city of Carthage, and being educated in the ſtudy of the liberal arts, he profited ſo much therein, that whileſt he was young, he was choſen profeſſor of Rhetorick. Yet was he at firſt a Gentile, and idolator, looſe and profane in his practiſe, and much addicted to the ſtudy of magical arts: but it pleaſed God, who had choſen him to a veſſel of mercy for his own glory, to convert him by the means and miniſtry of Cecilius, a godly Preſbyter of Carthage, (whoſe name he ever afterwards bore;) and by the occaſion of hearing him preach upon the hiſtory of the prophet Jonas:

Immediately upon this converſion, he diſtributed all his goods amongſt the poor: and the Carthaginians perceiving in him a very great zeal and ardour for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion, they prevailed with him to be ordained a preſbyter, in which office he ſo worthily demeaned himſelf, that not long after he was made the biſhop of the church of Carthage; and therein gave an excellent example of modeſty, humility, charity, greatneſs of mind and fidelity. His modeſty appeared in that, in all great and weighty buſineſſes, he would never determine or act any thing of himſelf, but by the common conſent and advice of his preſbyters, yea he, many times called in the help and aſſiſtance of the whole church; his humility appeared in that he was never tenacious, nor wilful in his own judgment, but what was wholſomly advied and counſelled by his brethren and colleagues, that he willingly aſſented to. His charity was notably ſeen, in that he did not only commend the care of the poor to his preſbyters; but himſelf alſo, according to his ability, was always forward in miniſtring to them. The greatneſs of his mind appeared in this ſpeech of his, *Si qui ſunt* &c. If there be any, ſaith he, that think to adjoin themſelves to the church, not by their prayers, but by their threats; not by their humiliation and ſatisfaction when they have ſcandalized the brethren, but by their great words and menaces: let all ſuch know, that the church of the Lord will oppoſe them, and that the tents of Chriſt will prove immovable, and not to be conquered by them. His fidelity will notably appear by his epiſtles, wherein he excellently comforts the afflicted, recalls ſuch as were fallen, or commends the care of them to other biſhops of the church, vigorouſly oppoſeth the heretics and ſchiſmatics. Neither was he only a ſpectator of the martyrdom of others; but ſuffered himſelf to be proſcribed, yea choſe death rather then to betray the truth of the goſpel, or to approve of the leaſt defection to the impious worſhip of the gentiles.

By theſe means his fame increaſed ſo exceedingly, that he was not ſo much the biſhop of Carthage, as of all Africk, yea of Spain, the Eaſt, Weſt and Northern churches. Yea, he was judged the father of all chriſtians.

And to the further ſetting forth (to the praiſe of God's grace) of his glorious vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works, as deſcribed by other worthy writers: he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and there withal ſevere and impartial in his office. Furthermore he was moſt affable and kind towards his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs: yea, he wrote letters to the elders and deacons of his biſhoprick, that with all ſtudy and endeavour they ſhould gently entertain, and do all the offices of love that poſſibly they could do to the martyrs in his abſence. He was very prudent and circumſpect: of a marvellous liberal diſpoſition towards the brethren that fled for refuge from other countries; and ſo often as he had cauſe of abſence; he committed the care of thoſe poor men to his fellow officers, writing to them that of their own proper goods they ſhould help their baniſhed brethren to that which was neceſſary for them.

He had alſo great ſkill in the fore knowlege of future events. He was of ſo communicative a diſpoſition, that he concealed nothing which he knew, but with meekneſs and willingneſs uttered it to others. He maintained Eccleſiaſtical peace and concord with thoſe that differed from him in ſmaller matters. Laſtly, he neither circumvented, nor did prejudice to any man; but did that which always ſeemed good in his judgment. He much addicted himſelf to reading; and would let no day paſs wherein he read not ſome part of Tertullian's works, and when he called for him, he uſed to ſay, *Da magiſtrum*, Give me my maſter. He chiefly ſtudied to keep his body continent, and clean

clean from fleshly lusts, saying, 'That then his heart would be truly fit to attain to the full capacity and understanding of the truth, if once he could trample down concupiscence.

A great persecution being raised against the church of Christ by Æmiluanus, president of Egypt and by Paternus, and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls of Africk, Cyprian, sheweth the true causes thereof in his fourth book, epistle the fourth, in these words.

'We (saith he) must acknowlege and confess, that this turbulent oppression and calamity which hath wasted for the most part all our churches, and doth daily more and more consume it, ariseth chiefly from our own wickedness and sins whilst we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left unto us for our instruction. Our Lord Christ observed the will of his Father in all points; but we observe not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and study set upon lucre and possessions: we are given to pride: full of emulation and dissention: void of simplicity and faithful dealing: renouncing this world in word only, but not in deed; every man pleasing himself, and displeasing all others; and therefore are we thus scourged and that worthily; for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when as the confessors themselves, who formerly endured the trial of their faith, and ought to be an example to the rest in well doing, do now observe no discipline? And therefore for their sakes who proudly brag with swelling words of their former confession and sufferings, these torments come, even such as do not easily send us to the crown, except by the mercy of God, some being taken away by a quick death, do prevent the tediousness of punishment. These things do we suffer for our sins and deserts, as by the Lord's threatening we have been forewarned, where he saith, If they shall forsake my law, and will not walk in my judgments, if they shall profane my institutions, and will not observe my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges we justly feel, who neither please God with our good deeds, nor repent of the evil; wherefore, saith he, let us pray from the bottom of our hearts, and with our whole mind, and let us intreat his mercy who promiseth that his loving kindness shall not be wholly taken away. Let us ask and we shall obtain, and though we be delayed, yet seeing we have grievously offended, let us continue knocking: for he hath promised that to them that knock it shall be opened: therefore with our prayers, sighs and tears, let us still knock, and we shall be sure to speed, &c.'

And in another part of his epistle, he shews what vices were principally reigning amongst the Christians, viz. grievous divisions and dissentions amongst the brethren. For although these words were spoken to them in a vision, *Petite & impetrabitis*: pray, and ye shall obtain: yet afterwards when it was required of the congregation to direct their prayers unto God in behalf of certain persons assigned to them by name, they could not agree about the persons that were to be prayed for, but disagreed in their petitions, which thing did greatly displease God, that spake unto them, 'Pray, and ye shall obtain,' because they were not uniform in voice and heart, neither was there one joint consent among the brethren. Upon which occasion Cyprian moveth them to prayer with mutual agreement. 'For (saith he) if it be promised in the gospel, that whatsoever two or three shall agree upon to ask upon earth, it shall be granted in heaven, what shall then be done when the whole church agree together? or what if this unanimity were amongst the whole fraternity? which unanimity if it had been amongst the brethren, *Non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala ſi in unum fraternitas fuiſſet animata*, i. e. These evils had not befallen the brethren, if they had joined together in brotherly unanimity.

Cyprian having thus described the causes of this persecution, sets down a vision, wherein was shewed unto him by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen: the vision, saith he, was this; there was a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a young man very sad, and pensive, as one that with indignation is sorrowful, with his hand upon his breast, and an heavy countenance. On the other hand sat a person having a net in his hand, wherewith he threatened to catch the people that stood about; and as Cyprian marvelled hereat, it was said unto him; 'The young man whom thou seest sit on the right hand is sad and sorrowful, because his precepts are not observed: but he on the left hand danceth and is merry, for that occasion is hence given to him to get power from the ancient Father to afflict men.' This vision was seen long before this tempest of persecution happened, wherein was declared, that the sins of the Christians were the cause why Satan in this and in all other persecutions, did then, and still doth get such power, with his net of destruction to rage against the blood of christian men: and all (saith Cyprian) because we neglect praying, and are not so vigilant therein as we should be; wherefore the Lord, because he loveth us, corrects us; corrects us to amend us; amends us to save us, &c. And further speaking about this vision, he saith; 'To the least of his servants, both sinful and unworthy, hath God of his tender goodness vouchsafed to reveal these things:' And tell him, said God, that he be quiet, and of good comfort, for peace will come, albeit there be a little stay for a while, for that some remain yet to be proved and tryed.

He had also another vision, wherein he was admonished to use a spare dyet, and to be sober in his drink, lest his mind given to heavenly meditations, might be drawn away with wordly allurements, or oppressed with too much surfeiting upon meats and drinks, and thereby should be less apt and able to prayer and spiritual exercises.

Furthermore, whereas the christians were charged by the heathens as the causes of all public calamities; he tells them that it was long before prophesied of by Christ that towards the end of the world there should be famine, wars and pestilences, which was rather to be imputed to their impious idolatry, and contempt of the true God, then to Christians: which evils (saith he) are increased by the wickedness of men: For, *Famem majorem facit rapacitas, quam ſiccitas*. Famine comes more by the avarice of men then by the drought of the air; but the special cause thereof proceeds from the shedding of so much christian blood. And whereas the christians were condemned for not worshipping their idols; he shewed that those idols were no true gods, but images of certain dead kings, which could neither save themselves from death, nor such as worshipped and trusted in them.

In the beginning of this persecution, Cyprian went into voluntary banishment, lest (as himself saith) he should do more hurt then good to the congregation: and from the desolate places of his abode, where yet he was often sought after, he wrote to the churches, shewing thereby the beseeming vertue of a faithful pastor in that he took no less care of his flock in his absence then when he was present.

After the death of the emperor Decius he returned to his place, but not long after he was again banished by Paternus, the proconsul of Africa, into the city of Thurben. But when Paternus the proconsul was dead, he came back again, and Galienus Maximus succeding in the office of Paternus, found Cyprian in a garden, whereupon he caused him to be apprehended by his sergeants, and to be carried before the idols to offer sacrifices; which when he would not do, the proconsul brake forth into these words, saying, 'Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast shewed thyself an enemy to gods of the Romans, and to their holy laws, neither could the sacred emperors Valerianus and Galienus revoke thee to the sect of their ceremonies; wherefore I condemn thee to have thy head cut off:' To this he answered joyfully; Do fully what belongs to your office: and thereupon putting off his apparel, he gave it to his deacons, wishing them to give his executioner 25 peices of gold in testimony of his love to him, and so kneeling down he covered his eyes, and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the sword, suffering martyrdom, *anno Chriſti*, 259.

He was undaunted in the time of persecution, so that neither his wives disuasions, nor the world's frowns, nor the malice of his adversaries could affright him: he never turned widow empty from him; he was the blind man's eyes, the lame man's legs, the naked man's garment: he called Cæcilius that converted him, *novæ vitæparentem*, the father of his Christian life: his carriage was such, as it

it was hard to ſay, whether he was more loved or feared: he tells that the church having enjoyed long peace, all men ſtudied their private wealth, ſo that devotion, religion, and good diſcipline were quite neglected, and all eſtates were fearfully corrupted: *Ergo ſivit hoc flagellum Deus*, therefore (ſaith he) God ſuffered this ſcourge of perſecution to reform it; in the time of a peſtilence he ſhewed much piety and charity, comforting ſome, adminiſtring to the wants of others, and ſtirring up others to do the like: he ſuffered under Valerianus and Gallienus.

Some of his uſual ſayings were theſe;

Ne dormiat in theſauris tuis quod pueperi prodeſſe poteſt. Let not that ſleep in thy treaſury that may be profitable to the poor.

Duo nunquam veteraſcunt in homine, cor ſemper novas cogitationes machinando; lingua vanus cordis conceptiones proferendo. Two things never wax old in man; the heart ever imagining new cogitations; the tongue ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

Quod aliquando de neceſſitate amittendum eſt, ſponte pro divina remuneratione diſtribuendum eſt. That which a man muſt neceſſarily ſometimes part with, it's wiſdom for a man to diſtribute it ſo that God may everlaſtingly reward him.

Integritas ibi nulla eſſe poteſt ubi qui improbos damnent deſunt, & ſoli qui damnentur occurrunt. There can be no integrity, whereas they which ſhould condemn the wicked are ever wanting, and they only which ſhould be condemned are ever preſent.

Sericum & purpurum indutæ, Chriſtum induere non poſſunt: women that pride themſelves in putting on ſilk and purple, cannot lightly put on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Fœminæ crines ſuos malo præſagio inficiunt: capillos enim ſibi flammeos auſpicati non metuunt: they which colour their locks with yellow and red, begin betimes to prognoſticate of what colour their hair ſhall be in hell.

Qui ſe pingunt in hoc ſeculo aliter quam creavit Deus, metuant ne cum venerit reſurrectionis dies, artifex creaturam ſuam non recognoſcat. They which love to paint themſelves in this world otherwiſe than God created them, may juſtly fear that at the reſurrection, their Creator will not know them.

Qui Pauperi elemoſynam dat, Deo ſuavitatis odorem ſacrificat, he that gives an alms to the poor, offers a ſweet ſmelling ſacrifice unto God.

Contemnenda eſt omnis injuria præſentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum: all injury of evils preſent is to be neglected, for the hope of good things to come.

Nihil prodeſt verbis proferre virtutem, & factis deſtruere: to ſet out vertue in words, and by deeds to deſtroy the ſame, is nothing worth.

Cyprian in another book mentioneth twelve abſurdities in the life of man, which are theſe;

Sapiens ſine operibus: A wiſe man without good works.
Senex ſine religione: And old man without religion.
Adoleſcens ſine obedentia: A young man without obedience.
Dives ſine elemoſyna: A rich man without alms.
Fœmina ſine pudicitia: A woman without ſhamefaſtneſs.
Dominus ſine virtute: A guide without vertue.
Chriſtianus contentioſus: A contentious Chriſtian.
Pauper ſuperbus: A poor man that is proud.
Rex iniquus: A king that is unjuſt.
Epiſcopus negligens: A biſhop that is negligent.
Plebes ſinæ diſciplina: People without diſcipline.
Populus ſine lege: Subjects without law.

His works are four books, containing 62 epiſtles; beſides,

Tractatus contra Demetrianum. De Habitu Virginum. De Simplicitate Prælatorum. De Idolorum Vanitate. Sermo de Elemoſyna. De Zelo & Livore. De bono Patientiæ. De Mortalitate. De Lapſis. De Oratione dominica. Liber de exhortatione Martyris.

The Life of ARNOBIUS, *who flouriſhed* Anno Chriſti 330.

ARNOBIUS was a famous profeſſor of rhetoric in a city of Africk, called Sicca; about the year 330 being converted to the Chriſtian religion, he came to ſome biſhops, earneſtly deſiring to be admitted into the church, and baptized; but they ſuſpecting, *ne vir ſeculari eloquentia tumens*, &c. leſt a man ſwelling and puffed up with ſecular wiſdom, and who had always hitherto oppoſed the Chriſtian religion, ſhould make a mock both of them and it, therefore they rejected him; whereupon he offered unto them thoſe ſeven excellent volumes of his diſputations againſt his former Gentiliſm, which they ſeeing, with great joy received him: he was maſter to Lactantius he uſed to ſay; 'That perſecution brings death in the one hand, and life in the other: for while it kills the body, it crowns the ſoul.' He flouriſhed under Dioclefian between *anno Chriſti* 300. and 330.

Learned Scultetus in his Medulla Patrum, holds all the works that go under the name of this Arnobius to be ſpurious, but only thoſe ſeven books which he wrote againſt the Gentiles; wherein (ſaith he) *Erudite, & quidem tumido, elatoq; orationis genere contra gentes diſputat.*

The Life of EUSEBIUS, *who died* Anno Chriſti. 340.

THE life of Euſebius was written by Acatius, his diſciple, and ſucceſſor in the biſhoprick of Cæſarea, which being loſt, I can meet with no author, that gives us any account either of his parents, maſters, or his firſt courſe of life: but Euſebius is commended to the Chriſtian world, not for his parents or maſters ſake, but for his excellent wit, and great variety of learning: ſo that St. Baſil ſaith of him, Euſebius *Paleſtinus eſt fide dignus propter multiplicem experientiam.* Euſebius of Paleſtine is worthy to be credited for his great experience. St. Hierom ſaith, *Euſebius in divinis ſcripturis ſtudioſiſſimus, & Bibliothecæ divinæ cum pamphilo martyre diligentiſſimus perveſtigator.* Euſebius was a great ſtudent of the ſacred ſcriptures, and together with Pamphilus the martyr, a moſt diligent ſearcher of the divine library. Evagrius ſaith, *Euſebius vir ſane cum in aliis rebus diſertiſſimus, tum in ſcribendo tantum pollens ut poſſit lectores ſuorum librorum, etſi non efficere perfectos Chriſtianos, ita tamen perſuadendo impellere ut Chriſtianam religionem lubenter colant.* Euſebius truly was a man, as in other things moſt eloquent, ſo, in writing, of ſuch prevalency, that tho' he could not make the readers of his books perfect Chriſtians, yet he could inforce them by his perſuaſions willingly to embrace the Chriſtian religion.

He was biſhop of Cæſarea Paleſtina, and for his great love to Pamphilus, ſirnamed Pamphilus: a moſt learned man, of whom Conſtantine the Great uſed to ſay, that he was worthy to be biſhop not only of one city, but of the whole world: and for his eloquence, Hierom ſtiled him, *Romani eloquii tubam;* the trumpet of Roman elocution.

About this time Euſtathius biſhop of Antioch was depoſed from his biſhoprick, as ſome ſay, for the Sabellion hereſy, whereupon there was kindled in Antioch ſuch a fiery flame of ſedition, that in a manner the whole city was therewith turned upſide down. Amongſt the common ſort of people, ſome cleaved to this ſide, ſome to that; the garriſon-ſoldiers alſo were ſo divided and ſet one againſt the other, that if God, and the allegiance they owed to the good emperor Conſtantine the Great, had not been called to remembrance, they had lamentably murdered one another. But the emperor by his letters appeaſed the tumult, and ſedition, that was raiſed amongſt them; the cauſe whereof was this; one party of them choſe Euſebius Pamphilus for their biſhop, and would bring him in; the other party would have their former biſhop Euſtathius again: but Euſebius refuſed to come to them, whereupon the emperor Conſtantine highly commended him for his wiſdom and moderation.

Afterwards a ſynod being gathered at Tyre, to determine the controverſies which were ſprung up amongſt the biſhops, Conſtantine ſent Euſebius thither to take cognizance of their differences, where this memorable thing fell out. Potamon (one of the biſhops) ſeeing Euſebius to ſit as a judge, and Athanaſius ſtanding, and pleading his cauſe before him, being overcome with ſorrow, and weeping for thoſe things, which he ſaw the profeſſors of the truth to ſuffer, with a loud voice he inveighed againſt Euſebius, ſaying, 'Thou ſitteſt there Euſebius, and innocent Athanaſius ſtands to be judged by thee: who can endure

endure ſuch things? Tell me, Euſebius, Was thou not in priſon with me in the time of perſecution? and I truly loſt one of my eyes for the truth ſake, but thou haſt nothing mutilated in thy body, neither didſt thou give any teſtimony for thy confeſſion; thou liveſt and haſt had no member cut off. How gateſt thou out of priſon, but becauſe thou either madeſt a promiſe of ſubmiſſion to our perſecutors, or elſe didſt that which was abominable? Euſebius hearing theſe things, grew into great choller, and diſſolved the aſſembly, ſaying, If you come hither, and now ſpeak ſuch things againſt us, ſurely your accuſers ſpeak nothing but the truth. For if you go about to exerciſe a tyranny here, much more will you do it in your own country.'

There is much conteſt amongſt divines both ancient and modern what Euſebius faith was about the perſon of the Son of God: ſome charge him with arianiſm for denying the deity of Chriſt. But Athanaſius ſaith, that he recanted it in the Nicæne council. Euſtathius of Antioch accuſed him for innovating the Nicæne Creed, when as himſelf profeſſed that he reſted ſatisfied therewith, Hierom nameth him for an open defender of the Arian impiety. On the contrary Socrates, out of Euſebius his writings, endeavours to vindicate him from that charge.

Learned Scultetus thus reconciles them, Arius (ſaith he) denied two things: the eternity of the Son of God, and his co-equality with the Father. Euſebius doth every where profeſs the eternity of Chriſt: but his co equality he never ſeriouſly believed.

He uſed to ſay, 'That Moſes wrote the old law in dead tables of ſtone; but Chriſt did write the perfect documents of the New Teſtament in living ſouls:' he flouriſhed under Conſtantinus Magnus and Conſtantius.

His eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is well known, beſides which he wrote ſome other books, as *Libra Præparationis Evangelicæ* 15. *Libri demonſtrationis evangelicæ decem*, and ſome others which are loſt.

The Life of Lactantius, *who flouriſhed* Anno Chriſti 308.

Lucius Cælius was an Italian by birth, and from his country Firmia was called *Firmianus*, *& a lacteo dicendi genere* was called *Lactantius*: he ſometime lived at Rome, where he was ſcholar to Arnobius, under whom he profited exceedingly, and became ſo famous for his eloquence, that he far ſurpaſſed his maſter therein.

Wimphelingus contends to have him a German by birth, and ſaith, that there is till this day a famous family of the Firmiani in Germany, who boaſt themſelves to be the progeny of Lactantius.

Having perfected his ſtudies at Rome, he went into Bythinia, where he taught oratory under the reign of Dioclefian and Conſtantine; and when he ſaw the Chriſtian religion to want ſome eloquent defenders of it, he took pen in hand, and beſides divers other writings which are periſhed, he wrote his ſeven books of Inſtitutions againſt the Gentiles; a book *de ira Dei*, of the anger of God: and another of God's workmanſhip; alſo an epitome of the divine inſtitutions. Other things that are fathered upon him are ſpurious, ſaith the learned Scultetus.

About the nineteenth year of Dioclefian, there was an horrible perſecution raiſed againſt the church of Chriſt, wherein the Chriſtian churches were demoliſhed, the ſacred ſcriptures, and other godly books were burnt, the Chriſtians themſelves were dragged to moſt inhuman tortures and torments; yea, where any were found that conſtantly adhered unto Chriſt, they were cruelly martyred: yet it pleaſed God to hide Lactantius in this great ſtorm, though he retained his piety, fearing no torments, but reſolved both in life and death to cleave cloſe unto Chriſt.

He dedicated moſt of his works to Conſtantius Magnus. Hierom ſaith of him, Lactantius *quaſi quidam fluvius* Tullianæ *eloquentiæ*: Lactantius flowed with eloquence, yea, was as abounding as Tully himſelf, &c. In his old age, for his rare parts, he was appointed tutor to Criſpus, Conſtantine's ſon: he was ſo far from ſeeking after riches, that he died very poor.

He uſed to ſay, 'That godlineſs always enriches the poſſeſſor:' he flouriſhed under Dioclefian *anno Chriſti* 308.

The Life of Athanasius, *who died* Anno Chriſti 375.

Athanasius was born in Alexandria, and by the care of his parents was brought up in all ſorts of learning both human and divine; being a boy, upon a ſolemn feſtival day, he was playing amongſt other boys, who would needs imitate the church in her ſacred offices, and for that end they choſe Athanaſius for their biſhop, who acted his part well, examining other boys about the principles of religion to prepare them for baptiſm. It fell out that whilſt they were at their ſport, came by Alexander, the biſhop of Alexandria, and obſerving the manner of their paſt time, he called them before him, examining every boy what part he had acted, thereby gathering their diſpoſitions for future employments: then did he cauſe them all to be carefully educated in good learning: but above all he took a love to, and was exceeding careful of the education of Athanaſius, for his ingenuity, diligence, and towardlineſs; and when he came to ripeneſs of years he made him deacon, and finding him a nimble, and good diſputant, he took him with him to the council of Nice, ſummoned by Conſtantine the Great againſt the Arians, to aid and aſſiſt him in his diſputations, which procured him much hatred and trouble from the Arians, as afterwards we ſhall hear.

Alexander having by long familiarity with him, gained experience of his piety, parts and zeal in defending the truth againſt the heretics of thoſe times, when he lay upon his death bed, was directed by God to chuſe Athanaſius for his ſucceſſor in his biſhoprick; which Athanaſius having intelligence of, hid himſelf, that he could not be found. Yet did Alexander call for him, and when he came not, being now near death, he ſaid, O Athanaſius, 'Thou thinkeſt that thou canſt eſcape, yet ſhalt thou not eſcape this office.'

After the death of Alexander he was ſearched out, and made his ſucceſſor. This ſo irritated the Arians (who had now crept into favour with the old emperor) that they ſought by all means to caſt him out of Alexandria, and for that end they accuſed him to the emperor as the author of much ſedition, and of many tumults in the church; they charged him with keeping many out of the church which deſired to return into the unity of it, by which means peace and concord was prevented: they procured many biſhops and preſbyters to atteſt the truth of theſe things to the emperor, profeſſing themſelves to be orthodox, and accuſing Athanaſius and the biſhops that adhered to him, to be the authors of the murders, bonds, unjuſt ſtripes, wounds, and burnings in the church: Athanaſius on the contrary wrote to the emperor, that thoſe Arians were the authors of unlawful ordinations, and of innovating the decrees of the council of Nice, of corrupting the faith, of ſeditions, and of proſecuting the orthodox with unjuſt contumelies and reproaches. The good old emperor in theſe various informations, knew not whom to believe: but the Arians being about him, having his ear at command, they procured the emperor to write to Athanaſius, to require him to prohibite none from entring into the church, and that if he ſhould do otherwiſe, he threatened to drive him out of Alexandria, and to place another biſhop in his room. Hereupon Athanaſius wrote back to the emperor, labouring to convince him, that the Arians ought not to be admitted to communicate with the catholic church. Euſebius (one of the chiefeſt of theſe Arians) perceiving that he could not this way prevail againſt Athanaſius, intended ſecretly to make him away, but not finding how to effect it, he ſpake with the Miletians (other heretics) promiſing, that if they would accuſe Athanaſius to the emperor, he would ſo far prevail with him and ſome other great perſons about him, that their cauſe ſhould be heard; hereupon they put in a charge againſt Athanaſius, that he had impoſed a tribute of linen garments upon the Egyptians, affirming that he had alſo gathered the ſame.

But it pleaſed God that by chance there were preſent Alippius and Macarius, two preſbyters of Alexandria, who eaſily refelled and wiped off this falſe charge; yet they ſo far

far prevailed, that Athanasius was sent for, and then they charged him with sending a sum of gold to one Philumenus, to make away the emperor. But Athanasius easily cleared himself from this aspersion also; whereupon the emperor suffered him to return home again in peace. He wrote also by him to the people of Alexandria, assuring them of the singular modesty, and sound faith of Athanasius, with whom he had had much comfortable conference, and found him to be a truly divine man, and one that had been accused by his adversaries out of envy, and not for any just cause that they had against him.

Yet for all this the Miletian heretics, because they were frustrated in their former endeavours, invented two other grievous accusations against Athanasius; first, that he had broken the holy chalice. Secondly, that one Arsenius being slain, he had cut off his arm, and kept it to practise magic with all. This Arsenius was a presbyter who having committed a great fault, hid himself, fearing lest his bishop [Athanasius] should call him to an account, and punish him for it; which the Miletians having intelligence of, they diligently sought him out, and having found him, they spake him fair, promised him much favour and security, persuading him to retire himself to one Pines, a friend of theirs, and a presbyter of a certain monastery, and prevailing with him, they hid him there.

Then did they every where disperse rumors in the streets, and at the meetings of the magistrates, that Athanasius had privily murdered Arsenius: yea they suborned a certain monk called John, to charge Athanasius with this grievous crime: hereupon, the rumor of this abominable fact being spread abroad, came at last to the ears of the emperor Constantine. Athanasius perceiving, that though happily he might defend himself against so false an accusation, yet that it would be a difficult thing for him to answer for himself before the judges whose minds were possessed with those false rumors; therefore for the full clearing of himself before all, he endeavoured that the truth might not be concealed: yet with all, he judged it almost impossible to defend and clear himself, so long as Arsenius could not be found: and thereupon he employed one of deacons, a most faithful man, to search out Arsenius. This deacon going into Thebais, by conferring with certain monks, learned where Arsenius was hid. But when he came to Prine's house, Arsenius could not be found: for Prines having had intelligence beforehand of the deacon's coming, had sent him away into the lower Egypt: hereupon the deacon seized upon Prines, and together with him, upon one Helias, an intimate friend, who was said to have conveyed away Arsenius, and carried them along with him to Alexandria: when they came thither, they were carried before the governor of the Egyptian soldiers, unto whom upon examination they confessed that Arsenius was alive, that he had formerly been hid with them, and that now he was hidden in Egypt: this confession of theirs Athanasius desired to be sent to the emperor, and obtained it; whereupon the emperor wrote back to him, that he should go on diligently in his office, that he should be careful in instructing the people, and promoting piety amongst them; and that he should not at all value the snares of the Miletians: 'For (saith he) I know sufficiently, that being stirred up by envy, they have invented these false and forged accusations against you, and thereby raised tumults in the church, I have therefore decreed that such wickedness shall not go unpunished, but that judgment shall be executed according to the civil laws, and except they be quiet they shall be severely punished, as such as lay snares to entrap the innocent, as disturbers of the peace, and right order of the church, and as destroyers of true piety.'

This his epistle he commanded to be publicly read before all the congregation, whereby all the people might be informed of his mind. Hereupon the Miletians, being stricken with fear, carried themselves peaceably, being very fearful of the emperor's displeasure. And the whole church of Egypt being quieted and governed by so worthy a bishop, flourished exceedingly, and daily encreased, many of the Gentiles and of other sectaries being converted to the true faith.

Yet not long after, his restless adversaries began again by cunning and subtile devices to disturb his peace, to carry new complaints against him to the emperor, and to suborn such a multitude of accusers, that the good emperor by their importunity was forced to call a council at Cæsarea Palestinæ; to which Athanasius was summoned to appear. But when he heard that Eusebius bishop of that city, and Eusebius of Nicomedia, and other Arian bishops, his adversaries, ruled all the roast there, he refused to appear, fearing that he should have no equal dealings at their hands. They again and again sent for him, and greatly urged his coming, yet deferred it about thirty months space: but afterwards, when they still urged his appearing, he went to Tyrus, where many of the Oriental bishops, were met, who commanded him to answer to the crimes objected against him. For Callinicus a bishop, and Ischirion (an Arian) had accused him to Hyginus the Præfect of Egypt, for throwing stones against the images of the emperor, whereupon he had been bound with chains. Furthermore, for that he had removed Callinicus, the bishop of Pelusium, and had committed the government of the church to one Mark, a presbyter of the same, causing Callinicus to be kept by soldiers, to be beaten, and brought before the judgment seat.

Some other of the Arian bishops accused him also for causing them to be beaten, in brief all of them objected against him, that he had obtained his bishoprick by the perjury of certain men, whereas all the bishops had protested that none ought to be ordained to that office before he had cleared himself from such crimes as were objected against him; for which causes they had refused to communicate with him, and yet instead of clearing himself from the crimes wherewith he was charged, he sought by force of bonds and imprisonment to compel men to join with him. To these things, they renewed also the charge against him about the matter of Arsenius, and as commonly it falls out where snares are purposely laid to entrap a man, on a sudden, some that formerly seemed to be his friends, stood up to be his accusers: letters also were produced, and read, that the people of Alexandria had made many outcries against him, and for his sake had refused to come to the public of assemblies the church.

Athanasius being commanded to answer for himself, often came into judgment, easily wiping off some of these charges, and requiring some time for the clearing himself from the rest. Yet he was very doubtful what to do, when he saw his accusers wholly to frame themselves to the will and beck of his judges: as also that they had gotten many witnesses against him, partly of the Arians, and partly of the Miletians, which grievously calumniated him; and though the crimes objected were false, and he had easily refuted them, yet the false accusers went away with impunity: especially in the great business about Arsenius, whose arm they said he had cut off to practise magick with: they accused him also for giving gifts to a certain woman, that he might satisfy his lust upon her; yea, that one night he had lien with her against her will: both which accusations were plainly ridiculous and full of falsehood. For whereas they brought the woman into the council before them to justify this charge, Timothy a certain presbyter of Alexandria standing by Athanasius (according to their former agreement) spake thus to the woman: 'Did I lie with you by force?' yea, said she, did you not? and with all told them the time and place where it was done. Athanasius also produced Arsenius in the midst of them, and shewed them both his arms safe and sound, requiring withal that his accusers should shew the arm that was cut off. For it pleased God that Arsenius being again hidden by them, hearing that the good bishop was in danger by reason of him, stole away in the night, and hasted to Tyrus, and came to Athanasius two days before he was to be judged for that cause. By these means Athanasius was so cleared from both the crimes wherewith he was charged, that he thought he needed not any other purgation.

In the records of the council there is no mention made of the first of these charges, the business being so fowl and ridiculous that they were ashamed to make mention of it: but for the latter, his accusers thought it sufficient to say, that Plusianus, one of the bishops that was under Athanasius, by the command of Athanasius had set Arsenius his house,

houſe on fire, bound him to a pillar, and whipt him, and afterwards ſhut him up in his houſe, but Arſenius eſcaping out at a window, had hid himſelf for his own ſecurity, and he no where appearing, it gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion that he was murdered; for which cauſe the Arian biſhops pretended that they had diligently ſought after him as a worthy perſon and confeſſor, and when they could not find him, had brought his cauſe before the magiſtrate.

Athanaſius perceiving their violence, began to be afraid, and juſtly to ſuſpect, leſt his adverſaries ſhould watch an opportunity privily to murder him. The council having many meetings after this, and all things being filled with tumult, Athanaſius his adverſaries ſtill crying out againſt him, that he was a jugler, a violent man, a man that was unworthy of his miniſtry, and worthy to be puniſhed with death; they which were appointed by Conſtantine to ſee buſineſſes regularly managed in this council, began greatly to fear, leaſt a tumult being raiſed (which they had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect) Athanaſius ſhould be murdered amongſt them; whereupon they ſecretly conveyed him out of the council. Athanaſius alſo finding certainly that he could not ſafely remain at Tyrus, and that it was not poſſible for him to contend with ſuch a multitude of accuſers before ſuch judges as were his profeſſed enemies, he fled to Conſtantinople: hereupon the council, without rendering any reaſon, condemned him, caſt him out of his biſhoprick, and decree that he ſhall no more return to Alexandria, leſt, (ſay they) by his preſence there, he ſtir up and occaſion ſeditions and tumults; and with all, they abſolved the Arians, and all others which had been cenſured by him, as if he had done them much wrong therein; whereupon they did not only reſtore them to communion again, but to all thoſe places and offices from whence they had been juſtly ejected.

They alſo ſignified theſe decrees to the emperor, and wrote to all other biſhops that they ſhould hold no communion with Athanaſius; that they ſhould by no means write to him, nor receive any letters from him: becauſe (ſay they) having ſundry great crimes proved againſt him before us, partly by his flight, and partly by refuſing to plead his cauſe before us, he hath declared himſelf to be guilty. Furthermore they declared, that they proceeded to paſs ſuch a ſentence upon him, becauſe when the emperor the former year had called together the biſhops of the Eaſt to meet in a council at Cæſarea for the hearing of the cauſe, he never came at them, and thereby had tired the council, and deſpiſed the emperor's command: and that when many biſhops were met together at Tyrus, he came to them with a great multitude of perſons, raiſing tumults in the council; one while refuſing to anſwer before them; another while loading the biſhops with reproaches: ſometimes when he was called before them, he refuſed to hear them, and other ſometimes refuſed to ſtand to their judgment: as alſo becauſe it plainly appeared to them that he had broken the holy chalice: for witneſs whereof they had produced Theognis, biſhop of Nice: Maris biſhop of Chalcedon: Theodore, biſhop of Heraclea: beſides Valence, Urſacius and Macedonius, whom (ſaid they) we have ſent into Egypt to examine the matter, and when they came into a certain village, they found the chalice broken.

By ſuch cunning and ſlie allegations they ſought to traduce Athanaſius; yet there were many Preſbyters preſent in that council, who altogether diſliked their proceedings as unjuſt: whereupon Paphnutius a confeſſor, took Maximus biſhop of Hieruſalem by the hand, ſaying, 'Come let us riſe, and be gone hence; for it doth not become us that have loſt our eyes, and have been lamed for the truth of Chriſt, to be preſent, or to communicate with ſuch wicked men in their ſins.'

But Athanaſius (as we ſaid before) being gone to Conſtantinople, complained to the emperor of the unjuſt judgment that the biſhops had paſſed upon him; whereupon the emperor ſent for them to appear before him, to give an account of their proceedings: who as ſoon as they came, perceiving that their falſe and unworthy dealings were fully diſcovered, leaving thoſe former fictions, they now accuſe Athanaſius to the emperor for threatening to reſtrain the coming of corn out of Egypt to Conſtantinople, as it uſed to do; to which accuſations the too credulous emperor giving heed, was ſo much incenſed againſt Athanaſius, that he baniſhed him to Triver in France.

Preſently after his departure Arius with his complices returned to Alexandria, where he made ſuch factions and diviſions, that he caſt the whole city into diſorder and tumults: the people of Alexandria were much grieved and offended, that Arius and his companions had that liberty granted them of returning thither; but eſpecially, becauſe they underſtood that their godly reverend biſhop was driven into exile by their means. But when the emperor underſtood of the perverſe mind, and unquiet behaviour of Arius, he ſent for him to Conſtantinople, to give an account of the tumults and ſeditions that he had raiſed at Alexandria.

At this time there was one Alexander, a godly and worthy man, Biſhop of Conſtantinople. He in the dimication which aroſe about Arius, ſhewed himſelf a very prudent and pious man: for as ſoon as Arius came to Conſtantinople, he preſently raiſed diviſions amongſt the people there alſo, ſo that great tumults enſued whilſt one part of the people ſtood for the faith confirmed by the Nicene council: another part of them ſaid, that the opinion of Arius was moſt conſonant and agreeable to reaſon: hereupon Alexander fell into a great perplexity, eſpecially becauſe Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia, often and grievouſly threatened him, that he would depoſe him from his biſhoprick, if he would not receive Arius and his companions into communion with him. But Alexander was not ſo ſolicitous about his own depoſition, as he was careful for to maintain the Nicene faith, and the doctrine eſtabliſhed by the council. For eſteeming himſelf bound to be a patron of the decrees of that council, he thought it was his duty to the uttermoſt of his power to ſee that they might not be broken, nor made invalid: being therefore engaged in this conteſtation, he laid aſide human arguments, and betook himſelf to the help and aſſiſtance of God; and thereupon, ſhutting himſelf up in the church, he fell to faſting and prayer, and night and day with tears he begged of God, that if the opinion of Arius was true, he might never ſee the day appointed for the trial; but if his own faith were the truth, that then God would inflict ſome viſible judgment upon Arius, the author of all thoſe miſchiefs.

In the mean time the emperor, deſirous to find out the opinion of Arius, ſent for him to his palace, and aſked him whether he did agree to the decrees of the council of Nice? He without delay willingly and chearfully ſubſcribed them: whereas in the mean time he cunningly and fallaciouſly evaded thoſe things which were determined about matters of faith. The emperor wondering at it, required him to ſwear to them, which he alſo did, but with the like fraud as he had before ſubſcribed them. For having written privately his own opinion, he put it into his boſom; and ſwore that he did truly, and from his heart believe according as he had written. The good emperor giving credit to the ſubſcription and oath, commanded Alexander the biſhop of Conſtantinople to receive him into communion. This was on the Saturday, and Arius expected the next day to be admitted into the communion of the church, but God prevented it. For Arius going out of the palace with Euſebius, and a great number of his followers in great pomp and pride, as having gotten the victory of his adverſaries. He no ſooner came to the chief market place in the city, but his conſcience began to accuſe and terrify him for all his deceit and wickedneſs: through the violence whereof his belly was looſened, whereupon he aſked whether the jakes were not near, and being informed that they were hard by, he turned aſide into them, and whilſt he was eaſing nature, firſt his fundament came forth, then abundance of blood, and at laſt he voided his bowels, together with his ſpleen, and his liver, and thereupon he immediately died.

Some of his company thinking him long, went in to ſee the cauſe of his ſtay, and found him dead in this miſerable manner. Hereupon Euſebius and all his rout ſtricken with a wonderful terror: the fame of Arius his accurſed death preſently flew all over the city, yea almoſt over all the world: every one as they went by, pointed at the place where he made this wretched end, and ſhunned the uſe of it: yet his aſſociates gave it out, that his adverſaries by the help of magick had thus deſtroyed him. And

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whereas many reforted to see the place of his death, whereby it became very infamous; at length a certain rich citizen that was an Arian, bought it, and pulled down the jakes, built an house in the room of it, that so the thing, in process of time, might be wholly forgotten.

Anathasius being thoroughly informed of these things, writes thus of them. 'Arius (saith he) the prince and author of his sect, and the companion of Eusebius, was by the art and industry of the Eusebian faction sent for to Constantinople by the emperor of blessed memory, who commanded him to write his faith: and this cunning fox wrote it indeed: but (after the manner of the devil in quoting scripture) he craftily suppressed, and left out the impudent words of his impiety.' And when Constantine urged him, that if he had no other opinion which he kept secret in his mind, he should subscribe, and swear to the truth; withal, telling him, that if he forswore himself, God would find him out, and plague him for it; this miserable wretch swore that he had held no other opinion, nor thought otherwise than he had written: whereupon, saith he, going forth from the emperor, God's hand presently fell upon him, and like Judas, dying, he burst in sunder, and his bowels came forth. And though death be common to all men, so that no man, no not our enemy is to be reproached after death: yet the death of Arius being so strange, and differing from the death of other men, is not to be passed over in silence. For when Eusebius and his followers threatened to bring Arius the very next morning into the congregation, and Alexander by prayer had sought unto God to prevent it. It pleased God, who was now made the judge, that very day, to bring him to such a fearful end.

Constantine being informed hereof, wondering at it, assuring himself that Arius had been guilty of perjury.

But shortly after it pleased God to take away that good emperor: after whose death Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis bishop of Nice, supposing that now they had gotten a fit time, endeavoured by all means possible, to take away the Nicene creed out of the church, wherein was the clause of *One Substance*, and in the room thereof to settle the detestable heresy of Arius: but this they knew they could never effect, if Anathasius returned from exile to Alexandria: wherefore they made use of a certain Arian priest to carry the last will and testament of Constantine to Constantius his son, together with the legacies bequeathed to him. Constantius finding in the will that which he greatly desired, viz. That the empire of the east was left to him, made very much of the priest, granted him great liberty, charged him to use his palace freely and boldly at his pleasure. Hereupon this cunning seducer insinuated himself into acquaintance with the empress, and with her eunuchs and chamberlains: and whereas one Eusebius was chief of the eunuchs, through the persuasions of this lewd priest, he became an Arian, and infected the other eunuchs that were of his company: yea the empress also by the enticements of this priest, and her eunuchs fell into the pestilent heresy of Arius. Yea a while after the emperor himself began to favour that opinion, and so by little and little it was spread every where, first the emperor's guard took it up: then it busied the minds of the multitude in the city, the emperor's chamberlains in the very palace began to contend with women about it: and this woful effect followed the countenancing of this heresy, that in every house and family through the city, they brawled and went together by the ears about it. Yea this infection spread itself quickly, through other regions and countries, and the controversy, much like a spark of fire, kindled the minds of the hearers with the fiery flame of discord and dissention. For every one that desired to know why they made tumults, by and by had occasion given him to reason: and every one was not satisfied with questioning, but contentiously would argue thereof.

By these means the peaceable and quiet state of the church was turned upside down: but in the *interim*, it pleased God, that this flame kept in the east; whilst the western church enjoyed peace and quietness: for by no means would they suffer the canons of the Nicene council to be violated, or made null.

After the heat of contention was blown abroad, and burnt more and more, the faction of Eusebius doubted not but it would turn to their great advantage: or they hoped that it would come to pass that some bishop would be chosen of Alexandria that would favour and advance their opinion. But at the very same time Athanasius returned unto Alexandria, carrying along with him letters from Constatine the younger, who was one of the emperors, The tenor whereof was this.

'Constantine Cæsar to the people of the Catholic church of Alexandria sendeth greeting: I hope it is not unknown to your discreet wisdom, that Anathasius the professor of sacred divinity, was for a time banished into France: lest that through the mischievous dealing of lewd men (for blood suckers and cruel beasts sought to bereave him of his life) he should privily be slain; wherefore that he might be sheltered from the malice of those despiteful men, he was taken out of their jaws, and was commanded to live under my dominion, where I took care that he might be fully furnished with all things needful, as if he had been in the city where formerly he lived. And when as our lord and father of famous memory, Constantine the emperor, had intended to restore him to his bishoprick again, he was prevented by death before he could accomplish his desires; I thought it my part and duty, therefore to execute the intent of so godly an emperor: with what estimation and reverence I have entertained the man, he shall report with his own mouth at his return to you: neither is there any marvel that I shewed him such courtesy: for methought, that I saw in him the great longing ye had for him, and I beheld also the fatherly reverence and gravity of the man himself; all which moved me not a little thereunto. God of his goodness (well-beloved brethren) have you in his tuition.

Athanasius upon the confidence of these letters, returned unto Alexandria, whom the people received with most willing minds: but such in that city as were infected with the leprosy of Arianism, conspired against him, so that many tumults and skirmishes were raised, which gave occasion to the confederates of Eusebius to accuse Athanasius falsely to the emperor, that of his own private spirit, without the consent of the assembly of the bishops, he had settled himself in that church: this odious accusation so far incensed the emperor Constantius, that he sent one Gregory, an Arian, to be bishop of Alexandria, and with him Syrianus a captain, with five thousand soldiers to drive out Athanasius, and to settle Gregory in his room; the Arians which were in the city, joined themselves with them to help them: it was then even-tide, and the people were assembled in the church to prepare themselves for the sacrament, which was the next day to be administred.

The captain drew nigh, set his soldiers in battle array, and beset the church: Athanasius understanding the danger, devised how the people might take no harm for his sake: whereupon he commanded his deacon to read the collects to the people, and after that to sing a Psalm; and as the Psalm was sweetly and harmoniously sung, all the people went out at one of the church doors, and it pleased God that the soldiers had no power to meddle with them, and Athanasius in the midst of the singers escaped also without any harm: and Gregory took possession of the church; whilst Athanasius being thus (through God's mercy) delivered, went in all haste to Rome.

About this time Constantine the younger was slain by the soldiers, and Constance the youngest of the three emperors, remained emperor of the West. Athanasius coming to Rome, complained to the bishop Julius of the great wrong which was done to him: the like did divers others of the Eastern bishops, who were unjustly thrust out by the Arians: hereupon Julius wrote freely unto the bishops of the East, requiring them to restore those bishops to their places again, sharply rebuking such as had rashly and unjustly procured their deposition.

The wronged bishops trusting to Julius his letter, returned every man to his own church, conveying the letters unto those to whom they were written: who, when the letters came to their hands, took it very hainously that Julius should interpose in that cause, and thereupon summoned a council at Antioch. In the mean time Athanasius being come to Alexandria, there was great stir, and many tumults were raised by Gregory, and the Arians against him: they also forged, and divulged this slander, viz. That whereas Constantine the Great had given certain grain

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for alms to relieve the poor of the church of Alexandria; this (ſay they) Athanaſius hath ſold, and converts it to his own private lucre: the emperor takes this ſlanderous report for truth, and threatneth him with death, which Athanaſius hearing off, fled, and hid himſelf in a ſecret and obſcure place: at length Julius biſhop of Rome being informed where he lay hid, ſent for him, and when he was come to Rome, he acquainted the emperor Conſtance with all the injuries which were done to him: this good emperor being much affected with that ſad relation, wrote to his brother in the Eaſt, requeſting him to ſend to him three men that would juſtify the accuſations againſt Athanaſius. Accordingly there were ſent Narciſſus the Cilician, Theodore the Thracian, Maris the Calcedonian, and Marcus the Syrian: but when they came to Rome they would by no means reaſon with Athanaſius, only they exhibited to the emperor a certain form of faith, and ſo took their leave without reaſoning of any other matter.

Not long after the Weſtern biſhops aſſembled in a council at Sardis, where Athanaſius was acquit from the crimes charged upon him, and thereupon Conſtance wrote to his brother to acquaint him therewith, and to requeſt him that Athanaſius might be reſtored to his biſhoprick: but when Conſtantius deferred from day to day to anſwer his deſire, Conſtance wrote to him the ſecond time, giving him in choice either to reſtore Athanaſius, and ſo account of him as his friend, or elſe to bear the proclamation of open war, and ſo find him his deadly foe. The emperor of the eaſt, hearing this, was wonderful ſad and penſive; and calling together many of the Eaſtern biſhops, layeth before them the choice his brother had given him; demandeth of them what was beſt in this caſe to be done? they anſwered, that it was far better to reſtore Athanaſius, than to make that an occaſion of mortal and deadly wars: Hereupon the emperor wrote this letter unto him:

'Conſtantius the Puiſſant and noble emperor, unto Athanaſius the biſhop ſendeth greeting. Our ſingular and wonted clemency will no longer ſuffer thy fatherhood to be turmoiled and toſſed with the ſurging waves of the ſeas; the piety which we have always in great price, will no longer permit thy holineſs, now baniſhed out of thy native ſoil, bereaved of thy ſubſtance, barred of all proſperity, to wander through crooked and croſs ways, through deſarts and dangerous countrys. Although we have lingred now a great while from ſending our letters, whereby we might ſignify unto thee the concealed ſecreſie of our mind, hoping that of thine own accord thou wouldſt repair unto us, and with humble ſuit crave remedy and redreſs of thine injuries: yet nevertheleſs (fear peradventure hindering thee of thy purpoſe) we ſent preſently our gracious letters unto thy grave wiſdom, that with all celerity thou come unto us, whereby thou ſhalt ſatisfy thy longing deſires, thou ſhalt have trial of our wonted clemency, and be reſtored to thine own ſee, and native ſoil. For to this end I have entreated my lord and brother Conſtance, the puiſſant and noble emperor, that he would licenſe thee to return unto us, whereby thou mighteſt by the means of us, both enjoy thy country, and have this token for trial of our ſingular clemency, and good will towards thee.'

But whilſt Athanaſius doubted and feared to go unto Conſtantius, by reaſon of the falſe and ſlanderous reports that were raiſed of him, and the implacable malice of his enemies, Conſtantius wrote this ſecond letter to him.

'Conſtantius the Puiſſant and noble emperor, unto Athanaſius the biſhop ſendeth greeting. Although by our former letters we have ſignified to thy wiſdom after the plaineſt manner, that with a ſecure mind and ſafe conduct, thou ſhouldſt come unto our court, becauſe we were fully determined to reſtore thee to thy former dignities: we have notwithſtanding ſent theſe letters alſo to thy holineſs, that thou hire a common waggon, and removing all timorous thoughts from thy diſtruſtful mind, thou ſpeedily repair unto us, to the end thou mayeſt the ſooner enjoy thy long wiſhed deſires.'

Preſently after he wrote again this third letter for his further ſatisfaction.

'Conſtantius the Puiſſant and noble emperor, unto Athanaſius the biſhop ſendeth greeting: Being lately at Edeſſa, where alſo were ſome of thy preſbyters then preſent, it ſeemed good unto us to ſend one of them unto thee, that thou ſhouldſt haſten unto our court, and after thy coming into our preſence, without delay return unto Alexandria: and foraſmuch as it is now a great while ago ſince thou receivedſt our letters, and haſt deferred thy journey, therefore now alſo we thought good to put thee in remembrance, that without delay thou come unto us, and ſo thou ſhalt poſſeſs the liberty of thy country, and thy long wiſhed eaſe and quietneſs. And that thou mighteſt fully perſuade thyſelf of all the promiſes, we have ſent unto thee Achetas the deacon, by whom thou ſhalt underſtand, both what our purpoſe is, and alſo how that thy heart's deſire ſhall prevail.'

Athanaſius being at Aquileia when he received theſe letters, immediately poſted to Rome, and ſhewed them to biſhop Julius: whereby the church of Rome rejoyced much, conceiving that Conſtantius the Eaſtern emperor was of the ſame faith and opinion with themſelves; whereupon Julius wrote this letter to the people of Alexandria in the behalf of Athanaſius.

'Julius biſhop of Rome, unto the preſbyters, deacons, and well beloved brethren of Alexandria, ſendeth greeting in the Lord: I do greatly rejoyce with you (well-beloved brethren) that henceforth you may behold with your eyes the fruit of your faith: for that is to be ſeen in my brother and fellow biſhop Athanaſius, whom God hath reſtored unto you, partly for his ſincere and godly life, and partly alſo by the means of your prayers. Hereby it may be eaſily conjectured what pure and fervent prayers you have always poured out unto God; for when you called to mind the heavenly promiſes, and the intire affection which you bare unto them, all which you learned of my foreſaid brother, you underſtood plainly, and through the right faith ingrafted into your minds, you were fully perſuaded that Athanaſius, (whom in your godly minds you beheld as preſent) ſhould not be always ſevered from you; wherefore I need not to uſe many words unto you, for whatſoever I can ſay, the ſame hath your faith prevented; and whatſoever you all heartily deſired, the ſame (through the grace of God) is now fully come to paſs. And that I may repeat the ſame again, I do greatly rejoyce with you, that you have continued ſo firm and ſtedfaſt in the faith, that by no means you could be withdrawn from it. Moreover I do no leſs rejoyce for my brother Athanaſius, who notwithſtanding the manifold calamities, and ſundry miſeries which he endured, yet remembred almoſt every hour your intire love, and great longing for him: and though for a ſeaſon he ſeemed to be abſent from you in body, yet lived he always as preſent with you in the ſpirit. I think verily (well-beloved brethren) that all the temptations and pains which he endured are not void of their commendations or profit; for by this means both his faith and yours have been made manifeſt to the whole world. If he had not been tried with ſuch great and lamentable temptations who would ever have thought, or known that your mind had been ſo unmoveably fixed upon ſo worthy a biſhop; or that he was the man that excelled in ſuch rare gifts, by means whereof he is made partaker of the hope that is laid up for him in heaven; wherefore he hath attained to a notable teſtimony of his faith, not only in this life, but of that which is to come: for by his patient ſuffering of much adverſity both by ſea and land, he hath trampled and trod under foot all the malicious treacheries of Arius adverſaries: oft times by reaſon of their ſpite, he ſtood in great hazard of his life, yet made he no account of death: but through the grace of Almighty God, and power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he eſcaped their hands, whereby he conceived good hope that in the end he ſhould quit himſelf of his adverſaries, and be reſtored to the comfort of you all, and bear away, together with you, the victorious garland of well-doing, in that he is already famous even to the end of the world: highly commended for his good life: renowned for his free and conſtant perſeverance in the defence of the Chriſtian and heavenly faith, and regiſtrated by the cenſure of you all to immortal memory, for the ſingular love and affection he ſhewed towards you; wherefore he is returned unto you bedecked with greater excellency and renown than before his departure. If the purity of fine and precious metal, as of gold and ſilver be exquiſitely tried in the fire; what can be ſpoken of ſo excellent a man in reſpect of his worthineſs, who after the quenching of

so many flaming fires of sedition: after the recovering of so many dangerous perils, and grievous downfals, is now restored to you, and found innocent, not only by our determination, but by the decree and censure of the whole council? Entertain therefore (well-beloved brethren) your bishop Athanasius, and also such as have been partakers of his afflictions, with all reverence, joy and gladness: rejoice in that you have obtained your desires: in that you have (as it were) fed and quenched the thirst of your shepherd, hungering and thirsting in his absence after your godly zeal: for thereby, during his abode in foreign and far countries, you comforted him not a little, and whilst he was tossed to and fro with the storms of persecution, and entangled with the snares of his malicious adversaries, you mitigated his grief and sorrow by sending to him tokens of your faithful and fervent minds towards him; when that I think with myself, and cast in my mind the conceived joy of you all at his return; the flocking multitude full of religion and godliness; the solemn feast of sage persons assembled together; what kind of day the return of my brother unto you is like to be, I cannot but conceive with wonderful joy; especially because the schism and discord which reigned heretofore will then be plucked up by the roots: for that his honourable return according to your own hearts desires hath replenished you with incredible joy and gladness: so that the joy for the greatness thereof hath reached unto us, to whom it is given from above to have acquaintance and familiarity with so excellent a man. It seemeth good that we end our epistle with a prayer;'

'God almighty, and his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, give you always of his grace, and grant you of his mercy the reward of so noble a faith which you have shewed towards your bishop, with so worthy a testimony: that both you and yours may not only in this world, but also in the life to come enjoy far more excellent gifts, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, neither the heart of man conceived the things which God hath prepared for them that love him through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with almighty God be glory for ever and ever. Amen. God have you in his tuition, well-beloved brethren.'

Athanasius having received these letters went into the East, and though the emperor Constantius, at that same time, received him not unwillingly, yet giving ear to the crafty sleights of the despiteful Arians, he thus reasoned with him.

Although thou art restored to thy bishoprick by the decree of the council, and our determination: yet because there are in Alexandria certain people differing in opinion from thine, and severing themselves from thy communion, my request is, that thou permit them one church by themselves: Athanasius made answer to this request very wittily, and said, O emperor, it lieth in thee to do as pleaseth thee best: to command, and execute the commandment: I also will crave of thee another thing by way of recompence, and my humble request is, that thou grant it me: and when the emperor answered, that with most willing mind he would condescend thereunto: Athanasius immediately said: 'My humble suit is, that I may obtain that which thou wouldst have at my hand, viz. That thou wouldst grant one church through every city for such as will not communicate with the Arians.' The Arians perceiving that the request of Athanasius was not unreasonable, made answer, that they would defer the answer unto another time, and consider better of it; that they hindred not the emperor, but suffered him to do what pleased him best: wherefore the emperor restored Athanasius to his bishoprick again, writing letters to the bishops, clergy, and people of Alexandria, that they should receive him lovingly and willingly: the tenor whereof was as followeth;

'Constantius the mighty, noble, and puissant emperor, unto the bishops and presbyters of the catholic church, sendeth greeting: it appeareth evidently that Athanasius the reverend bishop was not destitute of the grace and goodness of God, but though by the judgment and censure of men he was dealt injuriously withal, and unjustly condemned for a little while: yet the divine providence of almighty God, the beholder of all things, pronounced for him the just sentence of innocency, so that by the will of God, and our decree, he recovered both his native soil and proper church, where the Holy Ghost hath assigned him governor. He is to receive at your hands such things as our clemency, being led by right and reason, shall think convenient for him: so that all, whatsoever hath been heretofore decreed against such as communicated with him, be henceforth quite forgotten, that all suspicion raised of him be henceforth removed, and that his clergy (reason so requiring) may enjoy such liberty, freedom, and privileges as they have done in times past. Moreover of our sovereign benignity towards him, we have thought good to add this also, that as many as are allotted to the sacred senate of the clergy may understand of truth, that we have granted safety and good leave to as many as cleave unto him, be they bishops, or of what other degree soever of the clergy. Every one's firm and sure consent in this behalf shall be a sufficient sign or token of his faithful mind and purpose: we have commanded that such as embrace his communion, addicting themselves to the sounder opinion and better sentence, all alike now by our permission, as heretofore by the providence of God, may enjoy the benefits bestowed upon them from above.'

He wrote also to the governor this epistle.

'Constantius the puissant and noble emperor, unto Nestorious sendeth greeting. If any thing be found decreed and recorded to the prejudice, hurt or damage of such as communicate with Athanasius the bishop, our will is, that the same be wholly abrogated and disanulled. Our pleasure is moreover, that his clergy shall enjoy their like franchises and liberty as in times past: we will have this commandment put in ure, that as Athanasius the bishop is restored to his see, so all the clergy of his communion may recover, and possess the like liberty with other ecclesiastical persons, that so they may live at heart's ease.'

Athanasius having received these letters, passed through Syria, and came to Palestine: and arriving at Hierusalem, he opened unto Maximus the bishop, both the decrees of the council of Sardis, and also the emperor Constantius his agreement and consent therein, and procured a synod of bishops to be assembled there: which being gathered together, Maximus gave to Athanasius the communion, and assigned to him his dignity, and the council signified by their letters to the people of Alexandria, and to the bishops of Egypt and Lybia, all their decrees and canons touching Athanasius, and so dissolved.

Hereupon all the adversaries of Athanasius cried out against Maximus, because that aforetime he had subscribed to his deposition; but now repenting of his folly, he became of his faith, and awarded to him both the communion and his dignity.

When Ursacius and Valence, who formerly had been earnest followers of Arius, heard of these things, they condemned their former doings, and gat them to Rome, there to exhibit their recantation to Julius the bishop, subscribing also the Creed that contained the clause of one substance, writing also to Athanasius, that thenceforth they would communicate with him.

Athanasius travelling through Palestine towards Alexandria, preached in every city where he came, exhorting them to eschew the Arians, and to embrace such as confessed the faith of one substance; and in divers of the churches also he ordained ministers, which gave occasion to his adversaries to accuse him again for presuming to make ministers in other mens provinces.

Not long after it pleased God, that Constance the emperor of the West died, and Constantius made challenge unto all the dominions of his brethren, and being proclaimed emperor of the West, he made an expedition against Magnentius and Bretanion, two tyrants that had usurped the government there. The adversaries of Athanasius supposing that now they had gotten a fit opportunity, invent, and charge him with new hainous offences: informing the emperor that he had perverted all Egypt and Lybia; also they urged against him his late ordination of ministers in other mens diocess. Athanasius in the mean time came to Alexandria, convened divers councils of the bishops of Egypt, where they agreed to the decrees of the council of Sardis, and of that held at Jerusalem.

The emperor upon this occasion, who aforetime was addicted

addicted to the Arian hereſy, wreſted all things that he had lately decreed on the contrary part, and firſt the baniſhed, Paulus the biſhop of Conſtantinople, whom he guides that were to conduct him into exile, very lewdly ſtifled at Cucuſum in Cappadocia. Marcellus was expulſed. Lucius biſhop of Adrianople was clapt up into priſon, and there choaked with ſtink. But above all, the emperor was moſt incenſed againſt Athanaſius, giving commandment, that he ſhould be executed wherever he could be taken: he charged alſo that Theodulus, and Olympius, biſhops of Thrace ſhould be put to death, and Arians were placed in all theſe biſhops rooms.

But it pleaſed God that Athanaſius was made privy to theſe bloody decrees of the emperor; whereupon he fled from Alexandria, and eſcaped the danger. This the Arians, rejoiced at, and grievouſly traduced him for it; which Athanaſius hearing of, apologized for himſelf, making a relation of the horrible practiſes commited at Alexandria by Georgius the Arian.

'There came (ſaith he) to Alexandria certain perſons that ſought us out to execution: the ſoldiers unawares beſet the church, and inſtead of devout ſerving of God, took in hand their bloody ſwords, Georgius alſo joined with them: then were the virgins haled, and clapt up into priſon: the biſhops were bound, and led away by bands of ſoldiers: the fatherleſs and widows were diſpoſſeſſed of their houſes: whole families were rifled: the true Chriſtians were violently trailed and lugged out of their habitations: their doors were nailed up: the clergy mens brethren were in great danger for their brethrens ſake: theſe things were very grievous, but that which followed was far worſe. The week after Whitſuntide, the people did faſt, and met in the church yard to pray, becauſe they abhorred the communion of Georgius: but when this paſſing lewd man heard of it, he ſtirred up againſt them one Sebaſtian, a captain, who alſo was a manichee. He immediately with a great troop of ſoldiers, all in armour, and with naked ſwords in their hands, and bows and arrows prepared, ran upon the people as they were praying upon the Sabbath, and finding there but a few, (for the hour being paſt, the greater part was gone home) he committed ſuch hainous acts as very well became his perſon. He ſet on fire a great company of faggots, he made the virgins ſtand nigh the burning flame to ſcorch them: he endeavoured thereby to enforce them to confeſs the Arian faith; but when he perceived that they would not, and that they deſpiſed the burning heat of the raging fire; he ſtripped them ſtark naked; buffetted them about the head and face, ſo that for a long time after they were ſcarce known of their own friends. He alſo took forty perſons, and plagued them with a new kind of torment never heard of before: he took palm-twigs newly plucked off from the trees, and ſtripping them ſcourged them therewith, and the twigs, having on their pricking knobs, ſo rent them, that by reaſon of the ſtumps ſticking in their fleſh, they were fain to repair to ſurgeons to be dreſſed of their wounds: others of them not being able to endure ſuch terrible pains, died of their wounds: and ſuch men and virgins as remained alive, he ſent away by the ſoldiers into exile. The dead carcaſſes not yet fully cold, were denied to their friends being thrown here and there, and lying unburied (for that liked them beſt) the ſoldiers inſulting over them, as though they had not been faulty in committing ſuch horrible crimes: this did they, having their minds beſotted with the furious rage of frantick hereſy. And when as the dear and familiar friends of the dead rejoiced at the bold and conſtant proteſtation of their faith, yet mourned, becauſe that their corpſes were not covered with earth, the ſavage impiety and beaſtly cruelty of theſe ſoldiers revealed itſelf with greater ſhame and infamy.

'Moreover, they baniſhed forthwith ſundry biſhops of Egypt and Lybia, and ſome of the preſbyters: and having bereaved them of their native ſoil, they uſed them ſo mercileſſly, that ſome of them died by the way, and others in exile. They put to death alſo above thirty biſhops. They followed the ſteps of wicked Achab, employing all their art and induſtry to root out the truth from off the face of the earth.'

Conſtantius his armies having overcome and ſlain the tyrants, he preſently removed to Rome, there to celebrate the triumphs for his victories: and hoping that he might by one means or other draw the chief diſſenting biſhops to an agreement in the faith, he ſummoned a council to meet in Italy; about which time Julius the biſhop of Rome died, having been biſhop 25 years, and Liberius ſucceeded him. Whereupon thoſe biſhops which were againſt the Nicene faith, perſuaded themſelves that they had gotten a fit time to diſperſe their calumnies againſt the orthodox, laboured by all means with the emperor, that all thoſe orthodox biſhops, whom they had depoſed, might not be again reſtored to their churches, both becauſe they maintained a form of faith contrary to theirs, as alſo for that in the lifetime of Conſtance, they had endeavoured to ſow the ſeeds of contention betwixt the two emperors. And this odious ſuggeſtion they made, becauſe of Conſtance his letters formerly mentioned in the behalf of Athanaſius: but their chiefeſt ſpleen was againſt Athanaſius; whereupon about thirty of theſe Arian biſhops meeting together at Antioch, they wrote to all other biſhops, that Athanaſius had returned to Alexandria againſt all the laws of the church: not by a decree of a council, but by the contention of ſome that were of his own opinion: whereupon they commanded that none ſhould communicate with him, neither write to him, but that they ſhould hold communion with biſhop Georgius whom they had ordained.

But Athanaſius little eſteemed theſe their doings, expecting to meet with far greater afflictions afterwards. For Conſtantius being now the ſole emperor of Rome, laboured by all means to draw the weſtern biſhops to agree with them that denyed Chriſt to be conſubſtantial with the Father: yet at firſt he attempted not this by force, but ſought rather to effect it by fraud, and fair means, endeavouring to perſuade them to agree with the eaſtern biſhops in that ſentence which they had pronounced againſt Athanaſius: aſſuring himſelf, that if by this means he could but remove Athanaſius out of the way, he could compoſe matters of religion according to his own mind.

A council therefore being called to meet at Millain, few of the eaſtern biſhops came to it, ſome being hindred by ſickneſs, and others by the length of the journey: but of the weſtern biſhops there appeared above three hundred.

The eaſtern biſhops which were there, required that Athanaſius might be condemned, and depoſed from his biſhoprick: and of the weſtern biſhops, ſome (through fear) others being circumvented by fraud, and another part being ignorant of former proceedings; aſſented to it: only Dionyſius biſhop of Alba, Euſebius biſhop of Verſelle, Paulinus biſhop of Trevir, and Rhodanus and Lucifer proteſted againſt ſuch proceedings, for (ſay they) if ſuch things be ſuffered, this evil will not reſt here, but the decrees which are rightly and truly eſtabliſhed concerning God, and the Nicene faith will be utterly ſubverted, and we diſcern that all the care of the emperor and of the Arians is to bring this to paſs; but becauſe theſe men ſpake ſo freely in the council, they were all of them baniſhed: and the event ſhewed that they did not miſs the mark.

For ſhortly after there was another council gathered at Ariminum, and another at Seleucia, both which laboured to introduce new things againſt the decrees of the council of Nice.

In the mean time Athanaſius perceiving that ſnares were laid for him in the emperor's palace, and that he could not come thither without apparent danger, he appointed five biſhops of Egypt, amongſt whom Serapon was one, a man eminent for piety, and holineſs of life, and alſo very eloquent, to go to the emperor, who was yet in the weſt: and with them he ſent three of his own presbyters to ſee if by any means they could reconcile the emperor to him, and vindicate him from the calumnies which his enemies had caſt upon him, as alſo to tranſact other buſineſſes which much concerned the good, both of him and his church.

But as ſoon as they were gone from Alexandria, he received letters from the emperor, requiring his preſent coming to the court. This much troubled Athanaſius and all his people, much doubting what the iſſue might be: For they knew that he could neither ſafely aſſent to the emperor, who defended a contrary faith, neither could he without apparent danger croſs him therein. Hereupon Athanaſius reſolved to abide at Alexandria, and ſent him back who had brought the emperor's letters.

The

The ſummer after came another meſſenger from the emperor, who, with the aſſiſtance of the governors of Egypt, forced Athanaſius to depart out of Alexandria, and grievouſly moleſted the clergy of his church. But when the meſſenger ſaw the people to be extremely offended with theſe proceedings, and that they betook themſelves to their weapons, he went his ways, without effecting what he came about.

Shortly after, the forces which were called the Latin Legions, were commanded to aſſemble out of Egypt and Lybia, and to go to Alexandria; and the captain of them being informed that Athanaſius lay hid in one of the churches, he took a company of ſoldiers, and Hilarius that brought the emperor's command, and going to the church, they environed it, and brake in at the windows, ſearching every corner, yet found not Athanaſius; for it had pleaſed God, by a divine revelation, to warn him of his dangers, (as in many other ſtraits he had formerly done); whereupon he had a little before conveyed himſelf out of the church, and thereby eſcaped. The like alſo had happened once before, when being grievouſly threatened by Conſtantius, in the lifetime of Conſtance, he had retired himſelf to a friend, and there lay hid in a cave, that formerly uſed to be full of water. In that place he continued long, and a certain maid uſed to miniſter to his neceſſities. But the Arians, making diligent enquiry after him, had, by their large promiſes, corrupted this maid to betray him; but God diſcovering the danger to him, a little before they came to apprehend him, he had conveyed himſelf to another place.

The like alſo happened at another time; for Athanaſius being forced to fly from Alexandria, he entered into a pinnace, and went up the river Nilus, which his adverſaries being informed of, ſent a captain and ſoldiers in another ſhip to purſue him. This being revealed to him by God, he required the maſter of his pinnace to turn again towards Alexandria; and ſo, having the ſtream with him, he ſwiftly paſſed by his purſuers; and returning to Alexandria, he hid himſelf in his friends houſes, and by reaſon of the multitude of people, was eaſily concealed, thereby eſcaping the danger. For theſe, and ſuch like miraculous, his adverſaries, the Arians and Gentiles, accuſed him as dealing in the magical art.

Athanaſius being thus (as we ſaid before) eſcaped, his clergy and people enjoyed the liberty of his churches for a ſhort time, viz. till the government of Egypt, and the captain of the ſoldiers, caſt all that adhered to Athanaſius out of the ſame, and delivered thoſe churches to ſuch as longed for the return of Georgius the Arian; who ſhortly after came to Alexandria, and carried himſelf very ſternly towards all, but cruelly towards all the friends of Athanaſius, caſting both men and women into bonds, and cruelly ſcourging them, ſo that every one looked upon him as a tyrant. Yea, he grew into ſuch hatred of the multitude, that on a time they roſe up againſt him whilſt he was in the church, and he hardly eſcaped from being torn in pieces by them; which ſo affrighted him, that he immediately fled to the emperor. Hereupon the friends of Athanaſius recovered their churches again; but they kept them but a while, for the præfect of the Egyptian ſoldiers drave them out, and reſtored the churches to the followers of Georgius. The emperor alſo ſending his ſecretary to Alexandria, he grievouſly puniſhed many of the people, whipping and ſcourging them in a cruel manner; and ſhortly after him came Georgius, and for the aforementioned cauſes was far more terrible to them than formerly he had been, which procured him their implacable hatred, both for incenſing the emperor againſt them, and for his heretical opinions, and cruel uſage of them.

But not long after, in a tumult raiſed by the Gentiles, Georgius was pulled out of the church by the ears, tyed to a camel, torn in pieces, and burned to aſhes, together with the beaſt. Conſtantius the emperor alſo died, and Julian the apoſtate ſucceeded him; about which time Athanaſius returned to Alexandria, and was lovingly and chearfully entertained by his people. The Arians were baniſhed, and the church was reſtored to the government of Athanaſius.

But the Arians took occaſion, from his former flight, exceedingly to reproach and traduce him, whereupon he made this apology:

'Behold (ſaith Athanaſius) the lewd practices of wicked perſons; although they are privy to the hainous offences committed againſt me, yet they are nothing aſhamed of them, but charge me with a foul ſpot, in their opinion, and blemiſh of infamy, for eſcaping the hands of cut-throats and blood-ſuckers; yea, they beſhrew themſelves that they diſpatched me not out of the way. Moreover, that they may ſtain my credit and eſtimation, they fall to accuſe me of faint heartedneſs, and a timerous diſpoſition; being forgetful, that whilſt they blaze theſe things to my diſpraiſe, they cauſe the ſhame to light upon their own pates. For, if it be a diſcredit to fly the hands of a tyrant, how much more for them to perſecute a man to death? He that flyeth ſeeks means to ſave his life; but he that perſecuteth goeth about to procure another's death.

'That we ſhould fly, in ſuch caſes, the ſcripture doth warrant us; but in thirſting after the blood of our brother, the command is broken, and the author thereof is found the chief cauſe of the flight. If they blame me for giving them the ſlip, they are worthy of far greater ſhame and reprehenſion themſelves; for let them ceaſe from perſecuting, and threatening with death, and then I will ceaſe from running away. But their ſpite and malice hath no end; they do nought elſe but deviſe ſnares to bring men to deſtruction; yea, and that, though they know full well, that the flight of the perſecuted is a foul ſhame to the perſecutors. For no man flyeth from the gentle and meek, but from the cruel and wicked man. They that were far indebted to others gave Saul the ſlip, and fled unto David. Wherefore theſe men go about to diſpatch ſuch as convey themſelves out of their way, leaſt the lewdneſs of their biſhops ſhould be manifeſtly known. Herein alſo they ſeem to be ſtark blind; for look how evident the flight is, far more apparent will their ſlaughter and baniſhment ſeem unto the world. If they murder men, death no doubt lifteth up her voice, and ſoundeth out their cruelty. If they baniſh them, therein they ſet up monuments for the remembrance of their wicked doings. Had they been in their right wits, they might have perceived their own folly, and ſeen themſelves overthrown in their own devices. If they reproachfully charge them with hiding themſelves from ſuch as ſeek their lives, and accuſe them for flying from the hands of their perſecutors, what have they to ſay, when they read that Jacob fled from the face of his brother Eſau? and that Moſes, for fear of Pharaoh, conveyed himſelf to Midian? What have theſe contentious quarrellers to ſay unto David, who fled from Saul, which ſent ſome of his guards to ſlay him, who hid himſelf in a cave, counterfeited his perſon, until he had ſubtily paſt Abimelech the prieſt, and avoided the laying in wait for him? What anſwer can theſe raſh babblers give, when they ſee that the great prophet Elias, who ſo devoutly called upon the name of God, and raiſed the dead, was fain to fly, and to hide himſelf, from Ahab, and run away becauſe of the threats of Jezebel? The ſons of the prophets alſo, in thoſe days, being ſought for, hid themſelves; and, through the help of good Obadiah, were ſuſtained in caves. Have they not read theſe antient ſtories?

'Are they ignorant alſo of what the evangeliſts have written? For the diſciples fearing the Jews fled, and were ſcattered abroad in divers countries. Paul alſo being at Damaſcus, and ſought for by the governour of that country, was let down over the wall in a baſket, and ſo eſcaped the danger. The ſcripture therefore having ſhewed us theſe things, what colour can they find to cloak their impudent cavils?

'If they charge them with timerouſneſs and fear, the fault recoils and lights upon their own diſtempered brains. If they ſay it is contrary to the will of God, then are they found altogether ignorant of the word of God; for it is commanded in the law, that ſanctuaries and cities of refuge ſhould be appointed for ſuch as were purſued to death, where they might live in ſafety. Yea, what ſaith Chriſt? 'When they ſhall perſecute you in one city, fly into another.' And again, ſaith Chriſt, 'When you ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, mentioned by the prophet Daniel, ſtanding in the holy place, then let them that be in Judea fly into the mountains. He that is on the

the house top, let him not come down to take ought out of the house; and let not him that is in the field return home for his raiment.' Holy men having learned these things, framed their lives thereafter. Yea, the word of God being made man, flicked not to hide himself, as we commonly do, when he was sought for; he fled to avoid the conspiracies of Herod, and afterwards of the Pharisees which persecuted him. For, as by his patient suffering of hunger and thirst, and such miseries, he shewed himself to be true man; so also by flying away from the face of his adversaries. And, as in his childhood he fled into Egypt from Herod, so when he heard that Archelaus reigned in his father's stead, it pleased him to go aside into the parts of Nazareth. Afterwards, when he manifested himself to be God, and healed the withered hand, the Pharisees went out, and took counsel how they might dispatch him; but Jesus, perceiving their conspiracy, conveyed himself from amongst them.

'Again, when he restord Lazarus to life, they took counsel how they might put him to death; 'Jesus therefore, at that time, shewed himself no more openly amongst the Jews, but d parted into a solitary place near to the wilderness.' Again, when our Saviour avouched 'Before Abraham was, I am,' the Jews took up stones to throw at him; but our Lord hid himself, and went out of the temple, and passing through the midst of the throng, escaped away.

'When they see these examples, and bethink themselves of these presidents, are they not inwardly pricked in their consciences, when they presume thus to sit in judgment upon the sayings and doings of our Saviour? So also when Jesus heard of the beheading of John the Baptist, the text saith, 'that he took shipping, and went aside in to a desert place.'

'I would to God that these men would now at length be ashamed of their doings, and presently cease from slandering true professors, and proceed no further in their furious dealings, charging even our Saviour himself with timorousness and fear, thereby blaspheming the majesty of his blessed name. But no man can away with such persons as are wholly given over to all manner of ungracious behaviour. It may easily be proved, that they are altogether ignorant of what the Evangelists have left us in writing; the cause that moved our Saviour to fly and go aside, being laid down in the gospel, was most agreeable unto reason; and was therefore an example to all his saints: for whatsoever things are written to have happened unto him after the manner of men, the same is to be referred unto all mankind; insomuch as he took our nature upon him, and lively expressed in himself the human affections of our frail constitutions. He suffered not himself to be taken before his hour came, neither yet hid himself when his hour was come, but yielded himself to the enemy. In like sort, the blessed martyrs, in the great heat and troublesome storms of persecution, which often fell out, being pursued by men, fled away, and hid themselves in secret and solitary places; but being taken, they valiantly encountered with their adversaries, and ended the combat with martyrdom.'

Though this valiant champion of Christ, Athanasius, in the beginning of Julian's reign returned to Alexandria, yet long could he not rest in quiet; for his adversaries forged false accusations against him, complaining unto the emperor that he had subverted Egypt, and the whole city of Alexandria, so that it stood with the emperor's interest to banish him the city. Upon these suggestions, the emperor wrote to the governor of Egypt, and greatly incensed him against Athanasius, which he being informed of, said to some of his familiar friends, My friends, let us go aside for a season, *Nubecula est, et cito transibit*, this is but a little cloud, which will quickly vanish away, and accordingly taking ship, he fled away into other parts of Egypt. The enemy hearing of it, made haste to overtake him; but when they approached (God revealing the danger to him, as was said before), his friends in the ship gave him counsel to haste to the shore, and to fly into the desert: but he, on the contrary, required the pilot to sail back to Alexandria, and when they met the pursuers, they enquired of them, if they had not seen Athanasius? to whom the other answered, that if they made haste they might overtake him, and so let them go. But Athanasius returning to Alexandria, hid himself among his friends till the storm of persecution was blown over. And indeed, most of that time he lay hid in the house of a most beautiful, chaste, and godly virgin, who was very careful to supply him with all necessaries, and to borrow such books for him as he stood in need of. And when news came of Julian's death, Athanasius that very night appeared in his church, to the great rejoicing of his friends, and the astonishment of his adversaries, who wondered how he could so suddenly be there, when he had been so diligently sought after by the magistrates, and could not be found.

Not long after, hearing that Jovianus the Christian emperor was come to Antioch, Athanasius, consulting with his friends, thought good to visit him. Some say that this good emperor sent for him, craving his advice for the establishing the true orthodox religion; which when he had done, he was to return to Alexandria; but Euzoius the Arian bishop of Antioch, joining with him Probatius an Arian eunuch, and some others of that faction, went to the emperor, and made grievous complaints against Athanasius, as that all the time since he was made a bishop, he lay under great scandals, for which, by the former emperors, he had been often condemned and exiled; as also, that he had been the author of much discord in religion, and of great tumults among the people; whereupon they prayed that another bishop might be appointed to Alexandria. But the good emperor, knowing that these were malicious forgeries, would by no means hearken to them, commanding Probatius and the rest, as they loved their own ease and good, to give over such malicious proceedings, adding threatenings in case they obeyed not. And as for Athanasius, whom he highly esteemed for that worth which he found in him, he sent him back into Egypt, bidding him govern his church as he saw best; commending him highly for the virtue, piety, and prudence which he found in him.

Not long after, it pleased God to take away this good emperor by an immature death in Bythinia, as he was going to Constantinople, having reigned only eight months. And the army, coming to Nice in Bythinia, chose Valentinian, a good and worthy man, for their emperor, who, when he came to Constantinople, chose his brother Valence for his companion in the empire. These, though they were brethren, yet did they differ in their religion, for Valentinian was orthodox, and Valence an Arian. Valence reigning in the east, sent his mandate to the magistrates, that such bishops as had been deposed in the time of Constantius, and returned to their seats under Julian, should be again banished and expelled from their churches. Hereupon the magistrates of Egypt took occasion to endeavour the expulsion of Athanasius out of Alexandria. For the emperor's letters grievously threatened such magistrates with great mulcts and corporal punishments, that should neglect to observe them. But the multitude of Christians meeting together in Alexandria, desired the president, that he should not rashly nor inconsiderately go about to drive away their bishop Athanasius from them; but rather seriously to consider what the scope of the emperor's letters was; for (say they) they extend only to such as were banished by Constantius, and returned under Julian: but Athanasius, though he was banished by Constantius, yet was he by him called back again, and restored to his place; and Julian, whereas he called from exile all the other bishops, yet Athanasius alone was by him driven into exile, whom Jovian again restored to his seat.

When the President would not be persuaded by these arguments, the people resisted him, and would not suffer their bishop to have any violence done to him. Hereupon, the people being assembled from all parts, a great tumult was raised, so that every one expected a sedition to ensue. The president sent presently to the emperor to acquaint him with these proceedings, and in the mean time suffered Athanasius to remain in the city.

Many days after, when the sedition was well appeased, Athanasius privily stole out of the city, and went and hid himself in a certain secret place. The night after, the president and colonel of the soldiers went to his house which

which joined to the church, and there ſought every corner for him, but not finding him, they loſt their labours: for they thought that now the people were quieted, and feared no ſuch matter, they might eaſily apprehend him, and ſo execute the emperor's command: but when Anathaſius could not be found, every one much wondered at it, believing that God had diſcovered the danger to him, and thereby preſerved him from it. Others ſay, that Athanaſius miſtruſting the heady and raſh motion of the common people, fearing that if any miſchief were wrought by them, it would be laid to his charge, retired privily and hid himſelf for the ſpace of four months in his father's monument. But in the mean time the emperor Valence, conſidering how many friends Athanaſius had, which by reaſon of his abſence might happily raiſe commotions, to the great prejudice of the empire; and withal conſidering that Valentinian, who was an earneſt defender of the Nicene faith, might take the baniſhment of Athanaſius very hainouſly; hereupon he wrote very loving letters to the people of Alexandria, ſignifying that his pleaſure was, that Athanaſius ſhould quietly, according to their hearts deſire enjoy his biſhoprick. Yet in other places a great perſecution was raiſed againſt the orthodox, who were driven out of their churches, and Arians placed in their rooms, only the churches of Egypt enjoyed peace all the life time of Athanaſius, whoſe death fell out not long after, when having endured many ſkirmiſhes in the quarrel of the church, and having been biſhop 46 years, in which time he had often been in danger of his life, yet at the length through the goodneſs and mercy of God he died in peace in his own city of Alexandria, leaving behind him Peter, a godly and zealous man to ſucceed him *anno Chriſti* 375. It was ſaid of him, *Non ſolum Epiſcopi*, &c. Not only biſhops, but emperors, kingdoms, nations, and armies, oppoſed him: whereupon he uſed to ſay, 'Though an army ſhould encamp about me, yet would I not fear.'

In the time of Julian the Apoſtate, who made much uſe of conjurers, the magicians and ſoothſayers in Alexandria cried out, that they could do nothing in their art, except Athanaſius were removed out of the city.

It was ſaid of him, *Unus Athanaſius contra totum mundum*: One Anathaſius ſtood firm againſt all the world. Gregory Nazianzen ſtiles him, *Tubam ingentem, & columnam Eccleſiæ*: the great trumpet and pillar of the church. Theodoret ſtiles him *Pirobolon tes aletheias*, the bulwark of truth.

His works are commonly printed in two tomes, which Scultetus diſtingniſheth into *Germana, Dubia, & Suppoſita, Germana ſunt.*

Oratio adverſus Gentes. Oratio de incarnatione verbi. Expoſitio Fidei. Reſponſ. ad Liberium. Epiſtola de fide ad Jovinianum. Sermo de incarnatione, orationes quinque contra Arianos: Tractat. in illud dictum, Omnia mihi ſunt tradita a Patre. *Epiſtolæ, ad Auelphinum fratrem: ad Maximum Philoſophum; de ſententia Dionyſii Refutatio hypocriſeos Meletii, Euſebii, & Pauli Samoſetani. Sermo de humana natura ſuſcepta. Epiſtolæ ad Epictetum; de Incarnatione Chriſti contra Apolinarium. Oratio contra Apolinarium. Oratio contra gregales Sabellii. Epiſtolæ duæ ad Serapionem de ſpiritu ſancto. Epiſtolæ de Incarnatione Verbi Dei. Apologiæ ad Imperatorem Conſtantinum. De fuga ſua prima, & ſecunda. Ad Africanos. Narratio de Concilio Nicæno: Epiſtola Catholica. Epiſtolæ ad Antiochenſes: ad Serapionem de morte Arii: ad omnes ſolitariam vitam agentes. De Synodis Arimini, & Seleuciæ: ad omnes ubique. Orthodoxos: Ad Joan & Antiochum. Ad Palladium: Ad Dracontium: Ad Ruffinum. De Sabbato, & Circumciſione. De peccato in St. Sanctum. Synopſis Scripturæ ſanctæ:* Dubia ſunt, *Orationes de Semente: de Aſcenſione Chriſti: Symbolum Athanaſii. Epiſtola ad Aremun. Fragmentum Epiſtolæ feſtalis. Vita St. Antonii. De Virginitate, ſive de meditatione. Omnia reliqua ſunt ſuppoſititia.*

The Life of HILARIE, *who flouriſhed* Anno Chriſti 355.

HILARIE biſhop of Poictiers, was nobly deſcended, and of excellent gifts: he was frequent in preaching, exemplary in life: a great oppoſer of the Arian hereſy: whereupon the biſhops, Valence and Urſacius, procured the emperor to baniſh him into Phrygia: afterwards, the emperor commanding many biſhops to aſſemble at Seleucia to give their opinions about the Arian hereſy, Hilarie carried himſelf ſo well there, that he was reſtored to Poictiers. After which he travelled over Italy and France, diligently inſtructing the biſhops of both thoſe countries in the canons of the catholic faith; he was a very eloquent man, and wrote many things in the Latin tongue, amongſt which he wrote 12 books of the Trinity, expounded the Canon containing the clauſe of one ſubſtance, proved it ſufficiently, and confuted the arguments of the Arians. He was a very heavenly man both in his life and doctrine, and by his means, eſpecially, the faith confirmed in the Nicene council, was propagated and defended in theſe Weſtern parts of the world all his life time. He wrote alſo againſt the emperor Conſtantius, one book. Two books to the emperor, againſt Auxentius the Arian. Commentaries on Matthew: epiſtles to St. Auguſtine, &c. He died in peace under Valentinian and Valence.

The Life of CYRIL, *who died* Anno Chriſti 365.

CYRILLUS, biſhop of Jeruſalem, was, at the firſt an Arian, and therefore by that faction was made biſhop of Hieruſalem: but ſhortly after, he was accuſed in a council, for certain hainous crimes, by whom he was depoſed from his biſhoprick, and being often called by them to purge himſelf from thoſe crimes, he ſtill abſented himſelf for the ſpace of two years, thinking thereby to eſcape, and the crime to be forgotten; as ſoon as he was depoſed he ſent an appellation in writing to his depoſers, appealing from them to the judges of the higher court.

Conſtantius the emperor admitted his appellation, ſo that Cyril was the firſt and the only man that brought in this preſident, ſo prejudicial to the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions. At length he came to Seleucia to have his cauſe heard, where his depoſition was confirmed for his communicating with certain heretical biſhops: and Herennius was ſubſtituted, in his room, biſhop of Hieruſalem, and after him Heraclius, and after him Hilarius;

Theſe continued the government of that church, till the reign of Theodoſius ſenior; at which time Cyril having reformed his former miſcarriages, was again placed in the biſhoprick of Hieruſalem by that good emperor, and he proved an eminent inſtrument of God's glory, and his churche's good; inſomuch as one ſaith of him, that he was *magnæ ſanctimoniæ vir*, a man of great ſanctity, learning and wiſdom; he endured many heavy things for the teſtimony of faith and a good conſcience, being often forced to forſake his place by the rage of the Arians: he was very charitable, inſomuch that in a great famine many poor people reſorting to him for relief, he gave them all he had, and that not ſufficing, he took the veſſels, and church ornaments, and ſold them to relieve their wants; when Julian the emperor had given command to re-edify the temple at Jeruſalem in his time, one night there was ſuch an earthquake, that it parted the very ſtones of the foundation, and ſo all the upper buildings fell down; and when many Jews came together to behold what was done, ſuddenly there came fire from heaven that conſumed all the tools and inſtruments of the workmen.

Epihanus gives him this teſtimony: he not only feared not to encounter Acacius the arian, but did Chriſtianly and faithfully oppoſe divers other heretical biſhops. Hieron alſo ſaith thus of him; Cyril that valiant ſoldier and combatant for Jeſus Chriſt, that moſt conſtant maintainer of the orthodox faith, for many years together ſtrove for the propagation of divine truth, ſuffered various and heavy perſecutions: being exerciſed in ſuch dangers from almoſt the beginning of Conſtantius his reign to the reign of Theodoſius; yet all this while in the midſt of theſe manifold afflictions he kept his firſt reſolution, and died in the faith at laſt, *anno Chriſti* 365.

He uſed to ſay, 'Some come to the church to ſee faſhions, others to meet their friends; yet it is better to come ſo, than not at all: in the mean time the net is caſt out, and they which intended nothing leſs, are drawn into

Christ, who catches them, not to destroy them; but that, being dead, he may bring them to life eternal.'

He wrote divers treatises, which are called his *Catechisms upon the principal heads of divinity.*

The Life of Ephrem Syrus, *who died* anno Christi 404.

Ephrem Syrus was born in Nisiba, and by the care of his parents was educated in learning, in the study whereof he was exceeding industrious, insomuch that without the help of an instructor, he attained to an excellent skill in the Syriack tongue: he was also a great philosopher, and a very good orator, so that he far excelled most of the Greek writers. Basil bishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia, did wonderfully admire and commend him for his learning. He is said to have written three hundred thousand verses, which were much esteemed in those times, many endeavouring to imitate his learning therein; amongst whom were Abbas, Zenobias, Abraham Meras, and Simeon, all of them famous amongst the Syrians, and amongst all such as diligently study that language.

But besides his exquisite learning, he also gat great honour and commendations for his many good works, and exact course of life. He was very grave and severe in his carriage, and living a single life, that he might prevent all calumnies and scandals, he shunned the sight of a woman: for the report goes, that a certain woman dissolute in life and manners, and of an impudent face, either on purpose to tempt the man, or else being hired thereto by some others, on purpose met him in the city gate, and earnestly stared in his face: Ephrem taking notice of it, sharply rebuked her, and bade her look down upon the ground: but the woman answered, 'How can I do that, who am not made out of the earth, but of thee? It is more meet that thou shouldst look upon the ground from whence thou hadst thy original, but that I should look upon thee, from whom I was procreated.' Ephrem wondering at the woman, went his ways, and wrote a book of these passages betwixt them, which the learned in the Syrian tongue do much esteem.

It is also recorded of him, that though by nature he was very choleric, and all his youth, could not bridle his anger; yet after he entered into this strict course of life, he was never seen to be angry with any man.

Having fasted divers days, one of his servants that was bringing him his supper, let the earthen pitcher fall wherein it was, and brake it, and Ephrem seeing him overwhelmed with fear and shame, said to him; 'Be of good cheer, let us go to our supper, since it will not come to us, and so sitting down by the fragments of the pot, did eat his supper.' He was very humble, full of self-denial, and a great enemy to vain-glory, as will notably appear by this example.

Upon a time he was voted to an episcopacy, and they that had chosen and designed him thereto, sought him out to bring him to the place where he was to be created bishop, which as soon as he understood, he ran into the market place, and there by sundry signs made shew as if he was crack-brained; so that they that came for him, thinking him to be beside himself, took further counsel what to do: by which means he having gained time, fled privily away, and concealed himself, till he had heard that they had chosen another bishop to that place.

Another notable example of his charitable disposition will appear by this instance: upon a time there was a very great famine in Edessa, whereupon Ephrem coming out of his house, and calling many rich men together, he grievously accused, and complained of them, that the poor were almost starved, whilst they in a covetous manner, kept their riches by them, which, saith he, will in the end turn to your own great loss, and to the torment of your souls, whereas you ought to prefer the wealth of your souls not only before all your riches, but before your very bodies themselves: they hearing this, were much affected with his words, and said thus unto him: 'Truly we care not much for our riches, but we know not whom to commit them to, to be faithfully distributed amongst the poor, seeing that almost every man is infected with the desire of lucre and gain, and they use to make merchandize and advantage to themselves upon such occasions:' then said Eprem to them, What do you judge of me? to whom they answered, 'We judge you to be a very faithful, good, and upright dealing man, as every man esteems you to be.' Well, said he, and for your sakes I will undertake this great and troublesome work: and so receiving their money, he caused three hundred beds to be provided, and laid in the cloisters, placing in them such as were sick by reason of the terrible famine, for whom he made convenient provision, and not only for them, but also for strangers, and for all such as were driven by the famine out of the villages to seek relief in the city. And thus he continued till the famine being ceased, he returned into his retired house again, and not long after he quietly slept in the Lord, *anno Christi* 404.

He was a great opposer of Sabellius, Arius, Apollinarius, and other heretics: so chaste, that he repelled the shameless behaviour of a lewd woman, who being instigated by the devil, thought to have enticed him to lust; but with grave exhortations, admonitions, and divine speeches, he caught and overcame the tempter: so that by his fatherly advice she proved a grave, modest, and religious matron: in his will he commanded that they should sing no verse in his commendation, bury him in no fine linens, nor with ointments, raise no monuments for him: for, saith he, 'I am a stranger and sojourner, &c.' He was very merciful to the poor, as in part we have heard before, and having not of his own to give, by his sweet and attracting sermons he stirred up the hearts of others to relieve them.

He used to say, 'That the resolute traveller knows that his journey is long, and the way dirty, yet goes on in hope to come to his house, so let a Christian; (though the way to heaven be narrow, though it be set with trouble and persecutions) yet let him go on till he hath finished his course with joy, for heaven is his home.' And again, 'He that feasts his body, and starves his soul, is like him that feasts his slave and starves his wife.' He died unto Valence.

His works are contained in three tomes upon several subjects.

The Life of Basil, *who flourished* anno Christi 370.

Basil was born in Pontus, of noble and religious parents: his grand-father and great grand-father suffered martyrdom under Galerius Maximus. He was called Basilius Magnus, for as one saith of him, he was great in wit, great in eloquence, great in wisdom, great in defending, great in propagating God's glory, great in convincing heretics, &c.

When he was grown up to years of discretion, he went to Cæsarea of Cappadocia, which was then the most famous city of Asia for learning; In which place in a short time he made such a proficiency in his studies, that he excelled all his equals in all sorts of learning: From thence he went to Constantinople, where having studied a while, he went to Athens, where he heard those famous rhetoricians Hymerius and Prosæresius; at which place also he fell into acquaintance with Gregory Nazianzen, and joining studies together, they continued in firm amity all their life after: he was of an excellent constitution, but by much watching, praying, fasting, reading, and spare diet, much weakned his body.

Afterwards he went to Antioch, in Syria, where he frequented the school of Libanius, and became an excellent orator. So that he was thought worthy to deliver to the world the precepts of philosophy, and was much solicited thereunto by many excellent men: others persuaded him to become an orator: but neither of these employments suited with his purpose: wherefore having sufficiently profited in philosophy under Libanius, he provided for himself the commentaries of Origen (who then was famous throughout the world) and learned out of them to interpret and expound the sacred scriptures: then did he valiantly encounter with the Arians, and when as they alledged Origen's books for the confirmation of their heretical opinions, he refuted their ignorance, and shewed by plain demonstrations, that they understood not the mind and meaning of Origen. Yea Eunomius, a favourer of that sect, and as many Arians as were of greatest reputation, and accounted the profoundest scholars, when they disputed with him and

and Gregory Nazianzen, proved themſelves fools and unlearned perſons.

He was at firſt ordained deacon by Miletus biſhop of Antioch, afterwards biſhop of Cæſarea and Cappadocia where he was born: after which he gave himſelf wholly to benefit and profit the church: and when he greatly feared that the new device of Arius his brain would creep throughout the province of Pontus, in all haſte he gat him into thoſe parts, inſtructing the ignorant, and confirming the wavering minds of weaklings in the faith. A little before, ſome difference aroſe betwixt Euſebius biſhop of Cæſarea, and Baſil about their different opinions, which Valence, the Arian emperor hearing of, haſted thitherward, and when he came into Cappadocia, according to his uſual manner, he grievouſly afflicted the orthodox, thruſting them out of their churches, and placing Arians in their rooms: and he hoped eaſily to do the like when he came to Cæſarea, becauſe of the enmity that was betwixt Euſebius and Baſil. But it fell out far otherwiſe; for Baſil and Pontus, hearing of the emperor's proceedings in Cappadocia, haſted to Cæſarea, and preſently was reconciled to Euſebius, and by his miniſtry ſeaſonably ſtrengthened the church: ſo that when Valence came thither, finding his hopes fruſtrated, he returned without effecting what he came about.

Not long after Euſebius dyed, and Baſil was choſen and ordained biſhop in his room; where he performed the office of a worthy ſhepherd to his flock, as well by duly and truly feeding them with the ſincere milk of God's word, as by driving away all hereticks, that like wolves, ſought to devour his ſheep.

At laſt came back the emperor Valence into Cappadocia, fully purpoſing to drive Baſil out of Cæſarea: but the Lord prevented him by this means. The very night after he attempted this wickedneſs, his wife was grievouſly troubled with dreadful dreams about him, and his only ſon Gallates fell ſick of a ſharp and violent fever, ſo that the phyſicians, deſpairing of his recovery, gave him up for dead: his wife alſo told him of thoſe ugly ſhapes, and fearful viſions of devils and wicked ſpirits which ſhe had ſeen in her ſleep: adding that their child alſo was viſited with that ſickneſs, becauſe of the evil and miſchief which he had purpoſed againſt Baſil.

The emperor marking diligently the words of his wife, and muſing with himſelf, caſt in his mind what to do and at length reſolved to ſend for Baſil, and when he came, ſpake thus unto him; If thy faith and opinion be true, pray that my ſon die not of this diſeaſe. To whom Baſil anſwered; If thou wilt promiſe me to believe as I do, and if thou wilt bring the church into unity and concord, thy child, no doubt, ſhall live: but the emperor would by no means agree unto this: then ſaid Baſil, 'Let the Lord deal with the child as pleaſeth him,' and ſo departed, and immediately after, the child died.

He was very charitable, inſomuch as in a great famine, he ſold his lands and all his other goods to relieve the poor, and ſtirred up other rich merchants, by ſcripture, and ſweet ſpeeches, to contribute to their neceſſities: he was alſo careful to ſee the ſick provided for, and cauſed public places to be erected for their maintainance, and would often, not only viſit them, but alſo adminiſter to them. Julian the emperor having formerly known him at Athens, ſent, and deſired him to write to him, which he refuſed to do, becauſe of his apoſtacy: nay Valence the emperor, when he perſecuted the orthodox, and had put eighty preſbyters into a veſſel, thinking to have burnt them at ſea, yet meeting Baſil, he ſpake him fair, and ſent alſo to him by many meſſengers to win him to that hereſy; yet neither threats, nor promiſes could once move him; for when the meſſenger gave him good language, and promiſed him great preferment, he anſwered, 'Alas Sir, theſe ſpeeches are fit to catch little children that look after ſuch things: but we that are taught, and nouriſhed by the holy ſcriptures, are readier to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, than to ſuffer one ſyllable, or title of the ſcriptures to be altered:' and when Modeſtus the præfect aſked him, 'Know ye not who we are who command it?' No body, ſaid Baſil, whilſt you command ſuch things:' 'Know ye not, ſaid the præfect, that we have honours to beſtow on you? to which he anſwered, They are changeable, like yourſelves: hereupon he threatened to confiſcate his goods, to torment him, to baniſh or kill him: to which he anſwered, He need not fear confiſcation who hath nothing to loſe; nor baniſhment, to whom heaven only is a country: nor torments, when his body would be daſht in pieces with one blow: nor death, which is the only way to ſet him at liberty: the præfect told him that he was mad; to whom he replied, *Opto me æternum ſic delirare*, I wiſh that I may for ever be thus mad: yet the præfect gave him that night to reſolve what to do; but he was the ſame man the next morning: whereupon the præfect related all to the emperor, who went to church with intentions to have diſturbed him in his holy duties; but ſeeing his reverend carriage, he was ſo convinced that he made a large offering, which Baſil refuſed, as coming from an heretic.

At another time the Præfect ſending for him commanded him to comply with the emperor in his opinion, or elſe threatened him with death; whereupon Baſil unfeignedly and freely ſpake his mind about the emperor's opinion, withal highly commending the faith of one ſubſtance; and whereas (ſaith he) you threaten me with death, would it ſhould fall out ſo well on my ſide that I might lay down this carcaſs of mine in the quarrel of Chriſt, and in defence of his truth, who is my Head, and Captain. Then ſaid the Præfect; 'Be not ſo raſh in thy anſwer, ſecond thoughts may prove better, and therefore I give thee this day and night to conſider further of it, and to morrow I will expect thy anſwer, deſiring that thou mayſt not wilfully caſt away thyſelf;' Whereupon Baſil replied; I have no need to take further council about this matter; look what I am to day, the ſame thou ſhalt find me to morrow; but I pray God that thou change not thy mind; for ſince I am a creature myſelf I can never be perſuaded to worſhip one that is like me, and to acknowlege him for God; or to conform myſelf to thine, and the emperor's religion. For though you be illuſtrious perſons, and command a great part of the world, yet muſt I not ſubmit to your wills, being but men; nor obey you, with the neglect of my faith in God, which, God aſſiſting, I will never betray, though you confiſcate my goods, tho' you baniſh me, or torment me to death; ſeeing none of theſe things will trouble me at all; as for riches, truly I have none beſides my torn garments, and a few books, and I ſo dwell here in this world, as one that is always ready to leave it; and as for my body, it is ſo weak, that one blow will make it inſenſible both of grief and torments. This reſolute anſwer cauſed the Præfect to diſmiſs him.

Yet after this the Arians prevailed again for his baniſhment; but when the writing was brought to Valence to be confirmed, the pens would not write the leaſt title, being often tried; and when the emperor (being mad with rage) ſtill endeavoured to confirm the edict for his baniſhment, he was ſtruck in his right hand with a great trembling: ſo that at laſt, being terrified with theſe judgments of God, he tore the paper in pieces.

So having been biſhop at Cæſarea and Cappadocia eight years and an half, he departed this life with theſe words, 'Into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit.'

He uſed to ſay, 'To know thyſelf is very difficult; for as the eye can ſee all things but itſelf; ſo ſome can diſcern all faults but their own; and again, divine love is a never failing treaſure; he that hath it, is rich, and he that wanteth it, is poor; when he had read the Bible over, he ſaid, It's a phyſician's ſhop of preſervatives againſt poiſonous hereſies; a pattern of profitable laws againſt rebellious ſpirits; a treaſury of moſt coſtly jewels againſt beggarly elements, and a fountain of moſt pure water, ſpringing up to eternal life.'

Eraſmus ſaith, that he rather deſerved the name of Maximus, than of Magnus; concerning whoſe eloquence (ſaith he) I take it to be a great diſgrace to him, if I ſhould compare him with any of thoſe whom the Græcians moſt admired, and endeavoured to imitate. For which of all thoſe great orators did ſo excel in eloquence, wherein ſomething was not either wanting or offenſive? Did Pericles thunder and lighten in his orations? yet it was without art. Lyſias was frozen in his Attick ſubtilty. Phalereus had much ſweetneſs, but want'd gravity. Iſocrates was but the ſhadow of an orator. Demoſthenes whom Tully maketh the compleat example of an exquiſite orator, yet wanted

wanted affections, and urbanity in his orations: but St. Baſil was an incomparable man, in whom was wanting neither nature nor art, nor exerciſe: he was not only an excellent orator, but a great philoſopher, and exactly ſkilled in all kind of learning. But as I ſaid before, its a diſgrace to compare ſuch a Chriſtian with any of the heathens: it's fitter therefore to compare him with Chriſtians, like himſelf; and truly that age produced many excellent men, famous both for their learning and piety; as Athanaſius, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chryſoſtom, and Gregory Niſſen. And each of theſe excelled in their ſeveral gifts: Athanaſius for excellent teaching: Nazianzen for his florid and acute orations: Chryſoſtome, though he anſwered his ſir-name by reaſon of his golden mouth, yet he hath many ſuperfluous words, and was immoderate in his digreſſions. Niſſen was content with his pious ſimplicity. But I know not what the moſt critical reader can deſire more than he ſhall find in Baſil. He ſhall find in him a ſimple and natural form of ſpeech flowing from his moſt holy breaſt, drained of all human paſſions: whatſoever art can do, is to be found in him, yet without the appearance of art. There thou mayſt find the knowlege of mundane philoſophy, without the leaſt oſtentation of it: there thou mayſt diſcern his ſkill in the liberal ſciences, and amongſt them of the mathematics; and yet he makes them all handmaids to piety. In his diſcourſes he doth exquiſitely mingle divine teſtimonies of ſcripture, that they are like to precious ſtones not ſewed to, but bred in purple clothes.

His works are theſe;

In Opificium ſex dierum. Hom. 11. *In Pſalmos. Hom.* 17. *Variorum argumentorum. Hom.* 28. *De Virginitate. De Paradiſo. Contra Apologeticum Eunomii. Contra Sabellianos, & Arium. De. St. Sancto. De Libero Arbitrio. De Baptiſmate. Exercitamenta per aliquot Sermones. Præfatio de judicio Dei. De Fidei Confeſſione. Moralium Summæ. Quæſtiones diffuſe Explicatæ. Aliæ compendio Explicatæ. Conſtitutiones Exercitatoriæ. Epiſtolæ. Explicationes in Pſalmos Davidis.*

The Life of Gregory Nazianzen, *who flouriſhed,* Anno Chriſti 370.

GREGORY Nazianzen was firſt biſhop of Saſima, then of Nazianzum in Cappadocia, and laſtly, of Conſtantinople: he was a living library of philoſophy and divinity: exceeding eloquent: a defender of the poor and oppreſſed; and a comforter of the afflicted. In his younger days he became acquainted with Baſil, and joined ſtudies with him: ſo that with him at Athens, he heard thoſe famous rhetoricians Hymerius and Proæreſius. At Antioch in Syria he frequented the ſchool of Libanius, and by theſe means he became an excellent orator.

By reading the commentaries of Origen, he learned to expound, and interpret the ſacred ſcriptures. In diſputation he foiled and overthrew the moſt learned amongſt the Arians: and fearing leſt thoſe errors ſhould infect the churches of Cappadocia; he got him thither to oppoſe them, where he was made biſhop of Nazianzum, a mean city of Cappadocia, whereof his father had been biſhop before him.

What inſight he had into mens diſpoſitions by their phyſiognomies, may appear by that which he wrote concerning Julian the apoſtate, in his ſecond oration againſt the Gentiles, where he thus writeth, 'I foreſaw (ſaith he) long ago in Julian that which is now come to paſs, when I knew him at Athens: for he came thither when the empreſs had procured licenſe of the emperor for his voyage, and when his brother Gallus had conſpired the death of the emperor Conſtantius.' There were two cauſes that moved him to repair to Athens: the firſt was tollerable, the ſecond had ſmall honeſty in it: the firſt was to ſee Greece, and the ſchools that flouriſhed therein: the ſecond (which was more ſecret, and was known unto few) was to conſult with ſooth ſayers, and ſacrificers, about his affairs in time to come, becauſe it was not permitted openly for the authors of ſuch impiety to practiſe ſuch deviliſh inventions. And I myſelf in conjecturing of him at that time, (although I am not of the number of prophets) yet was not much deceived: for his wavering mind and frantic diſpoſition made me prophet good enough. I ſaw not one ſign in him that gave me any hope that ever he would become an honeſt man.

He had a running head: his ſhoulders did never leave wagging: he had winking eyes that continually rouled in his head: his countenance was ſtaring: he had a ſliding and limping pace: his viſage was ſcornful. He had a ſleering face of his own, the which, his immoderate laughter, and continual ſcorning did declare. His manner was without all honeſty, to ſay and unſay: his words came tumbling out with vehemency and ſtops, the ſentence broken in the midſt: his queſtions and objections were raſh and fooliſh: his anſwers were little better, which oftentimes followed one after another, and as there was little hold of them, ſo were they propoſed without order. But what need I to run over all particulars? I foreſaw in him before he was created emperor, that which afterwards proved to be moſt true. If there were any of my familiar friends preſent which heard me thus divining of him, I am ſure they would teſtify this to be no otherwiſe than what I do report it: in whoſe hearing alſo at the foreſight of theſe things, I uttered theſe words; 'O good God, what a monſter the empire of Rome doth nouriſh?' When I had uttered theſe words, I deſired of God, that in this matter I might be found a liar. For that had been far better, than the whole world ſhould have been viſited with ſo many miſchiefs, or than that ſuch a monſter ſhould have been ſeen amongſt men, the like unto whom had never been remembred before; for in his time happened many deluges, and floods over-flowing the countries, the which both young, and old, do at this time remember; beſides great loſſes by fire, terrible earth quakes, and gapings of the ground; men alſo of a ſtrange ſhape were born into the world, of mix'd and compound natures, being half men, half beaſts; but he purchaſed to himſelf ſuch an end as his frantic diſpoſition juſtly deſerved; theſe things did Gregory report of Julian.

Not long after, in the reign of Theodoſius ſenjor, Gregory was tranſlated from the city of Nazianzum to govern a little church within the walls of Conſtantinople; unto which the emperor afterwards annexed a goodly temple, called the reſurrection; but Gregory being a famous man, and excelling in vertue and godlineſs all that flouriſhed in his time, when he perceived that ſome murmured, and objected to him, that he was a ſtranger, and foreigner, although he rejoiced at the emperor's coming, yet was utterly refuſed to continue any longer at Conſtantinople.

He had ſuch a dexterity of wit, that which way ſoever he turned himſelf, he could happily effect it; in opening the myſteries of the ſacred ſcriptures he was an excellent teacher, diligent, cautious, plain, and without offering violence to the text. Nature ſeemed to have framed him for panegyrick orations, yet did he ſo temper his ſpeeches therein to the minds, and ears of the multitude, that he was very plain to the ignorant, and yet at the ſame time to be admired by the learned. In his diſputations againſt Eunomius, he ſhewed admirable acuteneſs, yet never receded from his perſpicuity of ſpeech: and ſo contained himſelf within the bounds of defence of the catholic truth, that he never brake forth into reproaches extravagant from the cauſe.

Neither was he unlike himſelf in his work to Amphilocus about the Holy Ghoſt. But what argument ſoever he handled, wholeſome and pleaſing ſpeeches were never wanting to him, and thoſe not acquired, but natural. According to his name in all his works there appears a certain kingly majeſty, mixed with admirable humanity. He ſo inveighed againſt the evil manners of men, that they could not but love him whilſt he chid them. And look what his doctrine was, ſuch was his life.

By this dexterity of his wit, when Euſebius biſhop of Cæſarea, by his ambition ſtirred up ſedition, of a rival he made him his very good friend. By this he ſo contained Modeſtus, the emperor's præfect, that he drew that wicked man by the ſhining of his virtue to admire him. By this, when the emperor Valence himſelf entred into his church, he firſt aſtoniſhed him, and afterwards by his diſcreet conference, deterred him from his cruelty, yea, reclaimed him from the faction of the Arians, though afterwards

wards thoſe wicked men prevailed to bring him over to them again. He had always a mind ſo prepared for martyrdom, that he deſired it as a great favour.

In all his writings there is ſuch a peculiar grace, and excellency, that he never tires his reader; but always diſmiſſeth him with a thirſt after more. One ſaith of him, that the true beauty of his ſoul did ſhine forth in his eloquence, rhetoric being both his companion and ſervant. Hierom was his ſcholar. He was of ſuch authority in the Greek churches, that whoſoever durſt oppoſe his teſtimony, was ſuſpected for an heretic. He ſo loved ſolitude, that when for his excellent learning and ſanctity, he diſcovered that the people choſe him for their biſhop, he retired himſelf into obſcurity: but being diſcovered, the people choſe him for their biſhop. At laſt, growing old, and unfit for his public employment, he conſtituted another biſhop, and returned to his former ſolitude. He flouriſhed under Theodoſius.

He uſed to ſay, 'That in a great multitude of people of ſeveral ages, and conditions, (who are like an harp with many ſtrings) it is hard to give every one ſuch a touch in preaching, as may pleaſe all, and offend none.' He wrote divers works both in proſe and verſe.

The Life of EPIPHANIUS, *who flouriſhed* anno Chriſti, 370.

EPIPHANIUS biſhop of Salamine in Syrus, was born in Paleſtine, in an obſcure town called Beſcanduces, of poor and obſcure parents; his father dying when he was young, he was adopted, and brought up by one Tryphon a Jew, whereby he attained to an exceſſent knowlege in the Hebrew: he was converted to the Chriſtian faith by one Lucianus, famous for his learning and virtue: Lucianus put him to Hilarius to learn, under whom he profited exceedingly.

Whilſt he was a boy, certain heretics, called the Gnoſtics, cunningly ſought to inveigle him, and to draw him over to their opinions: but it pleaſed God to preſerve him from the temptation, and to keep him in the truth. In his riper years he was famous in the church for his piety, holineſs of life, and for the ſincerity of his doctrine, and elegancy of his ſtyle, as his books witneſs, which ſhew their author to be a man of great reading, ſkilful in the tongues, well acquainted with controverſies, prudent in aſſerting the truth, and acute in confuting errors; whereupon Melanchthon ſaith of him, We have no fuller an hiſtory of thoſe ancient affairs of the church than the writings of Epiphanius do contain, in which, whilſt he intends the confutation of hereſies, he inſerts many hiſtorical paſſages: ſo that out of this author, may be collected almoſt a continued hiſtory of the ancient church, if any would with prudence join his narrations together: and I wiſh that ſome prince would take care to ſee ſuch a work done.

He was of a very liberal, and charitable diſpoſition, inſomuch as he ſpent all his eſtate in relieving the poor. Being afterwards choſen biſhop of Salamine in Cyprus, he at firſt modeſtly refuſed that dignity, but importunity prevailing with him, he ſo lived, that *Vitam doctrina, doctrinam vita comprobarte*, his doctrine approved his life, and his life defended his doctrine: he was *ſemper hereticorum acerrimus oppugnator*, always a ſharp oppoſer of heretics: he purged all Cyprus, defiled and ſtarried with divers hereſies and having gained an edict from Theodoſius the emperor, he caſt all the hereticks out of the iſland.

About this time Theophilus biſhop of Alexandria, having upon ſome falſe ſurmiſes conceived diſpleaſure againſt John Chryſoſtom biſhop of Conſtantinople, he fought cunningly to thruſt him out of his biſhoprick: whereupon he ſent letters to the biſhops throughout every city, concealing his principal drift, and only pretending that he miſliked the books of Origen: Epiphanius alſo being at this time very old, Theophilus wrought upon his weakneſs, and prevailed with him to call a council in Cyprus: in which council the biſhops decreed, that thenceforth none ſhould read the works of Origen: and by the inſtigation of Theophilus, they wrote alſo to Chryſoſtom, exhorting him to abſtain from the peruſing of thoſe books, requeſting him to ſummon a council at Conſtantinople, and to ratifie that decree with the uniform conſent of all.

After this, Epiphanians went to Conſtantinople, contrary to the canons of the church ordained ſome miniſters there, and adminiſtred the ſacrament: yet Chryſoſtom honoured him highly, went with the reſt of his clergy to welcome him to the city; invited him to lodge at his own houſe, and to make uſe of his church during his abode there: but Epiphanius, being prepoſſeſſed with prejudice, anſwered that he would neither lodge in his houſe, nor join with him in prayer, except he would condemn the books of Origen, and drive away Dioſcorus with his aſſociates from him, who were favourers of Origen. But Chryſoſtom anſwered, that it would be great injuſtice to condemn men before their cauſe was heard; eſpecially conſidering that the time for adminiſtration of the ſacrament was now near: and with this anſwer he left him.

Preſently after the enemies of Chryſoſtom came to Epiphanius, and perſuaded him, publicly before all the people, to condemn the books of Origen, and alſo Dioſcorus and his followers, and withal to tax the biſhop of the city for favouring theſe perſons: Epiphanius being of too facile a diſpoſition went out the next day to perform theſe things, which Chryſoſtom hearing of, ſent Serapion, who met him not far from the church, and proteſted, that if he did theſe things, he would do that which was neither juſt nor equal, nor convenient for himſelf: for that hereby he might bring himſelf into danger, if any tumult ſhould be raiſed amongſt the people. Hereupon he deſiſted; yet privately he called together ſome biſhops that ſtayed in the city, and ſhewed them the decrees which condemned the books of Origen, and drew ſome of them to aſſent to the ſame: but the greateſt part refuſed, and Theotymus, biſhop of Scythia, blamed him to his face for it, and told him that it was altogether unlawful thus to calumniate and aſperſe a man that was dead long ſince, eſpecially being of ſo great worth, and his writings approved of by their predeceſſors, &c.

At laſt he reſolved to return into Cyrus, and for a farewel to Chryſoſtom, he ſaid, 'I hope that thou wilt not die a biſhop:' to which Cyryſoſtom replied, and 'I hope thou wilt never return into thy own country': both which came to paſs: for a while after, Cyryſoſtom was caſt out of his biſhoprick: and Epiphanius died upon the ſea: and when he found himſelf mortally ſick, he called his friends, and ſaid to them, *Salvi eſtote filii* &c. God bleſs you my children, for Epiphanius ſhall ſee your faces no more in this life; and ſhortly after he died, aged 115 years, having been biſhop 55 years, his loſs was exceedingly lamented at Salamine.

He uſed to ſay, 'That he never let his adverſary ſleep; not that he diſturbed him in his ſleep; but becauſe he agreed with him preſently, and would not let the ſun go down upon his wrath.

His works are printed together, being moſt of them againſt the hereſies of his time, the names are,

Opus contra octoginta hæreſes. Panarium Appellatum. Compendium fidei Chriſtianæ. Anchoratus, docens de fide Chriſtiana. Anacephalæoſis, ſive ſumma totius operis Panarii appellatum. Libellus de menſuris & ponderibus. Hiſtoria de prophetarum vita & interitu. Epiſtola ad Johannem, epyc: Conſtantinopolitanum.

The Life of AMBROSE, *who died* anno Chriſti 397.

AMBROSE was biſhop of Milan; his father was a præfect in France: when Ambroſe was an infant, a ſwarm of bees (as he lay in his cradle) ſettled on his face, and flew away without hurting of him, whereupon his father ſaid, *Si vixerit infantulus iſte, aliquid magni erit*, if this child live; he will be ſome great man.

Afterwards he went to Rome, and gained great knowledge in the liberal arts, and was excellently accompliſhed with eloquence, and ſweet behaviour, whereupon he was made governor of Inſurbia, and ſo went to Millain, where he was made lieutenant, and being made lieutenant thereof, about the ſame time this ſtrange act happened; when Auxentius, whom the Arians had choſen to be biſhop of that ſee, died, all was there in an uproar about the election

of another biſhop, and great ſtrife there was, whilſt ſome would prefer this man, and ſome others that man unto the biſhoprick. The tumult being raiſed, Ambroſe the lieutenant of the city, who alſo was a conſul, fearing greatly leſt that Schiſm would breed miſchief in the city, came purpoſely into the church to appeaſe the ſeditions: and his preſence prevailing very much with the people, after he had given them many notable exhortations, and thereby mitigated the rage of the heady and raſh multitude; all on a ſudden with one voice, and, as it were, with one mouth, nominated Ambroſe for their biſhop, hoping hereby that all things would be reconciled, and that all would embrace one faith and opinion.

The biſhops that were preſent, thought verily that the uniform voice of the people was the voice of God himſelf: wherefore, without any further deliberation, they took Ambroſe (who was but a Catechumeniſt) and baptized him purpoſing alſo to inſtal him in the biſhoprick: Ambroſe came willingly to baptiſm, yet denied utterly to be a biſhop; whereupon the biſhops made the emperor Valentinian privy to their doings: he wondering at the conſent and agreement of the people, judged that which was done to be the work of God himſelf: he ſignified therefore to the biſhops, that they ſhould obey the will of God, and create Ambroſe biſhop, ſaying, 'That God, rather than men, preferred him to this dignity.'

Thus Ambroſe being made biſhop, the citizens of Millain, who afore time were at diſcord amongſt themſelves, thenceforth embraced peace and unity. Whereupon the good emperor publicly returned thanks unto God in theſe words; 'I give thee humble thanks O omnipotent God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that whereas I had committed the government of their bodies to this man, thou haſt alſo committed their ſouls to his care, and thereby haſt declared that my ſentence was juſt in appointing him to ſuch a place.

Not long after Ambroſe ſpoke very freely to the emperor, complaining of divers things which were ill adminiſtred by ſundry of the magiſtrates: to whom that worthy emperor anſwered, I knew long ago thou waſt a free ſpoken man, for which cauſe I was ſo far from reſiſting thine ordination to the biſhoprick, as that I gave my free and full conſent to it; wherefore according to the rule of God's holy word, do thou prepare a medicine for our erring minds.

This good emperor a while after dying, Juſtina his wife being infected with the filth of Arianiſm, yet whilſt her huſband lived, ſhe could no kind of way moleſt thoſe that embraced the faith of One Subſtance: but after his deceaſe, removing to Millain, together with her young ſon, ſhe raiſed ſuch tumults againſt Ambroſe, the biſhop, that in the end ſhe prevailed for his baniſhment: but the people, who bore ſingular love and affection to Ambroſe, withſtood her act, and hindered their force that went about to convey him into exile; and it pleaſed God, that juſt at the ſame time, news came that Maximus a Britain had rebelled, and that Gratian the emperor was ſlain in France by Andragathius the captain of Maximus: which news ſo cooled the heat of Juſtina's ſpleen, that ſhe was content to let Ambroſe alone.

Yet did ſhe proceed to work upon the tender and flexible mind of her young ſon Valentinian junior, and to inſtil into him the principles of Arianiſm, and the young man, deceived by the enticements of his mother, too greedily drank in the poiſon thereof, whereupon at length he began to communicate his mind to Ambroſe, ſuppoſing that if he could but draw him to his opinion, he could eaſily overcome the reſt: but Ambroſe began to mind him of the piety and ſincerity of his father, exhorting him to defend the truth which he had received from him, as he would defend his empire: he alſo opened to him the difference between thoſe two opinions, ſhewing him, how that of the Arians was directly contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, and his holy apoſtles, and that of the orthodox was moſt conſonant thereunto: but the young man, as a young man that was blinded with the error of his mother, was ſo far from hearkening to the good counſel of Ambroſe that on the contrary, being inflamed with wrath, he compaſſed the church where Ambroſe was, with a great number of armed ſoldiers, thinking thereby to terrify him.

But when he ſaw that this valiant champion and ſoldier of Chriſt was no whit affrighted, he grew into ſuch a rage, that he commanded him to come forth of the temple: to whom Ambroſe anſwered: that will I never willingly do, neither will I betray the ſheepfold of my ſheep to the wolves, nor deliver up this temple of God to the authors of blaſphemy: but if thou pleaſeſt to kill me, here is my breaſt, pierce it either with thy ſword or ſpear as thou pleaſeſt, for I deſire and am willing to embrace ſuch a death: this his reſolute anſwer made the emperor to withdraw.

A little before this time, Theodoſius the great, reigning in the eaſt, there fell out a great ſedition in the city of Theſſalonica, which ſome of the magiſtrates coming to quiet, by the furious people, they were not only greatly reproached, but ſtoned to death: the news hereof being carried to Theodoſius, he was ſo grievouſly incenſed againſt the citizens of Theſſalonica, that he ſent an army againſt them, and ſlew ſeven thouſand of them, even the innocent amongſt the guilty, without ever examining the fact, and proceeding judicially againſt the innocent: and preſently after he went into the weſt againſt the tyrant Maximus (whereof you may read the ſtory in the Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in the life of Theod. ſenior) And having obtained a wonderful victory, he went to Millain; but as he was about to enter the church Ambroſe met him at the door, and ſaid unto him: "It is very likely, O emperor, that you know not the greatneſs of that murder that was committed by you, neither after your anger was appeaſed, did you, by reaſon, weigh the greatneſs of your crime. For it may be the greatneſs of your imperial dignity would not ſuffer you to acknowlege your ſin; but your power blinds your reaſon: for you ought to conſider the weakneſs and frailty of human nature, and to bend your eyes upon your mother earth, from which you had your original, and into which you muſt return: neither ought you by reaſon of the ſplendor of your purple garments, to be ignorant of the weakneſs of that body which is ſhrouded in them: conſider further that you rule over thoſe who are partakers of the ſame nature with you, and therefore are your fellow-ſervants. For God, the creator of the univerſe, is lord and king of all men: with what eyes then can you behold his temple who is the Lord of all? with what feet can you tread in his courts? how dare you (I pray you) ſtretch forth before him, thoſe hands which are defiled with murder, and unjuſt bloodſhed, and with the ſame receive the holy ſacrament of Chriſt's body? or how dare you put his holy blood into your mouth, which being inflamed with anger, commanded unjuſtly the ſpilling of ſo much blood? depart therefore, and do not increaſe your former ſin by adding a new one to it, but embrace that bond which the Lord of all doth from heaven impoſe upon you: which bond truly hath force to cure you of the diſeaſe of your ſoul, and of reſtoring you to health."

The godly emperor willingly ſubmitted to him (for having been religiouſly trained up, he knew full well what was the duty of Gods miniſters, and what was proper for kings to do in ſuch caſes) and accordingly returned to his palace full of ſighs and tears. About eight months after, the feaſt of Chriſt's nativity being to be celebrated, the emperor ſate ſtill in his palace, giving himſelf to lamentations, and pouring out abundance of tears: which Ruffinus the maſter of his hall taking notice of, being very dear unto the emperor, went to him, and asked him the cauſe of his weeping: then the emperor weeping more bitterly, and pouring out more abundance of tears, ſaid, 'Surely Ruffinus thou doſt mock me! or knoweſt not with how great miſery I am afflicted: for I ſigh and bewail my calamity, whilſt I conſider in my mind how open the church is to my ſervants, yea to beggars, who have free leave to pour out their prayers before God: but not only that place, but even heaven itſelf is ſhut up againſt me: for that ſaying of our Saviour comes into my mind, Whoſe ſins ye bind on earth ſhall be bound in heaven:' to this Ruffinus anſwered, Therefore if it pleaſe you, I will run to the biſhop, I will intreat, beſeech, and perſuade him to free you from this bond. 'But I fear, ſaid the emperor, that he will not hearken to you. For I know that Ambroſe's ſentence is ſo juſt and equal, that he will not violate the law of God for fear of the imperial power.' But when Ruffin was not

yet

yet ſatisfied, promiſing that he would prevail with Ambroſe, the emperor bade him run quickly; and himſelf hoping that Ruffin might prevail, immediately followed him.

'But as ſoon as Ambroſe ſaw Ruffin, he ſaid unto him: thou ſeemeſt unto me (Ruffin) to imitate the impudency of dogs: for although, by thy perſuaſion, that cruel ſlaughter was committed, yet thou haſt ſo ſteeled thy face, that thou art not aſhamed, neither art thou grieved, that by ſo great madneſs thou rageſt againſt the image of God: but when Ruffin had earneſtly entreated him to be pacified, and told him that the emperor would preſently be there, Ambroſe being kindled with an holy zeal, ſaid, I profeſs, Ruffin, that I will forbid him entrance into the church, and if he will turn his power into tyranny, I am willing to be ſlain by him. Ruffin hearing theſe things, preſently ſent a meſſenger to the emperor, intreating him to ſtay in his palace. The emperor meeting with this meſſage in the market place, ſaid, 'Yet I will go that I may undergo his juſt reproofs which are due to me:' And when he came to the church door, he entred not, but went to the biſhop, deſiring him to abſolve him from his excommunication. But Ambroſe told him, that his coming was tyrannical, and that he was engaged againſt God, and trampled his laws under his feet. To whom the emperor anſwered: 'I do not oppoſe thoſe laws with an obſtinate mind: neither do I deſire wickedly to enter into the church, but I intreat thee to abſolve me, and to ſet before thine eyes the clemency of him who is Lord of all things: neither ſhut thou thoſe doors againſt me which he opens to all that truly repent of their ſins.'

To which Ambroſe anſwered: 'What repentance doſt thou ſhew after ſo grievous a ſin committed? What medicines haſt thou applied for the healing of ſuch great wounds?' it is thy part (ſaid the emperor) to prepare the medicine, and to apply it, and when the wound is cured, to remove it: it's my part to follow thy directions Then ſaid Ambroſe; 'Becauſe thou gaveſt way to thy anger, and didſt not temper it with reaſon, but pronouncedſt ſentence with an inflamed mind, I deſire that thou make a law, that all ſentences pronounced in anger ſhall be void: and that in all cauſes which concern death, or confiſcation of goods, thirty days interveen between the ſentence and execution, that ſo if there be juſt cauſe, the ſentence may be revoked: and that at the end of the thirty days they which wrote thy ſentence, ſhew it to thee, that ſo, laying aſide all anger, thou mayeſt weigh the cauſe with judgment, and ſo either eſtabliſh it or make it void.

The emperor judging this moſt prudent counſel, willingly embraced it, and preſently commanded a law to be enacted, which he confirmed by his ſubſcription: which being done, Ambroſe abſolved him, and the emperor preſently entring the church, fell proſtrate, pronouncing that verſe of the Pſalm; *My ſoul cleaveth to the duſt, quicken me according to thy word:* and then with many tears and teſtimonies of ſorrow, he begged pardon and afterwards was made partaker of the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

Upon a time a certain witch ſent his ſpirits to kill Ambroſe; but they returned anſwer, that God had hedged him in as he did Job, another came with a ſword to his bed-ſide to have killed him; but he could not ſtir his hand, till repenting, he was by the prayer of Ambroſe reſtored to the uſe of his hands again:

When Eugenius was emperor, Flavianus the præfect deſired leave of him to build the altar of victory at Millain, which Ambroſe hearing of, departed from thence to Bononia; but after a while (Eugenius and Flavianus going to war againſt Theodoſius) he returned to Millain again: but before they went, they ſent word, that when they returned conquerors, they would make the great church in Millain a ſtable for horſes: but God prevented them: for Eugenius was ſlain by his own ſoldiers, and Theodoſius got the victory.

This Ambroſe was very abſtinent, full of watchings and prayer, diligent in writing, never dining but on the Sabbaths; he was very courageous for the truth, and merciful to the poor, and captives; he would weep when he heard of the death of any godly miniſter. Falling ſick, he appointed Simplicianus, a godly old man to ſucceed him, and continuing inſtant in prayer, he departed this life the third year after Theodoſius, *anno Chriſti* 397.

He uſed to ſay, 'When gold is offered to thee, thou uſeſt not to ſay, I will come again to morrow and take it, but art glad of preſent poſſeſſion: but ſalvation being profered to our ſouls, few men haſte to embrace it; and again, it is not ſo much to be enquired how much thou giveſt, as with what heart; it's not liberality, when thou takeſt by oppreſſion from one, and giveſt it to another; and again, a clear conſcience ſhould not regard ſlanderous ſpeeches; nor think that they have more power to condemn him, than his own conſcience hath to clear him; and again, death is the burial of all vices; for it is the progreſs and accompliſhment of the full mortification of all our earthly members, wherein that filthy flux of ſin is dried up in an inſtant; it is a voluntary ſacrificing of the whole man, ſoul and body to the Lord, the greateſt and higheſt ſervice we can do him upon earth.'

His works are printed in five tomes.

The Life of GREGORY NISSEN, *who flouriſhed* Anno Chriſti 480.

GREGORY was ſirnamed Niſſenus from the city whereof he was biſhop; he was born in Cappadocia in the fourth age after Chriſt. His father's name was Baſil, his mother's Emmelia; his brother's names were Baſil biſhop of Cæſarea, and Peter biſhop of Sebaſtia. He had a ſiſter called Macrina.

From his childhood he was much affected with the ſtudy of rhetoric, wherein he grew as famous as any of the ancient fathers. He affected not that ſolitary life which his brother Baſil did, but employed himſelf in inſtructing others. Firſt he was a profeſſor in a ſchool of rhetoric: afterwards he became a reader of divinity in the church: yet, after a while, he returned to his rhetoric-ſchool again, but was reduced to his former work of reading divinity by Gregory Nazianzen. Suidas ſaith, that he was *Vir inſignis, omnique doctrina exuberans:* a famous man abounding with all manner of learning: neither was he leſs ſignal for his piety, and holineſs of life, as Nicephorus teſtifies. For his great worth he was preferred to the biſhoprick of Nyſſa, a chief city in Cappadocia.

He was baniſhed by the Arian emperor Valence, and from the ſeventh to the fifteenth year of his reign, he wandred up and down; yet ſtill went to ſuch places where the neceſſity of the church required his preſence, and where he might do moſt good; in which godly employment he was much encouraged by Gregory Nazianzen.

He lived under Conſtantius, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valence, Gratian, and Theodoſius, the great; which time, together with Gregory Nazianzen, he was preſident in the univerſal council of Conſtantinople againſt the Macedonian heretics, *anno Chriſti* 492. When Hierom wrote his catalogue of illuſtrious men, he was alive; but the year of his death is not expreſſed by any author. He was admired for his eloquence, and one calleth him *pervigilem antiſtitem*, the faithful and vigilant prelate; he uſed to read the ſcriptures with all diligence, reverence and ſtrictneſs, having a ſpecial regard to the genuine ſenſe of them: he was a ſtrong oppoſer of Eunomius his hereſy; by the Oecumenical council of Conſtantinople he was appointed as a man moſt fit to viſit the churches planted in Arabia.

After the deceaſe of his brother Baſil, he finiſhed his commentaries which he had left imperfect upon the ſix days works. He alſo preached at Conſtantinople a funeral ſermon upon the death of Miletius biſhop of Antioch. He wrote an admirable book againſt Eunomius, and another, no leſs famous, of the creation of man, beſides many excellent ſermons which he made: but the treatiſe of the ſoul, which he wrote to his ſiſter Macrina, deſerves the praiſe of learned men in all ſucceeding ages.

Many things are fathered upon him, but judicious Scultetus owneth only theſe; *Exegetica Scripta in Eccleſiaſten. In Cantica Canticorum. In Pſalmos. De Occurſu Domini. De Deo & Trinitate. De Creatione. De Providentia. De Chriſto Theanthro. De Baptiſmo. De cultu Dei in genere. De cultu Dei in ſpecie.* viz. *De Peregrinatione*

nationē ad loca ſancta: De oratione. De Pauperum Amore. De Beatitudinibus. De Fornicatione fugienda. De iis qui ægre ferunt reprehenſiones. De iis qui temere alios damnant. De Uſurariis. Funebres orationes ſive de morte piorum. De Reſurrectione mortuorum. De Theologia Univerſa in oratione Catechetica magna.

He compared the 'Uſurer to a man giving water to one in a burning-feaver, which doth him no good, but a great deal of miſchief; ſo the Uſurer, though he ſeem for the preſent to relieve his brother's want, yet afterwards he doth greatly torment him;' he gave this character of an Uſurer, 'he loves no labour but a ſedentary life; the pen is his plough. parchment his field; ink his ſeed; time is the rain to ripen his greedy deſires; his ſickle his calling in of forfeitures; his houſe the barn where he winnows the fortunes of his clients; he follows his debtors as eagles and vultures do armies, to prey upon the dead corps; and again, men come to uſurers as birds to an heap of corn; they deſire the corn, but are deſtroyed in the nets; and again, there is no excuſe for hard-heartedneſs; for where can a rich man caſt his eyes but he may behold objects of his charity?' &c. He died under Valentinian and Valence.

The Life of THEODORET, *who flouriſhed* Anno Chriſti 420.

THEODORET biſhop of Cyrus, was born at Antioch, of noble and religious parents; his mother, before ſhe had him, was much grieved in mind, becauſe ſhe was barren, and without hope of iſſue to inherit their large poſſeſſions, whereupon ſhe with her huſband, reſolved to bequeath all their revenues to the maintenance of poor Chriſtians; yet at laſt God was pleaſed to anſwer her requeſts, giving her a ſon which ſhe named Theodoret, the gift of God:

He proved of great acuteneſs, and in a ſhort time profited ſo in piety, and in letters, that he was made a biſhop whilſt he was yet a young man; and ſhortly after he ſet forth that excellent work which he called *The Hiſtory of the lovers of God:* he was a great oppoſer of heretics, and wrote much againſt them, and reduced many round about him that were Marcionites, even to the hazard of his life; he was wondrous charitable, viſiting and refreſhing the bowels of the poor; he was a careful imitator of Chryſoſtom, whom he always propoſed as a worthy pattern for his ſtyle in his writings; and by this means he proved very fluent and eloquent, which his learned works do plainly declare:

His commentaries upon the ſcriptures are very excellent, wherein he reſolved many of the hardeſt queſtions in the Old Teſtament. He ſhewed much learning in his divine treatiſe of God's providence; he very ſtrongly opened and confuted the fond conceits of abundance of heretics; as of Simon Magnus, Menander. Baſilides, Carpocrates, &c. A ſynod being appointed at Epheſus to ſtop the hereſy of Neſtorius, and Cyril coming firſt thither, (not knowing that the biſhops of Syria were coming alſo) he of himſelf condemned Neſtorius, which afterwards cauſed much contention, eſpecially between Theodoret and Cyril; but Theodoſius junior calling them together to Conſtantinople, by his care and wiſdom healed this breach, and Theodoret and Cyril were wondrous loving each to other ever after.

In that famous council of Chalcedon, wherein were above ſix hundred biſhops, he was ſtiled by their unanimous conſent, *Catholicus & orthodoxus eccleſiæ paſtor, & doctor ſincerus.* A catholic and orthodox paſtor of the church, and a ſincere teacher of the truth. Gennadius teſtifieth of his writings that they were ſtrengthened with impregnable and undeniable arguments, by which with reaſons and teſtimonies of ſcripture, he proves and confirms that Chriſt was truly incarnate of the virgin Mary. Bellarmine ſtiles him *virum plane doctiſſimum*, an abſolute learned man. He wrote an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory which is of great uſe to the church; he died in the reign of Theodoſius junior, being not very old; but rather ſpent with labours and ſtudies than with age.

He uſed to ſay, 'That the delights of the ſoul are to know her Maker, to conſider his works, and to know her own eſtates.'

His works were printed in two tomes, at Collen, *anno Chriſti* 1617. Which beſides his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, contain expoſitions upon many portions of the Old and New Teſtament.

The Life of HIEROM, *who died* anno Chriſto, 422.

HIEROM was born in a town called Seridon in the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia, *anno Chriſti*, 331. His father's name was Euſebius, a pious and godly man, who, before his country was over run and ſacked by the barbarous Goths, (who about this time laid all waſte before them) he was a man of a middle and competent eſtate, and very careful of the education of his ſon: his mother alſo was a religious woman; and therefore from his infancy he was trained up (like another Timothy) in the knowlege of Chriſt and of the ſacred ſcriptures, and as he grew in years, ſo did he alſo in learning; and when he was a boy, he was by his parents ſent to Rome, at that time the moſt famous place for piety and religion, in the weſt, where he was brought up in the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences. For they ſeemed to foreſee that they had begotten a ſon for the good of the world, and therefore in his education they did not indulge their private affections, but ſought to promote the public good.

He quickly, by reaſon of his ingenuity, became very expert both in the Greek and Latin tongues: he alſo became a very good grammarian and rhetorician, having an excellent wit, and being of an indefatigable diſpoſition. And it was his hap to have excellent ſchool maſters: Donatus for the grammar, and Victorinus for the rhetoric, who were at that time famous men in Rome.

Afterwards being grown riper in years, he fell to the ſtudy of philoſophy of all ſorts, as Ariſtotle's, Plato's, the Stoics, &c. Yet he ſpent not too much time herein, but proceeded to the ſtudy of hiſtory, coſmography, and antiquities: and he perceived that even to that time amongſt the Latins, theology was but an infant, whereupon many abhorred the reading of divinity books, he therefore thought, that if a man could attain to ſet forth the divinity of theology with excellency of ſpeech, it would come more into requeſt: beſides, he thought by this means to ſtop the mouths of the Ethnics, who reproached Chriſtians as barren and barbarous perſons.

He had for his fellow ſtudents, Pammachius of noble parentage, a man of ſuch learning and integrity, that he was ſolicited to be biſhop of Rome: Bonoſus, who alſo proved very famous: Heliodorus whoſe virtue advanced him to a biſhoprick.

Having now ſufficiently profited in the knowlege of human arts, he proceeded to more grave and weighty ſtudies, and after the example of other worthy men, for the further poliſhing of his mind with wiſdom and experience, he travelled all over France, procuring the acquaintance of, and familiarity with the moſt worthy men of that country: Bonoſus alſo was his companion in theſe travels: he was very diligent in ſearching the libraries in every place where he came: and at Trevir he wrote out with his own hand a great volume of *Hilary de Synodis:* and having much profited himſelf, not only in learning, but in religion alſo, after a long time, he returned to viſit his countries, both where he was born, and where he was new born (Rome.)

Then did he begin to conſider what courſe of life to betake himſelf to, and in what place to fix his habitation; knowing that it would much conduce to his comfort, if he undertook ſuch a courſe with judgment as was moſt ſuitable to his Genius. He ſeriouſly conſidered that Rome was yet overſpread with Paganiſm, and that it was not ſafe for a young man to be in a place of ſo much pleaſure, which himſelf ſometimes called Babylon; he alſo conſidered, that his own country was corrupted with barbarous pleaſures, as himſelf ſomewhere notes in one of his epiſtles: whereupon he conſulted with ſome of his intimate friends, reſolving to depart to ſome place where he might with more privacy follow the ſtudy of divinity, and wholly dedicate himſelf to Chriſt.

It

It was alſo a great trouble to his mind, to conſider how Chriſtians and pagans were intermixed together, whence it neceſſarily came to paſs, that many who profeſſed Chriſt, were Chriſtians rather in name than in truth. He conſidered further, that in marriage, beſides other incumbrances, he ſhould loſe his freedom; and that in the life of miniſters and biſhops there was a great deal of danger; that will he, nill he, he muſt be intangled with riches, honours, and cares of the world, and thereby be caſt upon many temptations: beſides, the lives of many of them diſpleaſed him ſeeing the ancient piety of the miniſtry to begin to degenerate into pride and tyranny. All theſe things ſeriouſly conſidered, he began to be in love with a Monaſtic life, which in thoſe times did far differ from their lives in future ages, being afterwards intangled with ceremonies and ſuperſtitions. For in thoſe times they had liberty to change their condition when they pleaſed, to go whither they pleaſed; they had a great deal of freedom to attend their ſtudies, betaking themſelves to faſting and prayer, they were not bound under any human conſtitutions. Their apparel was mean, yet not enjoined, but left to every one's free will, not which was noted for prodigious novelty, ſo that every one might point at them with the finger, but which was moſt agreeable with Chriſtian ſimplicity; they were tyed by no vows but ſuch as every true Chriſtian ought to be ſubject to.

Having reſolved upon this courſe of life, his next endeavour was to aſſociate ſome companions to him therein: but Pammachius, who hitherto had been his chamber fellow, and fellow ſtudent, for his courſe of life was wholly of another diſpoſition: the greateſt freedom was moſt pleaſing to Hierom, and a married life to Pammachius. Bonoſus having ſettled his affairs, forſaking his country, parents and friends, and only accompanied with his books, was departed into a ſolitary iſland; and therein had out-run Hierom, extricating himſelf from the ſnares of the world to enjoy more freedom in the ſervice of Chriſt.

Not long after Hierom having ſettled his affairs, and provided things neceſſary for his journey, eſpecially a fair library, he ſailed into Syria, having Heliodorus for his companion, who having remained a while with him in Syria, diſliking that courſe of life, left him. Yet did not Hierom at all break off his good eſteem of him for the ſame. Then did Hierom go to Jeruſalem, veiwing all the obſervable places about that once famous city: but ſhortly after, by reaſon of the change of air and country, he fell into a grievous ſickneſs, at which time Evagrius entertained him into his houſe, and ſhewed much kindneſs to him.

Having recovered his health, he was inflamed with an earneſt deſire of proſecuting his former reſolution for the manner of his life, and thereupon retiring himſelf into a deſart between the Syrians and Saracens, he had no company beſides wild beaſts and ſerpents, and here and there a monk's cell that had betaken himſelf to the ſame courſe of life, as Hierom now did. But before his fixing in this wilderneſs, he ſpent ſome time in Antiochia, which yet he ſtayed not long in, partly by reaſon of the celebrity of the place, and partly becauſe of a ſchiſm that was in the church: neither could he ſtay long in Chalcis, becauſe of the neighbourhood of ſome Arians, which moleſted him: and indeed this holy man was grievouſly vexed by their wicked practices, who daily cited him before them to give an account of his faith. In brief, he met with ſo many moleſtations, that many times he repented his coming into Syria: and thereupon, at length, he ſhut up himſelf far from the commerce of men in that forenamed deſart; thinking it far better to live among thieves and wild beaſts, than amongſt ſuch Chriſtians. And continuing three four years together, he only converſed with Chriſt and his books, ſeriouſly buſying himſelf according to his former purpoſe.

And having in his youth fallen into ſome looſeneſs, the firſt thing he did was with ſhowers of tears to bewail his ſins, and to endeavour to make his peace with God: then by abſtinence, watchings, and incredible auſterity of life to baſt down his body, and to bring it into ſubjection to his ſpirit, that ſo he might be freed from all temptations to fleſhly luſts: and leſt his carnal affections ſhould impede his heavenly life, he preſcribed and exacted of himſelf a daily taſk wherein he was employed.

He diſtributed his time into two parts, one for his ſtudies, the other for meditation and prayer, wherein alſo he ſpent a good part of the night. He allowed himſelf the leaſt part for ſleep, leſs for his food, and none for idleneſs. When he was weary of ſtudy he betook himſelf to prayer, or ſinging of a pſalm; and then preſently returned to his ſtudies again. He read over all his library, and then rubbed up his old ſtudies: he learned moſt of the ſcripture by heart: he meditated much upon the prophets, labouring to find out the myſteries of their prophecies: he extracted Chriſtian wiſdom out of the Evangeliſts and apoſtolical writings, as out of the moſt pure fountains; for it is the firſt ſtep to piety, to acquaint ourſelves with the truths of God.

Then he read over the works of ſuch as had commented thereon, with great judgment, not pretermitting the works of Ethnicks and Heretics; for he knew how to gather gold out of a dunghill, and honey out of weeds, leaving the poiſon to ſpiders: then did he collect what he could out of the Egyptian writers, endeavouring to beautify the houſe of God with the ſpoils of his enemies. And for the help of his memory, and to make him more prompt, he digeſted all that he read into certain heads and common places: but eſpecially he read over Origen's works, whom he called *Suum*, his own; and ſome of whoſe homilies, whilſt he was a young man, he turned into Latin: his reading alſo he mixed with writing.

About this time he interpreted the prophecy of Obadiah allegorically, becauſe he knew not the hiſtory, as himſelf afterwards confeſſed in his preface to his ſecond interpretation of that prophecy, in which he makes amends for his former youthful precipitation. In brief, he pretermitted nothing that might make him an admirable doctor of the church, and a moſt accompliſhed divine; that nothing might be wanting in his learning, nothing amiſs in his life, which might any whit tend to the diminiſhing of the credit of his doctrine.

Afterwards alſo, finding by experience, that many ſecrets could not be underſtood, nor handled as they ought to be, without learning thoſe languages wherein they were firſt written and taught, by hard ſtudy and induſtry he overcame the difficulties which are in the Hebrew tongue; yea, he did not only labour for the knowledge of it, but to give the right ſound and pronunciation to ſome barbarous and ſtrange languages which he ſtudied. And, for his perfecting in the Hebrew, he did, with great charges, hire the moſt learned of the Jews to inſtruct him; emptying his purſe to enrich his ſoul with learning. He alſo learned the Chaldee, becauſe the books of Job, Daniel, and ſome other portions of the Old Teſtament, though they were written in Hebrew, yet much uſe of the Chaldean language is made therein. He ſtudyed alſo the Syriac, becauſe through their commerce with the Hebrews, their ſpeech was near of kin to it.

In theſe holy labours, though he ſpent ſome years, as alſo in his rigorous courſe of life, yet he profeſſeth that he took much pleaſure therein; for that which at firſt ſeemed difficult and troubleſome, by degrees became eaſy and familiar to him; and that which was beſt, in its own nature, became moſt pleaſant alſo. Yea, he was ſo far from prizing and deſiring the delights of Rome, that living in a wilderneſs, he ſeemed to converſe with angels. Sometimes his friends viſited him, and ſometimes himſelf viſited his neighbour monks, and by intercourſe of letters he enjoyed the ſociety of his abſent friends. And though he could have deſired all his life long to enjoy this pleaſing retiredneſs, yet it much conduced to God's glory, and the good of the church, that this champion of Chriſt ſhould at laſt appear in public, and that this excellent light ſhould no longer be hid under a buſhel: and therefore though he ſeemed unwilling thereto, yet divine providence ſo ordered it, that at laſt he was drawn back to Rome, and that by the means of Epiphanius biſhop of Salamine in Cyprus, and Paulinus biſhop of Antiochia, by whom he was formerly ordained a preſbyter. At Rome he became acquainted with ſome noble matrons, and amongſt the reſt with Marcella: all whom he inflamed

with the deſire of ſtudying the ſacred ſcriptures, yea himſelf became an interpreter thereof unto them, eſpecially to Marcella, who ſo profited under him, that afterwards when any controverſy aroſe about the teſtimony of ſcripture in ſuch and ſuch points, they repaired to her to be a judge therein.

By theſe means the fame of Hierom grew ſo great, that every one judged him worthy to ſucced Damaſus in the biſhoprick of Rome. But as there is never a ſhadow but when the light is preſent, ſo the eminency of this holy man wanted not envy. There were not ſome wanting who calumniated him for his firſt departure into Syria, and in his abſence wounded him with the darts of their virulent tongues: notwithſtanding which he was very dear to, and highly prized by Damaſus the preſent Roman biſhop, and living three years in ſtrict friendſhip with him, and Paula a noble matron, he procured the greater envy to himſelf thereby, which at length brake forth into open burning. For certain of the Arian faction were cloſely crept into Rome, who the better to conceal themſelves, had taken upon them the name of Origeniſts; theſe men that they might the better ſtrengthen themſelves, ſcrewed themſelves into familiar acquaintance with ſundry noble matrons, amongſt whom they ſecretly ſpread the poyſon of their doctrines; and becauſe Hierom was much taken with Origen's wit, and had highly commended him, they ſought to make him a partner of their faction; being ſo much the more dangerous by how much under a pretence of friendſhip they plotted his ruin, ſo that he began to conſult about leaving Rome, of which himſelf in a certain place ſpeaks thus. *I was accounted a ſcandalous perſon, a turn coat and inconſtant, a lyar, and one that deceived many by Satan's artifices. They kiſſed my hands, whilſt like vipers, they detracted behind my back; they ſeemed to grieve for me with their lips whilſt in their hearts they rejoiced at my hurt. One jeared at my gait, another at my laughter, another, under my ſimplicity, ſeemed to fear ſome miſchief.*

He had many reaſons to induce him to leave Rome: the remembrance of his former eaſe and freedom from the troubles and diſtractions of the city; as alſo the troubleſome celebrity of the city, the more troubleſome delights, together with the pride and luxury which attended the ſame.

For about this time the riches of the church increaſing, Chriſtian ſimplicity began to decreaſe: alſo the malice and envy of the Origeniſts againſt him grew daily more violent; eſpecially Ruffinus who living in the city at this time, as he never was a ſincere friend to him, ſo now he was a ſecret, yet peſtilent adverſary againſt him.

Upon theſe and ſuch like reaſons, Hierom left Rome, and went back to Syria; concerning which journey, himſelf thus writes; When (ſaith he) I touched at Cyprus, I was entertained lovingly by the venerable biſhop Epiphanius; when I came to Antiochia I enjoyed the ſociety of that excellent confeſſor Paulinus, and departing from him in the midſt of winter, the weather being extream cold, I came to Jeruſalem, where I viewed all things, and ſaw thoſe places with mine eyes which I had only read, or heard of before. From thence I went into Egypt, where I ſaw aſps lurking in the monks cells; laſtly, I returned to Bethlehem. I ſaw alſo the famous lake; neither did I indulge myſelf, but by travelling up and down, learned many things which before I knew not.

In this journey he grew acquainted with Gregory Nazianzen, whom he calls his Maſter, and profeſſeth, that he learned much out of the Scriptures by his aſſiſtance. He alſo often heard Apollinarius at Antioch, and had much familiar ſociety with him; by whoſe perſuaſion he went to Alexandria, and there compleated his ſtudies in divinity by the help of Didymus. Laſtly, by the help of Barhanina a Jew, he perfected his ſtudies of the Hebrew tongue.

Thus by long experience having got much wiſdom, and by the ſociety of many learned and excellent men, having attained to a great meaſure of learning, he buckled himſelf to the handling of divinity. Undertaking the office of a divine: ſettling himſelf at Bethlehem, which place, by his vertues and writings, he made famous all over the world; and in which place he lived a very quiet and comfortable life in the company of ſome godly, learned, and faithful friends, ſpending his time in ſinging pſalms, tranſlating the bible, and preaching to his auditors.

Very many reſorted to him out of all countries, all whom according to his ability he entertained lovingly and bountifully, driving none from his houſe but ſuch as were branded for hereſie: he wrote much againſt the hereſies of thoſe times, ſo that there was no chief heretick but looked upon Hierom as his great adverſary: and indeed there were never any times more full of ſedition, and confuſion then thoſe, wherein the hereticks had ſo diffuſed their errors, that it was a piece of great art to be orthodox. Eſpecially the Arians by their writings, weapons, and countenance of the emperors, had not only diſturbed the peace of the eaſt, but almoſt of all the world: and when that hereſy was in ſome meaſure lulled aſleep, it revived in the Origeniſts, who were crept into Rome itſelf, and there ſecretly and cunningly ſpread abroad the poiſon of their doctrines: the captain of whom was Ruffinus of Aquileia, who in his childhood had been very intimate with Hierom: but afterwards theſe great friends became great enemies: though the firſt breach betwixt them was pieced up by the prudence of Hierom: who ſaw, and yet connived at his ſecret devices and clancular detractions: but when Ruffin began to charge the truth with hereſy, and to make Hierom a partner in his impious opinions, the holy man could bear no longer, but breaking the bands of friendſhip, they wrote moſt bitterly one againſt another, Hierom thinking that all forbearance towards a heretic was impiety, not a virtue.

Many were ſtirred up by Ruffinus means to write againſt Hierom, and charged him with many and foul aſperſions both in his life and doctrine; but he, like to an old and well rooted oak, brake the winds that aſſaulted him on every ſide; he remained in all theſe ſtorms unbroken, and unconquered, and was ſo far from departing from that which was honeſt; that the more his enemies barked againſt him, the more he was provoked to the ſtudy of piety. And againſt the violence and fraud of heretics, he was ſomewhat holpen by Epiphanius and Theophilus, biſhops of Alexandria: at Rome, he had Pammatius and Chromatius to take his part.

By reaſon of theſe troubles his life was a continual martyrdom: he ſpent whole thirty years in the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures and divinity, and to extreme old age continued in teaching and writing; he was of a very weak conſtitution, and conflicted with many painful diſeaſes, before old age came upon him: which diſeaſes he procured by the great auſterity of life, and his nightly ſtudies: but eſpecially by his indefatigable labours in writing ſo many great volumes, for which cauſe it was that ſometimes he was forced to make uſe of notaries; and at laſt having worn out himſelf with his great pains, and continual labours, he quietly ſlept in the Lord in the ninety firſt year of his age, *anno Chriſti*, 422. Honorius and Conſtantine being emperors.

His holy life and his books ſtuffed with ſo much learning and eloquence, procured him ſo much credit and authority, that learned Greece which uſed to undervalue the learning of all nations but their own, took care that his commentaries ſhould be tranſlated into Greek. He was ſo famous in his life time, that if any difficulty did occur in expounding ſcriptures, all men had recourſe to him as to the oracle of the Chriſtian world. Frequent letters and meſſengers were ſent to him out of Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and Africa: he was conſulted with by biſhops, by noblemen, by matrons, and by the chiefeſt of all ſorts; many from all parts repaired to Bethlehem, not ſo much for religion ſake, as to ſee and confer with Hierom. Auguſtine held a ſtrict bond of friendſhip with him, and was willing to learn of him as of his maſter. Paulus Oroſius the hiſtoriographer learned many things by conference with him. His induſtry was admirable, whence Eraſmus ſaith of him, *minima pars vitæ dabatur ſomno, minor cibo, nulla otio. Et ſacras literas ad verbum edidicerat.* His uſual prayer was, 'Lord let me know myſelf, that I may the better know thee the Saviour of the world.'

He uſed this excellent ſaying, 'If my father ſtood weeping on his knees before me, and my mother hanging on my neck behind, and all my brethren, ſiſters, children, and

and kinſfolk howling on every ſide to retain me in a ſinful life, I would fling my mother to the ground, run over my father, deſpiſe all my kindred, and tread them under my feet that I might run to Chriſt,

Eraſmus ſaith of him, *quis docet aptius? quis delectat urbanius*, &c. Who teacheth more diſtinctly? who delights more modeſtly? who moves more effectually? who praiſes more candidly? who perſuades more gravely? and who exhorts more ardently? Trithemius ſaith, *vir in ſecularibus valde eruditus*, &c. He was a man well ſeen in ſecular learning, but in divinity he was inferior to none of the doctors of the church, and famous for his ſkill in the languages: a rooter out of hereticks, and a defender of the truth.

He uſed to ſay, dead fleſh is to be cut off for fear of a gangrene: Arius at firſt was but a ſpark, but being not ſuppreſſed betimes, he proved the incendiary of the whole church: and again, you muſt be a dove, and a ſerpent: one, not to do hurt to others; the other, not to be hurt by others: and again, that woman is truly chaſte, that hath liberty and opportunity to ſin, and will not.

What ever he did, he ſtill thought that that voice was in his ears, *ſurgite mortui, & venite ad judicium*, ariſe you dead, and come to judgment. And again, all virtues are ſo linked together, that he that hath one, hath all; and he that wants one, wants all.

He tranſlated the bible out of the originals into Latin.

His works were printed in nine tomes at Paris, *anno Chriſti* 1534. with Eraſmus his *ſcholia* upon them: where he alſo ſhews which of them are genuine, which doubtful, and which ſpurious.

The Life of CHRYSOSTOM, *who flouriſhed* anno Chriſti, 400.

JOHN Chryſoſtom was born at Antioch, a city of Cæloſyria; his father was called Secundus, his mother Anthuſa: he deſcended of the noble race of ſenators: he was the diſciple of Libanius the ſophiſt, and the auditor of Androgathius the philoſopher: his firſt purpoſe was to apply himſelf to the ſtudy and practice of the law, and to handle the public affairs of the common-wealth: but when he perceived how lewd and unrighteous a trade of life they led which buſied themſelves therein, he left that troubleſome and dangerous courſe, and betook himſelf to a quiet and more retired manner of life; and ſo changing both his habit and behaviour, he addicted himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, deviſing with himſelf how he might be moſt uſeful and profitable to the church of Chriſt.

He perſwaded Theodorus and Maximus his fellow ſtudents, who together with him had frequented the ſchool of Libanius, to forſake that trade of life, which was wholly ſet on lucre and gain, and to follow that which was contented with a little. He alſo aſſociated himſelf with Baſil, and was a partner in his ſtudies; after which he was made reader in the church of Antioch by Zeno biſhop of Jeruſalem, and a while after was made deacon by Meletius, and afterwards for three years ſpace he lived a retired life, ſevered from all the troubleſome affairs of the world; at the end whereof he was made a preſbyter by Evagrius, then biſhop of Antioch.

He was a man of marvellous great temperance, very auſtere in life, and rather harſh than courteous in his deportment: he had no great forecaſt, made no account of the world, and becauſe of his plain and ſimple meaning, was ſoon deceived: he was very copious and free of ſpeech with all ſuch as had any conference with him. In his miniſtry he was very diligent and painful, endeavouring all that poſſibly he could to reform the lives and manners of his auditors; and he had an excellent faculty in perſuading, wherein he excelled moſt men of that age. He was very frequent and earneſt in reproving ſin, not only in his public miniſtry, but by going to the houſes of ſuch as were ſcandalous, and dealing privately and plainly with them, laying to heart the diſhonour done unto God, as if himſelf had been perſonally wronged by them; by this means he became very grateful to the common people; but moſt ungrateful to the great and rich men, who uſually take moſt liberty in ſinning. Hereupon his fame ſpread all over the Roman empire; ſuch as knew him, prized his great experience; ſuch as knew him not, were drawn by the fame of his great learning; inſomuch as the biſhopric of Conſtantinople being void, he of all others was thought moſt worthy to ſucceed therein; and thereupon he was unanimouſly choſen both by the clergy and laity, the emperor himſelf approving well of their choice, and ſending ſome meſſengers to fetch him. In the mean time alſo the emperor convoked a ſynod, that, by that means his ordination to the biſhopric might be better approved of.

Aſterius the præfect of the eaſt, having received the emperor's letters ſent to Antioch for John, as if he meant to confer with him about ſomething: but as ſoon as he came, taking him up in his coach, he carried him to Pagra, where he delivered him to the emperor's meſſengers; and this he did becauſe he knew the tumultuous diſpoſition of the Antiochians, who would have raiſed ſome ſedition rather than have parted with him, and would never but by force have ſuffered him to have gone from them.

When he came to Conſtantinople, the clergy were called together; but Theophilus biſhop of Alexandria oppoſed his ordination, endeavouring to prefer to that place one of his own preſbyters called Iſidore, who had been his inſtrument in an action very prejudicial to the emperor. But when Eutropius one of the courtiers had told him that except he conſented with the reſt for the choice of John, he ſhould be queſtioned for that former fact, he alſo gave his ſuffrage for him.

Thus John being ſettled in the biſhopric of Conſtantinople, his firſt ſtudy and care was to reform the lives of his clergy, and making a diligent inquiſition into their converſation, their diet, and other carriages, he reproved, corrected; yea and caſt ſome of them out of the church. For John being of a choleric and haſty nature, and now armed with authority, would not indulge their faults, but laboured thoroughly to reform them; and this he did not only to the clergy of his own church, but being of a great ſpirit, and inflamed with zeal, he endeavoured the reformation of all within his juriſdiction; and finding alſo a great rent and ſchiſm between the eaſtern and weſtern churches, he did all that poſſibly he could for the healing and making up of the ſame, and prevailed ſomewhat therein, though he could not perfectly attain his deſire.

His government and miniſtry (through Gods mercy) proved, very effectual in Conſtantinople, ſo that he converted many Pagans to Chriſtianity, and reduced many hereticks from their errors. Many flocked daily to him, ſome for the profit and benefit which they got by his doctrine; others for the tempting of him, all whom he held captive, and prevailed with them to agree with him in matters of religion. So that a great conflnence of people reſorted to his ſermons, with an inſatiable deſire after them, that they were ready to ſtifle one another whilſt every one crouded to be neareſt to him.

About this time Chryſoſtom was informed that the churches in Aſia were generally governed by unworthy biſhops, who either for affection or bribes preferred unfit perſons to the miniſtry, whereupon he went to Epheſus, and examining theſe things, he depoſed thirteen biſhops, ſome in Lycia, ſome in Phrygia, and the reſt in Aſia, placing more fit perſons in their rooms. At Epheſus finding the biſhop to be lately dead, he placed Heraclides, born in Cyprus, and ſometimes a diſciple of Evagrius. But upon the removal of theſe biſhops, they with their adherents raiſed many ſlanders againſt Chryſoſtom, accuſing him as a violator of their country laws; and amongſt others they ſtirred up Eutropius, an eunuch in the emperor's court againſt him, who was in great favour, and was eſteemed as the father of the emperor, and made one of the conſuls of the city. This Eutropius procured a law to be enacted, that malefactors taking ſanctuary in the church, ſhould be drawn thence and puniſhed according to their demerits. Shortly after himſelf was accuſed for uſing the emperor's wife unworthily, whereupon he fled to the church, and there lay under the communion table. Chryſoſtom being to preach the next day, took occaſion to ſpeak againſt the pride and inſolency of great men, and to ſhew the vanities and uncertainty of all worldly glory; and

afterwards

afterwards Eutropius, according to his own law, was fetched out of the church and beheaded.

About the ſame time alſo the Arians, who by the emperor Theodoſius were driven out of all the churches within Conſtantinople, held their conventicles in the ſubburbs, where firſt they met together in the night-time, and made certain ſongs and reſponſories in favour of their own hereſies, and in diſgrace of the catholics, and at laſt they grew ſo bold, that they went about the ſtreets every morning, eſpecially on the firſt and laſt days of the week, ſinging them as they went. John Chryſoſtom ſuſpecting leſt ſome of his people might be ſeduced by theſe means, ſtirred them up to the like practice; whereupon the heretics being enraged, fell upon the orthodox, ſo that ſome of both ſides were ſlain; which ſo incenſed the emperor againſt them, that he forbade all the conventicles of the Arians: by which means the people were more in love with John, both for his prudence and profitable preaching.

Yet many of the great, rich men, and of the clergy hated him, becauſe he was ſo free and impartial in his reproofs: for as oft as any of his clergy offended, he puniſhed them: and ſuch as abuſed their riches to pride, luxury, and diſhoneſt pleaſure, he laboured by all means to reduce them to virtue. Some of the clergy joining with ſome monks, reproached him as a cholerick and implacable man; and endeavoured to alienate the affections of the people from him by ſuggeſting that he was unſociable, never inviting any man to his table, nor going to any feaſt when he was invited: whereas the true reaſon of it was, becauſe of his great temperance, and by reaſon of his hard ſtudies he was troubled with rhmues and headach, which made him ſhun ſuch meetings.

About this time there aroſe a great contention amongſt the monks in Egypt, whilſt ſome of the more ignorant and illiterate held God to have a body like unto man; others denied it: Theophilus biſhop of Alexandria held with, and favoured the former, laying ſnares to entrap ſome of the latter, who thereupon went to Conſtantinople to complain of him to the emperor, and to John; theſe he received very courteouſly, and admitted them to the prayers of the church, but not to the ſacrament till their cauſe was heard before the emperor. But a rumour being ſpread in Alexandria, that he had admitted them to the ſacrament, Theophilus was extreamly offended with him, and ſought to put him out of his biſhoprick; whilſt he meditated theſe things, he wrote to all the biſhops thereabouts that they ſhould condemn the books of Origen; and conſidering that it would much advance his affairs, if he could draw Epiphanius biſhop of Salamine in Cyprus, a man famous for his life and learning, to ſide with him, he wrote very flattering letters to him, whereby he made him his friend; then did he perſuade him to call a ſynod in Cyprus to condemn the works of Origen; which the good man too eaſily aſſented to; and calling a council they condemned them; then did Epiphanius write to Conſtantinople to John, to call a council and to condemn them likewiſe there. Theophilus in the mean time conſidering that he might ſafely do what ſuch a famous man as Epiphanius had done, he alſo ſummoned a council of all the Egyptian biſhops, where they alſo condemned the books of Origen. But John thought that this buſineſs did not deſerve the calling of a council, and therefore neglected it, ſhewing to his friends the letters ſent him by Theophilus and Epiphanius; hereupon the clergy, and the rich and great men who were angry with him for the reaſons aforeſaid, perceiving that the purpoſe of Theophilus was to remove John from his biſhoprick, they ſtudied how they might promote the ſame, and ſo far prevailed with the emperor, that a very great council was ſummoned to meet at Conſtantinople, which Theophilus much rejoicing at, preſently commanded all the biſhops of Egypt to repair thither; he wrote alſo to Epiphanius, and to all the eaſtern biſhops that they ſhould haſten to Conſtantinople, himſelf following them.

Epiphanius was the firſt that arrived, and in a town near to Conſtantinople he went into the church, where he made public prayers; from thence going to the city, John with all his clergy met him with all the reſpect that might be; but Epiphanius ſhewed by his carriage that the calumnies raiſed againſt John, had made too deep an impreſſion in him; for when he was invited to the biſhop's houſe, he refuſed to go in, and ſhunned to have any ſociety with John; yea moreover calling privately together ſuch biſhops as were at Conſtantinople, he ſhewed what they had decreed againſt the books of Origen, and prevailed with ſome to give their ſuffrage to the ſame, though the greater part protracted the doing of it. And Theotinus biſhop of Scythia blamed him to his face for it, ſaying that it was altogether unlawful thus to condemn a man that was dead ſo many years before; and that it was not without blaſphemy thus to calumniate the judgment of our anceſtors, and to reject thoſe things which they had decreed; and with all plucking forth a certain book of Origen's, he read part of it, and ſhews how uſeful and profitable it was for the church; ſaying further, they that diſcommend theſe things, ſhew their great folly, and its to be feared that in time they may condemn the ſcripture itſelf, about which theſe books are written.

Notwithſtanding theſe things, John did much reverence Epiphanius, intreating him to partake with him both in his houſe and table; yea, and in the church too; but he returned anſwer, that he would neither come into his houſe, nor communicate with him at church, except he would condemn the books of Origen, and drive away Dioſcorus with the reſt of the monks his companions; John thought this very unequal thus to drive them away before their cauſe was heard, the rather becauſe he had appointed a ſacrament in the apoſtles church. Then did the enemies of John ſuborn Epiphanius, that he ſhould come forth in public, and before all the people condemn the books of Origen with Dioſcorus and his companions for holding the ſame opinions, and that with all he ſhould tax the biſhop John for favouring of them; the deſign of theſe men which thus ſet him on was to alienate the affections of the people from their biſhop. Accordingly two days after Epiphanius went to the church to accompliſh theſe things; at which time John hearing of his purpoſe, ſent Serapion, one of his preſbyters to meet him, and to proteſt to him that he was going about that which was neither juſt nor ſafe for himſelf; for that hereby he might bring himſelf into danger if any tumult or ſedition ſhould ariſe amongſt the people, whereof he would be judged the author; this cooled his heat, and made him deſiſt from his purpoſe.

About this time a young ſon of the emperor's fell ſick, whereupon the empreſs ſent to Epiphanius, requeſting him to pray for him. Epiphanius anſwered, that the child ſhould live, and do well, if ſhe ſhould forſake Dioſcorus and his heretical aſſociates. But (ſaid the empreſs) I leave my child in the hands of God; let him do with him as he pleaſeth; he gave him me, and he may take him away again; but for thy part, if thou canſt raiſe the dead, why didſt thou ſuffer thy archdeacon Criſpion to die, who was ſo dear unto thee? Shortly after Epiphanius departed towards Cyprus, and as he went down to the haven to take ſhipping, he ſaid to John, 'I hope thou ſhalt never die a biſhop': and John anſwered him again, I hope thou ſhalt never come alive into thy country:' both which came to paſs; Epiphanius dying by the way in the ſhip, and John being depoſed and baniſhed, as afterwards we ſhall hear.

After the departure of Epiphanius, Theophilus came to Conſtantinople: but none of the city clergy went to meet and entertain him, becauſe they knew that he was an enemy to their biſhop; yet ſome mariners of Alexandria which were then at Conſtantinople, met him, ſinging ſongs in his praiſe, and ſo he went to the emperor's palace, where a lodging was provided for him: he alſo cunningly found out many which hated John, and were ready to accuſe him, whereupon he went to Quercus, a ſuburb of Chalcedon, where he gathered a council, and there again condemned the books of Origen. The council alſo ſent to Conſtantinople to ſummon John, and ſome of his preſbyters to appear before them, and to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt them. John anſwered, that he refuſed not to come to his trial, if firſt he might know his accuſers, and the crime objected againſt him, and be brought before a free council: but (ſaid he) I am not ſuch a fool as to appear before ſuch biſhops as are my profeſſed enemies, and to ſuffer them to be my judges: moſt of the biſhops were much incenſed at this anſwer: only Demetrius and ſome few that favoured John departed out of the council: then did the reſt cauſe John to be called four times, and becauſe he appeared not, but had appealed to

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œcumenical council, they depoſed him. When tidings hereof was brought to Conſtantinople, the whole city was on an uproar, and they watched his houſe all night, leſt he ſhould be thruſt out of the city: they cried out alſo that he ſhould have been heard before a fuller ſynod: but the emperor's command was that he ſhould be carried into exile: hereupon John the third day after his depoſition about noon, unknown to the people, (for he was loath there ſhould be any ado for his ſake) yielded himſelf into the hands of his adverſaries, and ſo privately went away; this being known, the people were in a ſedition, and many that hated him before, changing their minds pitied his caſe; yea ſome that before deſired to ſee his deprivation, now cried out that he was falſly accuſed, and craftily dealt with all. Many cried out againſt the emperor, but more againſt the council, and moſt of all againſt Theophilus, whom they knew to be the author of all this miſchief. Hereupon in all haſte, the emperor cauſed John to be ſent for again; the meſſenger was an eunuch of the empreſs, who found him at Prunetum, a mart town over againſt Nicomedia, and brought him to Conſtantinople: yet John though he was thus brought back from exile, reſolved not to enter into the city till his innocency was cleared, and he were acquitted by the ſentence of higher judges, and thereupon he ſtayed in the ſuburb called Mariana: but becauſe he returned not into the city the people fell a railing upon the magiſtrates, which neceſſitated him to come home. As he came into the city multitudes of people met him, brought him to the church with great reverence, requeſted him to continue their biſhop, and thenceforward after the uſual manner to pray for the peace and proſperous eſtate of the church of God.

Shortly after a ſilver picture of Eudoxia the empreſs was made and erected upon a marble pillar near to the church called wiſdom, and common plays and ſhews were celebrated at the ſame time: and John believing that theſe things were very ſcandalous and diſhonourable to the Chriſtian religion, not forgetting his wonted audacity and liberty of ſpeech, ſharply reproved the authors and abettors of ſuch vanities: whereupon the empreſs applying theſe things to herſelf, and ſuppoſing that they were ſpoken in diſgrace and reproach of her, ſhe cauſed another council of biſhops to be called together againſt him. John being informed hereof, in his ſermon uſed theſe expreſſions; 'Herodias rageth afreſh, ſtomacketh anew, danceth again, ſeeketh the head of John in a platter, which ſermon more enraged the empreſs againſt him. Then did divers biſhops meet together, as Leontius biſhop of Ancyra in Galatia, Ammonius biſhop of Laodicea, Briſo biſhop of Philippi, Acatius biſhop of Beræa, &c. who called the late accuſers of John before them, to accuſe him again: John truſting to their juſt dealing, requeſted only that the accuſations againſt him might be equally and indifferently examined: in the mean time the emperor ſent John word that he would not communicate with him before he had cleared himſelf from the crimes laid to his charge: but the accuſers being ſtricken with ſhame, could prove nothing; ſo that the biſhops then preſent, affirmed that they ought not to examine any other offence, ſaving whether after his depoſition he had not of himſelf aſſumed his biſhoprick again of himſelf without the admiſſion of a council? To this John anſwered, that he had the conſent of fifty biſhops which communicated with him. Leontius replied that there were more againſt him. Again, John ſaid that that canon belonged not to their church, for that it was made by the Arians at Antioch againſt Athanaſius: but they making no account of this anſwer, proceeded to paſs ſentence againſt him, not conſidering that they which were authors of this canon, were alſo depoſers of Athanaſius. Upon this the emperor ſent John word that he had no authority to go into the church, for that he was depoſed, whereupon he kept himſelf in his houſe; till by the emperor's command he was carried into exile: but God ſuffered not this wickedneſs to go long unpuniſhed: for Cyrinus biſhop of Chalcedon, who had railedupon him, had a ſore brake forth in his leg, ſo that he was forced to ſaw it off, yet then did the ſore grow in his other leg, which he was forced to cut off alſo: and preſently after ſo great a hail fell in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, as the like was never ſeen; and four days after died the empreſs: John was carried to Cucuſus in Armenia: and divers miniſters that adhered to him were carried to Chalcedon, and there caſt into bonds: and his enemies going about Conſtantinople, ſought out as many as were favourers of him, dragging them to priſon, and forcing them to curſe John. John whilſt he was at Cucuſus in Armenia grew very famous; for having much money ſent him by his friends, he wholly employed it for the redemption of captives, and for the relief of the poor; he alſo by his miniſtry gat him many friends, ſo that he had great reſort to him, not only of the Armenians, but out of Syria and Cilicia; which ſo incenſed his enemies at Conſtantinople, that they gat a new order from the emperor to carry him to far remoter parts; which alſo they put in practice: but by the by, he being grown weak, and not able to endure the ſcorching of the ſun in thoſe hot countries, made an end of his earthly pilgrimage; to receive his crown in heaven.

Chryſoſtom was ſo ſtiled *ob venuſtatem Eloquii*, for his graceful eloquence: he was diſciple to Euſebius; of an admirable wit in framing his homilies; beloved and reverenced of all men; Sophronius teſtifies *nunquam eum mentitum fuiſſe*, &c. that he never told a lie, never curſed any, never ſpake any ſcurrilous matter, and never admitted of vain ſports; his ſtyle was neither too lofty, nor too mean, but fitted to the profit of the hearers: holineſs and ſcholarſhip are joined in one, his works throughout: he ſtudied not *aures titillare*, but *corda pungere*, to tickle the ears of his hearers, but to prick and raviſh their hearts; he uſed to tell his auditors, That they were not only to learn, but exerciſe themſelves in practiſing and ſearching the ſcriptures, to avoid idleneſs. He contemned riches, and hated vices; was full of ſweet ſimilitudes; *Evimium orbis terrarum luminare*, The eminenteſt light of the whole world. By authority from the emperor, he employed ſome to throw down and demoliſh all the idols, and their temples throughout all Phenice, and reformed all the churches in Aſia, ſtirring up the miniſters to the ſtudy of piety: he ſent many miniſters and deacons into Scythia, which was over-run by the Arian hereſy, reducing many thereby to the orthodox faith. Hearing alſo that the Scythian Nomades by the river Iſther thirſted after the knowlege of Chriſt, he ſent ſome to bring the glad tidings of the goſpel to them; and whereas ſome of the Marcionites had infected the parts about Ancyra with their errors, he procured an edict from the emperor, which he ſent to the biſhop of Ancyra, to expel them out of their places; alſo, whereas one Gainas a great man in Scythia, of an inſolent and tyrannical ſpirit, had importuned the emperor for a church for himſelf and his followers being Arians; the emperor acquainted Chryſoſtom with it, telling him that he durſt not ſay him nay: he deſired to ſpeak with this Gainas before the emperor, where in his preſence he ſo daunted the proud tyrant with his ſtout and reſolute ſpeeches, that he cauſed him to be aſhamed of his requeſt, and to be content without it: yea, he afterwards ſo prevailed with Gainas, that when he had invaded ſome parts of the empire, he brought him not only to make peace with the emperor Arcadius, but alſo to ſet his priſoners free. He ſtoutly told Eudoxia the empreſs, that for her covetouſneſs ſhe would be called a ſecond Jezabel: ſhe thereupon ſent him a threatening meſſage, to which he anſwered, go tell her, *Nil niſi peccatum timeo*, I fear nothing but ſin: yet when ſhe, conſederating with ſome others his enemies, had procured his baniſhment into Hieron, as he went forth of the city, he ſaid, none of theſe things trouble me; 'The earth is the Lord's and the fulneſs thereof:' if ſhe will, let her ſaw me aſunder; Iſaiah ſuffered the ſame; if ſhe will, let her caſt me into the ſea, I will remember Jonah: if ſhe will, let her caſt me into a burning fiery furnace, or amongſt wild beaſts; the three children and Daniel were ſo dealt with: if ſhe will, let her ſtone me, or cut off my head; I have St. Steven and the baptiſt my bleſſed companions; if ſhe will, let her take away all my ſubſtance; 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked ſhall I return thither again.' He was ſo beloved, that on a time when he was like to be ſilenced, the people cried out, *Satius eſt ut Sol non luceat, quam ut non doceat Chryſoſtomus*, We had better want the ſhining of the ſun, than the preaching of Chryſoſtom.

He uſed to ſay, 'it's a great ſhower of rain extinguiſh-

eth the force of fire: ſo meditation of God's word puts out the fire of luſt in the ſoul; and as a boat over laden ſinks: ſo much wealth drowns men in perdition. And a bulwark of adamant is not more impregnable, than the love of brethren. And as a rock, though winds and waves beat againſt it, is unmoveable; ſo faith grounded on the rock Chriſt, holds out in all temptations, and ſpiritual combats. And the devil's firſt aſſault is violent; reſiſt that, and his ſecond will be weaker: and that being reſiſted, he proves a coward.'

His works were printed very accurately in Greek by Sir Henry Savill at Eaton college, *anno Chriſti*, 1613. in eight volumes.

The Life of AUGUSTINE, *who died* Anno Chriſti 430.

AUGUSTINE was an African by birth of Thagaſta, of pious parents, Patricius and Monica, who by breeding their ſon in learning much weakened their eſtate: he attained to ſingular ſkill in the liberal arts, wherein he was much holpen by the bountiful contribution of Romanian, a noble gentleman: in his youth, he was vitious in judgment; tainted with the error of the Manichees. He firſt taught grammar in his own city where he was born; then rhetoric in the regal city of Carthage; afterwards he went to Rome, and from thence to Millain, where he was tutor to Valentinian the fifth; and by the doctrine and wiſdom of Ambroſe, he was reduced from his error, and baptized; after which, he wholly ſet his heart to ſeek the Lord, regarding neither honour nor riches, being then about thirty years old: this much rejoiced Monica his mother, then a widow, who was more glad that her ſon devoted himſelf to the ſervice of God, than ſhe would have been of having grand children by him: he alſo gave over reading of Rhetoric, leaving his ſcholars to ſeek them a new maſter. After this he returned into Africa, ſpent his time in watchings, and prayer, ſerving God both day and night, and at laſt was choſen miniſter in Hippo, where he preached both by life and doctrine diligently.

But before this, it fell out that a certain great man at Hippo, hearing the fame of Auguſtine, both for his life and learning, was very deſirous to ſee and ſpeak with him promiſing to himſelf that he ſhould eaſily be perſuaded to forſake the world with the allurements of it, and all the luſts of the fleſh, if he could but once hear the word of God taught by him: which when Auguſtine was informed of by faithful witneſſes, being deſirous to deliver a ſoul from the perils of this life, and eternal death hereafter, he haſted to Hippo, where he viſited and often preached to the man, exhorting him to remember his promiſe, and to perform his vows to God: yet he deferred the performance of it from day to day; neither did Auguſtine at that time ſee his deſires accompliſhed. At this time one Valerius was biſhop of Hippo, who (the neceſſity of the church requiring it) was very ſolicitous to procure a miniſter for that place: whereupon when the congregation was aſſembled, he exhorted and perſuaded them, ſeeing they now had experience of the life and doctrine of Auguſtine, to make choice of him: Auguſtine not ſuſpecting any ſuch matter, was preſent amongſt them. Hereupon the people laid hold of him, and preſented him to the biſhop, all of them with one heart and mouth earneſtly deſiring that he might be their miniſter. At this Auguſtine wept very much, which ſome of them miſinterpreting, laboured to comfort him, ſaying, that though he deſerved a better place, yet being called to the miniſtry, he was in the next degree to a biſhop; whereas indeed the cauſe of his weeping was, becauſe he foreſaw how many and great perils hung over his head by undertaking the government of that church.

Thus being made a preſbyter for that place, he aſſociated to himſelf ſome others which might live with him according to the example of the primitive church, having all things in common. Valerius the biſhop being a very godly man, rejoiced exceedingly, and gave thanks to God for anſwering his prayers, by ſpecial providence ſending him one ſo able by his doctrine to edify the church of Chriſt; and this he did rather, becauſe himſelf, being by nation a Grecian, was not ſo fit nor able to inſtruct that people as was Auguſtine; and contrary to the uſe and cuſtom of the African churches, he permitted, yea urged Auguſtine often to preach in his own preſence; for which ſome other biſhops reproached him; but this venerable and good man, knowing that it was uſual in the eaſtern churches, and ſeeking the glory of God and the good of the people, regarded not the reproaches of evil tongues, whilſt his miniſter did that which himſelf was leſs apt and fit to do; by this means Auguſtine, like a bright candle ſet in a candleſtick, gave light to all that were in the houſe. The fame of this thing flying abroad, was the occaſion that many preſbyters being allowed by their biſhops, preached the good word of God to the people in the biſhop's preſence.

At this time the manichæan hereſy had infected many, both citizens and ſtrangers into the city of Hippo, being deceived by a certain peſtilent heretic, by name Fortunatus, a preſbyter, remaining in that city; hereupon many of thoſe citizens and ſtrangers, both Catholics and Donatiſts come to Auguſtine, requeſting him to confer and diſpute with this Manichæan preſbyter (whom they judged a learned man) about its opinions; who willingly embraced the motion, being ready to render a reaſon of the faith, and hope that was in him, to every one that ſhould aſk it; as alſo not only to exhort with wholeſome words of ſound doctrine; but to convince the gainſayers; but he enquired whether Fortunatus was willing to do the like? hereupon they haſted to Fortunatus, exhorting, perſuading, and earneſtly entreating him to embrace the motion. But truly Fortunatus was very fearful to encounter with Auguſtine, whom he had formerly known at Carthage infected with the ſame error. But being overcome by their importunity, and aſhamed to decline the encounter, he promiſed to give Auguſtine a meeting, and to diſpute with him.

The time and place being appointed, multitudes flocked to it; public notaries were appointed to write down what paſſed, the diſputation continued two days; the event was, that this maſter of Manichees was neither able to overthrow the catholic faith, nor to defend his own erroneous opinions; and ſo wanting an anſwer, he which before was accounted a great and learned man, was now judged of no value nor ability to defend his errors; which did ſo fill him with confuſion and ſhame, that preſently after he forſook Hippo, and never after returned again. And ſo, through the bleſſing of God upon Auguſtine's labours, many who before were infected with that error, were reclaimed, and embraced the true Catholic faith.

Auguſtine continued to preach the word of truth frequently, both in the church and from houſe to houſe confuting the hereſies of the times, eſpecially the Donatiſts, Manichees, and Pelagians; the ſame alſo he did by his writings, the chriſtians wonderfully admiring and rejoicing in it; ſo that through God's bleſſing the catholick church in Africk began to lift up her head, which formerly had been wonderfully corrupted and dejected by reaſon of hereticks, eſpecially through the rebaptizings of the Donatiſts, whereby they had infected and ſeduced many. Auguſtine's books alſo and tractates being diſperſed, filled with learning and the authority of the holy ſcriptures, ſo prevailed through the grace of God, that not only the catholicks, but many hereticks flocked to Hippo to hear him; and every one that could write, or get others to do it for them, wrote forth his notes for their future benefit; ſo that the ſweet ſmell of the doctrine of Chriſt was by this means diſperſed all over Africk, which the churches beyond ſea hearing of much rejoiced therein; for as when one member ſuffers, all the members ſuffer with it; ſo when one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it.

At the ſame time the African biſhops holding a ſynod at Hippo, by their command Auguſtine being yet but a presbyter diſputed before them of faith, and the creed, which he performed to the joy of them all, eſpecially of the good old biſhop Valerius, who gave much thanks to God for his mercy vouchſafed to him therein: and fearing leſt ſome other city which wanted a biſhop ſhould chuſe Auguſtine, and ſo get him away from him (which indeed had come to paſs unleſs Valerius hearing of it, had cauſed Auguſtine to go to another place, and there hide himſelf, ſo that when they ſought him he could not be found) wherefore this good old man, fearing the like again, and finding himſelf much weakned by age, wrote privately to the

the primate of Carthage, alledging the weakneſs of his body, and the infirmities of his old age, and therefore deſired that Auguſtine might be made his coadjutor in the biſhoprick of Hippo, which by his importunity he alſo obtained: ſo that the Primate coming to viſit the church of Hippo, and bringing ſome other biſhops with him, Valerius before them all, and before all the people which were aſſembled together, declared publickly his deſire; which they all approved very well of, and the people earneſtly deſired that it might be effected: but Auguſtine refuſed the biſhopric, being contrary to the cuſtom of the church whilſt his own biſhop lived. But many perſuaded him that it was not ſo much an unuſual thing, producing many examples both of the foreign and African churches for it, ſo that he was forced to yield his conſent, and was ordained to the charge of the biſhopric.

When he was thus ordained a biſhop, he preached the word of life more frequently, fervently, and with greater authority than he did before, and that, not only in his own city and country, but in all places where he was requeſted, whereby the church of God exceedingly encreaſed: many alſo of the Donatiſts frequented his ſermons, took notes, and carried them to their biſhops, which when they had read, they uſed to contradict, but they who carried them, either anſwered them themſelves, or elſe carried their anſwers to Auguſtine, who with much meekneſs and gentleneſs, confirmed the truth, and refelled their errors.

He alſo wrote many private letters to the biſhops and many principal laymen of the donatiſts, admoniſhing and exhorting them that they would either reform their errors, or come to a publick diſputation: but they, diſtruſting their own cauſe, would never write back to him again, but being enraged with anger, uſed to exclaim againſt, both publicly and privately to rail upon Auguſtine as a deceiver of ſouls, and that, as a wolf, he ought to be ſlain in defence of the flock and without all ſhame, neither fearing God nor men, they proclaimed that whoſoever would murder him ſhould without all doubt have their ſins remitted unto them.

Theſe Donatiſts had in their churches a perverſe and violent kind of men, who went up and down under pretence of chaſtity, who were called Circumcelliones; and there were very great numbers of thoſe who were diſperſed through all the regions of Africe: theſe being inſtructed by evil teachers, were ſo inflamed with pride, and grew to ſuch audacious boldneſs, that many times, they neither ſpared their own nor other men, requiring them to do things againſt all right and reaſon; and if any one oppoſed them, he was ſure either to be ſoundly beaten, or baſely murdered by them, they being uſually armed with ſundry weapons, raged up and down through villages and countries, having no fear to ſhed blood.

But whilſt the word of God was diligently preached, and peace was endeavoured to be held with theſe haters of peace, they committed many acts of hoſtility: and whilſt the truth was made known againſt their erroneous opinions, they which were lovers of the truth ſhunned their ſociety, and endeavoured to preſerve the unity of truth in the bond of peace. Hence it came to paſs that theſe men ſeeing their number to be diminiſhed, and envying the encreaſe of the church, being incenſed with extreme anger, raiſed intolerable perſecutions againſt the true members of Jeſus Chriſt, often ſetting upon the godly miniſters both night and day, and many times robbing them of all they had; and not contented therewith, they often murdered them; and often threw lime and vinegar into their eyes to blind them; for which cauſe theſe rebaptizing Donatiſts grew hateful to their own diſciples: and, through God's mercy, the word of God prevailed the more in Hippo by the miniſtry of Auguſtine and his colleagues: and the fame thereof ſpreading abroad, many cities ſent to chuſe their biſhops out of that ſociety, which exceedingly conduced towards the furtherance of the peace of the church.

He preached and writ alſo very learnedly againſt the Donatiſts, Pelagians, and other heretics, whereby the African churches recovered their ancient ſplendor. He went not ſo willingly to a feaſt as to a conference to reduce any that erred. He would not receive gifts to the church from thoſe which had poor kindred of their own.

Auguſtines books alſo being diſperſed, and ſome of them tranſlated into Greek, and ſent beyond ſea into the eaſtern churches, were means of very much good. But theſe things ſo much the more enraged the Circumcelliones, inſomuch as when Auguſtine went abroad to preach to, and to viſit his churches, which he frequently uſed to do, they often lay in wait for him by the way to have murdered him, and had one time certainly effected it, but that the perſon who was his guide, by a ſpecial providence of God, miſtook his way, and ſo led him by a by-way to the place whereby he eſcaped their hands, as afterwards came to his knowlege, for which he praiſed God as his only deliverer: but theſe men in the mean time neither ſpared miniſters, nor laymen.

One notable example we have of their wickedneſs which is not to be paſſed over in ſilence: one of Auguſtine's ſociety, being called to be biſhop at Calamen, was very careful and induſtrious to propagate the truth, and to beat down hereſies; but whilſt he was going from town to town about his buſineſs, he fell into the hands of the rebaptizing Donatiſts who lay in wait for him; theſe men took away the beaſts both from him and his company, and all their neceſſaries, beating the biſhop very cruelly: hereupon the proconſul, being made acquainted with it, ſent for Criſpin the biſhop of the Donatiſts in that place, and ſet a fine upon him according to the wholeſome laws made againſt heretics. But Criſpin denied himſelf to be an heretic, whereupon a diſputation was appointed at Carthage between thoſe two biſhops, which was to be in the preſence of Auguſtine, and the eyes of all Africe were fixed on the event of it: to be brief, the biſhops met, and after three days diſputation, Criſpin was overthrown, and by the proconſul was adjudged and condemned for an heretic: but he, not ſtanding to this ſentence, appealed to the the emperor, who patiently heard all the cauſe, and at laſt concluded that the Donatiſts were heretics, that they ought not to be ſuffered in any public places, and that the laws againſt heretics ſhould be put in execution againſt them: whereupon Criſpin was fined in two pounds of gold: but the Catholic biſhops, and eſpecially Auguſtine ſo prevailed with the godly emperor that the rigour of his ſentence was taken off from them: which piety and charity of theirs much conduced to the increaſe of the church.

Not long after there was a council held at Carthage by the appointment of the good emperor Honorius, who ſent thither a tribune and a public notary to ſupply his own place: this council conſiſted of the biſhops both Catholics and Donatiſts: wherein the Donatiſts being heard to the full whatſoever they could ſay for the defence of their opinions, were fully confuted by the Catholics, and condemned for their errors, and by the emperor's judge were declared to be heretics; their perſecutions alſo againſt the Catholics were declared even to the cutting off their members, and taking away of their lives to the great diſturbance of the peace of the church: but after this council was diſſolved, many of their friends reported that they were not ſuffered to ſpeak all they could for themſelves and their cauſe, becauſe that the judge appointed by the emperor, was too favourable to the Catholics; which yet appeared to be but a poor ſhift to excuſe the weakneſs of their cauſe, ſeeing that they knew him to be a Catholic before the diſputation began, and yet never excepted againſt him.

Not long after there was another council aſſembled at Cæſarea, a chief city in Mauritania, for the ſetling of other affairs of the church. In this city was Emeritas the biſhop of the Donatiſts, a chief defender of his ſect, and one whom they moſt relied upon: him therefore Auguſtine ſingled out, and in the publick congregation challenged him, deſiring him now to produce what he had further to ſay for his opinions, ſeeing his friends gave out that formerly he could not be ſuffered to do it at Carthage; but now he had full liberty and ſecurity being in his own city, and environed with his friends: notwithſtanding which, neither by this exhortation of Auguſtine, neither by the inſtant requeſt of his parents and friends could he be perſwaded to it, though they told him that they would all be of his communion, though they loſt their eſtates, or underwent any other temporal puniſhment, if he could overthrow the catholick aſſertions: yet nothing would prevail with

with him, having indeed nothing to ſay more then he had ſpoken before; which diſtruſt of his cauſe, thro' God's mercy, turned to the great advantage of the church, which was much encreaſed and confirmed hereby.

At another time at Carthage, many Manichees being brought before him, of thoſe whom they called Elect men, and Elect women; Auguſtine who had formerly known that execrable ſect, produced their damnable blaſphemies out of their own books, and at length brought them to an acknowlegement of their blaſphemies: and thoſe Elect women alſo confeſſed what filthy things had been (according to their cuſtoms) committed amongſt them: all which things exceedingly redounded to the benefit of the church, and to the ſecuring of the flock againſt ſuch things.

There was alſo a certain nobleman called Paſcentius, an Arian, by whoſe authority the tribute was enacted with much rigour, the Catholic faith was much oppoſed, and many godly miniſters were much moleſted and troubled; Auguſtine coming to Carthage where he was, profered to diſpute with him in the preſence of many noblemen: but this heretic, though he accepted the challenge, would by no means ſuffer any thing to be written which paſſed betwixt them; and his pretence was, leſt that which was written might be made uſe of againſt him to his prejudice becauſe of the law: hereupon Auguſtine conſented privately to diſpute with him without notaries; yet withal, he foretold, that after the diſputation, every one would take liberty to make reports of things never ſpoken becauſe there was nothing ſet dow in writing to refel them. Auguſtine in the conference declared his faith and judgment, requiring an account of the ſame from the other; alſo by arguments and authority of the ſcriptures he confirmed his own, and refelled the errors of the other; which ſo enraged this Arian, that he broke up the conference, and when he departed, he falſly reported that he had overcome Auguſtine, and ſcattered abroad many ſuch lies; which coming to the ears of Auguſtine, he was compelled to write to Paſcentius, and therein to ſet down all the paſſages of the conference, which if he ſhould deny, he was able to produce many witneſſes for the proof thereof both worthy and honourable men, who were then preſent: but he, being thus twice written to by Auguſtine, ſcarce returned a ſingle anſwer, wherein alſo he rather railed, than aſſerted his opinions.

Alſo when the Goths came into Africk, there came along with them one Maximus an Arian biſhop, who coming to Hippo, at the earneſt requeſt of many godly and eminent men, and in their preſence Auguſtine entred into the liſts with him having notaries to write down all that paſſed betwixt them: his adverſary ſhewed more ſubtilty than ſolidity, but the truth prevailed: yet this impudent heretick when he was returned to Carthage amongſt his own ſectaries, lyingly boaſted that he came away with the victory: whereupon Auguſtine was enforced to publiſh in writing a narrative of the whole diſputation with all the objections and anſwers, withal ſhewing wherein Maximus failed, and to what arguments he was able to give no anſwer.

He took great pains alſo by the ſpace of ten years againſt the Pelagians, who were ſubtile diſputants, publiſhing their hereſies by a very cunning way, and endeavouring to propagate them not only in public but from houſe to houſe: againſt theſe Auguſtine wrote many books, and often diſputed with them in the congregation, both to reduce them, and preſerve others from the infection of their errors. He was the author alſo of calling many councils in Afric againſt them, he wrote to the biſhop of Rome that that hereſy was abominable, and to be condemned by all that adhered to the catholic faith: whereupon the godly emperor Honorius taking cognizance of it, condemned it by his laws, and appointed the holders of it to be reckoned amongſt the heretics; whereby many of them forſaking their errors, returned to the true church again. Thus was the holy man of God Auguſtine very ſolicitous about, and careful of the ſafety of the whole church; and truly God gave him much comfort and occaſion of rejoicing in the fruit of his labours even in this life, firſt in Hippo and the country thereabouts, which was more immediately under his charge, the churches thereof enjoying much unity and peace: then in other more remote parts of Afric, which either by his labours, or by the labours of ſuch of his ſociety as were called forth to be biſhops and miniſters in other places, were very much eſtabliſhed in the truth: many Manichees, Donatiſts, Pelagians, and pagans being converted from their errors, and rejoicing that they were now made members of the true church. He was very patient towards all men; he bore with the infirmities of the weak, mourned for the ſins of the wicked, both of ſuch as were within and without the church, rejoicing when any were gained to the Lord, and weeping when any were loſt. So many things were dictated and publiſhed by him, ſo many diſputations held in the church, ſo many things were written againſt heretics, and ſo many books of ſacred ſcripture expounded by him for the edification of the godly, that a ſtudious man all his life long can ſcarcely know and read over. And knowing the duty impoſed by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c. of endeavouring to decide controverſies, he was very forward whenſoever he was requeſted either by Chriſtians, or by men of any other ſect to compromiſe and decide their controverſies, with much patience and prudence hearing both parties, that ſo he might paſs a righteous ſentence; and that he might the more fully take cognizance of the cauſe, he uſed ſometime to ſpend a whole day faſting to hear the ſame, always taking advantage thereby to do what poſſible good he could to their ſouls, like a good ſteward preaching the word in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon, exhorting, inſtructing and reproving with all long ſuffering and doctrine, endeavouring to inſtruct the ignorant, and to quicken thoſe that were remiſs in the way to heaven. Many letters he wrote to ſuch as ſought to him for counſel and direction in their ſecular affairs: but this he thought a trouble to him, and hinderance from better employments, and therefore he always thought beſt of thoſe who would either write or ſpeak to him about heavenly buſineſſes. He ſeldom was abſent from the councils which were often held in divers provinces, yet always ſeeking therein the things which were of God, and not his own advantage: his endeavour was that the faith of the holy Catholic church might be preſerved inviolate: that ſuch miniſters as were unjuſtly excommunicate might be abſolved; that ſuch as were wicked and obſtinate might be caſt out. In the ordination of miniſters he always judged that the conſent of the godly ſhould concur in it, and that the cuſtom of the church ſhould not be violated.

Upon a time Auguſtine, forgetting the argument which he firſt propoſed to proſecute, fell upon a confutation of the Manichees; and one Firmus a rich merchant, and a Manichee, hearing him, was ſo convinced, that he came to him after, and with tears, on his knees, confeſſed his errors, and promiſed reformation. Alſo one Felix a Manichee, coming to Hippo to ſpread his hereſy, in a diſputation with Auguſtine after the third time was ſo convinced, that he recanted his errors, and was joined to the church.

He was termed *Hereticorum Malleus*, The hammer againſt heretics. He won alſo many pagans to embrace the truth. He took much pains in ending differences. His apparel was neither ſumptuous nor ſordid: his diet uſually was broth and roots, (He uſed to ſay, *Non ego immunditiem obſcenii timeo, ſed immunditiem cupiditatis. Sevenim* Noe *omne genus carnis quod cibo eſſet uſui manducare permiſſum, &* Heliam *cibo carnis refectum, &c.*) Tho' for his gueſts and ſick-folks, he had better: his diſhes for his meat were of earth or wood, or marble: his table rather for diſcourſe and diſputation than for rich banqueting, and it had ingraven upon it,

Quiſquis amat dictis abſentem rodere famam,
Hanc menſam indictam noverit eſſe ſibi.

He that doth love an abſent friend to jeer,
May hence depart, no room is for him here.

Which rule ſome of his fellow biſhops upon a time forgetting, he ſharply reprehended them for it, and told them that he muſt either blot thoſe verſes out of his table, or ariſe from dinner, and go to his chamber.

He

He would never buy either houſe or land; but any thing that was given to the church he would not refuſe it; yet he often refuſed inheritances, when dying perſons would have given them to the church; not but that he thought they might be profitable to the poor; but becauſe he judged it fit and equal that their children, parents, or kindred ſhould rather inherit them: often ſaying, that it was fitter that Legacies ſhould be left to the church than inheritances, which are troubleſome, and ſometimes chargeable; yet thoſe Legacies he would have freely given, and not begged or extorted from men.

He was almoſt wholly taken up with heavenly affairs, wherein he laboured both day and night, with Mary, chooſing the better part, which could not be taken from him. He was careful of the poor, and in caſe of great want would ſell the ornaments of the church for their relief. And when the church ſtock was ſpent, he uſed to declare to the people, that he had nothing left wherewith to relieve the poor, that whereby he might ſtir up their charity to contribute to ſo good a work. All his preſbyters lived with him in the ſame houſe, fed with him at the ſame table, and were maintained and clothed out of the common purſe. He always judged it fit that miniſters ſhould be preſent at marriages, both to teſtify the mutual conſents and compromiſes, and to beſtow his benediction upon the married perſons. He always kept ſcholars in his houſe, whom he fed and clothed. He was ſo ſevere againſt oaths, that he abated of their allowance to thoſe that ſwore.

He never admitted women into his houſe, though of his own kindred; no not his own ſiſter when ſhe was a widow, and had wholly devoted herſelf to the ſervice of God; nor his uncle's daughter; nor his brother's daughter; ſaying, that though they might dwell in his houſe without ſuſpicion; yet they could not be without maids, or other women would come to viſit them, which could not be without offence and ſcandal; and when any women ſent to him, being deſirous to ſee or ſpeak with him, he would always have ſome of his miniſters preſent, and would never ſpeak with them alone. He praiſed one, who when he was ſick ſaid; *I have not lived ſo, that I am aſhamed to live longer; nor do I fear to die, having ſo good a maſter to go to.*

In his latter days he looked over all his books: thoſe which he wrote at his firſt converſion whilſt he was a layman, and thoſe which he wrote when he was a miniſter; and laſtly, thoſe which he wrote when he was a biſhop; and whatſoever he found in them leſs agreeing with the word of God, and the Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, he corrected, or retracted: of which he wrote two volumes, which he called his Retractions. He complained alſo that ſome miniſters had gotten and divulged ſome of his books before he had perfected them though afterwards he amended them.

Yet being prevented by death he left ſome of his books unperfected. And being deſirous to profit all, knowing that many were deſirous to read much, which yet for want of time they could not do, out of the Old and New Teſtament he collected ſuch precepts as concerned the rule of a Chriſtian life; and ſuch things as were forbidden in the ſame; which he compoſed into a book, adding a preface to it, that ſo every one which pleaſed might read it, and thereby diſcern how obedient or diſobedient he was unto God; and this he called *A Looking-Glaſs.*

But ſhortly after brake out (by the permiſſion of God) that hideous inundation of Goths and Vandals, and other nothern people, who were *enſis Dei*, God's ſword to puniſh the pride of the Roman empire. Theſe ſailing out of Spain arrived in Africk, over-running the whole country of Mauritania and other African provinces and countries, laying all waſte before them, and deſtroying all they could with barbarous cruelty and inhumanity, filling all places with torments of all ſorts, murders, burnings, and with innumerable and abominable depopulations, ſparing neither ſex nor age; no not the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt: the churches ornaments they plundered, the churches themſelves they demoliſhed, and like incarnate devils made havock of all. This holy man of God lived to ſee theſe grievous calamities, and was not affected with them only as other men were; but conſidering them more deeply and profoundly, and in them foreſeeing the great danger of ſouls, he poured forth prayers and tears day and night. For he ſaw cities ſubverted, villages deſtroyed; the inhabitants being either ſlain or driven away; churches deſtitute of miniſters; holy virgins deſloured; ſome of them dying under their torments; ſome ſlain with the ſword; ſome led into captivity, in danger of having their ſouls infected with error and herely, and their bodies enſlaved under a cruel enemy.

He ſaw the pſalms of thankſgiving ceaſed in the congregations; the temples burnt; and the ſolemn aſſemblies to be given over; the ſacraments either not to be ſought after; or none to diſpenſe them to thoſe that deſired them: and for thoſe which fled into mountains woods, deſarts, caves of the earth, or to any other places of refuge, they were either hunted out and ſlain, or periſhed with famine and drought. The biſhops and miniſters of churches, (which had by the goodneſs of God) eſcaped their bloody hands, being ſpoiled of all things, went about begging their bread.

He ſcarce ſaw of all the innumerable churches of Africk, three remaining, *viz.* Carthage, Hippo, and Cirte, which thro' God's mercy yet remained in ſome ſafety: tho' not long after his death Hippo being forſaken of her inhabitants, was burnt by the enemy. Theſe things this good man much bewailed; and that which much increaſed his ſorrow was, that juſt now the enemies were coming to beſiege Hippo, the governor whereof was one earl Boniface. This ſiege laſted fourteen months, wherein Auguſtine with his fellow biſhops that were fled thither for refuge, and his preſbyters, exerciſed themſelves wholly in prayers and tears, intreating the Father of mercies to be merciful unto them, and to preſerve his church from the rage of the adverſaries. And one day as they ſat at dinner together, Auguſtine ſaid to them; 'You know brethren, that from the beginning of this ſiege, my daily prayers have been, that God would either free us from it, or give his ſervants patience and courage to undergo what he impoſeth, or to take me out of this preſent evil world; and I believe that God will anſwer my deſire.' And indeed accordingly in the third month of the ſiege he fell ſick of a fever which proved his laſt ſickneſs; neither would God defraud his ſervant of the fruit of his prayers; and indeed he was very powerful in prayers, ſo that ſometimes he hath caſt out devils, and reſtored ſick men to their health.

His fever proved ſo violent, that he dyed in the ſame third month of the ſiege. In his ſickneſs he breathed forth moſt pious ejaculations: he made no will, having nothing to beſtow, but only books upon ſeveral libraries. He dyed aged 76. *anno Chriſti* 430. having been a miniſter 40 years.

It's written of him, that after his firſt converſion to the faith he was grievouſly vexed with inward conflicts againſt his corrupt affections, complaining of his inward, hereditary, habitual, inveterate vices, and after long ſtruggling with them by purpoſes, vows ſtrong reſolutions, watching, faſting, ſelf revenge, and other good means, finding ſtill his own weakneſs, and the increaſing violence of his corruptions, as he was intentively muſing and meditating what to do more, he heard a voice ſaying. *In te ſtas, & non ſtas;* whereupon rightly apprehending that his own ſtength of wit, carnal reaſon, and other powers and helps of nature could not ſerve the turn for the effecting of that which was the proper and peculiar work of grace, he betook himſelf to his Saviour by humble faithful, and fervent prayer; and at laſt found ſuch aſſiſtance from the Holy Spirit of grace, as ſtrengthned him to ſtand and make his reſolutions with more comfort than before. His uſual wiſh was, that Chriſt when he came might find him *aut Precantem, aut Prædicantem* either praying, or preaching. When the Donatiſts upbraided him unworthily with the impiety and impurity of his former life, look, ſaid he, how much they blame my former faults by ſo much the more I commend and praiſe my phyſician.

He uſed to ſay, 'Holy marriage is better than proud virginity.' And again, 'Prayer that is pure and holy pierceth Heaven, and returns not empty. It's a ſhelter to the ſoul, a ſacrifice to God, and a ſcourge to the devil.' And again, 'There is nothing that more abateth ſin, than the frequent meditation of death: He cannot die ill that lived

lived well; and ſeldom doth he die well that lived ill. A Chriſtian at home in his houſe muſt think himſelf a ſtranger; and that his country is above where he muſt be no ſtranger. And again, if men want wealth, it is not to be unjuſtly gotten; if they have it, they ought by good works to lay it up in heaven. He that taſted the ſweetneſs of divine love, will not care for temporal ſweetneſs. The reaſonable ſoul made in the likeneſs of God, may here find much diſtraction, no full ſatisfaction; for, it being capable of God, can be ſatisfied with nothing but God Not to be without affliction, but to overcome affliction is bleſſedneſs. Love is ſtrong as death: as death kills the body, ſo love of eternal life kills worldly deſire and affections. He called ingratitude the devil's ſponge, wherewith he wipes out all the favours of the Almighty.' He ſo admired the ſeven penitential pſalms, that he cauſed them to be written in great letters, and hung within the curtains of his death-bed, that ſo he might give up the ghoſt in the contemplation and meditation of them. His prayer was, 'Lord give me firſt what thou requireſt, and then require of me what thou wilt' And, 'He that prays well, can not chuſe but live well.'

His works are printed in nine tomes at Baſil by Froben.

The Life of Cyril of Alexandria, *who flouriſhed* anno Chriſti, 430.

THEOPHILUS biſhop of Alexandria falling into a lethargy, ſhortly after died: whereupon a great contention aroſe about the election of a new biſhop; ſome ſtanding for Timotheus the arch deacon, and others for Cyrillus; Abundatius the captain of the garriſon laboured all that he could to prefer Timothy; but the other partly prevailed, and ſo Cyril was choſen and ſettled in the biſhoprick.

About this time Neſtorius the heretic vented his blaſphemous opinions againſt the deity of our Saviour Chriſt, whom Cyril anſwered and confuted: upon this the emperor Theodoſius minor ſummoned a council at Epheſus, in which Cyril was choſen preſident, and where, with much learning and judgment, he confuted Neſtorius, and Pelagius. So that the council after ſerious examination and deliberation, pronounced this ſentence; 'To omit the other abominable wickedneſſes of Neſtorius, becauſe being ſent for by us, he hath refuſed to appear, neither would he receive thoſe godly and religious biſhops whom we ſent to confer with him; being therefore forced by neceſſity, we proceeded to the examination of his wicked opinions, and finding, partly by the epiſtles and books that he hath written, and partly by words which in this famous city he hath lately ſpoken, which by ſufficient witneſs have been proved before us, that he holds and publiſheth heretical opinions contrary to the word of God and the canons of the holy councils; we therefore, not without many tears, are forced to paſs this ſevere ſentence againſt him: and our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath ſo groſly and grievouſly blaſphemed, doth by us decree, that Neſtorius be depoſed from his biſhoprick, and excommunicated from the holy aſſemblies of the miniſters of God. Which ſentence the emperor Theodoſius did alſo approve of and confirm,' and withal baniſhed him to Oaſis, and God to ſhew the ſeverity of his juſtice againſt blaſphemers, ſtruck him with an incurable diſeaſe whereby his tongue rotted, and breeding many worms, was devoured by them, ſo that he ended his wretched life after a moſt miſerable manner.

This Cyril was by birth a Grecian, and as one teſtifies of him was *vir doctus & ſanctus*, a learned and holy man: he was preſident in the council at Epheſus, where with much learning and judgement he confuted Neſtorius and Pelagius: he was admirably experienced in the holy ſcriptures: flouriſhed under Theodoſius junior: he was ſo famous for piety, eloquence, and wit, that the Grecian biſhops got ſome of his homilies by heart, and recited them to their people. After twenty two years labour in the government of that church, he quietly yielded up his ſpirit unto God, *anno Chriſti* 448. under Theodoſius junior.

He uſed to ſay, 'It is the beſt way for a rich man to make the bellies of the poor his barn, to ſuccour the fatherleſs and needy, and thereby to lay up treaſure in heaven, that he may be received into everlaſting habitations. And, where the ſcripture wants a tongue of expreſſion, we need not lend an ear of attention, we may ſafely knock at the council door of Gods ſecrets; but if we go further, we may be more bold than welcome. And again, the devil runs with open mouth upon God's children to devour them: they manfully reſiſt him: he thinks to weaken their faith, and they, by his aſſaults are made the ſtronger: he fights againſt them, but they get ground upon him; and ſo what he intended for their deſtruction, full ſore againſt his will makes for their advantage. He was called the champion of the catholick faith.

His works were printed in two tomes at Paris, *anno Chriſti* 1605.

The Life of Peter Chryſologus, *who flouriſhed* anno Chriſti, 440.

PETER Chryſologus, ſo called becauſe of his golden eloquence, was born at Imola in France, of honeſt parents; bred under Cornelius biſhop of that city, whoſe care it was not only to inſtruct him in good manners and learning, but to fit him for the work of the miniſtry, that he might bring glory to God in the ſervice of his church: and not long after he was made arch biſhop of Ravenn. He excelled in learning, virtue, and praiſe worthy qualities He was preſent at the councils, the one at Ravenna, the other at Rome; and ſent letters full of learning to the ſynod of Chalcedon againſt Eutiches the heretic. He was powerful in eloquence, eſpecially in his ſermons to the people, and very full in converſation, by both which he won many to the truth. Always before he penned any thing, he would with great ardency and humility ſet himſelf to prayer to ſeek God for direction therein. He lived long, having been biſhop about 60 years, flouriſhed under Martian the emperor, and died *anno Chriſti* 500.

He uſed to ſay, 'Let not thy care be to have thy hands full, whilſt the poors are empty: for the only way to have full barns is to have charitable hands: and, God had rather man ſhould love him then fear him; to be called father than maſter; he wins by mercy, that he may not puniſh by juſtice: if thou wilt be like thy father, do likewiſe. And, neither in the flint alone, nor in the ſteel alone any fire is to be ſeen, nor extracted out by conjunction, and colliſion: ſo, nor by faith alone, nor by good works alone is ſalvation attained, but by joining both together. And, as the clouds darken heaven, ſo intemperate banquetting the mind; as the violence of winds and waves ſinks a ſhip, ſo drunkenneſs and gluttony our ſouls and bodies in the depth of hell. And, virtues ſeparated, are annihilated; equity without goodneſs is ſeverity; and juſtice without piety cruelty. And, ſome that lived commendably before they attained to dignity, being ſet in the candleſtick of the church, turn their light into darkneſs: it had been better for ſuch lights ſtill to have been hidden under a buſhel, &c.'

He was a man of an excellent wit, and by his miniſtry and example won many to a love of the truth.

He wrote 176 homilies: *Lib. ad Eutychen, & Epiſtolæ aliæ.*

The Life of Prosper, *who died* anno Chriſti 466.

PROSPER was born in Acquitane, and preferred to be biſhop of Rhegium in France; he was ſcholar to St. Auguſtine, famous for learning and piety; he learnedly confuted the Pelagian hereſy; he was aſſiduous in reading, eſpecially of the ſcripture; he uſually had the four evangeliſts in his hands: he diſtributed his goods freely to the poor: his ſpecial care was to take away all ſtrife and contentions from amongſt his people. He was a father to all ages and ſexes that were in the city; he much addicted himſelf to watching, faſting, prayer, and meditation. He continued biſhop three and twenty years: flouriſhed under Martianus. Upon his death-bed, ſpeaking to many of his people that wept ſore, he ſaid, 'The life which I have enjoyed

enjoyed was but given me, upon condition to render it up again, not grudgingly, but gladly; for me to have ſtayed longer here might ſeem better for you, but for me it is better to be diſſolved, &c.' And ſo praying and lifting up his hands to God before them all, he departed *anno Chriſti*, 466.

He was excellently verſed in the ſacred ſcriptures: and no leſs famous in human learning: he was a very good poet, and an eloquent orator: of a profound judgment, ſubtile wit, a nervous writer, and holy liver.

His works are all printed in octavo at Cullen, *anno Chriſti* 1609.

He uſed to ſay, thou ſhalt neither hate the man for his vice; nor love the vice for the man's ſake. And, thou boaſteſt of thy wealth, honour, ſtrength, beauty, &c. conſider what thou art by ſin, and ſhalt be in the grave, and thy plumes will fall: for every proud man forgets himſelf. And, as the ſoul is the life of the body, ſo the life of the ſoul is God: when the ſoul departs the body dies, and when God departs the ſoul dies. And, thoſe things which God would have ſearched into, are not to be neglected; but thoſe which God would have hidden, are not to be ſearched into; by the latter we become unlawfully curious, and by the neglect of the former, damnably ungrateful. And, the envious man hath ſo many tortures, as the envied hath praiſes: it is the juſtice of envy to kill and torment the envious. And, the life to come is bleſſed eternity, and eternal bleſſedneſs: there is certain ſecurity, ſecure quietneſs, quiet happineſs, happy eternity, eternal felicity.

The Life of FULGENTIUS, *who died* anno Chriſti, 529

HUNERICK the Arian, king of the Vandals, having ſubdued Carthage, baniſhed all the ſenators thereof into Italy, amongſt whom was Gordian grandfather to Fulgentius: and after the deceaſe of Gordian, Claudius his ſon returned unto Carthage; and though his houſe was given to an Arian prieſt, he recovered a great part of his inheritance by ſome favour which he found at the king's hands, and ſo departing to Lepte, he there ſettled his habitation; but ſhortly after dying, he left his ſon Fulgentius to the care of his mother, Mariana, who was very careful to train him up in learning, cauſing him to be inſtructed in the Greek tongue, before he learned the Latin, that thereby he might attain to the greater perfection in that language: and as his years encreaſed, ſo did he highly profit in all ſorts of learning, to the great joy of his mother, who exceedingly rejoiced to ſee his wiſdom and towardneſs, which alſo much refreſhed her after the loſs of her dear huſband: yea ſhe was ſo well ſatisfied with his prudence, that ſhe committed to his care the government of her whole houſe; and he ſo well behaved himſelf therein, that he pleaſed his friends, ſilenced his ill willers, and both by direction and correction procured an awful reſpect from the ſervants: he was alſo very careful to preſerve his patrimony.

By this his deportment he gat ſo much credit and eſteem, that he was made the king's collector, and required to be rigorous in exacting the rated payments: but after a while it pleaſed God, that this multiplicity and burden of worldly buſineſſes began to be very heavy to his ſoul; and the vain flattering felicity of the world yielding diſguſt, by little and little the love of ſpiritual life ſeemed to take root in his heart, and this begat in him a deſire frequently to pray, and to read, and to ſtudy the ſcriptures: then did he often reſort to ſuch men as ſequeſtred themſelves from worldly buſineſſes, and betook themſelves to monaſteries, where he learned by experience the ſweet converſation of God's ſervants, thoſe places being not yet degenerated into ſuch ſuperſtition and profaneneſs as afterwards they were.

Amongſt them he perceived that as they had no worldly ſolace, ſo had they no wearineſs in their preſent condition; as they had no temporal joys, ſo neither had they that vexation of ſpirit which other men were ſubject to by reaſon of their worldly buſineſſes; whereupon with himſelf he brake out into theſe words, 'Why travel I in the world, which can yield me no future nor durable reward anſwerable to my pains? though it be better to weep well than joy ill: yet if to joy be our deſire, how much excelleth their joy who have a good conſcience before God, who dread nothing but ſin; ſtudy to do nothing but to accompliſh the precepts of Chriſt? Now therefore let me change my trade; and as before, I endeavoured amongſt my noble friends to prove more noble, ſo now let my care and employment be amongſt the humble and poor ſervants of the higheſt, to become more poor and humble than they, and like St. Matthew, let me turn from a publican to a diſciple.'

Thus being reſolved to renounce all terrene and worldly delights, and to make himſelf a partaker of that kind of life which upon mature deliberation and examination his judgement approved as moſt excellent: yet withal, wiſely conſidering that ſudden changes might breed ſome diſtemperature either in body or mind, or both, he began by degrees to accuſtom himſelf to faſting, to avoid the company and accuſtomed compliments of his old acquaintance and familiar friends, addicting himſelf to ſolitarineſs, much reading and prayer. Hereupon all that knew him were ſtricken with great wonder and amazement at this ſudden and unexpected change: imputing this ſtrict and demeanor in a man ſo delicately brought up to proceed from neceſſity, and privy poverty: but he having thus made ſome proof of ſuch things, wherein he conceived difficulties might occur, and now finding by experience that nothing was hard to a willing mind, as alſo lighting upon, and reading that divine treatiſe of St Auguſtine upon the 36 pſalm, his love to and longing after that more retired courſe of life much encreaſed in him, ſo that he reſolved without any further delay to put his former purpoſes into practice, and accordingly going to Fauſtus, who was one of thoſe biſhops whom the Arian tyrant Hunerick had confined to a certain place not far from his own country, he beſeeched him to admit him into his monaſtery. The prudent biſhop well knowing the worldly converſation of the young man in times paſt, gave no credit to his ſpeech, nor comfort to his requeſt, but willed him firſt to learn to live leſs delicately before he entered upon ſo ſtrict a courſe of life: but he humbly kiſſing the biſhop's hand, earneſtly requeſted him that he would not reject him, but graciouſly admit him for one of his diſciples; and ſo by importunity declaring his ſincere affections, he procured admittance.

The fame of this thing ſpreading abroad, ſome deſpaired of his perſeverance becauſe of his former delicate life; others conſidering the excellency of his wit were raiſed in expectation of ſome notable and worthy conſequence. Divers of his familiars excited by his example, betook themſelves to the like courſe of life: only his inconſiderate and worldly minded mother grew exceedingly diſcontented at it, as if her Fulgentius were already dead, and ſo, impatiently running to the biſhop, ſhe brawled with him, crying out, 'Reſtore the ſon to his mother, the maſter to his ſervants and houſhold: it becomes you to comfort ſuch diſconſolate widows, not to deſtroy my forlorn houſe.' The biſhop mildly rebrehended her, but wiſely concealed her ſon; wherefore ſhe filled the air with her exclamations, ever calling upon the name of Fulgentius: this violent temptation did he meet with at his firſt entrance into this ſtrict kind of life; but having his heart fixed in heaven, he gave no ear to her exclamations: the biſhop having hereby had experience of the valour of this young diſciple, judged that he that could thus overcome his natural affections, no labour would be hard, nor conqueſt difficult for the time to come.

Whilſt he continued in this place, he wholly abſtained from wine and oil, and was ſo rigorous in faſting that it much debilitated his body, and procured ſome diſeaſes: but his heart being wholly ſet upon the working forth of his ſalvation with fear and trembling, he committed himſelf to God, ſaying, the daintieſt feeders avoid not ſickneſs: and after he had a while been habituated to this courſe, he through God's mercy recovered his health and priſtine beauty. His inheritance (though he had a younger brother called Claudius) he wholly left it to his mother, that at her deceaſe ſhe might leave it to Claudius, if he deſerved well of her; by which means his brother (for the living ſake) was made more dutiful and ſubmiſs, and his mother

by

by this gift received no ſmall conſolation to counterpoiſe the ſorrow of his abſence.

Shortly after the Arians renewing their perſecution (which for a ſpace they had diſcontinued under a pretence of more moderation) biſhop Fauſtus was conſtrained by frequent removes from one place to another to hide himſelf, and Fulgentius had no better ſhift than to flee to another little monaſtery governed by one Fælix, who having ſufficiently heard of his learning and vertue, would have reſigned the government thereof to Fulgentius; but he conſtantly refuſed it; yet at the great importunity of the brethren, he was enforced to take part of the government upon him: ſo that theſe two holy men equal in their love to God and their neighbours, equal in vertue, and like in conditions, mutually governed the place, each fearful of offending the other; each vigilantly attending the good of the ſociety. But the perſecution growing more hot, they, together with their diſciples, were forced to remove into more remote and unknown parts of Africa; and at laſt ſettled in the territories of Sicca, where they exceedingly profited the people, and gained many ſouls to Chriſt.

But the old enemy of mankind envying their godly labours, ſtirred up an Arian prieſt called Fælix, who, not far off, had corrupted many with his heretical opinions, to moleſt and trouble them. This fellow, great in power and authority, but greater in malice, fearing leſt by the means of Fulgentius (whoſe learning now grew famous) many of his ſeduced diſciples ſhould be reclaimed to the truth, he cauſed all the ways to be beſet by which theſe two fathers uſed to go to inſtruct the people; and it pleaſed God that as theſe two walked by the way, they fell into theſe watchmens hands, who preſently loaded them with irons, and carried them to the Arian prieſt. Fælix when he ſaw that he was like to be apprehended, threw away ſome money into a buſh, which he happened to have about him for the brethrens ſuſtenance. The Arian prieſt when they came before him uſed them very roughly, demanding, of them why they came out of their own country to ſubvert his Chriſtian hearers? And as they were about to anſwer, he would not hear them, but firſt commanded them to be ſcourged: whereupon Fælix requeſted that his brother Fulgentius might be ſpared: for (ſaith he) he cannot endure the extremity of the torment, but in all likelihood will breath forth his innocent ſoul under your hands. But rather let your wrath be wholly wrecked upon me, who am moſt guilty of that which you charge us with: Fælix therefore was moſt cruelly beaten, but not that Fulgentius ſhould be ſpared, who being of noble parentage was of a tender conſtitution, and ſo the blows with the ſtaves were the more grievous to him, whereupon he earneſtly deſired to be heard having ſomewhat to ſay; and ſo the ſtripes and baſtinadoes being intermitted, he began with his eloquent mouth to relate the cauſe of their travel into thoſe parts, cauſing his very adverſaries to wonder at his eloquence and flowing language. So that the prieſt had almoſt forgotten his cruelty, and ſhame of the injury was ready to embrace his obdurate heart: yet leſt he ſhould appear to be overcome with his words, he cried out; 'Lay him on luſtily, and multiplying your blows rend this prattler. What? Thinks he by his words to ſeduce me alſo?' Hereupon he was again beaten moſt mercileſly: then were both of them ſhaven deformedly, their cloaths pulled off, and ſo they were ſent packing all naked. Forth then from the Arian's houſe they departed no otherwiſe than as from a glorious combat, and as crowned with lawrels of victory: in their return they found the money which Fælix had hidden, which was a great refreſhing to them. The fame of this deteſtable fact gave great offence to many, and in particular to the Arian biſhop of the dioceſs, who had a good opinion of Fulgentius, and much favoured him, and would have puniſhed the prieſt, if Fulgentius had deſired it of him: and indeed many urged him to ſeek revenge; but he gave them this humble denial, ſaying, 'It is not lawful for a Chriſtian to meditate revenge: our Lord Chriſt well knoweth how to repay the injuries inflicted on his ſervants. If my cauſe be avenged, then loſe I the reward of my patience; eſpecially ſeeing it might ſcandalize many little ones if I a catholic ſhould require judgment at an Arian's hand.'

A while after Fulgentius having heard and read much of the ſtrict lives of the monks in Egypt, had a great mind to ſee the ſame, and ſo leaving his monaſtery, he took ſhipping for Egypt: but a ſtorm meeting him by the way, he was driven into the haven of Syracuſe, the chief city of Sicily: at this time Euſalius was biſhop there, who very courteouſly entertained Fulgentius, and upon converſe, finding his ſufficiency, enquired the cauſe of his voyage, and underſtanding by him the cauſe, he much diſſuaded him from it, and perſuaded him to continue at Syracuſe that winter; which when he conſented to, he maintained him all that time, and Fulgentius out of that little allowed him, carefully miniſtred ſomewhat to the neceſſities of others. Summer being come, he failed to Rome, where beholding the glory of the Roman nobility, the triumph and pomp of king Theodorick, and the univerſal ſplendor and joy of the city, he was ſo far from being taken with ſuch worldly toys and delights, that it raiſed up his deſires after heavenly joys, ſaying thus to ſome of his friends that accompanied him; 'How beautiful may the cæleſtial Jeruſalem be, when terreſtial Rome, ſo glittereth? If ſuch honour be given to lovers of vanity, what glory ſhall be imparted to the ſaints who are lovers and followers of truth?' Then did he return into Africa to the incredible joy of his brethren; but after a while, finding the diſtractions which neceſſarily attended his abode there, partly by reaſon of his care in government, and partly by reaſon of much reſort of noble men, and others that daily repaired to him (his fame being now ſpread abroad) he privily ſtole away, and went to another monaſtery far off, amidſt the ſhelly rocks of the ſea, deſtitute in a manner of all humane ſolace and neceſſaries, where being with all courteſy received, as much as he excelled others in learning and eloquence, ſo far ſubjected he himſelf to all in humility and obedience. Many books he there copied out fair with his own hands, and for his recreation made many neceſſary implements for the houſe of Palm-leaves: but at laſt his old ſociety gained knowlege of the place of his abode, and preſently ſent to requeſt his return: hereupon great contention aroſe between the two houſes, whilſt one fought to retain, the other to regain him. The controverſy at laſt came before biſhop Fauſtus, who decreed his return to his firſt place; and that he might be employed for the public good, he ordained him a preſbyter: at which time ſundry cities wanting paſtors (for the king had forbidden the ordination of any more biſhops) many of them ſought and ſued to Fulgentius to undertake that charge, and ſome proceeded to elect him outright; yet thought he himſelf ſecure by reaſon of the king's prohibition, till at laſt the perſecuted biſhops, who yet ſurvived, reſolved rather to incur the diſpleaſure of the king than to ſuffer the people any longer to want biſhops; and thereupon meeting together, they decreed that biſhops ſhould be ordained for all the vacant places; and forthwith (leaſt the Arian king hearing of it, ſhould prevent them) they ſought out godly preſbyters whom they might appoint to this office, but that Fulgentius who was moſt of all ſought for, could no where be found; for he had hid himſelf to avoid that employment, and ſo continued till all the ſolemnities were over paſſed, and then returned hoping now to live in quiet: But it pleaſed God otherwiſe to diſpoſe of it: for it fell out that the city of Ruſpa remained as yet unfurniſhed, the citizens whereof getting inkling that Fulgentius was diſcovered, they came unto him, laid hold upon him, carried him with them, and did not requeſt, but conſtrain him to be their biſhop; yet in this dignity he nothing forgot his former integrity: he ſtill uſed mean and ſimple attire, went many times barefoot, wholly abſtained from fleſh, wine, and oil, and always kept about him ſome of his former aſſociates: but he, with his fellow biſhops enjoyed not long their places: for that fell out which was eaſily foreſeen to be a likely conſequence, yet was contemned in reſpect of the churches neceſſity and want, which was that the Arian king enraged by this act, baniſhed about 60 biſhops into Sardinia, amongſt whom Fulgentius was one, who joyfully aſcended the ſhip, being heartily glad that he had a ſhare in ſuch a glorious confeſſion: divers of his clergy and friends followed him, and being arrived at Calaris in Sardinia, he there lived with them at the ſame table, and by his ſermons converted many.

Not long after king Thraſamund amongſt the crafty fetches;

fetches, and perſecutory drifts whereby he endeavoured to allure the catholics to the Arian hereſy, uſed this policy: he feigned a deſire to become a catholic, and ſetting down divers captious and deceitful queſtions, pretended that he could not find any that could ſufficiently anſwer thoſe queſtions, whereupon hearing the fame of Fulgentius, he haſtily ſent for him: who with an undaunted courage came to Carthage, and not being preſently called to the king endeavoured ſeriouſly to confirm the catholics in their faith; and with much courteſy and affability anſwered all queſtions, rejecting no man; whereby he reclaimed many from their errors, admoniſhing them to repent of, and to bewail their fall: others he exhorted not to hazard the damnation of their ſouls for temporal advantages: and whom he ſaw in danger of perdition, with mild, yet effectual words he ſtayed and encouraged to a noble and generous reſolution, animating them to ſuffer any dangers or torments rather than deny the truth: and it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs his labours, that ſome who before were ſtaggering, were now by his means emboldned plainly to reprove the weak grounded impudence of the Arian party: and thus the omnipotent God turned the enemies device to the advancement of his own glory. Then did the king ſend for him, and queſtioned with him, and met with ſuch ſolid and judicious anſwers, that he was forced to acknowlege that he found him every way to anſwer the report which he had heard of his wiſdom and learning, and withal he propoſed ſundry difficult queſtions to which he required his anſwer in writing. Fulgentius having drawn up his anſwer, communicated it to the moſt learned catholics, and after their approbation, to the people, before it was delivered to the king. Thraſamund having with great diligence peruſed it, praiſed his wiſdom wondred at his eloquence, commended his humility; yet had his heart ſo hardened that he could not underſtand and ſubmit to the truth.

Fulgentius could not be ſuffered to ſtay long at Carthage, for the Arians with their clamours incenſed the king, complaining that he had already gained from them ſome of their miniſters, and that the people fell apace to him, ſo that their whole religion ſtood in great hazard by his means: then the king to quiet them, ſent him back into Sardinia. Late in the night was he carried aboard the ſhip, that his departure might be the better concealed from the people: but it pleaſed God by contrary winds long to detain the ſhip in the harbour, ſo that for many days almoſt the whole city flocked to him to take their farewel, and many communicated at his hands: and when great lamentation was made for his departure, he took one Juliates (a very godly man) apart, and told him he ſhould ſhortly again return, and that the church ſhould enjoy peace, which alſo came to paſs: when he was requeſted to pray for any that were ſick or in miſery, he commonly uſed this petition: 'Thou (O Lord) knoweſt beſt what will make for our ſouls health: grant of thy mercy a ſupply unto our neceſſities, ſo far forth as ſhall not hinder our ſpiritual profit:' And when God graciouſly anſwered his prayers in their behalf, he uſed to ſay, 'That God did it for their ſakes, not for his:' He commonly ſaid that miracles make not a man juſt or righteous, but famous.

When he was come back to Sardinia, he returned to his former ſtrict courſe of life, with his aſſociates, who had all things in common; and when he diſtributed more to one than to another by reaſon of ſickneſs or weakneſs, he uſed thus to ſay to them; 'Who taketh of the common ſo much, becometh debtor to all, which debt he can only pay by humility.' It was very pleaſing to him when any of the brethren propoſed any hard queſtion; and gladly he hearkened to the doubts of any though they were never ſo ſimple; neither would he through wearineſs or tedioufneſs ceaſe to give them anſwers, until they confeſſed themſelves to be ſatisfied: though he was ſometimes ſevere towards the obſtinate, yet he remained even when he ſeemed moſt diſpleaſed and angry, nothing at all in mind troubled or diſquieted.

Thraſamund the king being ſhortly after taken away by death, Hilderick ſucceeded him, who reſtored peace and liberty to the catholicks, recalling their biſhops from exile, and amongſt the reſt Fulgentius, who was received with great devotion by the Africans, no leſs in every city than if he had been their peculiar biſhop: everywhere they met him with tokens of joy, with whom now rejoicing he rejoiced, as before with them lamenting he had lamented: yea, their love was ſo great to him, that a ſhower of rain falling, they held their garments over his head to keep him dry. Then did he return to his proper ſeat, where he would do nothing without the advice of his clergy.

In the council of Vinceſa he was by the common ſuffrage of the biſhops choſen preſident: Though biſhop Quodvultdeus claimed that preheminence as belonging to his ſea: and though Fulgentius for the preſent would not oppoſe this choice, yet at the next ſeſſions, he procured that the biſhop Quodvultdeus was reſtored to his right. A year before his death he retired with ſome brethren into the iſland of Circina, and there lived a moſt ſtrict life: but the neceſſities of his people requiring, and their importunity prevailing, he returned to them, and ſhortly after fell into grievous pangs of ſickneſs, wherein he continued ſixty days, often crying out *O Lord give me patience and pardon.* Phyſicians perſuading him to make uſe of a bath, he anſwered; *Can baths make that man who hath accompliſhed the courſe of nature that he ſhall not die? Why then do you go about to perſuade me now at my laſt end to remit of that rigor which I have always uſed?* Laſtly calling together the brethren about him, he thus ſpake to them; *Dear brethren having been careful of your ſouls health, perhaps I have been auſtere and harſh towards you: If any one be offended I beſeech him to pardon me: and if my ſeverity have poſſibly paſſed meaſure and due moderation, pray ye to God that he may impute it not to me.* They all kneeling down acknowleged him to have been always loving, gentle, and mild towards them. Then did he pray for his people, that God would provide for them a paſtor after his own heart: After this he called for a ſum of money, which as a faithful ſteward he daily uſed to diſtribute amongſt the poor, willing it all to be preſently divided; and reciting by name the widows, orphans, and poor, he allotted to every one his portion. Soon after in the midſt of his prayers died this bleſſed ſervant of God, and famous doctor of the church, in 65 year of his age, *anno Chriſti* 529. having been biſhop about 25 years.

He was very powerful in prayer, as may appear by this example: ſometime before his death the Moores invaded the territories of Ruſpa filling all places with rapines, murders, burnings, and devaſtations, not ſparing the churches themſelves, but murdering ſuch as fled to them for refuge: but yet ſo long as Fulgentius lived, the city of Ruſpa remained in ſafety, and when all the reſt of the province was under miſerable captivity, that city alone enjoyed an happy peace.

He wrote many excellent treatiſes againſt heretics beſides ſundry ſermons and epiſtles: his moving and affectionate eloquence was ſuch, as that the biſhop of Carthage hearing him preach two days together in his church, could not refrain from tears; rejoicing that God had given to his church in thoſe afflicted and comfortleſs times ſuch a worthy inſtrument of his glory.

He uſed to ſay, *Chriſt died for men and angels: for men, that they might riſe from ſin; and for angels, that they might not fall into ſin.* And *If they go to hell that do not feed the hungry, cloath the naked &c. what will become of them that take away bread from the hungry, cloaths from the naked? &c. If want of charity be tormented in hell, what will become of the covetous?*

His mother having committed the charge of her houſe to him in his youth, he ſo managed it that he got this teſtimony, that he was *matri præſidium, domeſticis ſolatium,* &c. A ſafe guard to his mother, a comfort to the family, and to all with whom he converſed, a rare example. In the midſt of his greateſt ſufferings he uſed to ſay, *Plura pro Chriſto toleranda*: We muſt ſuffer more than this for Chriſt.

His works are printed a Lyons, *anno Chriſti* 1633.

The Life of GREGORY *the* GREAT, *who died* Anno Chriſti, 605.

GREGORY the Great was born in Rome: his father was a ſenator, by name Gordianus; his mother's name was Sylvia, a woman noble by birth, but both of them more noble for their piety. Our Gregory in his tender years was carefully educated by his parents, being inſtructed both in religion and literature; and as he grew in years, ſo he encreaſed in learning, which he retained with a firm memory, whereby he was enabled afterwards to make good uſe of it for the profit and benefit of the church of God: having gone through the ſtudy of other arts, he ſpent two years in reading of Pythagoras; but finding little ſatisfaction therin, he at laſt with much diligence breathed after more divine ſtudies; and after his father's death, having more freedom in diſpoſing himſelf, and his eſtate, he gave all his riches towards the relief of the poor, and betook himſelf to monaſtical life, firſt under Hillarion, and afterwards under Maximianus, who both of them were famous for their piety and learning.

He was very abſtemious in his diet, frequent in faſting and prayer, and ſo ſtudious of the ſacred ſcriptures, that he could ſcarce find leiſure to eat his food till neceſſity urged him thereunto: and indeed his abſtinence was ſo great that he much impaired his health thereby: yet would he not give over his employments, ſpending all his time in prayer, reading, writing, or dictating to others. His humility was very examplary; for though he came of noble parents, yet had he ſo little reſpect to his deſcent, that with tears he would often ſay, 'That all earthly glory was miſerable, if the owner of it did not ſeek after the glory of God:' He was very exact in ſpending his time, ſaying, that he was to give an account of it unto God; neither was he leſs charitable to the ſouls of others; for on a time when many merchants were met to ſell their comodities at Rome, it happened that Gregory paſſed by them, and ſaw many young boys with white bodies, fair faces, beautiful countenances and lovely hair ſet forth to ſale, whereupon going to the merchant, their owner, he aſked him from what country he brought them? The merchant anſwered from Britain where the inhabitants were generally ſo beautiful: then ſaid Gregory; 'Are they Chriſtians, or heathens?' heathens replyed the other; whereupon Gregory deeply ſighing ſaid, 'Alas for grief! that ſuch fair faces ſhould be under the power of the prince of darkneſs, and that ſuch beautiful bodies ſhould have their ſouls void of the grace of God;' Then did he again aſk the merchant 'by what name that people were called?' He anſwered *Angli*: Truly ſaid he, 'they may be called *Angli*, *quaſi Angeli*, for they have angels countenances, and it is fit they were made fellow citizens with the angels.' Again he aſked, 'What was the name of the province whence they came?' The merchant anſwered, *Deiri*; 'well may they be of *Deiri*, for its fit they ſhould be pulled *De ira Dei* (from under the wrath of God) and called into the grace of Chriſt.' Again he aſked him, 'what was the name of their king?' the merchant anſwered Alle, whereupon Gregory alluding to his name, ſaid 'Well is their king called Alle, for its fit that Alleluja to their Creator ſhould be ſung in thoſe parts:' And ſo going ſtrait to Benedict, who was biſhop of Rome at that time, he earneſtly requeſted him to ſend ſome miniſters into Britain for the converſion of the inhabitants there; and when none could be found that would undertake that journey, himſelf would have gone if the biſhop would have permitted it: and indeed at the length, by his importunity he prevailed for leave, and ſet forwards on his journey; but within three days the people of Rome ſo complained to Benedict of the loſs of Gregory, that he ſent for him back, which occaſioned his return (tho' with much ſorrow) that he was hindered in ſo good a work.

Not long after he was ſent upon ſome Eccleſiaſtical affairs to the emperor at Conſtantinople, where tho' the ſplendor of the court was troubleſome to him, yet intermitted he not his private ſtudies and devotion, and during his abode there, at the requeſt of a biſhop who was ambaſſador for the Viſigoths, he wrote a Comment upon the book of Job. Alſo whereas Eutychius biſhop of Conſtantinople, had taught and writ that our bodies at the reſurrection ſhould be impalpable, more ſubtle than air: Gregory confuted that error both by reaſon, and by the example of Chriſt's body after his reſurrection: whereupon enſued an hot diſputation betwixt them: this the emperor Mauritius hearing of, ſent for them both to him, heard the cauſe on both ſides, read over diligently the book writ by Eutychius, and being convinced of the error by that which he had heard from Gregory, he adjudged the book to be burned. Shortly after Eutychius fell very ſick, and a little before his death, retracted his error, and acknowleged the reſurrection of our fleſh.

Gregory having diſpatched the buſineſs about which he was ſent to Conſtantinople, returned to Rome, about which time the river Tiber ſwelled to ſuch an unmeaſurable height that it ran over the walls of the city, and drowned a great part of it, and brake into many great houſes, overthrew divers ancient monuments: it overthrew alſo the granaries belonging to the church, and carried away many thouſand meaſures of wheat: preſently after which inundation of Tiber, there came down the river an innumerable company of ſerpents, with one monſtrous great one, as big as a beam, which when they had ſwimed into the ſea, were there choaked, and their carcaſes being all caſt upon the ſhore, there rotted, which cauſed ſuch an infection of the air, that preſently a great plague followed in Rome, ſo that many thouſands died of it; yea, arrows were viſibly ſeen to be ſhot from heaven, and whomſoever was ſtricken with them, preſently died, amongſt whom Pelagius biſhop of Rome was one: and this judgment ſo raged in the city, that many houſes were emptied of their inhabitants.

After the death of Pelagius, the clergy, ſenate, and people of Rome made choice of Gregory to be their biſhop, though he oppoſed it all that poſſibly he could: crying out, that he was altogether unworthy of ſuch an honour, fearing leſt the ſplendor of worldly glory, which he had formerly laid aſide, ſhould in ſuch an office creep upon, and infect him. But the importunity of the people being ſo great, he ſeemed to conſent to them: but privately under hand wrote to the emperor Mauritius, earneſtly requeſting him that he would not conſent to the election, but that by his authority he would free him from it: but Germanus the præfect of the city meeting with the meſſenger, took his letters from him, and reading them, detained them, ſending word to the emperor of the unanimous conſent of all in the election of Gregory: whereupon the emperor, returning thanks to God, for that they had made ſo good a choice, confirmed the election, ſo that Gregory could no longer evade it.

In the mean time the peſtilence raging exceedingly, Gregory called the people together, and ſhewed them the juſtice of God in his judgements, who uſed not to puniſh till by ſin he is provoked thereunto, telling them that they might read the greatneſs of their ſins in the greatneſs of the plague; and thereupon exhorted them to repentance by the precepts of God, and by the example of Nineveh, appointing them to lay all their worldly buſineſſes aſide, and to meet together the next day to ſpend it in faſting and prayer; which accordingly they did: yet whilſt they were together God's hand was out againſt them, ſo that fourſcore of them fell down dead in the place: but Gregory being not diſcouraged hereby, continued his ſermon, telling them that God would at length be found of them, if they would forſake their wicked ways, and turn unto him with all their hearts, and with all their ſouls: and accordingly not long after the peſtilence ceaſed.

Gregory obſerving that many cuſtoms were lately crept into the church which were not warranted by the holy apoſtles, he firſt extirpated them out of the church of Rome, and then calling a council of many biſhops: he endeavoured to root them out of the whole church. Then removing from about him all ſecular perſons, he choſe presbyters and other learned men in their ſtead, whereby learning was much advanced in his days. He was very chritable, and much given to hoſpitality, inſomuch as when very many inhabitants from divers parts (flying from the barbarous cruelty of the Longobards) came to him, he entertained and relieved them, inviting daily to his houſe many of thoſe exiles. He made alſo large diſtributions unto others, giving them corn, wine, fleſh, fiſh, cheeſe, and

and many other refreſhings in their ſeveral ſeaſons. Many times alſo he ſent large relief to the ſick, lame, and impotent perſons, not only in Rome, but in many other towns and villages round about, inſomuch as all that he had, ſeemed to be the common granary of the church.

In the fourth year of his biſhoprick having in ſome good meaſure ſettled the affairs of the church, he now began to think how he might advance the converſion of the Engliſh, which he had formerly been ſo ſollicitous for, and had never ſince been forgotten by him; for which end he ſent Auſtin and ſome other miniſters from about him; to preach the goſpel unto them: but they had not gone many days journey before they began to be a weary of undertaking ſo difficult and dangerous a taſk, as to go to preach to a fierce, barbarous, and unbelieving nation, whoſe language they did not underſtand, whereupon they ſtopped, and ſent Auſtin back to Gregory, deſiring that they might have leave to return, that they might be freed from ſo laborious, difficult and dangerous a work.

Gregory having received this meſſage, wrote thus back to them again: beloved brethren, ſeeing it had been better that you had never begun a good work, than that you ſhould recede from it, it behoves you through the aſſiſtance of Almighty God to go forwards with it: neither let the labour of the journey, nor the tongues of wicked men deter you from it: I have ſent back Auſtin whom I would have you to obey, knowing that he will counſel you nothing but what ſhall be for the good of your ſouls. Almighty God give you his grace, and grant that I may ſee of the fruit of your labours, though I cannot join with you therein. With this exhortation Auſtin did ſo encourage his companions, that paſſing through France, where they found kind entertainment by the good biſhops in every place, they at laſt arrived in Britain, and came to Ethelburg, the king of Kent, where through God's mercy they did not only obtain leave to preach, but had habitations and maintainance allowed them in Canterbury his chief city. Whoſoever deſires to ſee the ſucceſs of this buſineſs, may read it in my Engliſh Martyrology.

Gregory died *anno Chriſti* 605 having been biſhop of Rome 13 years 6 months and 10 days. He lived under the emperor Maurivius and died in the ſecond year of Phocas. Johannes Trithemeus gives him this teſtimony; *Gregorius, vir in divinis Scripturis eruditiſſimus, & in ſecularibus liberis utique doctiſſimus: theologorum princeps: ſplendor philoſophorum & rhetorum lumen; vita & converſatione integer, atque ſanctiſſimus.*

He was of an acute wit, whereby he overthrew Eutiches, Pelagius, (who died in the time of the plague at Rome) and divers other heretics. He ſeverely reproved the biſhop of Conſtantinople, who would have been called Univerſal, which he calls *Nomen iſtud blaſphemiæ*, That name of blaſphemy.

He uſed to ſay, 'He is poor whoſe ſoul is void of grace, not whoſe coffers are empty of money; contented poverty is true riches: and again, God is never abſent, though the wicked have him not in their thoughts: where he is not by favour, he is by puniſhment and terror.' He could never read thoſe words, 'Son, remember in thy life time thou receiveſt good things,' without horror and aſtoniſhment, leaſt having ſuch dignities and honours as he had, he ſhould be excluded from his portion in heaven. It is ſaid of him, that he was the worſt Roman biſhop of all thoſe that were before him: and the beſt of all thoſe that followed him.

He wrote expoſitions upon the greateſt part of the bible. His works are contained in 6 tomes?

The Life of ISIDORE, *who died* anno Chriſti 676.

ISIDORE Hiſpalenſis, by birth a Spaniard, was carefully educated by his parents, of a quick wit, and able memory, admired for his learning and eloquence? he was choſen biſhop of Sivil under Mauritius the emperor, wherein he was very painful, and could accommodate his ſpeech fitly both to the ignorant and learned: he was full of mercy and good fruits. He was had in great honour, his fame ſpreading abroad far and wide, both for his life and learning: he ſo macerated his body with labours, and enriched his ſoul with divine learning and contemplations, that he ſeemed to live an angel's life upon earth. He died in the reign of Heraclius the emperor, about the year 675

He uſed to ſay, 'Knowlege and a good life are both profitable; yet if both cannot be obtained, a good life is to be ſought rather than much knowlege. And as the viper is killed by the young ones in her belly; ſo are we betrayed and killed by our own thoughts, nouriſhed in in our boſoms, which conſume and poiſon the ſoul. And, all things may be ſhunned, but a man's own heart: a man cannot run from himſelf; a guilty conſcience will not forſake him whereſoever he goes; and the devils have a threefold preſcience 1 By natural ſubtilty. 2. By experience. 3. By ſupernatural revelation. And, he that begins to grow better, let him beware leſt he grow proud; leſt vain glory give him a greater overthrow than his former vices.

The Life of BEDE, *who died* anno Chriſti, 735.

VENERABLE Bede an Engliſh Saxon was born anno Chriſti 671, near the monaſtery of St Peter and St Paul in Wyrimunda. His parents dying when he was but ſeven years old, he was bred up in that monaſtery, under two abbots Bennet and Ciofride, men famous in thoſe times for religion and learning: under whom he was trained up, and from his child hood accuſtomed to virtue and piety. He proved very learned in philoſophy, aſtronomy, muſic, and poetry; in Greek rhetoric, arithmetic, and hiſtory; but eſpecially he was very ſtudious of the holy ſcriptures.

Three things were familiar to him in his whole life; to pray, write, and preach. He was made deacon at nineteen years old, and a preſbyter at thirty: after which time he wholly devoted himſelf to the meditation of the holy ſcriptures. He was ſo famous for learning and piety, that he was ſent for to Rome by Pope Sergius, to help to ſettle the churches peace: he was very modeſt, never hunting after preferments, ſo devout in reading the ſcriptures, that he would often ſhed tears, and after he ended reading, he concluded with prayers.

He hated idleneſs and often ſaid, 'That there was ſo much work to do for a divine in ſo little time, that he ought not to loſe any of it. And for pleaſures we muſt deal with them, ſaid he, as we do with honey, only touch it with the tip of the finger not with the whole hand, for fear of forfeit.' He finiſhed his works *anno Chriſti* 731, and died 735 and of his age 70.

He uſed to ſay, 'He is a ſluggard that would reign with God, and not labour for God; in the promiſed reward he takes delight; but the commanded combats do affright him.' And, 'Anger doth languiſh by ſuppreſſing, but flames higher by expreſſing.'

He wrote of all the liberal arts ſundry excellent treatiſes. Though he lived in the uttermoſt corner of the world, yet neglected he not the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew tongues; he had many excellent ſcholars, whom by his counſel and example he drew to an ineſtimable love of the holy ſcriptures, endeavouring to make them as famous for their religion and piety as they were for their learning. He was of a very bountiful diſpoſition, venerable for his knowlege and integrity of life; full of charity, devotion, and chaſtity.

He was of a comely ſtature, of a grave pace, clear voice, eloquent tongue, amiable countenance, which ſeemed to be compoſed of gravity and mildneſs. He was very affable to ſuch as were good: a terror to ſuch as were proud and wicked; yet mild and humble to his fraternity. What he learned out of God's word by ſtudy and meditation, he communicated it to others without envy: he had ſcholars that flocked to him out of all parts of England, deſiring to be trained up in learning and manners under ſuch a maſter; for his converſation was a rule of religion, and honeſty to all about him.

Anno Chriſti 731, and of his age 59, he finiſhed the catalogue of his writings which are many, and upon moſt books in the Old and New Teſtament, beſides epiſtles, hiſtories of the ſaints, the hiſtory of his own abbey, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of his own nation in five books, a martyrology,

martyrology, a book of hymns, and many others, which are all printed in Collen, *anno Chriſti* 1612.

In ſickneſs he comforted himſelf with that of the apoſtle, Heb. xii. 6. 'Whom the Lord loveth he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth.' When his ſcholars were weeping about him, he ſaid in the words of Ambroſe, *Non ſic vixi ut pudeat me inter vos vivere, ſed nec mori timeo, quia bonum dominum habemus.* The time is come if my Creator pleaſeth, that being freed from the fleſh, I ſhall go to him, who made me when I was not, out of nothing; I have lived long, and the time of my diſſolution is approaching; and my ſoul deſireth to ſee my Saviour Chriſt in his glory. After his death one of his ſcholars was very deſirous to have made an epitaph: *Hæc ſunt in foſſa Bedæ ſancti*, or *Presbyteri, oſſa*, yet he could not make up the verſe with thoſe words: but on the morning this was found on his tomb: *Hæc ſunt in foſſa Bedæ venerabilis oſſa.*

Here lies intombed in theſe ſtones.
Of venerable Bead the bones.

The Life of JOHN DAMASCEN, *who flouriſhed*, anno Chriſti, 730.

JOHN Damaſcen was born in Damaſcus, of religious parents, who carefully brought him up in learning, wherein he profited exceedingly, ſo that he attained to the knowlege of all the liberal ſciences. After which, going to Jeruſalem, he ſtudied the ſcripture and divinity, where he was made a preſbyter, preached diligently, and much propagated the faith by ſermons and writings; a great oppoſer of heretics he was; he flouriſhed under Leo, and died in peace

He was a very eloquent man, and ſecond to none of that age in learning: he wrote three books of parallels of the ſacred ſcriptures, four books the of orthodox faith, beſides many other works which are printed at Paris, *anno Chriſti* 1619.

The Life of THEOPHYLACT, *who flouriſhed* anno Chriſti 880.

THEOPHYLACT born in Conſtantinople, and afterwards arch biſhop of the ſame, was much employed in viſiting and reforming the churches in Bulgary, and when he had proved himſelf a faithful labourer in the dangerous perſecutions there, he yielded up his ſpirit to his Maker.

He uſed to ſay, 'Be not troubled if this man lives in tranquillity, and thou in tribulation, God will have it ſo; he puts thee into the combat, thou muſt therefore ſweat hard before thou comeſt off with the victory; whereas he that comes forward in the world, goes back in grace; his eſtate is miſerable that goes laughing to deſtruction, as a fool to the ſtocks for correction'

He wrote in Greek commentaries upon the four evangeliſts which are tranſlated into Latin by Charles Morell, and printed at Paris. *anno Chriſti*, 1631.

The Life of ANSELM, *who flouriſhed* anno Chriſti 1080.

ANSELM, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was born at Aoſta, or Auguſta Prætoriana, at the foot of the Alps in Italy, and therefore, as an Italian, he always favoured the cauſe of the Roman biſhop. He was carefully brought up in learning by his mother Ermerburga, till he was fourteen years old; when ſhe dying, he gave himſelf a while to vain pleaſures, and his father being ſevere to him, he reſolved to travel, in which he met with wants, ſpent three years in Burgundy in France, and then became ſcholar to Lafrancus abbot of Beck, where being held hard to his ſtudy, he entered into a monaſtery, and by his ſtrict carriage there, his fame ſpread abroad, and the old abbot dying, he ſucceeded him, and after the death of Lanfrank he was choſen arch-biſhop of Canterbury: he received ſuch honours and encouragements from pope Urbane, as never biſhop received greater from a pope. For at the council of Burum in Apulia, the pope placed him at his right foot above all others, which was ever ſince the place of the arch-biſhops of Canterbury in all general councils; much contention was between William Rufus king of England and him, which cauſed him to leave the kingdom till Henry I. his time, when he was reinveſted again, but lived not long after his return into England before he died, which was *anno Chriſti* 1109. and in the 9th year of the reign of Henry I. and of his age 76. He was indeed the pope's factor in England for denial of inveſtures to the king, and marriages to the miniſters: but otherwiſe he was found in the main points of our religion; and taught many things contrary to the corrupt tenets of the church of Rome.

He uſed to ſay, 'That if he ſhould ſee the ſhame of ſin on the one hand, and the pains of hell on the other, and muſt of neceſſity chuſe one, he would rather be thruſt into hell without ſin, than go into heaven with ſin. And again, *O duras caſus*, &c. O hard hap! Alas, what did man loſe? what did he find! who loſt his bleſſedneſs to which he was made; and found death to which he was not made.'

The Life of NICEPHORUS, *who flouriſhed*, anno Chriſti, 1110.

NICEPHORUS, a man of profound judgment and learning, both in humanity and divinity, flouriſhed under Andronicus ſenior the emperor, *anno Chriſti* 1110. He was a great light, when the world was in great darkneſs, and both by his life and doctrine illuminated many; he wrote his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory in eighteen books in Greek, and dedicated them to the emperor Andronicus, and not long after exchanged this life for eternal glory.

He ſaid, 'God beholds and moderates our actions, uſing the ſcourge of affliction for our caſtigation, and converſion; and after due correction, ſhews his fatherly affection to thoſe that truſt in him for ſalvation' And 'Chriſt aſked Peter three times if he loved him; not for his own information, but that by his threefold profeſſion, he might help and heal his threefold negation of him.

The Life of BERNARD, *who died* anno Chriſti 1153.

BERNARD was born in Burgundy in the town of Fontaine; his father's name was Tecellinus, of an ancient family, and a brave ſoldier: but that which moſt commended him was that he feared God, and loved juſtice, and following the counſel of John the baptiſt, he did wrong to no man, and was content with his wages. His mother's name was Aleth, of the caſtle called Mont-bar, a woman eminent for piety, chaſtity, and charity, bringing up her children in the fear of God: ſhe had ſeven children, ſix ſons, and one daughter, all which ſhe nurſed with her own breaſts. Bernard was her third ſon, whom from his infancy (with Hannah) ſhe devoted to the ſervice of God, and therefore brought him not up tenderly and delicately, but inured him to courſe fare, and hardſhip; and as ſoon as he was of capacity, inſtilled into him the knowlege of the ſacred ſcriptures, and inſtructed him in the principles of religion; and finding him to be of an acute wit, ready apprehenſion, firm memory, comely feature, of courteous and meek deportment, and much addicted to learning, ſhe ſet him to ſchool betimes to Caſtillion, under the care and tuition of able ſchool maſters: and the boy being pioufly addicted, ſtudious, and of a quick apprehenſion, eaſily anſwered his mother's deſire and expectation, profiting in learning above his age, and out ſtripping all his ſchool fellows, and withal ſhewed a great contempt of all earthly things; and indeed he was very ſimple in all worldly affairs.

He ſhunned company, and affected retiredneſs; was much in meditation; obedient to his parents; grateful and courteous to all; he was exceeding ſhamefaced and modeſt; loved not to ſpeak much; towards God very devout, that he might keep himſelf pure in his childhood: and amongſt other learning, he was frequent in reading the holy ſcriptures, that from thence he might learn to know and ſerve

God:

God: ſo that it cannot be imagined how much he profited in a ſhort time.

Whilſt he was yet a boy, he was much troubled with a pain in his head, and lying upon his bed, there was brought to him a woman who had undertaken to cure him with certain verſes and charms: but as ſoon as he heard her begin to utter her verſes, wherewith ſhe uſed to deceive the ſimple, he cryed out with great indignation to have her taken away from him, ſaying, that he had rather endure the hand of God, than to be cured by the power of the devil: and God had reſpect to the zeal of the boy; for preſently after he was freed from his pain. What money was given him whilſt he was thus young, he privately gave it away to the poor. When he was grown to be a young man, his mother having ſeen him to exceed her expectation, falling ſick, quietly reſigned up her ſpirit unto God; and Bernard began now to grow famous for his ſtrict courſe of life, elegancy of feature, ſweet manners, ſharp wit, an eloquent tongue; ſo that many opportunities were put into his hand whereby he might have attained to great dignity in the world: hereupon the devil who watcheth all opportunities to do miſchief, laid his ſnares for him, ſeeking to draw him to uncleanneſs, and preſenting an object, whilſt Bernard for a time fixed his eyes too firmly upon her, he began to feel the burnings of his youthly luſts to ſtir in him: but quickly coming to himſelf, he bluſhed for ſhame, and purpoſing revenge, he preſently ran into a pool (the weather being cold) up to the neck, where he continued till he was almoſt ſtarved, thereby quenching that inward flame which before ſcorched him: and withal ſtudying how to avoid ſuch ſnares and temptations for the time to come, he reſolved to enter into a monaſtery of the Ciſtericans, which was the ſtricteſt order of friers, perſuading himſelf that there he might live retired from the world, and enjoy the freer communion with God; but this purpoſe of his coming to the ears of his brethren and friends, they laboured by all means to diſſwade him, exhorting him rather to continue in his ſtudies of humane learning, which might bring him to preferment in the world.

This tentation had almoſt prevailed with him, till the remembrance of his mother's purpoſe and care to ſet him apart for the ſervice of God came into his mind; and then retiring into a private place, he poured out his prayers well watered with tears unto God, ſeeking unto him for direction and counſel, and from that day forward he was confirmed in his reſolution, and could by no means be removed from the ſame: yea, his zeal was ſuch, that he reſted not till he had perſuaded four of his brethren to leave the world, and all their worldly preferments, and to join with him in the ſame courſe of life: and when they had taken their leave of their father, and were going towards the monaſtery, they ſaw their younger brother (Nivard) a boy playing among boys, to whom Guido the elder brother ſaid, 'Farewel brother Nivard, behold we leave to you all our earthly poſſeſſions:' but he preſently anſwered, 'You will take heaven, and leave me the earth, this is no equal diviſion: and ſo going to his father, after a while he reſolved to leave all, and to enter into the ſame courſe of life with his brethren, which he did accordingly.

Theſe brethren being thus entred into the monaſtery, lived under the government of one Steven, who was their abbot which was. *anno Chriſti* 1113. and in the 22 year of Bernards age. When Bernard entred into this courſe of life, he intended wholly to ſequeſter himſelf from the world; but God intended otherwiſe, who had prepared him to be a veſſel of honour for his own glory: this Bernard knew not, and therefore lived privately in his cell; ſpending his time in ſtudy, meditation, and prayer, often ſaying to himſelf, Bernard, Bernard, Remember for what end thou cameſt hither!

He allowed himſelf very little time for ſleep, often complaining that all that time was loſt; and indeed in ſo ſparing a dyet as he uſed, there was need of the leſs ſleep: for he never indulged himſef in either, neither eating nor ſleeping to fatiety. Yea, by his rigid abſtinence he ſo weakened his ſtomach, that he was ſcarce able to retain food when he had eaten it, and that little which he did retain ſerved rather to retard death, than to prolong his life: yet all this while he remitted nothing of his ſtudies and labours: inſomuch as equalled the other monks in digging of the ground, felling of wood, and carrying it home upon his ſhoulders; and when his ſtrength failed, he buſied himſelf about meaner ſervices; and whenſoever he had any intermiſſion he ſpent his time in prayer, and reading the ſacred ſcriptures, which afterwards in the midſt of his bodily labours he meditated over again.

He read alſo the beſt expoſitors, yet took far more delight in the fountain, than in theſe ſtreams, whereby he became very mighty in the ſcriptures, which ſtood him in great uſe, when afterwards he became a preacher. Shortly after Steven ſent forth ſome of theſe brethren to build the monaſtery of Clarævall, appointing Bernard to be their abbot. The place was in the territory of the Lingones, not far from the river Alba, where they lived in penury, hunger, thirſt, cold, watchings, and prayer; and Bernard underſtanding that the miniſtry of the word was much wanting in that country, burning with a zeal to ſave ſouls, reſolved to ſet upon that work, and ſeeking one by whom he might be ordained miniſter, he pitched upon the biſhop of Catalonia, to whom when he came, and had converſed a while with him, there grew a very ſtrict bond of friendſhip betwixt them.

After his ordination he was very frequent and fervent in preaching the word of God whereſoever he came, whereby he grew very famous. Yet Otho biſhop of Friſing, who was his cotemporary, blameth him for three things: 1. For his jealouſy, which carried him away with wrong conceits. 2. For credulity, or lightneſs of belief, giving ear to tale-bearers and liars with too much facility, which made him ſo earneſt againſt the Goſpellers, who were better men than himſelf. 3. For prejudice, eſpecially againſt learned men, who by the help of art ſoared aloft like eagles beyond the pitch of his capacity: for though himſelf had an excellent natural wit, yet he was little ſtudied in the arts and ſciences, and whoſoever went not in the rote way of learning, ſubmitted his reaſon to the dictates and phraſes of the Roman church, him would Bernard ſuſpect for an heretic.

Anno Chriſti 1153. he fell ſick, and wrote this letter to Arnold abbot of Bonæval, who deſired to know how he did in his ſickneſs. 'We received your letter in love, ſaith he, and not in pleaſure; for what pleaſure can there be where pain and bitterneſs challengeth all unto itſelf? Only it is a little delightful to me to eat nothing. Sleep hath departed from me, that ſorrow and pain may never depart from me, by the benefit of my ſenſes lulled aſleep. The want of a ſtomach is almoſt all that I ſuffer; only it requireth often both day and night to be comforted with a very little liquor whatſoever it be; but if at any time I admit of a little more, it is moſt grievous to me; my feet and thighs be ſwoln as theirs who are troubled with a dropſy. And in all theſe things (that I may conceal nothing from my friend who deſires to know the ſtate of his friend) the ſpirit is willing, but the fleſh is weak. Pray unto my Saviour who deſireth not the death of a ſinner, not that he will defer, but that he will guard my departure by his bleſſed angels. Take ye care that my hull, which is naked of merits, be ſtrengthened and defended by your prayers; that he which layeth in wait may not find where to faſten his tooth, and inflict a wound. Farewel.'

A little before his death all the monks came and aſked him whether he did not take pity on them, and their monaſtery? to which he anſwered, that he was in a great ſtrait, not knowing which to chuſe, life or death; but left all to the will of God: 'For, ſaith he, my fatherly love moves me to pity you my children, ſo as to deſire to remain here: but on the other ſide my deſire to be with Chriſt, draws me to long to depart hence.' His humility was ſuch that he called himſelf an unprofitable ſervant: a dry tree, from whom no good had come either to himſelf or others. He died Aug. 20. *anno Chriſti* 1153. and in the 63d year of his age.

He accompanied the biſhop of Huſſia, the pope's legat, to Thouloufe, purpoſely to root out thoſe whom he called heretics, but indeed were the true ſervants of Chriſt: and being too facile and miſinformed himſelf, he miſreported their opinions and doctrines, ſhewing himſelf the ground-

factor for two popes, viz. Innocent II. and Eugenius III. One Adam, a canon regular, made this epitaph on him;

Clarae sunt valles, sed claris vallibus Abbas
Clarior, his clarum nomen in orbe dedit.
Clarus avis, clarus meritis, & clarus honore,
Claruit ingenio, at Religione magis.
Mors est clara, cinis clarus, clarumque sepulchrum,
Clarior exultat spiritus ante Deum.

He had many opinions differing from the church of Rome: as that there were but two sacraments: denied transubstantiation: that the wicked receive not Christ's flesh. That we are justified by the imputation of Christs righteousness. That man's righteousness justifieth not before God. That we might be assured of our salvation. Denied works of supererogation, free-will. Would not have traditions obstinately defended nor superstitiously observed. Complained that popes and bishops were the greatest persecutors of Christ, &c.'

He used to say, 'Ambition is a gilded misery, a secret poison, a hidden plague, the engineer of deceit, the mother of hypocrisy, the parent of envy, the original of vices, the moth of holiness, the blinder of hearts, turning medicines into maladies, and remedies into diseases. Ever when he came to the church door, he used to say thus to himself, stay here all my worldly thoughts, and all vanity, that I may entertain heavenly meditations.

His works are well known being bound up together in one volume.

The Life of Peter Lombard, *who flourished* anno Christi, 1196.

Peter Lombard was born at Navaria, afterwards made bishop of Paris, was cotemporary with Gratian; and as Gratian gathered canons, so this Peter collected sentences out of Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine, Cassiodore, and Remigius, and out of them, with some addition of his own, compiled his books. He wrote comentaries on the Psalms, and Paul's epistles: he was called The master of the sentences; in respect of them all the famous school men that followed him are called but scholars; and when they are named together, they are thus cited, The master and his scholars. He died the thirteenth of the kalends of August, *anno Christi* 1164. He lyeth entombed at Paris, in the church of St. Marcellus, with this epitaph:

Here lyeth Peter Lombard, B. B. of Paris, who compoled the books of sentences, and the glosses of the Psalms and epistles.

His chiefest works were his four books of sentences: whereof,

The first book contains the sentences of the fathers, concerning the trinity and unity of God.

The second book contains the sentences of the fathers, concerning the creation of the world, especially of the creation of angels and men; and concerning the grace of God.

The third is concerning the incarnation of the word, and of virtues and vices.

The fourth is concerning the sacraments and the last things.

By which book appears that the popery of those times, and this of our days, is much different; and that many things which in his time passed for sound divinity, is now cried out against as Calvinism and heresy, and will not be endured, either in their schools or pulpits.

Some of his sayings were, there can no good dwell in us that cannot will good: nor can we perfect good that cannot desire good. There are in us evil concupiscences and desires, which are the devils weapons, whereby when God forsakes us, he over-throws us, and gives our souls a deadly wound. God condemns none before he sins, nor crowns any before he overcomes. Let none glory in the gifts of preachers, in that they edify more by them: for they are not authors of grace, but ministers. The instruction of words is not so powerful, as the exhortation of works: for in vain they teach well, neglect to do well, they shall hardly profit their audience.

The Life of Alexander Hales, *who died* anno Christi, 1270.

Alexander of Hales was born at Hales in Glocestershire, carefully educated; of an excellent wit; and very industrious He travelled into other countries; read a long time in Paris; he made there the Sum of Divinity, divided into four parts: a great school-divine, and was called *Doctor irrefragabilis*. He was master to Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas: he writ a most copious and notable sum of theology, by the command of pope Innocent IV. He wrote marginal notes upon the Old and New Testament, and commented upon most of the bible. His life was full of charity and labour. He died *anno Christi* 1245.

His sayings, A soul patient when wrongs are offered, is like a man with a sword in one hand, and salve in the other; could wound, but will heal.

What the eye is to the body, faith is to the soul; it is good for direction if it be kept well; and as flies hurt the eye, so little sins and ill thoughts the soul.

Covetousness deserves the hate of all, for six reasons: 1. It is a sin against nature, making the soul terrene, which should be celestial. 2. For the many curses against it in the word, wo to them that join house to house, &c. 3. For the many evils it subjects us to: it is the root of all evil. 4. It makes a man a fool: O fool, this night, &c. 5. It causes strifes: from whence are strifes, &c. 6. It brings men into snares which drown in perdition.

Every lie is odious, but that most, which is against points of faith: as to say, Christ was not born of the virgin, &c. Faith must be defended, not opposed.

An humble man is a good tree; the more full of fruit the branches are, the lower they bend themselves.

The Life of Bonaventure, *who died* anno Christi, 1274.

Bonaventure, was born in Etruria in Italy, of noble and devout parents; he was of a winning countenance, very studious, and a great follower of Alexander Hales. He engraved in his study that saying of our Lord, Learn of me, for I am meek, &c. and to keep his mind from swelling, he would sweep rooms, wash vessels, make beds, &c. He was very cheerful in ministring to the poor; and when he met with any persons that were troubled in mind, he would not leave them till they found comfort.

He was much in meditation and prayer: in preaching he sought to inflame the hearts of his hearers: his words were not *inflantia*; but *inflammantia*, not high swelling, but inflaming. He hated idleness: read over the whole body of the fathers, and out of them made that famous piece that he calls his Pharetra. He wrote two bibles out with his own hand, and had most of them by heart.

After three years study in Paris he was chosen divinity-reader there. He was called doctor Seraphicus, was present at the council of Lions, where having spent himself in pious actions and painful studies, he died *anno Christi* 1274. and of his age 53.

The Life of Aquinas, *who died* anno Christi 1274.

Thomas Aquinas was born in Italy, not far from Naples, *anno Christi* 1223. and was bred in the monastery of Cassine; he was humble, modest, grave, industrious, and witty; zealous, and frequent in prayer.

He afterwards taught the sciences, in Paris. Rome, Bononia, and Naples. He was always either at his book, disputations or meditations: insomuch that supping at court with Lewis the French king, whilst others were discoursing of pleasant matters, he was so deep in his meditions, that forgetting himself, he struck the table with his hand, saying *Jam contra Manichaeos confutatum est*, That now the Manichees were foiled. He was a great contemner of worldly honours and wealth: when promotions were offered, his usual answer was, *Chrysostomi commenta-*

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rium in Matthæum mallem, I had rather have Chryſoſtom's commentary on Matthew. In teaching, he framed his ſpeech to the peoples capacity: in reproofs, he hated the vice, but ſpared the perſon. He died as he was going from Naples to a council at Lyons, being called thither by pope Gregory the X. *anno Chriſti* 1274. in the fiftieth year of his age. He was called doctor Angelicus.

He uſed to ſay, 'That a day will come when fair dealing ſhall be found a jewel: when a good conſcience ſhall be better than a good purſe; for then the judge will not be put off with fair words, nor drawn aſide with hope of reward; and, make much of time, eſpecially in that weighty matter of ſalvation. O how much would he that now lies frying in hell rejoice if he might have but the leaſt moment of time wherein he might get God's favour! and, the young man hath death at his back, the old man before his eyes: and that's the more dangerous enemy that purſues thee, than that which marches up towards thy face: remembring that though God promiſe forgiveneſs to repentant ſinners, yet he doth not promiſe that they ſhall have to morrow to repent in.

His works are many, which are well known.

The Life of JOHN WICKLIEF, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1384.

JOHN WICKLIEF an Engliſh man born, famous both for life and learning, under king Edward the III. *anno Chriſti* 1371. was brought up in Merton college in Oxford, profited exceedingly in the knowlege of the arts, and ſchool-divinity, every one admiring both his carriage and abilities. He was divinity reader in Oxford, and alſo preferred to a paſtoral charge there, in which he took great pains, and proteſted that his chief end and purpoſe, was to call back the church from her idolatry, eſpecially in the matter of the ſacrament.

After he had now a long time profeſſed divinity in Oxford, perceiving the true doctrine of Chriſt's goſpel to be adulterated, and defiled with ſo many filthy inventions of biſhops, ſects of monks, and errors, with many ſecret ſighs bewailing the general ignorance of the Chriſtian world, he could no longer ſuffer, nor endure the ſame, whereupon he reſolved to do his utmoſt endeavour for the reformation thereof: but withal foreſeeing how dangerous this attempt would be, for that ſuch things as by long uſe and cuſtom had been rooted in mens minds, could not ſuddenly be eradicated and pulled out, he judged it fitteſt to attempt the ſame by little and little. Whereupon he firſt aſſailed his adverſaries by logical and metaphyſical queſtions, and having made way hereby, he at length came to the matter of the ſacraments, and other abuſes of the church.

But this bile could not be touched without great grief and pain to the whole world: for firſt the rabble of monks and begging fryars were enraged againſt him, who (as ſo many hornets) aſſaulted him on every ſide: after them the prieſts, and laſtly the archbiſhop Simon Sudbury took him in hand, who deprived him from his benefice which he had in Oxford: yet being befriended and ſupported by the king, he remained there ſtill till about the year 1377. But the king growing old and infirm, and his ſon called Edward the black prince being now dead, a parliament was conveened, whereing twelve ſage and diſcreet lords and peers were choſen to manage the affairs of the ſtate (ſix at one time, and ſix at another) who remained for a certain ſpace in that employment: but they afterwards being removed, the whole government of the realm under the king was devolved upon John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter. This John was a great friend to Wicklief: whereupon to diſgrace him, the biſhop of Wincheſter reported that the ſaid John was not king Edward's ſon; nor of the queen, who being in travel at Gaunt, had no ſon, but a daughter, which was overlaid by the mother in bed: whereupon the queen, fearing the king's diſpleaſure, cauſed a man child of a woman of Flanders, born the ſame day with her own, to be ſecretly brought to her, whom ſhe brought up, and is now called duke of Lancaſter; and this, (as the biſhop affirmed) the queen told him upon her death bed under the ſeal of confeſſion; yet withal enjoining him if the kingdom were like to fall to him, to reveal it, ſo that a falſe heir might not be king; which ſlanderous report of the wicked biſhop, as it favoured of a contumelious lie; ſo many apprehended that it proceeded from his zeal to uphold his popiſh religion; the foreſaid duke favouring Wicklief, and thereby declared himſelf to be a profeſſed enemy to their ſuperſtitious practiſes.

The duke being juſtly incenſed againſt the biſhop for this foul ſlander, ſo perſecuted him in parliament, that he was condemned, and deprived of all his temporal goods; he was alſo inhibited from coming within twenty miles of the court: but ſhortly after the clergy made great tuit in the parliament in his behalf: and when a ſubſidy was aſked in the king's name of the clergy, the biſhops complained grievouſly for the lack of their brother of Wincheſter, and enforced the archbiſhop to ſend for him from Wincheſter, to appear at the convocation of the clergy, which he gladly did, and was joyfully received by the biſhops; and by means of one Alice Perris, a wicked harlot, which had bewitched the king's heart, he was reſtored to his temporalities again.

In the mean time the duke of Lancaſter ſent for Wicklief from Oxford, who had now proceeded ſo far as to teach, that in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper the accidents of bread and wine remained not without the ſubſtance: proving his aſſertion by the authority of ſcriptures and the ancient fathers, and withal rejecting ſuch as had written upon that argument ſince *anno* 1000. ſaying that after that time Satan was looſed, and men were led into many errors. For theſe things the biſhop hated him exceedingly; yet by the favour of the duke of Lancaſter, and of Henry lord Percy, he was preſerved from their rage and fury, till *anno Chriſti* 1376. at which time they had prevailed with their archbiſhop Simon Sudbury, who had before deprived him, and prohibited him to meddle any more in thoſe matters, to ſend forth his citation to have him brought before them. The duke having notice hereof, and fearing that he being but one, ſhould be too weak for ſuch a multitude, ſent for four batchelors of divinity to join with him; and for more ſurety, when the day of his appearance was come, himſelf with the lord Percy, marſhal of England went along with him.

As they went along, they encouraged him not to fear the faces of the biſhops, who (ſay they) are all unlearned in compariſon of you, neither be you troubled at the concourſe of the people for we will defend you from them.

Being thus encouraged, Wicklief approached Paul's church, where multitudes of perſons were aſſembled to hear what ſhould be ſpoken and done, inſomuch as the lord Marſhal could ſcarce make way in the crowd: whereupon Courtney the biſhop of London ſeeing what ſtir he made amongſt the people, ſaid to him, 'If I had known what maſteries you would have plaid amongſt the people, I would have kept you out of this place:' at which ſpeech the duke being offended, ſaid that he would keep ſuch maſtery there, though he ſaid nay. When they came to the place where the archbiſhops ſat, Wicklief preſented himſelf before them to know what ſhould be laid to his charge. Then the lord Percie ſpeaking to him, bade him ſit down, for that having many things to anſwer to, he had need have a ſoft ſeat: whereupon the biſhop of London growing into a great fume, ſaid, he ſhould not ſit there, neither ſaid he, is it according to law or reaſon, that he that is cited to appear before his ordinary ſhould ſit down during the time of his anſwer, but ſhould ſtand.

This kindled ſuch a fire betwixt them, the one rating and reviling the other, that the people b gan all to be on a hurry: then the duke taking the lord Percie's part, gave ſome haſty words to the biſhop; but neither did the biſhop ſpare him one jot, returning rebukes for rebukes, ſo that the duke was aſhamed that the biſhop ſhould out rail him, telling him that he would take a courſe to bring down his pride, and of all the prelates in England: hereupon the Londoners cried out, that they would rather loſe their lives than ſuffer their biſhop to be abuſed: ſo that all things being in a confuſion, the aſſembly was diſſolved for that time: and the duke with the lord Percie returning to the parliament, that day a bill was put up in the name of the king by the lord Thomas of Woodſtock, (another of the king's ſons) and the lord Percie, that Lon-

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don ſhould be no more governed by a mayor, but by a captain, as formerly it had been, and that the marſhal of England ſhould have all the power in taking the arreſts in the city, as he had in other cities.

This bill one John Philpot, a burgeſs for London, ſtoutly oppoſed; and the next day the Londoners aſſembled themſelves together in council to conſider what to do about it: and whilſt they were in conſultation, came in two lords, the lord Fitz-Walter, and the lord Guy Brian, whom the vulgar ſort taking to be ſpies, were ready to flie upon them, till they were enforced to ſwear that they came for no harm towards them; and that if it proved otherwiſe they would be content to forfeit all their goods and poſſeſſions in the city. Then did the lord Fitz-Walter tell them of his love to them, and of his care to preſerve their liberties, which ſaid he, 'If you do not ſpeedily look to, and prevent, you will loſe the ſame; for at this time the lord Marſhal hath one of your citizens in priſon in his houſe,' &c. This was no ſooner ſpoken, but the raſh citizens ran to their houſes, armed themſelves, and going to the lord Percie's houſe, brake open his gates, reſcued the priſoner, took the ſtocks and burnt them in midſt of the city, ſearched and ranſacked his houſe for the lord himſelf; whom if they had found, they would certainly have ſlain: and when they found him not, they tore and cut his rich beds and hangings in pieces; and then ſuppoſing him to be with the duke, they ran to the Savoy, were though they were diſappointed of their cruel purpoſe, yet they took the duke's arms, and hung them up in a reproachful manner in the midſt of the city, as if he had been a traitor: they alſo ſo wounded a prieſt that ſpake in his defence, that he died within a few days after, and meeting one of the duke's men with his arms hanging in a plate on his breaſt, they pulled him off his horſe, pulled the arms from him, and had ſlain the man but that he was ſpeedily reſcued by the mayor.

But theſe outrages created much trouble to the Londoners, which being beſide my purpoſe, I ſhall leave the reader to ſearch them out in the chronicles of thoſe times.

Shortly after the old king Edward died, and his grandſon Richard the II. ſucceeded him: upon which change the biſhops taking notice that the duke and the lord Percie had given over their offices, living privately at their own houſes without meddling with ſtate affairs, they thought it a fit time to revenge themſelves upon John Wicklief: whereupon they cauſed theſe articles to be gathered and drawn up out of his ſermons againſt him.

1. That the holy euchariſt after the conſecration is not the very body and blood of Chriſt, but figuratively.

2. That the church of Rome is not the head of all other churches in the world: nor that Peter had any more power given him by Chriſt, than any other of the apoſtles.

3. That the pope of Rome hath no more power of the keys than any other preſbyter.

4. That the lords temporal may lawfully take away the temporalities of the church-men offending *habitualiter*.

5. That the goſpel is of itſelf a ſufficient rule both of faith and manners without any other rule.

6. That neither the pope, nor any other prelate ought to have priſons of their own wherein to puniſh offenders, &c.

Theſe with ſome others the biſhops gathered out of his ſermons and writings, which they ſent to pope Gregory, who condemned them for heretical and erroneous by twenty three cardinals; and withal ſent his bull to Oxford, rebuking them ſharply for ſuffering Wicklief's doctrine ſo long to take root amongſt them, and for not wholly eradicating the ſame; which bull being exhibited by the pope's meſſenger to the proctors and maſters of the univerſity, they deliberated long amongſt themſelves whether they ſhould receive it with honour, or reject it with contempt. The pope alſo at the ſame time ſent letters to the archbiſhop Sudbury, and biſhop Courtney of London, commanding them to apprehend and impriſon Wicklief, and to admoniſh the king and nobles of England, that they ſhould not give any credit to John Wicklief or his doctrine in any wiſe. He wrote alſo at the ſame time to the king, deſiring him to aſſiſt the biſhops in the apprehenſion and impriſonment of John Wicklief.

Theſe letters ſo encouraged the biſhops, that they reſolved to proceed againſt him in their provincial council, all fear or favour being ſet apart, and that no perſon neither high nor low ſhould hinder them, neither would they be induced to favour him neither by intreaty, threatnings, nor reward; but that they would proceed roundly with him. tho' it ſhould be to the hazard of their lives. But it pleaſed God by a ſmall matter to confound and overthrow their devices, notwithſtanding all their proud brags and policies: For the day of examination being come, there came in a courtier amongſt them called Lewis Clifford, a man of no great birth, and commanded them that they ſhould not proceed to any definitive ſentence againſt John Wicklief, wherewith the biſhops were ſo amazed and creſt-faln, that they became as mute men, not having one word to anſwer.

And thus it pleaſed God by his providence thus once more to deliever Mr Wicklief out of their cruel hands: and one that writes this ſtory ſaith further, that whilſt the biſhops were ſitting in the chappel at Lambeth upon John Wicklief, not only the citizens of London, but (ſaith he) the vile abjects of the city were ſo bold as to intreat for him, and to ſtop the biſhops in their proceedings. And thus was Wicklief diſmiſſed, the biſhops charging him that he ſhould preach no more ſuch doctrine to the offence and hurt of the lay people: yet being departed, he ceaſed not to proceed in his godly purpoſe, going up and down bare footed, and in a frize gown, endeavouring by his miniſtry ſtill to edify and profit the church as formerly he had done. And God's providence ſo ordered it, that about the ſame time pope Gregory the 11th died; whereupon enſued ſuch a ſchiſm in the church of Rome between two popes, and others ſucceeding after them, that it continued 39. years, even to the council of Conſtance.

About the ſame time alſo, or ſhortly after, there aroſe a cruel commotion of the commons under Jack Straw, where the rude multitude taking Simon Sudbury archbiſhop of Canterbury beheaded him, whom William Courtney biſhop of London ſucceeded, who was very zealous and diligent againſt the hereſies of Wicklief, (as he called them.)

Alſo in the year 1380. William Barton being vicechancelor of Oxford, called together eight monaſtical doctors, and four others, and having the conſent of others of that fraternity, he ſet forth an edict under the common ſeal, threatning all under a grievous penalty, if they ſhould be ſo hardy as to aſſociate themſelves with any of the faults of Wicklief: and to Wicklief himſelf he threatned the greater excommunication and impriſonment, both to him and his favourers, unleſs within three days after Canonical warning they repented and ammended.

Wicklief underſtanding this, reſolved to forſake the pope, and all his clergy, and to appeal to the king: but the duke of Lancaſter being now inveigled by the biſhops, interpoſed, forbidding him not to attempt any ſuch thing, but rather to ſubmit to his ordinary: Wicklief finding himſelf hereby in this great ſtrait, was forced to make a confeſſion of his doctrine, and therein to qualify his aſſertions after ſuch a ſort that thereby he aſſwaged the rigor of his enemies.

Anno 1382. Archbiſhop Courtney appointed a convocation to be held at London, principally againſt Wicklief, wherein this memorable accident fell out: When they were all gathered together at the Gray-Fryars in London, juſt at the very inſtant when they were beginning their buſineſs againſt Wicklief, there fell out a wonderful and terrible earthquake thro' all England, whereupon divers of the Suffragans being frighted with the terror of it, thought good to leave off their further proceeding therein: yet did the archbiſhop carry on his deſign, declaring ſome of Wicklief's doctrines to be heretical, others erroneous, and others irreligious and ſeditious, and not conſonant to the doctrine of the church of Rome; and not content herewith, he ſo prevailed with the young king, that he procured letters patents to be directed from the king to himſelf, wherein are theſe words;

'Foraſmuch as the archbiſhop of Canterbury hath made his ſupplication to us for the coercion, and due caſtigation of

of all ſuch as ſhall henceforth obſtinately preach and maintain any of thoſe concluſions which in the late convocation have been adjudged heretical, &c. requeſting that we would vouchſafe to put to the arm and helping hand of our kingly power: we therefore moved by the zeal of the catholic faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders, and being unwilling that any ſuch hereſies ſhould ſpring up within our dominions: give, and grant licenſe and authority by theſe preſents unto the aforeſaid archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, to arreſt, and impriſon either in their own priſons, or elſewhere, all and every ſuch perſon and perſons as ſhall either privily, or openly preach, or maintain the aforeſaid concluſions, &c. further, charging and commanding all our leigh men, miniſters and ſubjects, upon their fidelity and allegiance neither to favour, counſel nor help ſuch preachers or maintainers of the aforeſaid concluſions, upon pain of forfeiting all that they have; but to obey, and humbly to attend upon the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans in the execution of theſe preſents,' &c.

The like letters the king wrote alſo to the vice chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, requiring him to give notice, that none ſhould be ſo bold as to entertain Mr John Wicklief, or any of his followers into their houſes, or to communicate with them; which if any did, that he ſhould baniſh them the univerſity and town of Oxford, till they ſhould prove their innocency before the archbiſhop of Canterbury; yea, this young king, preſſed by the violent importunity of the archbiſhop, wrote another letter to the vicechancellor and proctors of the univerſity, ſtraitly charging and commanding them to make a general inquiſition through the whole univerſity, as well for Wicklief and his followers, as for all others which were ſuſpected to be maintainers, receivers or defenders of thoſe perſons, or their opinions any manner of way, and all ſuch to apprehend and expel the univerſity, and to ſend them up to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be further proceeded againſt by him: as alſo to attach and ſeize upon all their books, and to ſend them to the ſaid archbiſhop: and this to do as they would avoid the forfeiting of all the liberties and privileges of the univerſity, &c. John Wicklief was hereupon either baniſhed or retired for a while to ſome ſecret place; but ere long he returned to his perſonage of Lutterworth in Liecеſterſhire, where after all theſe ſtorms, he at laſt died in peace, *anno Chriſti*, 1384.

He wrote very many books, many of which were burnt at Oxford, *anno Chriſti* 1410. Æneas Sylvius writes that Subincus archbiſhop of Prague burnt two hundred volumes of his, excellently written, richly covered and adorned with boſſes of gold: one that had all his works, wrote that they were as big as the works of St. Auguſtine.

Mr Wicklief received his firſt knowlege of the truth from one fryar Rainard Lollard, who brought the doctrine of the Waldenſes into England, and from whom his diſciples were called Lollards. Mr Wicklief was an eloquent man, and ſo profound a ſcholar, that he drew the hearts of many noble perſonages to affect and favour him; whereby he was ſheltred from the rage of the popiſh clergy, till pope Gregory the XI. raiſed up a perſecution by the monks inquiſitors againſt him.

All his books were commanded to be burnt; but he had before enlightned ſo great a number, who kept his books carefully, maugre all the diligence of his adverſaries; ſo that they could never wholly deprive the church of them. For the more they laboured by horrible threats, and death itſelf, to hinder the knowlege and reading of them, the more were many kindled in their affections to read them with ardency.

He wrote above a hundred volumes againſt Antichriſt and the church of Rome. *Multos præterea in Philoſophia, multos quibus St. Scripturam interpretatus eſt, edidit: Quorum Catalogum videre eſt apud Baleum in ſuis Centuriis. Tranſtulit etiam Wiclevus in Anglicum ſermonem Biblia, adhibitis præfationibus, & argumentis cuique libro ſuis. Vertit & Libro*, 12. *Clementis, Lanthonienſis Eccleſiæ Preſbyteri, De concordia Evangeliſtarum, cum multis veterum Doctorum Tractatibus.*

He was a great enemy to the ſwarms of begging fryars, with whom it was harder to make war than with the pope himſelf. He denied the pope to be the head of the church, and pronounced him to be the Antichriſt: he confuted and condemned his doctrine about bulls, indulgences, maſſes, &c. He affirmed the ſcripture to be the ſupreme judge of controverſies, condemned tranſubſtantiation, &c. He was a painful and faithful preacher under king Edward the III. who always favoured and protected him againſt the rage of his adverſaries: by his means the pope loſt in England his power of ordaining biſhops, the tenth of benefices, and peter-pence; whereupon Polidore Virgil calls him an infamous heretic.

He was buried at his parſonage of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire. His dead body being digged up 51 years after: viz. 1428. by the command of pope Martin the V. and the council of Sene, was burnt: and thus he ſuffered their cruelty after death, whoſe cruelty he had preached againſt in his life. He wrote above two hundred volumes, moſt of which were burnt by the archbiſhop of Prague.

This Mr Wicklief, a courageous witneſs of the truth, was firſt fellow of Merton college, and afterwards Mr of Baliol college in Oxford.

In his book entitled, *The Path-way to perfect Knowlege*, he ſheweth what pains he had taken in tranſlating the Bible into Engliſh. How he had gotten many old Latin Bibles. For the late books (ſaith he) are very corrupt. And he employed many learned men to aſſiſt him in his fourth tranſlation of it.

He taught, that the truth of the goſpel ſufficeth to ſalvation without obſerving the legal ceremonies. He urged Chriſtian men and women, young and old to ſtudy the ſcriptures frequently, eſpecially the New Teſtament, which (ſaid he) 'is full of authority, and gives underſtanding to the ſimple, eſpecially in all points needful to ſalvation, &c. And though kings and lords know no more of the ſcriptures, but what is written of Jehoſaphat, Hezekiah, and Joſiah, yet may they learn thence ſufficiently to live well; to govern their people by the law of God: to eſchew all pride, idolatry, and other ſins.

But alas! alas! alas! (ſaith he) whereas king Jehoſaphat ſent his princes, prieſts, and levites to teach God's law openly in every city; Chriſtian lords, now a days, ſend to all their leige people, the pope's pardons (which are open lies, granting many hundred years pardon after doom't day) to be preached generally in their dominions! and if any be found to ſpeak againſt the errors of Antichriſt, &c. he ſhall be impriſoned, and proceeded againſt as a traitor to God, and his prince. And whereas king Hezekiah buſied himſelf in cleanſing God's houſe, &c. Chriſtian lords defile the ſanctuary of God by bringing in Symoniacal clerks, that are full of covetouſneſs and hereſy, of hypocriſy, and malice, ſeeking to hinder God's law from being known, and kept, and freely preached: yea, ſome of theſe great ones keep many prelates, and curates in their courts, and employ them in ſecular offices, which is againſt the laws both of God, and men, &c.

'Whereupon, its much to be feared, that kings and lords have ſinned with Manaſſe: God gave them to repent with Manaſſe. Now in England a man may be protected againſt the perſecution of prelates, if he will ſwear needleſs, falſe, and unadviſed oaths, as by the bones, nails, ſides, and other members of Chriſt. If he will be proud and leacherous, and not meddle with God's law, or reprove ſin, &c. But if a man abſtain from needleſs oaths and unlawful; and, out of charity to mens ſouls, ſhall reprove ſin, this is cauſe enough for prelates, and ſome lords to ſlander them, and to call them Lollards, heretics, raiſers of ſtrife, and treaſon againſt the king: how much blood many lords have ſhed in the wars, by the inſtigation of prelates, their confeſſors, and preachers, it paſſeth man's wit to ſet down. They alſo ſlay poor Chriſtians by withdrawing their alms from them, which they gave to ſtocks, and ſtones, and to rich clerks, and feigned religious perſons: they kneel and pray to dead images, and yet beat and ſlay Chriſtian men. What honouring of God is this?' &c.

But the ſchiſm of the anti popes gave ſome reſpite unto Wicklief, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſlain in a diſſention between the nobility and the commons. But his ſucceſſor (William Courtney) was more violent againſt him than the former, and prevailed with the king, to baniſh him. He procured an act alſo in the fifth year of

this young king (Richard II.) for the impriſoning of heretics, as he called them.

Mr Wicklief in the time of his baniſhment, wrote to pope Urbane, a confeſſion of his faith, wherein he affirmed, That ſeeing the biſhop of Rome called himſelf Chriſt's vicar, of all men he was moſt bound to follow the laws of Chriſt in his goſpel; ſeeing that the greateſt amongſt Chriſt's diſciples conſiſted not in worldly honours, but in their exact imitation of the life of Chriſt and his doctrine. He alſo therein adviſed the pope to leave all temporal rule to the ſecular powers, as Chriſt did; and he prayed him, and his cardinals, to imitate the lord Jeſus, and faithfully to inſtruct his flock.

But the pope of Rome was ſo buſily employed againſt the pope at Avignion, that neither of them had leiſure to attend ſuch matters, and ſo Wicklief returned from his baniſhment. And ſhortly after he fell ſo ſick that there was little hope of his recovery, whereupon the fryars ſent four of their order to wiſh, and urge him, before his death, to retract, and recant his former errors. And when they had delivered their meſſage, he deſired ſome of his friends to ſet him up in his bed, and then he ſaid with aloud voice, 'I ſhall not die, but live to declare the moſt wicked acts of the fryars;' and accordingly he recovered of his diſeaſe, and wrote a treatiſe againſt their order, which is mentioned by doctor James in his book, called, Wicklief's conformity to the church of England.

Mr. Wicklief was a ſecular preſbyter, a great enemy to the idle and luxurious monks; but highly honoured and eſteemed by our king Edward the III. and his nobles, for his excellent learning, piety and prudence. He was ſent by the king among other nobles, as ambaſſadors, to the duke of Millane, to treat about a marriage, between Lionel, our king's ſon, and the duke of Millane's daughter.

He wrote about fifty books: ſome of them of other arts, but moſt of them of divinity. Many of which are extant in the king's majeſties library at St. James's: others of them in Bodley's library in Oxford, and others in other libraries.

Doctor James, who printed ſome of Wicklief's works at Oxford, wrote an apology in his behalf, wherein he ſaith, That he was an orthodox divine, and that he agreed in moſt of the articles of religion, with the preſent church of England.

He was an eloquent man, and a profound ſcholar, whereby he won the hearts of many noble perſonages, as of John a Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, Henry lord Percy, the earl of Saliſbury lord chancellor of England, and Lewis Gifford, &c. whereby he was much ſheltred from the rage and malice of his enemies, the popiſh clergy.

The Life of JOHN HUSS, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1515.

JOHN HUSS was born at a little town called Huſſinets about 18 miles from Prague in Bohemia under the Hercynian wood, of mean but religious parents, who carefully trained him up in religion and learning, and profited much at ſchool, he went to the univerſity of Prague: and whilſt he was ſtudent there, he met with our Wicklief's books, from whence he firſt took light and courage to profeſs the truth.

Anno Chriſti 1393. he commenced batchelor of arts with good approbation of the whole univerſity: and *anno* 1396. he commenced maſter of arts, about which time two godly noble men of Prague built the church of Bethlehem; and *anno* 1400. Mr. Huſs was choſen paſtor thereof, who fed his people with the bread of life, and not with the pope's decrees, and other human inventions.

The year after he was choſen dean of the univerſity, and *anno* 1409. by the conſent of the whole univerſity he was choſen rector of it. He continued in the exerciſe of his miniſtry with admirable zeal and diligence, and faithfulneſs about the ſpace of 12 years, preaching and inſtructing his people in the principles of divinity, which he confirmed by the holy ſcriptures, and adorned by an exemplary and blameleſs life. He vigorouſly oppoſed the pope's proceedings, whereupon the devil envying the peace and progreſs of the goſpel, ſtirred up pope Alexander the V. againſt him, who cited him to Rome to anſwer to ſuch articles as ſhould be laid in againſt him; whereupon Huſs ſent his proctors to Rome, who appeared for him, anſwered the charge, and cleared his innocency; yet did the pope and his cardinals condemn him for an heretic, and excommunicate him; which cauſed the popiſh clergy, and ſome of the barons of Bohemia to oppoſe Huſs, being thus excommunicated; and the king Winceſlaus baniſhed him, but he was entertained in the country, and protected by the lord of the ſoil at Huſſinets, where he preached in the pariſh church, and ſome places adjacent, confuting the popiſh doctrine of merit of works, and againſt the pride, idleneſs, cruelty and avarice of the Roman court and clergy, multitudes of perſons reſorting to his miniſtry.

Sometimes alſo he repaired to his church of Bethlehem, and preached there. But upon the pope's death, the cardinals being divided, choſe three popes, whereupon there was a council held at Conſtance, *anno Chriſti* 1414. Unto which council the emperor Sigiſmund commanded Huſs to come, giving his ſafe conduct for his coming, and return.

October 15. John Huſs began his journey towards Conſtance being accompanied with two noblemen, John, lord de Chlum, and Mr. Wincelat de Duba, and their followers: and Mr. Huſs relying on the goodneſs of his cauſe, the clearneſs of conſcience, and the emperor's ſafe conduct, with a cheerful mind and undaunted ſpirit went to Conſtance, and in his journey ſet up writings in every city, the tenor whereof was this; "Mr. John Huſs batchelor of divinity, goeth now to the council of Conſtance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this preſent doth hold, and by God's grace will hold and defend to the death; therefore as he hath manifeſted through all the kingdom of Bohemia by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure thence to have ſatisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man which ſhould object or lay any thing againſt him in the general convocation held in the archbiſhop of Prague's court: ſo alſo he doth manifeſt and ſignify, that if there be any man in this noble and imperial city that can impute error or hereſy to him, that he would prepare himſelf to come unto the council; foraſmuch as the ſaid Mr. John Huſs is ready to ſatisfy every man at the ſaid council which ſhall lay any thing to his charge, as touching his faith.

In all cities as he paſſed by, eſpecially when he entred into Germany, a great number of people reſorted to him, and he was every where kindly entertained, eſpecially by the citizens and burgeſſes, that he confeſſed in a certain epiſtle that he found in no place ſo great enemies as in Bohemia: and when he came to Noremberg, certain merchants that went before having given notice of his coming, almoſt all the prieſts that were in the city came to him, deſiring him that they might talk with him in private, to whom he anſwered that he deſired rather to declare his mind openly than in hugger mugger, and ſo from dinner time till night he ſpake before the prieſts, ſenators and many citizens, inſomuch that they all had him in ſingular eſtimation and reverence. One of his great adverſaries Staniſlaus Znoma, a Bohemian, as he was going towards Conſtance to accuſe him, was ſtricken by God with a great impoſthume whereof he died.

When Mr. Huſs came to Conſtance, he was ſent for to appear before ſome cardinals to give an account of his doctrine; but he told them that he came to do it before all the council, yet if they would force him to do it before them, he doubted not but Chriſt would ſtrengthen him to chuſe death for his glorious ſake, rather than to deny the truth, which he had learned out of the holy ſcriptures.

After examination they committed him to a filthy priſon, where, by reaſon of the ſtink, he fell ſick and was like to die: in the mean time his adverſaries preferred articles againſt him, wherein they had forged many things of their own heads, wreſting, and perverting his godly and orthodox ſayings to a ſiniſter ſenſe that they might have whereof to accuſe him: and thereupon deſired of the council that he might be condemned. Mr. Huſs hearing of theſe their malicious proceedings, moved that he might have an advocate, but that was denied him. Whilſt he lay there in priſon, when he had in ſome meaſure regained his health, he wrote ſundry books. From that priſon he was removed by the biſhop of Conſtance to a caſtle on the other

other ſide of the Rhine, where in the day time he was ſo laden with fetters on his legs that he could ſcarce go: and every night he was faſtened by the hands up to a rack againſt the wall: hereupon many noblemen of Bohemia petitioned for his releaſe, at leaſt upon bail, but that was denied.

The ſum of the nobles petition was this; 'That whereas Mr. John Huſs is freely of his own accord come to Conſtance under the emperor's ſafe conduct, againſt all right and reaſon he is grievouſly impriſoned before he is heard, and at this preſent, is tormented miſerably with hunger, thirſt, and fetters: though formerly at the council of Piſa, held *anno Chriſti* 1410. the heretics which were condemned, were ſuffered to remain at their liberty, and to depart home freely; but Mr. John Huſs, neither convicted, nor condemned, no nor ſo much as once heard, is taken and impriſoned, when as neither king nor any prince elector, nor any ambaſſador from any univerſity is yet come or preſent; and though the Lord our king, together with the nobles and lords here preſent, have moſt inſtantly deſired and required that his ſafe conduct might not be violated, and that the ſaid John Huſs might be openly heard, being ready to render a reaſon of his faith; and if he be convicted obſtinately to affirm or maintain any thing againſt the truth and the holy ſcriptures, that he is ready to amend the ſame; yet could he never obtain this: but the ſaid John Huſs, notwithſtanding all this, is moſt grievouſly oppreſſed with fetters and irons, and ſo weakened with hunger and thirſt, that it is to be feared that he will die in priſon. And although the lords of Bohemia here preſent are greatly ſcandalized with the trouble and torments of Mr. John Huſs, contrary to the king's ſafe conduct: yet hitherto they have foreborn to complain to the king that he might ſee his ſafe conduct better obſerved, and the reproach and diſhonour that is done to the kingdom of Bohemia thereby, vindicated; and indeed they ſuffer theſe things patiently, leſt by any means trouble or vexation ſhould ariſe to the ſacred council by reaſon thereof: wherefore we moſt earneſtly deſire and require your fatherhoods, that for the honour of the ſafe conduct granted by the king, and for the preſervation and encreaſe of the worthy fame and renown of the kingdom of Bohemia, and your own alſo, you will haſten the diſpatch of Mr. John Huſs his buſineſs, ſeeing he is in great danger by reaſon of his ſtrait impriſonment if you delay him any longer. And whereas we the nobles of Bohemia are informed that many ſlanderous reports are raiſed by back-biters againſt the famous kingdom of Bohemia, as that the ſacrament is carried up and down in veſſels unhallowed, that coblers do adminiſter it, and hear confeſſions, &c. We therefore require and deſire you that you will give no heed to ſuch tale bearers, who herein report untruths: alſo we require that ſuch back biters may be made known, and we doubt not eaſily to refel the falſe and frivolous ſlanders of theſe naughty perſons, that hereafter they ſhall be aſhamed to appear before the lord king and your reverences.'

But notwithſtanding this, they which were appointed for his judges, in his abſence heard his enemies, examined witneſſes againſt him: judged his doctrine not by the true touch-ſtone of God's word, but by the popiſh canons. Yet when the council would have condemned him without hearing, the emperor interpoſed, requiring that he ſhould be firſt heard; but when he was brought before them, they made ſuch a confuſed noiſe, railing upon him, that he could not ſpeak one word. The next day when he was brought before them again, there fell out ſo great an eclipſe that the ſun was almoſt wholly darkned: but when Huſs ſaw that he was like to meet with no juſtice there, he appealed from them to the pope, and from him to Chriſt, for which they derided him; but when he ſaw the cruelty of his judges, the malice of his accuſers, the falſehood of witneſſes, and the rage of the council againſt him, that breathed forth nothing but fire and fagots, he kneeled down, begging forgiveneſs for his very enemies; yet he earneſtly requeſted even with tears the council that they would convince him of any error by the word of God, and he would willingly retract it: but nothing prevailing, they proceeded to condemn and degrade him; whereupon kneeling down, he ſaid, 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knoweſt that I am falſely accuſed; forgive them I ſay for thy mercy's ſake.' In degrading him they pared off the crown of his head, and the ſkin with a pair of ſhears; and to juſtify their proceedings againſt him, becauſe the emperor had given him his ſafe conduct, the council made a decree, 'That faith was not to be kept with heretics.'

The Roman agents perſecuted him with ſuch eagerneſs, that his works were condemned to be burnt with him. When he was brought forth to be burned, they put on his head a tripple crown of paper, painted over with ugly devils: but when he ſaw it, he ſaid, My Lord Jeſus Chriſt for my ſake did wear a crown of thorns; why ſhould not I then for his ſake wear this light crown, be it never ſo ignominious? truly I will do it and that willingly. When it was ſet upon his head, the biſhops ſaid, 'Now we commit thy ſoul unto the devil:' But I, ſaid John Huſs, (lifting up his eyes towards heaven) do commit my ſpirit into thy hands O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, unto thee I commend my ſpirit which thou haſt redeemed. As he was going to execution, they burned his books before his face, at which he ſmiled, and ſaid unto the people, 'Think not good people that I die for any hereſy, or error, but only for the hatred and ill will of my adverſaries.' When he came to the place of execution, he kneeled down, and with his eyes towards heaven he prayed, and repeated certain pſalms, and with a merry, chearful countenance cried often, 'Into thy hands O Lord I commend my ſpirit.'

As he lifted up his head in prayer, the crown of paper fell off; but a ſoldier taking it up, ſaid, let us put it on again, that he may be burned with his maſters the devils, whom he hath ſerved. When he roſe from his knees he ſaid, 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, aſſiſt and help me; that with a conſtant and patient mind, by thy moſt gracious help, I may bear and ſuffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy moſt holy goſpel.' And as they tied his neck with a chain to the ſtake, ſmiling he ſaid, that he would willingly receive the ſame chain for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, who he knew was bound with a far worſe chain. When the fire was kindled, he began to ſing with a loud voice, 'Jeſus Chriſt the Son of the living God have mercy upon me;' and at the third time that he repeated it, the wind drove the flame ſo in his face, that it choaked him. The heart that was found amongſt his bowels, being well beaten with ſtaves and clubs, was at laſt prick'd upon a ſharp ſtake, and roaſted at a fire till it was conſumed. His aſhes were diligently gathered up, and thrown into the river Rhine. He ſuffered martyrdom, *anno Chriſti* 1415.

He told them at his death, that out of the aſhes of the gooſe (for ſo Huſs in the Bohemian language ſignifies) an hundred years after God would raiſe up a ſwan in Germany, whoſe ſinging would affright all thoſe vultures: which was exactly fulfilled in Luther, juſt an hundred years after. Upon his death the Bohemians under Ziska roſe in arms, and had admirable ſucceſs againſt the emperor and the papiſts. And this pompous act of theirs had a very tragical event, the Bohemians maintaining war againſt the emperor Sigiſmund for 17. years after, wherein he ſpent abundance of treaſure, loſt many brave armies, and all gallant men: and during theſe wars a thouſand monaſteries were overthrown, many caſtles demoliſhed, and cities burnt: all which was a juſt revenging hand upon him for his perfidiouſneſs and cruelty.

Before his going to Conſtance, Mr. Huſs ſet up this epiſtle upon the gate of the king's palace.

"Unto the king's moſt excellent majeſty, the queen, and to all ſuch as are of his council, and to all other nobles and magiſtrates which are now in the king's court, I John Huſs do ſignify and publiſh, that being certainly informed that letters are come from the pope to the king's majeſty, the contents whereof are theſe: that the king ſhould extirpate all ſuch Hereticks as are lately ſprung up in his kingdom and dominions: but I truſt in God that this fame is blown abroad without any deſert; and it ſhall be our part to foreſee and take heed that neither the king's majeſty, nor the noble kingdom of Bohemia ſhall ſuffer any trouble or reproach and ſlander for my ſake. Wherefore now of late I have ſent my letters to and fro, which with

with great labour and diligence I have cauſed to be ſet up openly, with this intent, that I might thereby cauſe the arch biſhop of Prague to be careful and diligent about the matter, ſignifying openly, that if there were any man in all Bohemia, which did know me to be a follower of any falſe or corrupt doctrine he ſhould appear before the archbiſhop's court, and there declare what he thought.

And for as much as there would none be found, or come forth which would accuſe me, the arch biſhop commanded me and my proctors to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and deſire the king's majeſty, which is the defender of the truth, alſo the queen and their counſellers, and all other nobles and magiſtrates, that they would give me a true teſtimonial of this matter; foraſmuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, that no man hath either accuſed or moleſted me. I do it moreover to be known to all Bohemia, and all nations, that I will with the firſt be preſent at the council of Conſtance, in the preſence of the pope, and of all others that will come to that famous place; and that whoſoever hath any ſuſpicion of me that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Chriſt, let him come thither alſo, and declare before the pope and all the doctors of divinity, what erroneous or falſe doctrine I have at any time maintained or holden. And if he ſhall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary to the Chriſtian faith, I will not refuſe to ſuffer whatſoever puniſhment ſhall be due to an heretick: but I hope and truſt even from the bottom of my heart that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving men which willingly kick and ſpurn againſt the truth.

At the ſame time alſo Mr. Huſs ſent his proctor to the biſhop of Nazareth, who was ordained by the pope, inquiſitor for hereſies in the city and dioceſe of Prague, requiring him that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly: but the ſaid biſhop in a publick aſſembly anſwered that he had often talked with John Huſs, and that he never found any thing in him but ſuch as becometh a godly and faithful man which alſo he atteſted by his letter, in writing. Shortly after alſo all the barons of Bohemia being aſſembled in the abby of St. James, the archbiſhop of Prague being preſent alſo, John Huſs preſented a ſupplication to them, wherein he moſt humbly deſired the barons to requeſt the archbiſhop, that if he did ſuſpect him for any error or hereſy, he ſhould declare it openly; for that he was ready to ſuffer correction for the ſame at the archbiſhop's hands; and that if he had found no ſuch thing in him, that then he would give him a teſtimonial thereof, that being armed therewith he might the more freely go into the council; hereupon the archbiſhop did openly confeſs before all the aſſembly, that he knew not that the ſaid John Huſs was guilty of any ſuch thing.

In another Author, I find ſome of theſe afore-mentioned paſſages more largely ſet down as followeth.

JOHN Huſs denied purgatory, auricular confeſſion, the pope's power, and indulgences; he diſproved dirges; he called prayer for the dead, a device of prieſts to get money; he ſpake alſo againſt praying to ſaints; againſt the images of God, and the ſaints; againſt confirmation and extream unction; againſt all the holy days except the Sabbath, &c. He commended John Wicklief, and openly wiſhed, that when he departed this life, his ſoul might be with the ſoul of Wicklief, whom he doubted not but to be in heaven.

Sbinco, archbiſhop of Prague ſent complaints hereof to Rome, whereupon pope Alexander directed his letters, charging the biſhop to forbid all preaching but only in cathedral churches, pariſh churches, or other ſuch conſecrated places; requiring alſo that the articles of Wicklief ſhould not be taught either privately or publicly; and that all ſhould be judged heretics that attempted the contrary. Againſt this bull John Huſs objected many things, urging, that Chriſt uſed to preach to the people on the ſea, in fields, houſes, and ſo did the apoſtles in any place: wherefore, ſaid he, from this mandate of Alexander, I appeal to the ſaid Alexander being better adviſed. Yet did the biſhop diſcharge him from preaching: and he obeyed, and went out of the city to a village called Huſs, where he was born: yet he ceaſed not from preaching, and had many auditors.

Shortly after he was again complained of to pope John, who ſent a legate to try his cauſe in Prague; but Wenceſlaus, and his queen Sophia maintained John Huſs, and himſelf appealed from the legate to the pope: and then fearing envy, more than ſuſpecting his cauſe; he ſent proctors unto Rome, of whom ſome were impriſoned for ſpeaking ſo boldly, and John Huſs was excommunicated as an hereticke.

About this time wars broke out betwixt pope Alexander, and Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, whereupon the pope ſent his bulls of indulgence to all ſuch as would aid him in his wars againſt the king. John Huſs wrote againſt the wickedneſs of theſe pardons, and the people being informed by him, ſpake alſo againſt them, and called the pope *antichriſt*, for proclaiming wars, and taking the croſs againſt the Chriſtians.

But ſome that were rich, and therefore fearful, were inſtant againſt Huſs, and prevailed with the king to baniſh him the town; and another party cried out againſt the prieſts, and prelates as the author of his baniſhment, accuſing them of Simony, adultery, pride, &c. Not ſparing to lay open their vices, and eagerly craving a reformation of the clergy; the king being moved herewith, required greater exactions of ſuch clerks, as were accuſed, and known to be profane, whereby ſome of them fell into great diſtreſs, and the moſt part were glad, either to fall, or not to fall out with the purer ſort: by this means John Huſs had liberty to return to the church at Bethlehem; but this cauſed him to be more vehemently accuſed at Rome, and the pope directed his bull to the king, to ſuppreſs John Huſs and his doctrine.

John Huſs being reſolved to appear at Conſtance, he affixed letters on the doors of the cathedrals, pariſh churches, abbeys, and cloiſters, ſignifying that he was going to the general council to give an account of his faith; and that if any man ſuſpected his doctrine, he deſired that they would declare their doubts before the biſhop of Prague, or, if they pleaſed, before the council.

Then *anno Chriſti* 1414. Auguſt 30. Did all the barons of Bohemia aſſemble at St. James's abbey in Prague, the biſhop being preſent. Then John Huſs preſented a ſupplication, craving, that if the biſhop of Nazereth, who was the inquiſitor of hereſy within that dioceſs, had any ſuſpicion of error in his doctrine, that he would declare it, proteſting that he was willing to ſuffer correction therein, if he deſerved it: or, if the biſhop had no accuſation againſt him, that they would give him a teſtimonial, that being armed therewith, he might go with more confidence to Conſtance. The biſhop profeſſed openly, that he knew no offence in him, only he adviſed him to purge himſelf of the excommunication. This was in form of an act, and ſent by him to the emperor.

Alſo about this time the archbiſhop Conrade, held a ſynod with his prelates, where a proctor appeared in the name of John Huſs, requiring, that ſeeing he was ready to give an account of his faith, they, or any of them who would accuſe him, ſhould give it in writing under their names, and, according to the law of God, and man, prepare themſelves to ſuffer the like puniſhment, if they could not prove it learnedly againſt him; as he was ready, with God's help, to anſwer before them, or the enſuing council; he could get no anſwer to this, and therefore he made proteſtation of his proffer, and craved an inſtrument, upon the refuſal, from a notary there preſent.

November 3. John Huſs came to Conſtance, and lodged with an honeſt matron, named Faith. On the morrow the two noblemen informed the pope that they had brought John Huſs, and entreated that he might remain without moleſtation, according to his ſafe conduct; the pope anſwered, that though John Huſs had killed his brother, yet no hurt ſhould be done to him, during his abode there.

November 29. The biſhops, and the burgy maſter were ſent for him, to come before the pope, and his cardinals to render an account of his doctrine, as he had deſired, and they were ready to hear. He anſwered, that he came to do it before all the council, &c.

He

He was firſt queſtioned in general about the errors that were ſpread of him: he anſwered, Reverend fathers, underſtand that my mind is to die, rather than to be found culpable of any error. The cardinals replied, Thou ſpeakeſt modeſtly, and ſo left him with the lord de Chlum under a ſtrong guard of armed men. Then they ſent a ſubtile monk, who under a ſhew of rudeneſs and ſimplicity, ſought to entrap him by captious queſtions: but Huſs perceiving it, told him of his diſſembling, yet anſwered his queſtions. In the evening the pope ſent the provoſt of the court to the lord de Chlum willing him to go unto his lodging, but as for Mr. Huſs, they had diſpoſed otherwiſe of him. Then did the lord John go ſpeedily unto the pope, putting him in mind of his promiſe about John Huſs, and intreating him that he would not ſo lightly falſify his faith, adding, that he was come thither under the emperor's ſafe conduct; to which the pope anſwered, that all was done without his conſent, and ſaid privily, what reaſon is there that thou ſhouldſt impute this act to me, who am in the hands of theſe biſhops and cardinals? and indeed, the pope fearing to be depoſed, or ſeeking to curry favour with the prelates, did thus betray the innocent unto them. So the baron returned, complaining openly of the wrong, but to no purpoſe.

Then was John Huſs led to the chapter houſe of the great church, where he was kept priſoner eight days, and from thence he was led to the Jacobines upon the Rhine, and ſhut up in the vileſt priſon of the abbey, though his cauſe was not yet heard publicly. In this priſon, by reaſon of the ſtink, he fell ſick of a fever, and was like to die; yet leſt he ſhould die, as others in that priſon had done, the pope ſent a phyſician to attend him. The emperor was not yet come to the town.

In the midſt of his ſickneſs, his accuſers, Michael de Cauſis, and another Bohemian, made an importunate ſuit, that the heretic might be condemned; for which end they preſented to the pope ſome articles againſt him; as firſt, that he had taught that the communion was to be adminiſtred in both kinds. Secondly, that he would not acknowlege that the word church was to be underſtood of the pope and his cardinals, but affirmed that the ſenſe, had its beginning from the ſchool men. Thirdly, that he held, that temporal princes might take temporal poſſeſſions from church men. Fourthly, concerning the equality of all princes in power. Fifthly, that the reſervation of cauſes, did proceed from the pride and ambition of the popes. Sixthly, that he had raiſed a ſchiſm, and tumults in Bohemia.

In the time of his ſickneſs four commiſſioners were appointed to hear the accuſation, and to examine witneſſes, who were ignorant prieſts of Bohemia, one contradicting another. John Huſs being informed hereof, he ſent and craved that an advocate might be admitted to anſwer for him, himſelf being hindred by ſickneſs: but this was denied, becauſe, forſooth, there was a canon that forbade, that one accuſed of hereſy, ſhould anſwer by a proctor. When he had recovered his health in ſome meaſure, at the command of the commiſſioners certain articles were ſent unto him, which they ſaid they had gathered out of his books, but indeed they were ſuch as Steven Paletz, a Bohemian, had either forged of his own head, or patched up by wreſting his godly, and orthodox ſayings to a ſiniſter ſenſe.

Thus he continued in priſon, till March twenty eighth, 1415. and then having in ſome meaſure recovered his health, he wrote ſome treatiſes, viz. of the ten commandments. Of love, and the knowlege of God: of marriage: of penance: and of the Lord's ſupper. And when pope John fled from Conſtance, his ſervants delivered the keys of the priſon to the emperor, and the council commanded that the priſoner ſhould be delivered to the biſhop of Conſtance, who removed him to a caſtle on the other ſide of the Rhine, &c.

The biſhop of Luthomiſſen anſwered, that in the ſupplication, he was touched and accuſed as a ſlanderer, and therefore he craved that a day might be appointed, for the clearing of thoſe things which they called ſlanders: the ſeventeenth day of May was appointed; at which time he brought in what he had to ſay for himſelf. The next day the noblemen returned their anſwer, wherein they cleared their preacher of all that the biſhop had objected, concluding their anſwer with another ſupplication, to which they received no return, till the laſt of May; at which time they preſented the teſtimony of the biſhop of Nazaret, beforementioned: as alſo another of the biſhop of Prague: and a third, from the univerſity, all three clearing John Huſs from the calumnies which his adverſaries had raiſed againſt him: and the noble men petitioned that Huſs might have liberty to anſwer in perſon; or that his accuſers ſhould not be ſo lightly believed: the patriarch of Antioch, anſwered in the name of the council, that Huſs ſhould be brought to his hearing, June fifth, where he ſhould have liberty to ſpeak for himſelf: but they failed of their promiſe; therefore the ſame day, theſe noble men preſented another ſupplication unto the emperor, ſhewing the diſcourteous dealing of the four commiſſioners, and intreating, that according to the ſafe conduct, himſelf would hear their former ſupplications: but the emperor was driven from owning his ſafe conduct by the cardinals, becauſe (as they all deſired) 'No ſafe conduct could be given to one who is ſuſpected of hereſy.'

On the ſame day all the cardinals, and biſhops, and moſt of the clergy met in the convent of the Franciſcans, and there it was concluded, that before the priſoner ſhould be brought forth, the articles againſt him ſhould be produced, and the witneſſes examined: but a notary (Madonientz) hearing that they had concluded to condemn the articles, in the abſence of the party, he went with all ſpeed to the Bohemian barons, and informed them of it, and they went and told the emperor; whereupon, he ſent Lewis, count Palatine of Heidleburg, and Frederick, burgrave of Nurenburg, to inquire of them who ruled the council, that nothing ſhould be done in that cauſe till the party was firſt heard, and that they ſhould ſend the articles unto him, and he would cauſe them to be examined by good and learned men: ſo the decree was ſuſpended.

At that time the barons gave to thoſe whom the emperor employed, certain books of John Huſs, that his adverſaries and their accuſations might be tried by them.

The books were by them delivered to the cardinals, and at laſt John Huſs was brought forth, who upon examination, acknowleged the books to be his, ſaying, 'That if there were any error in them, he was willing to retract it.' They had ſcarcely read one article when they called for witneſſes: John Huſs would have ſpoken, but they all cried out ſo againſt him, that he had no liberty to ſpeak one word: and when the tumult was a little quieted, and he would have anſwered out of the ſcriptures, and ancient fathers, ſome ſaid, it was to no purpoſe: others mocked him: and ſome were ſo outragious, that he reſolved to hold his peace, and to be ſilent; and then they all ſaid, 'Now he is dumb, and by his ſilence confeſſes his guilt.'

June ſeventeenth, on which day he was brought before them again, there fell out ſo great an eclipſe, that the ſun was almoſt wholly darkned, and their aſſembly was held in the cloiſter of the Minorites, where his accuſers read ſome articles, and undertook to prove them by witneſſes; but he proteſted that he had never ſpoken ſuch things. Then ſaid the cardinal of Florence, maſter, you know that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, every word is eſtabliſhed, and here you ſhall ſee many famous witneſſes, againſt you, and for my part, I cannot ſee how you can maintain your cauſe againſt them. Huſs anſwered, 'I take God, and my conſcience to witneſs, that I never taught ſuch things as theſe men alledge againſt me.' The cardinal replied, we cannot judge according to your conſcience, but muſt rely upon evident witneſſes.

Then it was objected, that he had defended the errors of Wicklief: to which he anſwered, that he had never defended any errors of Wicklief; and when they inſtanced in ſome particulars, he denied them to be errors, but agreeable to the ſcriptures. They objected, that he had ſown ſedition between the eccleſiaſtical, and political ſtates in Bohemia? His anſwer was, that pope Gregory had taken the empire from Wenceſlaus, and the college of cardinals, being offended with the pope, had written to the king, that if he would deny obedience to the pope, they would ſo order it, that another pope ſhould be choſen, who ſhould reſtore him to his empire, which he did accordingly, and hence aroſe the diſſention betwixt the

king, and the archbiſhop Sbinco, who was a follower of Gregory: and ſaid he, It is eaſy to be known that I am accuſed falſly in this cauſe, as the Germans here preſent can witneſs. Then Albert Warren archdeacon of Prague ſtood up to ſpeak, but they would not hear him. Then was he accuſed of ſpeaking ſome words againſt the emperor, from which he was cleared by the teſtimony of the lord de Chlum.

Then ſaid the emperor, ſeeing we may not defend any man that is an heretic, or accuſed of hereſy, we adviſe thee to ſubmit thyſelf to the council in all things, ſo we will provide that they ſhall ſuffer thee to depart in peace, with an eaſy penance: which if thou refuſe to do, the preſident will have ſufficient cauſe to proceed againſt thee: and for our part, aſſure thyſelf, that we will prepare the fire with our own hand, rather than ſuffer thee to maintain thine opinions any longer; to this he anſwered, 'O moſt noble emperor, I render unto your highneſs immortal thanks, for your letters of ſafe conduct, and I take God witneſs, that I never intended to maintain any falſe opinions obſtinately, and I came willingly hither, that if the meaneſt of the council can lay before me any holier doctrine than what I have taught, I will ſoon change my mind.' Then was he led away by the ſerjeants, and committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Rigen, who had Hierom of Prague alſo in priſon.

On the morrow they met again, and the former articles were read in the audience of John Huſs, and they ſaid, that other articles were collected out of his books of Predeſtination and Perſeverance: he acknowleged what they had truly collected out of his books, and gave the reaſons thereof, he ſhewed alſo that in other articles they had perverted and wreſted his words contrary to his meaning. Then Peter de Aliaco, biſhop of Cambray ſaid, thou heareſt what horrible crimes are alleged againſt thee; now therefore it concerns thee to think what to do: thou muſt recant all theſe articles, and ſo thou mayeſt find favour: but if thou wilt ſtand to defend them, I fear it will turn to thy great danger. This I ſpeak to thee by way of counſel, and not as a judge. The like ſaid other cardinals. Then anſwered Huſs, 'Moſt reverend fathers, I have ſaid already that I came not hither to maintain any error obſtinately: but if in any particular I have entertained a falſe opinion, I would gladly be reformed therein. And now I beſeech you, that I may have liberty to declare my mind and if I bring not ſolid and ſufficient reaſons, I will humbly ſubmit myſelf to your better information.'

Then ſaid a cardinal; behold how craftily he ſpeaketh: he calls it information, and not correction, or determination. 'Verily, ſaid Huſs, call it what you will: I take God to witneſs that I ſpeak from my heart.' After ſome other ſpeeches, a prieſt ſaid that he ſhould not be admitted to recant, becauſe he had written to his friends, that though he ſhould be forced to ſwear with his tongue, yet he would keep his opinions unto death. Then did the biſhop of Rigen command him to be had back to priſon.

During his impriſonment, he wrote all theſe paſſages to his friends that the truth might be known, and calumnies prevented. When he was gone, the emperor ſaid to the preſidents, that either he ſhould recant all thoſe things that were alledged againſt him, and abjure all preaching and be baniſhed out of the kingdom of Bohemia, or elſe be burned; and that all his favourers in Conſtance ſhould be apprehended and impriſoned, eſpecially his diſciple Hierom of Prague. Others ſaid, that when the maſter was puniſhed, the diſciples would be more tractable.

July 6th, the emperor ſent to him four biſhops, with the two Bohemian barons, to know what he would do. And when he was brought out of priſon to them, the lord of Chlum ſaid firſt; Mr. John, I am an unlearned man, and therefore unable to inſtruct you a man of learning; nevertheleſs, I require you, if you know yourſelf guilty of any of thoſe errors wherewith you are charged, that you would not be aſhamed to change your mind: yet would I not adviſe you to do any thing againſt your conſcience, but rather to ſuffer any puniſhment than to deny what you know to be truth. Huſs anſwered with tears, 'Verily, as I have often ſaid, I take the moſt high God to witneſs, that I am ready with all my heart, if the council will better inſtruct me by the holy ſcriptures, to change my mind.' Then ſaid a biſhop I would never be ſo arrogant, as to prefer my judgment, to the judgment of the whole council. John anſwered, 'Neither do I: but if the meaneſt of the council will convince me of error, I will perform with all my heart whatſoever the council will enjoin me.' Mark, ſaid another biſhop, how he continues in his errors: ſo they ſent him back to priſon again.

The next day a general congregation was held in the great church, where the emperor was preſent: then were brought in, and laid down, all the veſtments belonging to a prieſt, and John was brought before them. When he came in, he fell on his knees and prayed a good ſpace: and the biſhop of Londenſis went up into the pulpit, and preached upon this text; Rom. vi. 'Let the body of ſin be deſtroyed.' And the whole ſcope of his ſermon was, that John Huſs ſhould be deſtroyed. Then read a biſhop the proceſs which was drawn up at Rome againſt him, as alſo the articles of his accuſation; and when he attempted to anſwer a word or two to the ſeveral articles as they were read, the cardinal of Cambray commanded him ſilence, ſaying, hereafter thou mayeſt anſwer them altogether, if thou wilt. 'Alas, ſaid Huſs, how can I anſwer all theſe things at once? I am not able to retain them all.' The cardinal of Florence ſaid, we have heard thee enough. Yet Huſs beſought them to hear him, leſt others ſhould conceive amiſs, either of them, or of him. And when they would not hear him, he, kneeling down, committed his cauſe to God, and to Jeſus Chriſt, hoping at their hands to obtain all his deſire. Then they charged him, that he had affirmed, that there was a fourth perſon in the deity, alledging, that a certain doctor heard him ſpeak it. Huſs craved the doctor's name. The archbiſhop anſwered, that it was not needful to name him. Then ſaid he, 'Oh miſerable man that I am, who am forced to hear ſuch blaſphemies and ſlanders.' Then they alledged that he had appealed to Chriſt, which, ſaid they, is heretical. Hereupon Huſs ſaid, 'O Lord Jeſus, whoſe word is here openly condemned, I do again appeal unto thee; who, when thou waſt evilly entreated of thine enemies, didſt appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cauſe unto the moſt juſt judge, that by thy example, when we are oppreſſed with manifeſt wrongs, we ſhould fly unto thee.'

Then was the definitive ſentence read, declaring, That by the council it was ordained for his heretical doctrine, publicly to degrade him from his prieſtly office, &c. As the ſentence was reading, he did now and then interrupt them, but was oft commanded to be ſilent; when they read, that he was obſtinate, he cried out, that he was never obſtinate, but was always ready to embrace the truth, if he might be taught it by the holy ſcriptures. When his books were condemned, he ſaid, 'Why have you condemned thoſe books, ſeeing you have not proved in any one particular, that they are contrary to the ſcriptures, or articles of the faith? and what injury is that to me to condemn my books written in the Bohemian language, which you never ſaw?' Alſo, oft times he looked up to heaven and prayed. When the ſentence was ended, he kneeling down, ſaid, 'Lord Jeſus forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knoweſt I am falſly condemned, and that they have uſed falſe witneſſes and ſlanders againſt me: forgive them for thy great mercy's ſake.' But many of them laughed at it.

Then ſeven biſhops, who were appointed thereunto, put upon him the prieſtly veſtures: and as they put on the albe, he ſpake of the white veſture wherein Chriſt was cloathed and mocked; ſo in all other things he comforted himſelf, with the example of Jeſus Chriſt. When all the veſtments were put on, an archbiſhop exhorted him to change his mind, and thereby to provide for his ſafety and honour; but he refuſing, went up to the top of the ſcaffold, after the cuſtom, and being full of tears, he ſpake unto the people ſaying; 'Theſe lords and biſhops exhort me, that I would profeſs before you, that I have erred; which if it were to the infamy of any man, they might happily perſuade me to it: but now I am in the ſight of the Lord my God, without diſhonouring them, and wounding my own conſcience, I can no way do what they require of me: with what countenance could I look up to heaven? with what face could I look upon them whom I have taught, of whom there is a great number, if by my example thoſe things which formerly they have known to be

he moſt true, ſhould now be made dubious? I would never do it, nor give ſuch ſcandal, ſeeming thereby more to eſteem this vile carcaſe of mine, which is condemned to die, than their ſalvation.' Upon this, a biſhop ſaid, behold how he continues in his pernicious errors: then was he commanded to come to the execution; and a biſhop took the chalice from him, ſaying, O accurſed Judas, why haſt thou forſaken the way of peace: we take from thee the chalice of thy ſalvation. John anſwered, 'I truſt in God my Father, and in my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe ſake I ſuffer theſe things; that he will not take away his chalice of his redemption, but I have a ſtedfaſt hope that I ſhall drink thereof this day in his kingdom.' The other biſhops took away the other prieſtly ornaments, and each of them accurſed him. To whom he anſwered, 'That he willingly ſuffered their curſes for the name of Chriſt.' At laſt thoſe biſhops began to contend with what inſtrument his ſhaven crown ſhould be unprieſted, whether with a razor, or ſciſſars? John then turning him to the emperor, ſaid, 'I marvel, that when they are all of alike cruel mind, that they cannot agree in the manner of their cruelty?' At laſt they cut off the ſkin of his head with ſciſſars ſaying, Now the church hath taken from thee all her ornaments, and privileges, and nothing remains, but that thou be delivered into the hands of the civil magiſtrate.

Then cauſed they a crown to be made of paper, almoſt a cubit deep, upon which were painted three black devils with this title above them, *Hæreſiarchæ*: and when he ſaw it, he ſaid, My Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for my ſake, &c.

Before the wood was kindled, the baron of Openhiem, and another gentleman exhorted him that he would remember his ſalvation, and repent of his errors: to whom he anſwered, 'What errors ſhall I renounce, whereas I know myſelf guilty of none? As for thoſe things that have been falſely alledged againſt me, I know that I never did ſo much as think them. For this was my chiefeſt end in all my preaching, to teach all men repentance, and remiſſion of ſins, according to the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and according to the expoſition of the holy fathers. Wherefore I am ready to ſuffer death with a cheerful mind.

As he was tied to the ſtake, it happened that his face was turned towards the eaſt; wher upon on cried that an heretic ſhould not have liberty to look eaſtward. So he was turned the other way.

When he had done praying, the people ſaid, 'What he hath done before, we know not, but now he prayeth devoutly:' and ſome ſaid, It were better that he had a confeſſor: but a prieſt ſitting on horſeback, anſwered, that he might not be heard, being a condemned heretic.

In Prague he ſaw a viſion, wherein he ſeemed to paint the images of Chriſt, and his apoſtles: but the pope came and hindered him, and cauſed his ſervants to blot out thoſe images. Then he ſaw other painters, in a great number, painting the ſame images again: and they were ſo numerous that the pope and his cardinals were not able to blot them out.

Johannis Huſſi opera, quæ extant omnia impreſſa ſunt Norimbergæ in officina Montani & Nuberi, anno Chriſti, 1558.

The Life of HIEROM *of* PRAGUE, *who died*, ANNO Chriſti, 1416.

HIEROM of Prague, a Bohemian born, a man famous for courage, comelineſs, virtue, learning, and eloquence: when he underſtood that the publick faith was violated, his country ſlandered, and Huſs burnt, he travelled to Conſtance, April the 4 *anno Chriſti* 1415. But no ſooner came he thither, but he underſtood that watch was laid for him to apprehend him, whereupon the next day he went to Iberling a city of the empire, and a mile from Conſtance.

From thence he ſent to Sigiſmund king of Hungary, and his barons, but eſpecially to the council, moſt earneſtly requeſting that they would give him a ſafe conduct freely to come and go, and then he would come in open audience to anſwer every man, if any would appear to charge him with any crime: but this was denied him both by the king and council: whereupon the next day he wrote ſundry inſtimations and ſent them to Conſtance, cauſing them to be ſet upon the gates of the city, upon the doors of churches, monaſteries, of the houſes of the cardinals, and other noble perſonages, the tenor whereof was this: 'Unto the noble emperor, &c. I Jerom of Prague, Mr of arts of the univerſity of Paris, Cullen, Heidleberg and Prague, by theſe my letters do notify to the king and council, and to all others, that becauſe of many crafty ſlanderers, back biters, and accuſers, I am ready of mine own free will to come unto Conſtance, there to declare openly before all the council the purity and ſincerity of my faith and my innocency: but this I will not do in corners, ſecretly before any private or particular perſon; wherefore if there be any of my ſlanderers of what nation ſoever, that will charge me with error or hereſy, let them come forth openly before the council, and in their own names object againſt me, and I will be ready to anſwer them; and if I ſhall be found guilty of any error or hereſy, I will not refuſe openly to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhall be meet for an heretic: wherefore I humbly deſire a ſafe conduct as afore; but if (ſeeing I offer ſuch equal terms) before any fault be proved againſt me I ſhall be arreſted, impriſoned, or have any violence done to me, that then it may be manifeſt unto all the world that this council doth not proceed according to the rules of equity and juſtice, the rather ſeeing that I am come hither freely, and of my own accord &c.'

But notwithſtanding all this, no ſafe conduct would be granted him: wherefore the lords of Bohemia gave him their letters patent under their ſeals to teſtify the truth of the premiſes; with the which letters he returned again towards Bohemia: but by the treachery and ſubtilty of his enemies he was apprehended by the way in Hirſaw, and by the officers was carried before the duke; who preſently after carried him bound to Conſtance; and for a greater diſgrace they put a bolt of iron upon his wriſts with a long iron chain at it, by which they led him through the city to the cloiſter of the friar Minors, where all the prieſts, ſcribes and phariſees were met together, and when he came before them, ſome of the biſhops ſaid to him: 'Hierom, why didſt thou fly and run away and not appear when thou waſt cited? To which he anſwered, Becauſe I could get no ſafe conduct neither from you, nor the king; and perceiving that I had many bitter enemies in the council, I would not be the author of mine own peril; but had I known of your citation, aſſuredly though I had been in Bohemia, I would have appeared.

Then a great rabble of prieſts cried out againſt him, and Gerſon the chancellor of Paris, and the chancellor of Cullen, and the chancellor of Heidleberg charged him with errors delivered in thoſe univerſities; to which he anſwered, that what he had delivered there, he would juſtify now: yet if any could convince him of error therein, he would willingly be informed; hereupon ſome cried out, Let him be burned, let him be burned; then he was delivered bound to the officers to be put into priſon.

Aſſoon as he came thither, one called him at his window ſaying, Mr. Hierom, be conſtant and fear not to ſuffer death for the truth's ſake, of which when you were at liberty you did preach much good: to whom he anſwered truly brother, I do not fear death, &c. But the priſon-keeper coming to the man, drove him away with ſtrokes from the window: preſently after the biſhop of Rigen ſent for Hierom, ſtrongly bound with chains, both by the hands and neck, and ſent him to a tower, where they tied him faſt to a great block, and his feet in the ſtocks, his hands being alſo made faſt upon them, the block being ſo high that he could by no means ſit thereon but his head muſt hang downwards: where alſo they allowed him nothing but bread and water.

But within eleven days, hanging ſo by the heels, he fell very ſick; yet thus they kept him in priſon a year wanting ſeven days, and then ſent for him, requiring him to recant, and to ſubſcribe that John Huſs was juſtly put to death, which he did, partly for fear of death, and hoping thereby to eſcape their hands: after which they ſent him back to priſon, and kept him guarded with ſoldiers, yet not ſo ſtrictly chained as before. Afterwards they ſent to examine him again, but he refuſed to anſwer in private, except he might be brought before the council; and they (ſuppoſing that he would openly confirm his former recantation) ſent for him thither, May the 25. 1416. ſubſcribing

ing falſe witneſſes to accuſe him: but he ſo learnedly cleared himſelf, and refelled his adverſaries, that they were aſtoniſhed at his oration, and with ſhame enough were put to ſilence: he alſo concluded his oration with this, that all ſuch articles as Wicklief and Huſs had written againſt the enormities, pomp, and diſorder of the prelates, he would firmly hold and defend; even unto the death; and that all the ſins that he had committed, did not ſo much gnaw and trouble his conſcience, as did that moſt peſtiferous act of his in recanting what he had juſtly ſpoken, and in conſenting to the wicked condemnation of Huſs, and that he repented with his whole heart that ever he did it.

This ſo enraged them that they proceeded to condemn him; whereupon he ſaid: I after death, will leave a remorſe in your conſcience, and a nail in your hearts; *Et cito vos omnes ut reſpondeatis mihi coram altiſſimo, & juſtiſſimo judice poſt centum annos:* I here cite you all to anſwer to me before the moſt high and juſt judge within a hundred years. When he was brought forth to execution, they prepared a great and long paper painted about with red devils, which when he beheld, throwing away his hood, he took the miter, and put it on his head, ſaying our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when he ſuffered death for me moſt wretched ſinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head: and I, for his ſake, will willingly wear this cap. As he went to the place of execution, where John Huſs was burned, he kneeled down, and prayed fervently. He was bound to the image of John Huſs, and ſo fire was ſet to him, which he endured with admirable valor: for ſtanding at the ſtake bound, and the executioner kindling the fire behind him, he bade him kindle it before his face. For (ſaid he) if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had ſo many opportunities offered to me to eſcape it. The whole city of Conſtance admired his conſtancy, and Chriſtian magnanimity in ſuffering death. At the giving up of the ghoſt he ſaid;

Hanc animam in flammis offero Chriſte tibi:
This ſoul of mine in flames of fire
O Chriſt I offer thee.

An aliquid ab Hieronymo Pragenſi ſcriptum ſit, poſterique relictum, ignoro: credibile verum eſt, virum tam doctum, ac eloquentem quædam ſcripſiſſe, orationes quas in academiis illuſtrioribus habuit, tum themata quæ propoſuit, forte in lucem edita, ſuppreſſa fuere, & extincta ab iis qui, more ſuo, lucem ferre nequeunt.

The Life of MARTIN LUTHER, *who flouriſhed*, anno Chriſti, 1500.

MARTIN Luther was born at Iſleben in the earldom of Mansfield, *anno Chriſti* 1483. of good parents. His Fathers name was John Luther, who firſt lived at Iſleben, and afterwards removed to Mansfield, where he had ſome metal mines, and was choſen a magiſtrate, and was grateful to all for the integrity of his life. His mother's name was Margaret Lindeman, who was adorned with ſuch virtues as became an honeſt matron, but eſpecially ſhe was eminent for chaſtity, the fear of God, and often calling upon his name. Aſſoon as this their ſon was capable of learning, they firſt trained him up in the fear and knowlege of God and other virtues under their own wings: then their care was to educate him in humane learning, for which end they ſent him to ſchool to George Æmilius: and though at this time the darkneſs of popery had much obſcured the light of truth, yet it pleaſed God to preſerve in the ſchools the catechiſms containing the principles of religion, the uſe of ſinging Pſalms, and ſome forms of prayer.

At fourteen years of age, he went to Magdeburg, where he lived a poor ſcholar one year: from thence he was removed by his parents to Ilenach, where was a famous ſchool, and where he firſt taſted the ſweetneſs of learning, and ſo after a while went thence to the univerſity of Erford, *anno Chriſti* 1501. There he profited ſo much in logick and other learning, that the whole univerſity admired his wit.

At twenty years old, he was made maſter of arts, and profeſſor of phyſicks, ethicks, and other parts of philoſophy. Then he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the law: but at the age of twenty one (being affrighted at the violent death of a faithful companion of his whom he dearly loved) he betook himſelf in to the Auguſtine monks colledge in Erford, writing to his parents the reaſon why he changed the courſe of his life.

In the library of that colledge he met with a copy of a latine Bible, which he had never ſeen before: and with admiration, obſerved that there were more portions of holy ſcripture, than were read in the churches, which made him wiſh that he had the like book: and it pleaſed God that not long after he obtained his deſire, and fell cloſe to the ſtudy thereof, ſome ſickneſs and fear alſo whetting him on in thoſe ſtudies.

Afterwards falling into a violent diſeaſe which threatned death, an old prieſt came to him, ſaying, ſir, be of good courage, your diſeaſe is not mortal; God will raiſe you up to afford comfort to many others: which alſo came to paſs, and he was much cheared up by conference with that prieſt, who largely diſcourſed with him about juſtification by faith, and explained the articles of the creed to him.

Then did Luther read over Auguſtine's works, where he found the ſame doctrine of juſtification by faith frequently confirmed. He read over the ſchool-men alſo, eſpecially Occam, and in theſe ſtudies he ſpent five years in that colledge.

Anno Chriſti 1507. he was made presbyter: and John Staupicius endeavouring to promote the univerſity of Wittenberg (then lately begun) knowing the wit and learning of Luther, removed him thither, *anno Chriſti* 1508. when he was but 26 years old, where by his labours he did much good; three years after he was ſent to Rome in the behalf of his convent, where he ſaw the pope, and the manner of the Roman clergy, concerning which he ſaith; at Rome I heard them ſay maſs in ſuch a manner as I deteſt them: for at the communion table I heard courteſans laugh and boaſt of their wickedneſs, and others concerning the bread and wine of the altar, ſaying, bread thou art, and bread thou ſhalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou ſhalt remain.

Upon his return from Rome, he was made doctor in divinity at the charge of Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, who heard him preach, and admired the ſoundneſs of his invention, the ſtrength of his arguments, and the excellency of the things which he delivered.

Soon after he began to explain the epiſtle to the Romans, and ſome pſalms, wehre he ſhewed the difference between the law and the goſpel; refuted juſtification by works, &c. And his demeanor agreed with his doctrine; his ſpeech ſeemed to come from his heart, not from his lips only. Then he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew.

This year 1517. was by the account of Sculteſus the 356 from the reformation of religion in France by the Waldenſes: the 146. from the firſt confutation of popiſh errors in England by John Wicklief. The 116, from the firſt year of the miniſtry of John Huſs, who oppoſed the errors of popery in Bohemia. The 36. year from the condemnation of Dr Weſſalia, who taught at Worms the ſame doctrine before Luther was born, that Luther did afterwards.

Anno Chriſti 1517. John Taccius brought indulgences into Germany to be ſold, averring that he had ſo huge a commiſſion from the pope, that though a man had deflowred the bleſſed virgin, yet for money he could pardon his ſin: Luther's zeal being inflamed herewith, it cauſed him to ſet forth ſome propoſitions againſt indulgences, which ſo enraged Teccius, that whereſoever he came he declaimed againſt Luther, and ſet forth contrary poſitions, and not content therewith, he burned openly Luther's propoſitions, and the ſermon which he wrote about indulgences: this cauſed the ſtudents at Wittenberg to burn his poſitions alſo.

The propoſitions which Luther ſet up, were ninety five in number: after which he made this proteſtation, 'I Martin Luther, doctor of the order of the Eremites at Wittenberg, would have it publicly teſtified that I have ſet forth certain propoſitions againſt the pope's indulgences as they call them; but albeit neither the famous and worthy ſchool of ours, nor the civil nor eccleſiaſtical power hath hitherto condemned me: yet, as I hear, there are certain

certain men of a violent and bold wit, who dare to pronounce me an heretic, as if they well understood and thoroughly knew the whole matter: but I beseech every one, as I have often done before, so now by the Christian faith, that they either shew me a better way if it be revealed by God to any of them, or else let them submit their sentence to God and his churches judgment. For neither am I so rash that I would have my opinion alone to be preferred before all others, neither am I so doltish that I would have the word of God to be placed after fables devised by human reason.'

Anno Christi 1518. Andrew Bodenstein from his native place called Caralostadius, with many other divines of Wittenberg defended Luther's doctrine by their writings. Also the elector of Saxony of his own accord, without intreaty, took upon him the patronage of Luther, neither would he suffer that he should be drawn to Rome. Also about the same time Luther (contrary to the advice of his friends) went to the chapter of the Augustine fryars held at Heidleberg to defend his doctrine, and shew his obedience to their summons. He was honourably entertained by the bishop of Wurbsturg, and at Heidleberg by Wolfgang the count Palatine.

Amongst the fryars there he disputed of 28 paradoxes which he propounded out of St. Paul's epistles concerning justification by faith without works. Bucer being present, and taking notes at this disputation, wrote thus of it to Beatus Rheanus. 'His sweetness in answering (saith he) was admirable, his patience in hearing was incomparable; you might have seen the acuteness of saint Paul in resolving doubts, so that he brought them all into admiration of him, by reason of his short and pithy answers, and those taken out of the storehouse of God's holy scriptures.'

In his return when he was at Erford, he wrote to Jodocus, a divine of Isenach, who had been his master, wherein he thus expresseth himself: 'the whole university of Wittenberg is of my mind concerning the doctrine of faith and works except one Licenciat, and also the duke of Saxony: the bishop of Brandeaburg (who is my ordinary) and many prelates, and the more ingenous citizens say with one mouth that they never knew Christ and the gospel before.'

August following, Maximilian the emperor, hearing of these controverlies between Luther and others, presently wrote to the pope to provide timely remedies against those spreading evils (as he called them) promising, that whatever he should decree about the same, he would see that it should take place through all the provinces of the empire. Hereupon pope Leo citeth Luther to Rome, which he also signified to his legate cardinal Cajetan in these words, 'Hearing that Luther defendeth certain ungodly opinions, estranged from those of the church of Rome, which is the mistress of faith and religion, out of my fatherly affection desiring to repress his rashness, I have commanded the bishop of Aesculan to cite him to Rome to answer those accusations that are laid against him. This the said bishop hath done, yet Luther is so far from returning to soundness, that being stubborn in his heresy, he hath set out writings much worse than the former, to my great grief and perturbation, &c. Then he proceeds to require the cardinal to see that Luther were brought to Auspurg, and that he should implore the emperor and princes to set a guard upon him, and carry him to Rome: yet withal if he should repent, and voluntarily confess his fault, he bade the cardinal pardon him, otherwise to interdict him from holy services, &c.

The pope also wrote to the duke of Saxony, in which letter after a few flatteries, he tells him that he heareth many and grievous complaints against Luther, (an undone man) who forgetting his order and profession doth many things very saucily against the church of God with great confidence: bragging that he is defended with the favour of his prince, and that he fears the authority of no man; which thing he presumes to be false and scandalous to the prince; yet (saith he) 'I am willing to write to you, to admonish you to be mindful of the dignity and splendor of your ancestors, flying not only the fault, but also suspicion of it,' &c. After which he tells him that it properly belonged to the church of Rome to judge in these causes of religion, and therefore requires him at the request of his legate, to see that Luther be sent to Rome, that there he might be either censured or pardoned according to his deserts.

The pope wrote also to the master of the Augustine monks, exhorting him by his authority to endeavour to recal Luther from his undertakings, and to sollicit him earnestly thereto both by letters and learned men; withal telling him that this must be done speedily, whereby he might quench the flame that was but lately risen, whereas by delays it was to be feared that the danger would grow greater and greater; for the timely suppressing whereof he required him to use all his study, care, and diligence.

When Luther saw that he was called to Rome, he earnestly sollicited that his cause might be heard in Germany, before fit judges appointed thereto, and in a place least subject unto danger. The university also of Wittenberg wrote to the pope, giving a notable testimony unto Luther both for his life and learning: they said also that in regard of his sickliness, and the danger of the way, he could not go to Rome; they beseeched the pope that he would think no otherwise of him than of a good man: that certain things indeed were propounded by him only for disputation sake, not to define them; that his adversaries interpreted him in the worse sense, and thereby much exasperated him; beseeching him to give credit to this their testimony.

They wrote also to Charles Miltitius, a German, who was chamberlain to the pope, highly commending Luther, and desiring him to procure of the pope that indifferent judges might be appointed to hear his cause in Germany: presuming that he being a German, would favour his country-man who was oppress'd with slanders, and in danger of his life in an honest cause.

Prince Frederick also the elector of Saxony, treated with cardinal Cajetan, and so prevailed with him, that Luther should be called to Auspurg, there to plead his cause before the cardinal

About this time the Bohemians sent a book to him written by John Huss, encouraging him to constancy and patience, confessing that what he taught was sound and right.

In a letter to Spalatinus he thus writes; 'In what matter soever I have not so roughly dealt with the romanists, let them not ascribe it to my modesty nor to their deserts, but to my respect of my Prince and his authority, and to the common good of the students of Wittenberg: As for myself, *contemptus a me est Romanus & favor, & furor:* I contemn Rome's favour and fury: let them censure and burn all my books, I will do the like by theirs, and will put an end to all my humble observance of them, which doth but incense them more and more.'

The elector of Saxony telling Erasmus that he wondred at the monks and pope's extreme hatred of Luther: Erasmus answered, 'Your highness needs not wonder at it, seeing he deals against the monks bellies and the pope's crown.' And the same Erasmus being proffered a great bishoprick if he would write against Luther, answered, 'That Luther was too great a man for him to deal with, and that he learned more from one short page of Luther's writings, than from all Thomas Aquinas' great books.' Erasmus also in a letter to the archbishop of Mentz, saith, 'That many things were in the books of Luther condemned by monks and divines for heresy, which in the books of Bernard and Augustine are reputed sound and godly.'

About the same time Margaret, Cæsar's aunt, who governed the low-countries, when the masters of Lovan complained to her that the writings of Luther overthrew the whole Christian common wealth; she asked them, 'what kind of man that Luther was?' To whom they answered, An unlearned monk:' whereupon she replied: 'Therefore do you who are many learned men, write against that one unlearned fellow: for sure the world will sooner believe many learned, before one unlearned man.'

Luther being cited, as we said before, to appear before cardinal Cajetan at Auspurg, went thither, and having obtained a safe conduct from the emperor Maximilian, he appeared before the cardinal, where he justified his doctrine, and proferred to maintain the same either by disputation

or writing: the cardinal being much offended with him for his bold ſpeech, would not ſuffer him to come before him any more: hereupon Luther, after five or ſix days ſtay, when he heard no more from him, appealeth to the pope, and ſo departeth home. But the cardinal wrote after him to the duke of Saxony, that as he tendered his own honour and ſafety, he ſhould expel Luther out of his dominions: this letter the duke ſent to Luther, who wrote back again, that rather than he would any way indanger his prince, he would depart thence, and go whitherſoever it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to lead him. But the whole univerſity of Wittenberg (ſeeing the cauſe of God in danger by this means to decline) wrote to the prince, humbly beſeeching him, that of his princely honour, he would not ſuffer innocency to be thus oppreſſed by meer violence; but that the error might firſt be ſhewed, and Luther be convicted of it, before he be pronounced guilty: hereupon the duke hearing Luther's ſermons, and reading his books with more diligence, began to favour his quarrel more than he did before, and thereupon wrote back to the cardinal to this purpoſe: that whereas he had promiſed that Luther ſhould come to Auſpurg that being done, he could do no more: that the legat had alſo promiſed him that he would diſmiſs Luther in a friendly manner: but that it ſeemed a wonder to him that he would have forced Luther to a recantation before he had pleaded his cauſe: that there were many not only in his juriſdiction, but in other places alſo that were learned and vertuous perſons which did not condemn Luther's doctrine, but they which oppoſed him were men drawn thereto thro' filthy covetouſneſs: but if they would ſhew him his error, he would then do therein the office of a Chriſtian prince, as one that reſpected the glory of God, and deſired to provide for the peace of his conſcience; and that whereas (beyond his expectation) he wrote that Luther ſhould be proſecuted at Rome, and therefore required that either he ſhould be ſent to Rome, or baniſhed his dominions; he anſwered that he could not agree thereto: firſt, becauſe his error is not yet ſhewed him: ſecondly, becauſe it would be an intolerable loſs to the univerſity of Wittenberg, which he had lately founded, wherein were many ſtudents and learned men which loved Luther exceedingly, who had deſerved ſo well of them; that Luther is ſtill willing to come to a diſputation in a place not ſuſpected, and to ſubmit to the judgments of ſuch as can bring any thing more right, or to anſwer by writing; that he thinketh it juſt that this be granted him, and requeſteth that it may be ſo done, that ſo it may appear why he is counted an heretic, and what himſelf ought chiefly to follow, aſſuring him that he will maintain no error: and as he is unwilling to depart from the obſervance of the church of Rome, ſo neither can he condemn Luther, till his errors and crimes be detected.

After the death of Maximilian, and the coronation of Charles the V. the pope ſent to the duke of Saxony by ſome cardinals, requeſting him, that he would cauſe all Luther's books to be burnt; and that he would ſee Luther either to be executed in Saxony, or elſe that he would ſecure him, and ſend him to Rome; to which the duke anſwered, that he was ready to ſhew his obedience to the pope, but yet he could not ſend Luther to him, till his cauſe was heard before the emperor, and till he was convicted of error; and then if he recanted not, he ſhould find no favour at his hands.

About this time, many adverſaries being riſen up againſt Luther, there was a diſputation appointed at Lipſik, to which Luther came accompained with Phil. Melanchthon, who was come to Wittinberg the year before: on the adverſary party came John Eckius, a bold and confident divine: This diſputation laſted fourteen days, which was after publiſhed in print by Luther and Petrus Moſſellanus.

Preſently after, the fryars grievouſly charged the pope with neglect of his duty, in that minding his pleaſures ſo much (whereunto he was wonderouſly addicted) he in the mean time neglected the care of the church, in not timely ſuppreſſing the doctrine of Luther: the biſhops alſo of Germany having condemned the doctrine of Luther, wrote earneſtly to the pope againſt him, whereupon the pope calling together the cardinals, biſhops, divines, and canoniſts, referred the buſineſs wholly to their pleaſure, who after much contention and wrangling amongſt themſelves, at laſt concluded that a certain day ſhould be appointed for Luther's appearing, and that his books ſhould be burnt openly.

The court of Saxony hearing theſe things, was ſomewhat troubled, when Luther perceived, he began to bethink himſelf of retiring into Bohemia: which being taken notice of, Sir Francis of Sickingen, Sir Ulrick of Hutten, and Silveſter of Scavenberg, a noble Franconian, offered him both entertainment and patronage; intreating him not to go into Bohemia, but to come into Franconia, if the Romans curſes did prevail, promiſing him an hundred noble horſemen of Franconia for his guard. Hereupon Luther's courage encreaſeth, and he giveth notice to the cardinal of ſaint George, that if the pope's curſes drave him out of Wittenberg, they ſhould get nothing by it, ſeeing there was now, not only in Bohemia, but in the midſt of Germany ſuch as were able and willing to defend him againſt the pope's power: and then (ſaith he) being ſafe guarded by theſe protectors, I ſhall more cruelly inveigh againſt the Romaniſts than if you let me alone in peace under my prince.

Yet June 15. the pope publiſheth his bull againſt Luther, and all his partakers: forbidding upon pain of excommunication, the reading or keeping any of his books: commanding all men to apprehend him, and bring him to Rome: and interdicting all places where he ſhould come.

This bull in many places of Germany was oppoſed and torn in pieces: and Sir Ulrick Hutten publiſhed it with interlineary gloſſes, and marginal notes to their great diſgrace.

But before this came abroad Luther had publiſhed his book *de Captivitate babylonica*, wherein he profeſſed that he was daily made more learned, wiſhing that his books about indulgences were burnt, and that inſtead thereof this poſition were ſet forth, 'Indulgences are the wickedneſſes of the flatterers of Rome.' And when the pope's bull came forth, Luther excommunicated the bull itſelf and the authors of it; he alſo publiſhed a defence of all the articles condemned by the pope, appealing from the pope to a council.

After this the cardinals, according to their commiſſion, told the duke, that they could do no leſs than burn Luther's books; which accordingly they did: but Luther hearing of it, being accompanied with all the univerſity, he alſo openly burnt the pope's decrees, and his bull lately ſent out againſt him. At which time he added theſe words, 'Becauſe thou haſt troubled the holy one of the Lord, eternal fire ſhall trouble thee.'

A while after the emperor Charles the V. coming into Germany, prince Frederick of Saxony accompanied him to Worms, from whence he wrote to Luther that he had obtained of the emperor to hear him openly at the diet: to which Luther anſwered, that it was very welcome news to him that the emperor would take to himſelf the hearing of his cauſe, promiſing to do all which he could with a ſafe conſcience, and not wronging the cauſe of Chriſt.

March the ſixth, the emperor ſent for him, and withal ſent him a ſafe conduct, requiring his repair thither within 21 days: but many of his friends diſſuaded him from going, to whom he anſwered, 'That theſe diſcouragements were caſt into his way by Satan, who knew that by his profeſſion of the truth in ſo illuſtrious a place, his kingdom would be ſhaken, and therefore if he knew that there were as many devils in Worms as tiles on the houſes, yet would he go thither,' &c.

April the ſixteenth, Luther came to Worms: whereupon ſome perſuaded the emperor to deal with him as the council of Conſtance had dealt with John Huſs: but the emperor ſaid, 'That the public faith was not to be violated.' The next day Luther appeared before the emperor, and a frequent aſſembly of the princes, at which time Eccius, a lawyer, at the command of the emperor, made a ſpeech, in the end whereof he aſked him whether he would recant and retract his works? To which Luther after deliberation, anſwered, 'Of my books (ſaith he) ſome tend to faith and piety; to theſe my adverſaries give an ample teſtimony: others are againſt the pope and his doctrine; ſhould I revoke theſe, I ſhould confirm his ty-

rany:

many: others are againſt private men who defend his cauſe; in theſe I confeſs, I have been too vehement, yet I cannot revoke them, unleſs I will ſet open a gap to the impudency of many.' But Eccius told him that the emperor was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, but required his recantation. To which Luther anſwered, 'I beſeech you, give me leave to maintain the peace of my own conſcience, which, if I ſhould conſent to you, I cannot do. For unleſs my adverſaries can convince me by ſound arguments taken out of the holy ſcriptures, I cannot ſatisfy my conſcience. For I can plainly prove that both popes and councils have often erred grievouſly: and therefore it would be an ungodly thing for me to aſſent to them, and to depart from the holy ſcriptures which is plain and only cannot err.' And ſo he departed at that time.

But the next day the emperor ſent his letter to the aſſembly of the princes, wherein he wrote that his anceſtors had always profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, and had obſerved the church of Rome, which ſeeing Luther now oppoſed, and ſtood ſtifly to his opinion, it behoved him to proſcribe him and his companions, and to provide fit remedies to quench that flame. Yet that he would keep the public faith given him, ſo that he might return ſafe to his own home. The princes were divided in their opinions; but the major part held that he was not raſhly to be condemned, becauſe the emperor being a young man, was inſtigated againſt him by the pope and his miniſters.

A few days after the biſhop of Trevers appointed Luther to come unto him, with whom alſo ſome other of the princes were aſſembled: at which time they uſed many arguments to draw him to a recantation, and concluded that they perceived that if he refuſed, the emperor's purpoſe was to baniſh him out of the bounds of the empire, and therefore they exhorted him ſeriouſly to think upon the ſame. Luther anſwered that he was very thankful to them that ſo great princes would take ſo much pains for his ſake who was ſo mean, and unworthy a perſon: yet he told them that he would rather loſe his life than depart from the maniſeſt truth of the word of God, ſeeing its better to obey God than man, &c. Then was he commanded to withdraw: and there came to him one Væus a lawyer; who perſuaded him to ſubmit his writings to the judgment of Cæſar and the princes: to whom he anſwered, that he would not decline the judgment of Cæſar, and the orders of the empire if they would be guided by the word of God which (ſaith he) makes ſo plain for me, that unleſs they convince me of an error, I cannot depart from mine opinion.

Shortly after the emperor ſent to him to depart home, giving him 21 days for his return, commanding him neither by writing nor word to declare any thing to the people by the way. And after his departure the emperor proſcribed him. After the publication whereof, prince Frederick appointed certain noble men, whom he moſt confided in, to convey him to a ſecret place thereby to avoid the danger, who accordingly conveyed him privately to Wartſburg, which he called his Patmos, where he continued ten months, and wrote divers uſeful treatiſes. The papiſts employed wizards to deſcry him, but they could not certainly deſign the place where he was.

In Luther's abſence, the univerſity of Wittenberg ſolicited prince Frederick to aboliſh the maſs out of his juriſdiction, ſhewing him the impiety of the ſame, and that it was invented but about 400 years before for the pope's profit, to which the prince gave them a very prudent and pious anſwer.

Anno Chriſti 1522. Luther wrote to Melancthon to provide him a lodging at Wittenberg: for (ſaith he) the tranſlation of the Bible will urge me to return. For having tranſlated much of the Bible into Dutch in his Patmos, it was neceſſary for him to confer with learned men, and to have their help and aſſiſtance about the ſame.

In his abſence, Juſtus Jonas, Caraloſtad, Phil. Melancthon, Ampſdorfius, &c. had removed private maſs, images, auricular confeſſion, prayer to ſaints, &c.

March the ſixth, Luther came back to Wittenberg, and preached every day, taxing the reformers in one of his ſermons, as if they had erred in aboliſhing the maſs: not (ſaith he) becauſe it is ſinful to do it, but becauſe they have not done it in a right order, &c. And as touching the pulling down of images, he ſaid, 'If any worſhip images, they are to be aboliſhed; otherwiſe they are to be endured: yet I wiſh they were all taken away becauſe of the abuſe of them, which we cannot diſſemble.'

Caraloſtadius was much nettled with theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches, who was the chief doer in theſe matters, ſaying that Luther would have all men enſlaved to his authority, and would ſuffer no man to do or write any thing whereof himſelf was not the firſt author.

Preſently after Luther excuſed himſelf by letters to prince Frederick for returning to Wittenberg under a ſtronger protection than the elector could give him; for ſaith he, 'God alone can order and promote the truth without any man's exceſſive care, and helping hand: therefore in this cauſe, he that moſt ſtrongly truſts to God's aſſiſtance, he moſt ſurely defends himſelf and others.

Anno Chriſti 1522. He printed the New Teſtament (tranſlated by him in his Patmos) into the German tongue, and reviſed by Melancthon, whereat our king Henry the VIII. and George duke of Saxony were much troubled.

About this time Thomas Muncer, an anabapriſt, wrote a fanatic book againſt him and his doctrine, and the boors ſeduced by him, roſe in arms, publiſhing their demands, whereof theſe were ſome: That they might chuſe their own miniſters; that they might pay no tithes, but of corn only, which alſo might be diſtributed partly to the poor, and other common uſes. That they ſhould not be uſed as ſervants, who were made free by the blood of Chriſt, &c. To theſe propoſes Luther wrote an anſwer, That indeed princes grievouſly offend by forbidding the ſincere preaching of the goſpel, and for overburdening of their ſubjects: but yet for theſe things the ſubjects may not take arms againſt their magiſtrates: that there was no reaſon why they ſhould place their hope in the multitude, ſeeing God can eaſily deſtroy them: that they abuſed the name of God, pretending it for their ſedition, as if they deſired to promote the ſincere glory of God, the doctrine of the goſpel, juſtice and equity, whereas indeed they go about to take from the magiſtrate the power that God hath given him, and whom God hath commanded them to obey. Afterwards he proceeded to examine their demands, ſhewing that the moſt of them were contrary to the law of nature and equity, telling them alſo how great their confuſion would be, ſhould they be granted. And for the reſt, which ſeemed to be grounded upon an equity, he referred them to be examined by the lawyers. Laſtly, he exhorted them lovingly and brotherly to lay down their arms, and to obey their magiſtrates: telling them that they might remove from thoſe places where the preaching of the goſpel is forbidden: but they may not oppoſe themſelves violently againſt their magiſtrates.

But when this admonition prevailed nothing, he wrote another treatiſe, wherein he exhorted all men to join together for the utter ſubverſion of theſe theiviſh incendiaries, as for the quenching of a common fire.

Thomas Muncer (a phanatical preacher) ſowed the ſeeds of this ſedition, and was holpen much by one Pfeiffer: theſe vented their dreams, and told their followers that they ſhould kill their enemies as mice in a barn. Hereupon ſome of the princes aſſembled their forces, and pitying this wretched ſeduced multitude, offered them peace if they would lay down their arms, and depart home: but Muncer told his followers, that the princes were afraid, and that by a divine revelation he could aſſure them of victory: hereupon they came to a battle, wherein 5000 of them were ſlain, and the reſt fled to Francoſium: but the princes purſuing them, took the city, put 300 more to death: and Muncer being taken, was brought before the princes, who chid him for his proceedings, and then racked him to confeſs his complices: upon the rack he cried out grievouſly, whereupon prince George of Saxony ſaid, 'But think upon the ſlaughter of the poor wretches, who being deceived by you, periſhed yeſterday:' upon this Muncer laughed outright, and ſaid, 'Why? they would be deceived.' When he was to be beheaded, he was ſo faint-hearted that he could not rehearſe the apoſtles creed: with him alſo was beheaded Pfeiffer, and ſome others and ſhortly after was finiſhed that mournful war of the clowns, wherein in ſeveral places were ſlain above fifty thouſand, ſome ſay one hundred thouſand.

Anno Chriſti 1525. Luther married Catherine a Boren; who

who had formerly been a nun. This Luther's friends diſliked very much, that he ſhould marry at ſo unſeaſonable a time, when Germany weltred in the blood of the clowns, and Saxony mourned for the death of Frederick their prince: but Phil. Melancthon wrote thus to Camerarius. 'Perhaps ſome will wonder that Luther ſhould marry in theſe unhappy times, as if he cared not for thoſe miſchiefs which are before our eyes: but I think this was the occaſion of it: you know well enough his courſe of life, that he is none of thoſe that ſhun meetings; I think better to leave you to think the reſt, than that I ſhould write it: if any undecent thing be reported by the people of him, it is a lie and a calumny. I judge alſo that nature compelled him to become an huſband. If any thing ſeem unſeaſonable and unadviſed, it muſt not trouble us too much: perhaps there is ſome hidden and divine matter in it, into which it becometh not us curiouſly to ſearch, and becauſe I ſee him ſorrowful for the change of his condition, I labour to comfort him all that I can.'

Anno 1527. Luther fell ſick of a congealing of blood about his heart; but by the drinking of water of Carduus Benedictus, he recovered. Preſently after (on a Sabbath day) he endured a ſpiritual temptation, which he called the buffeting of Satan: 'It ſeemed to him that ſwelling ſurges of the ſea did ſound aloud at his left ear, and that ſo violently, that die he muſt, except they preſently grew calm: afterwards when the noiſe came within his head, he fell down as one dead, and was ſo cold in each part, *ut nec calor, nec ſanguis, nec ſenſus, nec vox ſupereſſet*: that he had remaining neither heat, nor blood, nor ſenſe, nor voice; but when his face was ſprinkled with cold water by Juſtus Jonas, he came to himſelf, and prayed moſt earneſtly, and made a confeſſion of his faith, ſaying, That he was unworthy to ſuffer martyrdom, which by his proceedings he might ſeem to run upon.' He often mentions this tentation in his letters to his friends, and was confirmed in his faith by receiving abſolution from a miniſter, and the uſe of the ſacrament.

Melancthon knowing the rage of the papiſts, and Cæſar's threats to ſubvert the goſpel, was much troubled at it, and gave himſelf wholly up to grief, ſighs and tears; whereupon Luther wrote to him: 'In private conflicts, you are found weak, and I ſtronger; becauſe I am aſſured that our cauſe is juſt and true: if we fall, Chriſt, the Lord and ruler of the world falleth with us; and ſuppoſe he fall, *Mallem ruere cum Chriſto, quam regnare cum Cæſare*, I had rather fall with Chriſt than ſtand with Cæſar: I extremely diſlike your exceſſive cares, with which you ſay, that you are almoſt conſumed: that theſe reign ſo much in your heart, it is not from the greatneſs of the danger, but the greatneſs of your incredulity. *Si piam, & juſtam cauſam defendimus, cur Dei promiſſis non confidimus? præter vitam hanc miſellam Satanas, & mundus nobis eripere nihil poteſt. At vivit, & in ſempiternum regnat Chriſtus, in cujus tutela conſiſtit veritas: is nobis aderit: is etiam cauſam hanc, quæ non noſtra, ſed ipſius eſt, ad optatum producet finem.* If the cauſe be bad, let us revoke it, and flie back: if it be good, why do we make God a liar! who hath made us ſo great promiſes: caſt thy care upon the Lord, &c. Be of good comfort, I have overcome the world. If Chriſt be the conqueror of the world, why ſhould we fear it as if it would overcome us? A man would fetch ſuch ſentences as theſe upon his knees, from Rome or Jeruſalem. *Nolite igitur timere, eſſote fortes, & læti, nihil ſolliciti, Dominus prope adeſt:* Be not afraid; be couragious and chearful: ſolicitous for nothing. The Lord is at hand to help us. And in another place when our king Henry the VIII. had written bitterly againſt him: *Agant quicquid poſſunt Henrici, Epiſcopi, atque adeo Turca, & ipſe Satan, non filii ſumus regni*, &c. Let the Henries, the biſhops, the Turk, and the devil himſelf do what they can; we are the children of the kingdom, worſhipping, and waiting for that Saviour whom they, and ſuch as they, ſpit upon and crucify.

Concerning this his anſwer, Eraſmus thus writes, if (ſaith he) Luther commending the king's good intention, had proceeded by ſtrong arguments, without violating the kingly majeſty, in my judgment, he had taken a better courſe for the defence of his cauſe. For what made Luther in his book to the king of England, to uſe theſe words, 'Come hither my lord Henry, and I will teach you?' Truly the king's book was written in Latin, and that not unlearnedly; but Luther thus excuſeth himſelf, 'If any man (ſaith he) be offended at my ſharpneſs againſt the king, let him know that in that book I dealt with ſenſeleſs monſters, who contemned my beſt and moſt modeſt writings, and by my humility and modeſty were more hardened in their errors: beſides I abſtained from bitterneſs and lies, with which the king's book was ſtuffed. Neither is it any wonder, If I contemn and bite an earthly king, when as he feared not at all in his writings to blaſpheme the King of heaven, and to profane his truth with virulent lies.'

Anno Chriſti 1523. A diet was held at Norinberg in the abſence of Cæſar, wherein the edict of Worms was made null; of this the pope's legat complained to the princes, ſaying, 'That Luther was not puniſhed according to the emperor's edict;' to which the princes anſwered; that the court of Rome neglected reformation; that Germany was ſo far enlightened by the ſermons and writings of Luther, that if they ſhould go about to put the edict in execution, great tumults would ariſe, and the people would be ready to think that they went about to oppreſs the truth, and to put out the light of the goſpel, that ſo they might the better defend thoſe manifeſt vices which could be no longer concealed.

The ſame year Luther publiſhed his book of the dignity and office of the civil magiſtrate. He wrote alſo to the Waldenſes about the adoration of the ſacrament. He publiſhed the Pentateuch in the German tongue. He wrote to the ſenate of Prague his book *de inſtituendis miniſtris eccleſiæ*, and another about the avoiding the doctrines of men; beſides divers others. What was judged of him for his conſtancy and reſolution, may appear by this.

Upon a time a motion was made in the conſiſtory at Rome, that a great ſum of money ſhould be proffered to him to buy him off from oppoſing popery; but one wiſer than the reſt, cried out, *Hem! Germana illa beſtia non curat aurum ſed auram:* That beaſt of Germay cares for no money, but ſeeks vain-glory.

Anno Chriſti 1529. he ſet forth both his Catechiſms; the leſſer in January, the greater in October following.

The year after the emperor ſummoned a diet at Auſpurg, giving the public faith for the ſecurity of all men that would come to the diet to ſet forth the form of their belief.

Hereupon the prince elector of Saxony to be the better prepared againſt this diet, appointed Luther, Juſtus Jonas, Pomeran and Melancthon, to ſet down the form of doctrine which the Saxon churches, and thoſe which accorded with them, did profeſs. Luther comprehended the ſum of his doctrine in ſeventeen articles, which being reviſed by Phil. Melancthon, and put into a better form, was afterwards called the confeſſion of Auſpurg.

And whereas it was given out that the emperor when he came into Germany would tread the goſpellers under his feet, the proteſtant princes met, and conſulted together whether it were better to go to the diet, or to meet the emperor in arms before he ſhould paſs the Alps.

Luther (who was always a counſellor of peace) diſſuaded them from taking arms under the pretence of religion, perſuading them rather by faith and prayer to beg, and look for help from God, whoſe cauſe (ſaith he) himſelf will defend.

Upon this advice the princes went to Auſpurg, yet left Luther not far off in Coburg caſtle to be near at hand, but out of danger, that his advice might be had in time of need. And when the diet was met, the elector of Saxony ſent to him to know whether the cauſe of religion ſhould be referred to the judgment of the emperor? This Luther would by no means have done: for (ſaith he) this honour is to be given to the word of God only to be judge of holy controverſies.

Anno Chriſti 1535. the landgrave of Heſs ſent for Bucer and Melancthon to Caſells, to reconcile them together about the buſineſs of the ſacrament, where after much conference Melancthon mitigated the rigor of his opinion about Chriſt's preſence; and at his return to Wittenberg he carried with him Bucer's declaration concerning that point,

point, which when Luther had conſidered of, he began to hearken to an agreement with Zuinglius, writing moſt friendly to the divines of Straſborough and to others that there might be a meeting appointed, wherein after deliberation, the deſired concord might be confirmed. And accordingly *anno Chriſti* 1536. Bucer and divers other divines of Germany came to Wittenberg, where a form of concord was drawn up by Bucer, and ſubſcribed by both parties, but Bucer ſtriving to pleaſe both parties pleaſed neither: for the Helvetian divines rejected it; and Luther underſtanding of Bucer's various expoſition of it, was very wroth with him, and would no more reckon him amongſt his friends; and ſo all hope of concord was taken away.

Anno Chriſti 1537. The proteſtants being met at Smalkald drew up, and ſet forth the ſum of their religion and practice in a book called *articuli ſmalcaldici*, unto which Luther prefixed this preface.

Whereas pope Paul the III. ſummoned a council the laſt year, which was to meet at Mantua, and a little after adjourned it again without nominating time or place, ſo that it is not certain whether he will or can call it; and we alſo hoped that we ſhould have been called to it: or elſe it was to be feared that we ſhould be condemned not called: it was enjoined to me that I ſhould gather and write the articles of our doctrine, that if perhaps the matter went on, it might be known what, and how far we would and could yield to the papiſts, and in what points we would conſtantly perſevere: I have therefore written theſe articles, and delivered them to our party, who have peruſed and received them with one conſent, that they might be publicly preſented, and explain the confeſſion of our faith in the council if any one ſhall at length be aſſembled and held by the pope and popelings without lies and deceit in a true, lawful and Chriſtian manner.

'But ſeeing the court of Rome doth ſo fear a Chriſtian and free council and moſt fouly flieth the light, ſo that all hopes of ſeeing ſuch a council is utterly taken away even from the papiſts themſelves, to the great offence of many of them, taking ill the negligence of the pope herein; yea they eaſily from hence gather that the pope had rather ſee the deſtruction of all Chriſtianity, and the damnation of all ſouls, than to ſuffer a reformation of himſelf and courtiers, and the reſtraint of his tyranny.

'I thought fit therefore to publiſh theſe articles, that if I be taken out of this life before a council be called (which I truſt and hope ſhall ſo come to paſs) ſeeing theſe wicked fliers of the light labour ſo much to drive of and hinder a council, That they I ſay, which live after me, ſhould have my confeſſion and teſtimony, and may adjoin and publiſh it with the confeſſion which I have formerly ſet forth, wherein I have hitherto perſevered, and will (by God's grace) perſevere unto the end.

'What ſhall I ſay? How ſhall I begin my complaint? For being yet alive, I preach and read to others publicly and daily; and yet not only my virulent adverſaries, but my falſe brethren that ſay that they agree with us in opinion, dare bring and alledge my own doctrine and writings againſt me, whilſt I am alive, and ſee it and hear it, albe it they know that I teach otherwiſe; and they go about to adorn their own poiſon with my labours, ſo to deceive and ſeduce the ſimple with my name; good God, what then will be done after my deceaſe?

'I ſhould anſwer to all things whilſt I am alive: but how I pray you, can I alone ſtop all the mouths of the devil? eſpecially of them who being ſo full of poiſon, will neither hear nor heed what I write: but wholly employ themſelves wickedly to prevert and deprave my words even in the leaſt letters: let the devil and God's wrath anſwer them as they deſerve.

'I oftentimes remember good Gerſon, who oft doubted whether any thing that is good might be brought to light by writing. If writing be omitted, many ſouls are neglected which might have been delivered; and if it be done, preſently the devil is at hand with plaguy tongues full of ſlanders which corrupt all things, and fill them with poiſon, that the profit of the writings may be hindred thereby. Yet what commodity they receive by this their malice, is manifeſt; for whereas by loading us with lies they ſeek to draw away the ſimple from us, God ſo ordereth it by his providence for the promoting of his own work, that their company decreaſeth, and ours increaſeth daily; for God hath confounded, and ſtill will confound them and their lies.

'Lately there came a doctor out of France to Wittenberg, who told us openly that his king was made to believe that we had no true church amongſt us, no magiſtrates, no marriages, but that we all live promiſcuouſly together like brute beaſts. With what face will theſe falſe informers look upon us before the tribunal ſeat of Chriſt in his laſt judgment, who have ſo oft told their king ſuch falſe and prodigious lies? Chriſt who is the Lord and judge of us all knows that they beyle us. God convert them that are to be converted that they may repent, and overwhelm the reſt with eternal woe.

'But to return to the matter: I could wiſh with all my heart, that a free and Chriſtian council were aſſembled, that proviſion might be made for many things that are amiſs. Not that we have need of a council; for our churches are ſo enlightned, taught, and confirmed by the grace of God, with the pure word of God and true uſe of the ſacraments, that we need not a council, neither can a council ſhew us a truer or better way: but there is need of one in many other regards; in many biſhopricks divers pariſhes are deſtitute of ſpiritual food: yet the biſhops and canons regard not the life of thoſe poor men, for whom yet Chriſt died, ſo that they cannot hear the true ſhepherd ſpeaking to his ſheep; I fear Chriſt for this will call a council of angels to deſtroy Germany as he deſtroyed Sodom and Gomorrah. Beſides theſe affairs of the church many things need reformation in the civil ſtate: great diſcords are amongſt princes: uſury and covetouſneſs overflow like a deluge; wantonneſs, pride, riot, garniſh-in apparrel, bellycheer, dicing, pomp, malice, ſtubbornneſs of ſubjects, oppreſſion, &c. ſo over flow that they cannot be amended by ten councils, and twenty diets, &c. Our ſins weigh us down, and ſuffer not God to be gracious to us, becauſe inſtead of repenting we defend our abominations.

'O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, do thou ſummon and hold a council, and redeem thy ſervants by thy glorious coming: the pope and popelings are paſt cure: therefore help us poor and diſtreſſed men who groan unto thee, and ſeek thee with our hearts, according to the grace that thou haſt given us by thy holy Spirit, which liveth and reigneth with thee and the Father for ever,' amen.

Luther, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to have yielded any thing to the temperament of Bucer, which we ſpake of before, wrote to Albert of Brandenburg duke of Boruſſia, exhorting him to ſhun the ſacramentaries and their doctrine, and not to ſuffer it to creep anywhere into his dominions, leaſt he ſhould thereby ſo burden his conſcience with ſo great wickedneſs, that perhaps he ſhould never be able to pacify it again. They of Zurick took this very ill, and they wrote alſo to the duke of Boruſſia, requeſting him not to decree any thing againſt the profeſſors of their faith.

A while after Luther wrote an epiſtle to the aldermen of Francfurt, wherein he called the Zinglians, archdevils, and ſaid they were to be driven out of pulpits, and caſt out of the country.

He uſed to be very fervent in prayer; Vitus Theodorus thus writeth of him, no day paſſeth wherein Luther ſpendeth not three hours at leaſt in prayer. Once it fell out (ſaith he) that I heard him: good God! what a ſpirit, what a confidence was in his very expreſſion? with ſuch a reverence he ſueth for any thing, as one begging of God; and yet with ſuch hope and aſſurance, as if he ſpake with a loving father, or friend, &c.

When the papiſts charged him for a liar, a promiſe-breaker, and an apoſtate; Luther denying the former, yielded himſelf to be an apoſtate, but a bleſſed and holy one, who had not kept his promiſe made to the devil; ſaying, That he was no otherwiſe a revolter than a mamaluke turning Chriſtian, or a magician renouncing his covenant made with the devil, and betaking himſelf to Chriſt.

When Philip duke of Pomerania married Mary daughter to the elector of Saxony, Luther being preſent; prayed for a bleſſing, and taking Philip by the hand ſaid, 'The Lord God be with you, and keep your poſterity from failing;' but his wife continuing barren four years, all his male-ſtock was like to be extinct; yet at length, by God's

bleſſing, according to Luther's prayer, he had ſeven ſons by her, which wonderfully enlarged that noble family.

Luther falling ſick of the ſtone, made his will, in which he bequeathed his deteſtation of popery to his friends and to the paſtors of the church. He alſo beforehand made this verſe,

Peſtis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua papa:

I living ſtopt Rome's breath:
And dead, will be Rome's death.

Yet it pleaſed God in a ſhort ſpace to give him eaſe, and to reſtore him to his former health, which brought great joy to all his friends, and eſpecially to Melancton, who in an epiſtle to him congratulated his recovery.

Anno Chriſti 1537. The pope appointed a council at Vincentia for reforming the church, of which Luther wrote a book, and by a picture in the frontiſpiece ſhewed the argument of it; wherein the pope was pictured ſitting in a high throne, with ſome cardinals ſtanding by, with fox-tails on the one end of long poles, as with bruſhes pretending to ſweep the room, but preſently the duſt ſettled again as before.

About this time the new ſect of the Antinomians did ſtart up: the chief ring leader was Joannes Agricola of Iſleben, a familiar friend of Luther's: they held, that repentance was not to be taught from the decalogue: they oppoſed ſuch as taught that the goſpel was not to be preached to any but ſuch as were humbled by the law: and they taught that whatſoever a man's life was, though impure, &c. yet he was juſtified, ſo that he believed the goſpel: Luther confuted theſe.

Anno Chriſti 1540. there was a meeting appointed at Haganaw upon the Rhine, where the divines were to meet, and in a friendly manner to debate their differences: but as Melancthon was going thitherward, he fell ſick at Vinaria, made his will, and prepared for death; whereupon Luther and Cruciger by long journeys haſtened to him: and as ſoon as Luther ſaw how miſerably he was waſted with his diſeaſe, with ſighs and tears he brake out into this ſpeech, Alas! how precious and profitable an inſtrument of the church is miſerably weakned and ready to periſh! and there withall falling upon his knees he prayed moſt earneſtly for him: and Melancthon confeſſed, that if Luther had not come, he had died.

Anno Chriſti 1541. Luther wrote a conſolatory letter to Frederick Myconius, almoſt quite ſpent with a conſumption, affirming that he could have no joy to live if he died, and therefore wiſhed that himſelf might firſt lay down his earthly tabernacle: concluding, that he was verily perſwaded that his prayers ſhould be granted, as indeed it came to paſs; for Myconius out-lived him ſix years, and would often ſay, that Luther obtained this for him by his prayers.

Luther afterwards wrote his mind concerning ceremonies, (which he deſired might be few, and tending to edification) and excommunication, which he wiſhed might be brought into the church as a profitable diſcipline, but could ſcarce hope to ſee it.

Anno Chriſti 1544. Novemb. 17. he finiſhed his explication of Geneſis, which was his laſt publick reading in the univerſity, which he thus concluded: thus end I my explication on Geneſis; God grant that others may more rightly expound it then I have done: I cannot proceed further, my ſtrength faileth; pray for me, that I may have a quiet and comfortable departure out of this life.

This year in Italy was ſpread a moſt impudent lie about Luthers death: which they called *Horrendum, & inaud tum miraculum, quod in æternum laudandus deus in fœda morte mart. Lutheri & corpore & anima damnati, exhibuit, in gloriam Jeſu Chriſti, atque in emendationem & conſolationem piorum.* The ſubſtance of it was this: that when he ſaw he muſt die, he requeſted that his body ſhould be ſet upon the altar, and worſhipped with devine worſhip: but when his body was laid in the grave, ſuddainly ſo great a ſtir and terror aroſe, as if the foundations of the earth were ſhaken together: whereupon all that were preſent, trembling, and aſtoniſhed, lift up their eyes, and ſaw the ſacred hoſt appear in the air; whereupon they placed that upon the altar: but the night following a loud noiſe and ratling, ſhriller then the former, was heard about Luthers ſepulchre, which terrified all the city, and almoſt killed them with aſtoniſhment: in the morning when they opened the ſepulchre, they found neither body, bones, nor clothes, but a ſulphureous ſtink came out thereof, which almoſt overcame the ſtanders by, &c. This lie coming printed into Germany, Luther ſubſcribed with his own hand, I Martin Luther do profeſs, and witneſs under my own hand, that receiving this figment full of anger and fury concerning my death, I read it with a joyful mind and cheerful countenance: and, but that I deteſt the blaſphemy, which aſcribeth an impudent lie to the divine majeſty; for the other paſſages, I cannot but laugh at Satans, the popes and their complices hatred againſt me. God turn their hearts from their diabolical malice; but if he decree not to hear my prayer for their ſin unto death, then God grant that they may fill up the meaſure of their ſins, and ſolace themſelves with their libels, full fraught with ſuch like lies.

Anno Chriſti 1546. Luther (taking Melancthon and ſome others along with him) went into his own country, and returned in ſafety to Wittenberg again. And not long after he was ſent for back by the counts of Mansfield to compoſe a difference amongſt them about the borders of their countries, and their inheritances. Luther did not uſe to meddle with ſuch buſineſſes, having all his life been accuſtomed only to deal in eccleſiaſtical affairs: yet becauſe he was born in that country he would not be wanting to promote the peace of it. And therefore having preached his laſt ſermon at Wittenberg, January the 17th, upon the 23d day he began his journey; and at Hall in Saxony, he lodged at Juſtus Jonas his houſe; and paſſing over the river with Jonas, and his own three ſons, they were in danger of drowning: whereupon he ſaid to Juſtus Jonas, 'Think you not that it would rejoice the devil very much, if I and you, and my three ſons ſhould be drowned?' He was honourably entertained by the earl of Mansfield, who ſent an hundred horſe that conveyed him to Iſleben, being very weak, whereupon he ſaid, that he never undertook any great buſineſs, but he was attended with ſuch ſickneſs: yet after the uſe of ſome fomentations he was prettily well, and attended the buſineſs about which he came, from the 29th of January to the 17th of February; during which time he preached ſometimes in the church, and twice adminiſtred the Lord's ſupper, and ordained two to the work of the miniſtry; at his table he uſed holy conference, and was daily very fervent in his prayers.

The day before his death he dined and ſupped with his friends, diſcourſing of divers matters, and amongſt the reſt gave his opinion that in heaven we ſhall know one another, becauſe Adam knew Eve at firſt ſight, &c. After ſupper his pain in his breaſt increaſing, he went aſide and prayed; then went to bed and ſlept; but about midnight, being awakened with the pain, and perceiving that his life was at an end, he ſaid, 'I pray God to preſerve the doctrine of his goſpel amongſt us; for the pope and the council of Trent have grievous things in hand:' after which he thus prayed, 'O heavenly Father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thou God of all conſolation, I give thee hearty thanks that thou haſt revealed unto me thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, whom I believe, whom I profeſs, whom I love, whom I glorify, whom the pope and the rout of the wicked perſecute and diſhonour; I beſeech thee Lord Jeſus Chriſt receive my ſoul; O my heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, and muſt lay down this frail body; yet I certainly know that I ſhall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of thy hands, God ſo loved the world, &c. Lord, I render up my ſpirit into thy hands, and come to thee;' and again, 'Lord into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, thou O God of truth haſt redeemed me:' and ſo, as one falling aſleep, and without any bodily pain that could be diſcerned, he departed this life February 18th, *anno* 1546. and in the great climacterial year of his life.

This was the will which he made concerning his wife with child, and his young ſon; 'O Lord God, I thank thee that thou wouldſt have me live a poor and indigent perſon upon earth; I have neither houſe nor land, nor poſſeſſions, nor money to leave, thou Lord haſt given me wife

wife and children: them Lord I give back to thee; nourish, inſtruct, and keep them (O thou the Father of orphans, and Judge of the widow) as thou haſt done to me, ſo do to them.'

When he was ready to die, Juſtus Jonas and Cælius ſaid to him, O reverend father, do you die in the conſtant confeſſion of that doctrine of Chriſt which you have hitherto preached? To which he anſwered Yea, which was the laſt word that he ſpake.

He was ever conſtant in the known truth, from the confeſſion whereof he could never be removed neither by promiſes nor threats.

In the diſmal wars which followed, when Wittenberg was yielded to the emperor Charles, and he came to ſee Luther's tomb, ſome of his Spaniards perſuaded him that the body of Luther ſhould be taken up and burned; the emperor ſaid, Suffer him to reſt till the day of the reſurrection and judgment of all men.

When he was fitting himſelf for his journey to Iſleben, he confeſſed to Melanchthon that he had gone too far in the ſacramentary controverſy; hereupon Melancton perſuaded him to explicate his mind by publiſhing ſome book; but he anſwered, hereby I ſhall bring a ſuſpicion upon all my doctrine as faulty, but when I am dead you may do as you ſee cauſe.

He was full of affections towards his children, gave them liberal education by keeping a ſchoolmaſter in his houſe to train them up in learning and godlineſs.

When he ſaw his daughter Magdalen ready to die, he read to her, Iſa. xxvi. 19. 'Thy dead men ſhall live; together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe, &c. Adding, my daughter enter thou into thy chamber in peace: I ſhall ere long be with thee. For God will not permit me to ſee the puniſhment which hangs over the head of Germany, whereupon he wept plentifully: but when he followed the corps, he ſo reſtrained his affection, that he ſhed not a tear.

He uſed to ſay, that three things make a divine: meditation, prayer, tentation: and that three things were to be done by a miniſter: 1. To read the bible over and over. 2 To pray earneſtly. 3. Always to be a learner. And that they were the beſt preachers, who ſpake as to babes in Chriſt, in an ordinary ſtrain, popularly and moſt plainly. He ſaid, that in the cauſe of God, he was content, *totius mundi odium & impetum ſuſtinere*, to undergo the hatred and violence of the whole world.

He was very liberal to the poor: A poor ſtudent asking him ſome money, he bade his wife give him ſome: but ſhe pleading penury, whereupon he took up a ſilver cup, and gave it him. Alſo a friend ſending him two hundred angels of gold, he beſtowed them all on poor ſtudents: and when the elector gave him a new gown, he ſaid, that he was made too much of: for (ſaith he) if here we receive a full recompenſe of our labours, we ſhall hope for none in another life. And again he ſaid, turning myſelf to God, *Valde proteſtatus ſum, me nolle ſic ſatiari ab eo* I ſaid flatly that God ſhould not put me off with theſe low things. And having a vein of metal offered him, he refuſed it, leaſt he ſhould incur the temptation of the devil, who is Lord of treaſure under the earth. He never took any thing of printers for his copies.

On a time one brought him a ſtone that was found in the mines in Mansfield, which had upon it the image of the pope with his tripple crown: whereupon he ſaid, *Hem, oportet papam revelari etiam per metalla & metallicos.* The pope muſt be revealed even by metals and metal-diggers.

His private life was very exemplary: at dinner and ſupper-time he uſed often to dictate ſermons unto others. ſometimes to correct ſheets from the preſs: ſometimes with muſick to refreſh his friends: he was very temperate both in meat and drink: ſometimes he uſed to faſt four days together: and other ſometimes to eat only a little bread, and an herring. As much as he could he avoided feaſts, that he might not ſpend time. In his converſe with his friends he was pleaſant, courteous and ſociable mixed with gravity. He ſometimes uſed recreations, and amongſt the reſt, turning in a Lathe. He would never be idle. He was very loving to and tender of his children, maintaining a ſchoolmaſter in his houſe to inſtruct them in piety and learning. He was very paſſionate, but ſoon appeaſed: Melancthon ſeeing him once in a paſſion ſaid, *Vince animos iramque tuam qui cætera vincis*: whereupon he ſmiling, ſaid, we will no longer diſpute of theſe matters, and ſo he diſcourſed pleaſantly of other things. He foretold many things which afterwards came to paſs. He was very healthful, but that ſometimes he was troubled with the head-ach, eſpecially towards his letter end, whereupon he feared an apoplexy: and when his head was ſo out of order he uſed to ſay *Feri, Domine, feri clementer: ego paratus ſum: quia verba tua a peccatis abſolutus, & corpore & ſanguine tuo paſtus.* He was troubled with frequent tentations, whereupon he uſed to write, *Valemus omnes præter Lutherum ipſum, qui corpore ſanus, foris a toto mundo, intus a diabolo patitur, & omnibus angelis ejus.*

He was big of ſtature, ſtrong, and had ſuch a ſharp ſight, that few could endure ſtedfaſtly to look upon him. Upon a time one was ſent upon pretence of private conference, to piſtol him: Luther entertained him friendly, but withal, ſtedfaſtly looking upon him, the man was ſo terrified, that he took care for nothing but how he might run away: he had a gentle and clear voice. He lived chaſtly and holily in wedlock above twenty years, and after his death left three ſons, and his widow who lived ſeven years after him; who was much grieved that ſhe was abſent at his death, whereby ſhe could not perform her laſt duty of love to him as ſhe deſired. Preſently after his death the wars breaking forth, ſhe wandered up and down with her children as an exile through many difficulties and dangers, and beſides the inconveniencies of her widowhood which were many, ſhe met with great ingratitute from many, from whom ſhe expected better, conſidering how much her huſband had deſerved from the church.

At length being returned to Wittenberg, after a while the plague brake forth; wherefore removing with her children to Feragaw, as ſhe was paſſing in a waggon, the horſes affrighted at ſomething, ran away, whereupon leaping out of the waggon ſhe bruiſed herſelf, and falling into a lake of water ſhe caught a diſeaſe, whereof ſhe died three months after, *anno Chriſti* 1552.

One ſaith of him, that Luther a poor fryar ſhould be able to ſtand againſt the pope, was a great miracle: that he ſhould prevail againſt the pope, was greater, and after all, to die in peace, having ſo many enemies, was the greateſt of all.

Again, it was no leſs miraculous that he ſhould eſcape ſo many dangers: for when a certain Jew was ſuborned to kill him by poiſon, Luther had warning of it before hand, and the picture of the Jew ſent him, whereby he knew him, and avoided the danger; concerning which himſelf thus writes: there is, ſaith he, here with us a certain Poloniſh Jew, that is hired with two thouſand crowns to poiſon me; this is diſcovered to me by letters from my friends; he is a doctor of phyſic, and one that dares undertake, and is ready to perform any villainy, of incredible ſubtilty and dexterity.

On a time as Luther was walking in his garden, the devil appeared to him in the ſhape of a black boar, but he ſlighted him, after which he vaniſhed. Another time as he was ſitting in a certain place on his ſtool, there was a great ſtone over his head in the vault which being ſtayed up miraculouſly ſo long as he ſate there, ſo ſoon as he was up, immediately it fell upon the place where he ſate, being able to have cruſhed him in pieces, if it had light upon him.

And again, a young man about Wittenberg, being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by the devil to yeild himſelf body and ſoul to him upon condition to have his wiſh ſatisfied with money, and thereupon an obligation was made by the young man, written with his own blood, and delivered to the devil. But preſently after, the man began to decay in his health, ſo that (the thing being ſuſpected,) he was brought to Luther, who examined him about it, but he, through fear and ſhame, long denyed to confeſs any thing, yet at laſt through Gods mercy he revealed the whole matter to him: whereupon Luther much pitying his lamentable condition, called the whole congregation together, where he prayed with ſo much earneſtneſs and affection, that the devil was at laſt compelled to throw in his obligation at the window.

And

And as he was mighty in prayer, ſo in his ſermons, God giving him ſuch a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him, thought every one his own temptations ſeverally to be noted and touched; whereupon ſome of his friends aſking him the cauſe of it: mine own manifold temptations and experiences (ſaid he) are the cauſe of it. Wellerus alſo a diſciple of Luther's recordeth, that he oft heard his maſter thus report of himſelf, 'That he had been often aſſaulted and vexed with all kind of temptations, ſave only unto the ſin of covetouſneſs.'

Lutherus multa Latiora, & vernaculo ſermone ſcripſit, quæ diverſis hinc & temporibus ſeparatim primum edita, et poſtea collecta, et in plures Tomos diſtributa. There is alſo lately printed in Engliſh his *Colloquia menſalia* of which one thus writes: *Præſtitiſſet hos ſermones convivales in lucem nunquam emiſſos: forte adverſariis procurantibus illi editi. Sin minus, videant ii qui Lutheranorum nomine ſuperbiunt, quamodo modeſtiam, judicium, exiſtimationem, et authoritatem Lutheri defendere queant. Sunt enim in iis, non dico multa, ſed plurima, quæ piæ, caſtigatque aures non ſolum in conviviis Theologorum, ſed etiam in ludis, atque theatris comicorum non ferrent,* &c.

Concerning his works he thus writes, 'Above all things I requeſt the pious reader, and beſeech him for our Lord Chriſt Jeſus ſake, that he read my books with judgment, yea with much pity; and let him remember that I was ſometime a fryar, and a mad papiſt, and when I firſt undertook this cauſe, ſo drunken and drowned in popiſh doctrines, that I was ready, if I could, to have killed all men, or to have aſſiſted others in doing of it, who withdrew their obedience from the pope but in one ſyllable; ſuch a Saul was I, as there are many at this day; neither was I ſo cold and frigid in defending the pope as Eccius, and ſome like him are; who ſeem to me to defend the papacy rather that for their bellies ſake, then in good earneſt: yea, like Epicures, they ſeem to me to deride the pope, whereas I was ſerious in his cauſe as one that trembled at the thoughts of the day of judgment, and from my very heart deſired to be ſaved.' He would by no means endure that any ſhould be called after his name; for (ſaith he) 'The doctrine which I teach is none of mine, neither did I die for any man; neither would Paul 1 Cor. iii. 4. &c. endure ſuch terms; beſides we are all Chriſtians, and profeſs the doctrine of Chriſt; and laſtly, becauſe the papiſts uſe to do ſo, calling themſelves Pontificians, whom we ought not to imitate.' Melanchthon gave this teſtimony of him; *Pomeram* (ſaith he) is a grammarian, and explains the force of the words; I am a logician ſhewing the context and arguments of things; Juſtus Jonas is an orator, and ſpeaks copiouſly and eloquently; but Luther is all, even a miracle amongſt men; whatſoever he ſaith, whatſoever he writes, pierceth into the ſoul, and leaveth wonderful ſtings in the hearts of men.

Many epitaphs were made of him, amongſt which theſe were ſome.

Roma orbem domuit: Romam ſibi Papa ſubegit:
Viribus illa ſuis, fraudibus iſte ſuis.
Quando iſto major Lutherus, major & illa,
Iſtum, illamque uno qui domuit calamo!
I nunc! Alciden memorato Græcia mendax:
Lutheri ad calamum ferrea clava nihil.

THEOD. BEZA.

Lutherus decimum confecit ſtrage Leonem:
De clava noli quærere, penna fuit.

Jo. Major.

He uſed often to ſay, that, through God's goodneſs, there ſhould be no wars in Germany in his life time; but (ſaith he) let the ſurvivours look to it after my death.

Concerning the doctrine of the goſpel he uſed to ſay that three things would deſtroy the Chriſtian religion; firſt, forgetfulneſs of the bleſſings received by the goſpel. Secondly, Security which reigns everywhere. Laſtly worldly wiſdom, which will ſeek to bring all things into order, and to ſupport the public peace by wicked counſels.

He was of a ſharp and quick wit; of a great invincible mind; conſtant in the known truth, from the confeſſion whereof he could not be withdrawn either by threats or promiſes.

Many falſe reports were raiſed of him by the papiſts, inſomuch as king Ferdinands ambaſſador went to ſee what a manner of man he was, telling him that it was reported in his king's court, that he never went abroad but armed and attended with his guard; that he ſpent all his time with whores at dice and taverns; but (ſaith he) I am well accuſtomed to ſuch lies.

He had a very ſharp and ſatyrical ſtile; ſo that Eraſmus uſed to ſay, *Deus dedit huic poſtremæ ætati propter morborum magnitudinem acrem medicum:* God hath given to this latter age, by reaſon of the greatneſs of its diſeaſes, a ſharp phyſician; and Charles the emperor uſed to ſay, *Si ſacrificuli frugi eſſent, nullo indigerent Luthero:* if prieſts were not ſo diſſolute, they would not need a Luther.

When this emperor had taken Wittenberg, ſome of his Spaniſh ſoldiers would have digged up Luther's body, and burnt it; but he ſaid to them, *Sinite ipſum quieſcere, uſque ad diem reſurrectionis, & judicii omnium.* Let him reſt till the day of reſurrection and of the judgment of all things.

The Life of ZUINGLIUS, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1531.

HULDERICUS Zuinglius was born in Switzerland of godly parents, and by them brought up in learning; being about ten years old, was ſent to ſchool to Baſil to George Bintzlius, where he profited ſo much, that in all diſputations he went away with the victory: he excelled all in muſic. From Baſil he was ſent to Bern, to Henry Lupulus, a moſt learned man, and an excellent poet, under whom he learned rhetoric, and became a good poet.

After two years he went to Vienna in Auſtria, where he ſtudied philoſophy, and profited much therein: after a while he was called back into his own country, and to Baſil he taught others what himſelf had learned, where alſo he commenced maſter of arts, and fell to the ſtudy of ſchool-divinity; and being called to a paſtoral charge, he entred into the miniſtry, and ſtudied divinity very hard: and to furniſh himſelf with examples, he got *Valerius Maximus* by heart: he eſpecially addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of the Bible: and finding his defect in the knowledge of the tongues, he learn'd Greek: wrote out St. Paul's Epiſtles, and got them by heart, and grew ſo perfect, that he underſtood Greek better than Latin; and reading in St. Peter that no ſcripture is of private interpretation, he betook himſelf by earneſt prayer to God for the Spirit of truth to be his teacher: and leaſt he ſhould be miſled by a falſe ſpirit, he compared ſcripture with ſcripture, and expounded obſcure texts by thoſe which were more clear.

In his miniſtry he ſet himſelf much againſt the ſins of the times, eſpecially againſt penſions which the Swiſſes uſed to receive of princes to ſerve as mercenaries in their armies, which procured him much hatred.

After a while he was choſen to a place called our lord hermitage, by Theobaldus Guolzeggius the baron thereof; to which place there was great reſort of people from all countries, who came on pilgrimage, which much moved him to embrace that call, that he might have opportunity to diſperſe the knowlege of the truth into ſeveral parts: about this time one of the chief miniſters dying at Zurick, they much deſired Zuinglius to ſucceed him, and he coming accidentally to that place, was choſen paſtor there, *anno Chriſti* 1519. and began to preach unto them the hiſtory of Chriſt out of Matthew. Preſently after there came one Sampſon a Franciſcan fryar, and a preacher of indulgences, who was ſent by the pope into Switzerland to get money: Zuinglius ſtrongly oppoſed himſelf againſt him, ſhewing him to be an impoſtor; the biſhop alſo of Conſtance wrote to Zuinglius to keep this Sampſon out of Zurick, becauſe he had not acquainted him with his authority: yet when this impoſtor came to Zurick, becauſe he was kept out, he went to Badena, ſetting forth the pope's bulls to ſale: often crying out, 'Behold they flie, behold they flie,' as if he had ſeen with his eyes the ſouls which

which he had delivered out of purgatory flying into heaven.

Zuinglius alſo cauſed the pope to be admoniſhed by the commiſſary nor to excommunicate Luther, for that he foreſaw the Germans would deſpiſe both him and his excommunication, which alſo came to paſs.

Anno Chriſti 1520. the ſenate of Zurick by the council of Zuinglius, commanded the preachers of their juriſdiction freely to teach whatſoever might be proved by the authority of the prophets and apoſtles, paſſing by the inventions of men. Hereupon the biſhop of Conſtance by public proclamation forbade thoſe of Zurick to innovate any thing, willing them to remain in the faith of the church of Rome, till a council might be conveened: but Zuinglius defended them and his writings: and the magiſtrates of Zurick entreated the biſhop to come to a ſynod where learned men might confer together, and determine what the people ought to believe. Yet the biſhop wrote again to them, ſhewing them what complaints he had heard of Zuinglius, which he could not but take notice of, the city belonging to his juriſdiction: but Zuinglius going to the bench of aldermen, defended his doctrine, and ſatisfied them.

Anno Chriſti 1522. the biſhop wrote again to the college of canons at Zurick, exhorting them to take heed to themſelves, for that pope Leo and the emperor by their proclamations had condemned thoſe doctrines: he put them in mind therefore to obey thoſe decrees, and not to innovate any thing in religion, till thoſe whom it concerned had by common council ſet down ſomewhat. Hereupon Zuinglius wrote back to the biſhop that he underſtood by whoſe ſetting on he did theſe things, but he wiſhed him not to follow their counſel: for, ſaith he, the truth is invincible, and will not be reſiſted. And afterwards ſome others joining with him, they wrote to the biſhop, entreating him to decree nothing againſt the doctrine of the goſpel, and that he would no longer endure the filthy and infamous life of the prieſts, but that he would ſuffer them to marry.

Zuinglius wrote alſo to the Helvetians that they ſhould not hinder the courſe of the goſpel; that they would not trouble miniſters for marrying, for that the command for their living without wives was the doctrine of Satan. He exhorted them alſo, whereas their manner was in their pages, or pariſhes, when they admitted a prieſt, to command him to take a concubine, leſt he ſhould attempt the chaſtity of other women, that inſtead thereof they ſhould command them to take lawful wives.

About this time Luther's books coming abroad, though himſelf abſtained from reading of them, yet he perſuaded his people to buy, and read them; which he did, that they might ſee the agreement that was in their doctrine, being both taught by the ſame ſpirit: there alſo he ſtudied Hebrew, and got the ſenate to erect a ſchool for Latin, Greek and Hebrew; and aſſociating to himſelf Leo Judæ, he got ſuch ſkill in the Hebrew, that he began to explain Iſaiah and Jeremiah.

Shortly after there came to Zurick Franciſcus Lambertus, and diſputed with Zuinglius about the interceſſion of the ſaints, and the ſacrifice of maſs; but being non-plus'd, he left his error, and gave praiſe to God.

Zuinglius began alſo to write about this time; and pope Adrian wrote to him with great promiſes to oblige him to the papal-ſee; but all in vain. Shortly after he perſuaded the ſenate to reſtrain the exorbitant number of prieſts and friars, yet withal to allow them a competent ſubſiſtence for their life time; which was done accordingly: and their revenues were employed for the maintainance of the miniſtry, for advancement of learning, and for the poor: he preſſed alſo the taking away of images, the aboliſhing of the maſs, and the reſtoring of the Lord's ſupper; which the ſenate aſſented to, and performed not only in the city of Zurick, but through all the places within their juriſdiction.

Anno Chriſti 1523. when the ſenators of Zurick underſtood that the doctrine of Zuinglius was traduced every where, as being wicked and ungodly, they commanded all the miniſters of their juriſdiction to meet together on the 29th of January about the differences of their religion, promiſing that every one ſhould be fully heard; they beſeeched alſo the biſhop of Conſtance that he would either come himſelf or ſend thither ſome of his divines.

At the day appointed many met together, John Faber the biſhop's vicar being alſo preſent, who pleaded hard that this place was unfit to handle ſuch cauſes, but that they were to be referred to a general council. But Zuinglius urged him that if he had any thing againſt his doctrine which he had publiſhed in 47 Poſitions, he ſhould produce it, and he ſhould be anſwered either by word of mouth or writting, which when Faber would not conſent to, the magiſtrates diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and proclaimed throughout their juriſdiction that the goſpel ſhould be purely taught out of the books of the Old and New Teſtament, the traditions of men being laid aſide; and in February following Leo Judæ was made preacher in St Peter's church in Zurick, and he married a wife, and the like did other miniſters.

Anno Chriſti 1524. The magiſtrates of Zurick forbad proceſſions, removed the martyrs tombs out of the chief churches in the city, took down the idols and images, and burnt them publicly; the like they did in all places as far as their juriſdiction extended. Alſo Katherine Cimmerin the abbeſs delivered up her nunnery into the hands of the mayor, married an huſband, and was by the magiſtrates endowed with a large eſtate of yearly revennes: converting the nunnary and the revenues of it to the education of youths under a good maſter. This year alſo Zuinglius married Ann Rembart, the widdow of the noble John Mouer.

Anno Chriſti 1525 The maſs was aboliſhed at Zurick, as images had been the year before: concerning which Zuinglius thus telleth the ſtory; When (ſaith he) we deale before the bench of ſenators conſiſting of two hundred about the aboliſhing of the maſs, a certain Scribe or notary ſtood up and ſpake thus; 'O ye fathers, I am not of that rank to ſpeak before you when any cauſe of the commonwealth is handled; but when matters of ſalvation are treated of, and the faith itſelf is in danger, it concerns every man to ſpeak what he thinks; I therefore profeſs that I am of opinion that the true fleſh and blood of Chriſt is received in the ſacrament, and I hope that you will by no means force me to the opinion of Zuinglius.

To this Zuinglius anſwered, that no man at Zuric had been compelled to the faith; that he uſed no ſophiſtical interpretation, when he expounded *this is my body*. For this ſignifies my body: and ſo he went on to confirm his own opinion, and to refel the others. Then Henry Englhard, formerly a popiſh doctor, but now a diſciple of Chriſt, ſaid, I ſhall prove by ſcripture that the bread cannot be the body of Chriſt, for it is neither the natural, nor glorified, nor myſtical body of Chriſt, therefore not his body, &c. After this conflict was ended, the aldermen appointed that after dinner four of them ſhould confer with Zuinglius and his brethren, that ſo weighty a buſineſs might be gravely diſcuſſed for the better ſatisfying of ſome that ſtill doubted. When they were met together, the buſineſs was variouſly debated, and in the end reſolved that it ſhould again be referred to the hearing of the bench of aldermen. And the next day when they were again met together, Zuinglius and his brethren ſtill deſired that the maſs might wholly be aboliſhed: whereupon the ſcribe ſtood up again, and told Zuinglius that he had ſaid indeed with theſe words, 'This is my body,' Chriſt meant, this ſignifies my body, but had not ſufficiently proved it by teſtimonies of ſcripture, for, ſaith he, whereas you have inſtanced, 'This ſeed is the word; the field is the word; the enemy is the devil, &c.' Theſe make not to the purpoſe; for there Chriſt ſpake parabolically, but this is no parable when he ſaith, 'This is my body.' To this Zuinglius anſwered, that though he ſpake not parabolically, yet he ſpake tropically. Upon this the aldermen decreed that hereafter the euchariſt ſhould be celebrated according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and that the maſs ſhould be no more uſed amongſt them. At this the whole church much rejoiced; only a few of the ruder ſort repined, urging that the proteſtant miniſters ſhould produce ſome example out of the ſcripture; wherein the words ought to be in like manner expounded: hereupon they began to reſolve all things, yet no example came into their minds; but a few nights after Zuinglius dreamed that he contended

again with the ſcribe till he was aweary, and at laſt was ſo dumb that he could not ſpeak; whereupon he was exceedingly troubled: but after a while a monitor came to him from above, who ſaid, 'O ſluggard, why doſt thou not anſwer him with that which is written in the 12 of Exod. This is the paſſover of the Lord?' Immediately he awakened, and leaping out of his bed, examined the text; and next day diſputed it before the whole aſſembly, which was entertained with ſuch approbation that all were well ſatisfied; and, ſaith he, the three next days we had the greateſt ſacraments that ever I ſaw; and the number of thoſe that looked back to the garlic and fleſh-pots of Egypt, was far leſs than men thought they would have been.

Anno Chriſti 1526. The other pages of the Helvetians had often ſent to Zurick to caſt off their new religion, and to return to the old. The ſenators anſwered that they would obey if they might be convinced of error; whereupon the Helvetians invite Eccius to diſpute with Zuinglius, and Eccius himſelf wrote a bitter letter to the ambaſſadors of Zurick, met at Baden, wherein he accuſed Zuinglius of hereſy, requiring them to appoint a time and place whither he might come to prove it.

Zuinglius hearing of it, wrote an apology for himſelf to the ambaſſadors, ſaying, that Eccius dealt both inhumanely and ungodly with him: for (ſaith he) if I be an heretick, Eccius ſhould have admoniſhed me either by letters, or face to face to convince me of hereſy, and not have traduced me to the magiſtrates before I was heard: he wrote alſo that he was ready to diſpute with Eccius before his own auditors, not admitting any other judge than the word of God.

Eccius replyeth to this epiſtle, interweaving many ſlanders, and deſiring that the place for diſputation might be either Lucern or Baden. Zuinglius anſwered that if Eccius refuſed to come to Zurick. He had much more reaſon to refuſe thoſe places where he was already condemned of hereſy, and where his death and deſtruction was ſought after. Then did the ſenators of Zurick write to Eccius, to come thither upon the public faith: but Eccius refuſed, now accuſing Oecolampadius alſo.

At length the twelve pages decreed that they muſt needs diſpute, and after much conteſt the meeting was at Zurick: the diſputants were Eccius and Oecolampadius: but no good iſſue came of it; ſo that the nine pages concluded that Zuinglius the chief man of the new religion muſt be excommunicated, and all others that had not been reformed by this conference.

The year after they of Bern appointed a diſputation, which the popiſh pages oppoſed, but they proceeded in it, and the iſſue was that (the diſputation being ended) by public conſent they decreed that maſſes, altars, images, and all ſuperſtitions brought in contrary to the word of God ſhould be at once taken away out of their city and large territories. Monaſteries and nunneries they turned into ſchools. Then they renounced the league of the French king, forbidding him to leavy any mercenaries in their dominions, contenting themſelves only with that pay which he giveth to every page for friendſhip, as they of Zurick had alſo done. Laſtly, they write the day and year of their aboliſhing the popiſh religion upon a pillar in golden letters, that an everlaſting memorial might remain there to future poſterities. The like reformation was effected at Baſil.

Not long after quarrels aroſe between the popiſh and proteſtant cantons of the Switzers, and armies were raiſed on both ſides: they of Zurick publiſhing the cauſes why they took arms: as firſt that the popiſh Switzers beat their men when they came to require their debts. Then that the Underwalds hung the arms of Bern, Baſil and Strasborough upon the gallows. Then that they had made a league with their ancient enemy king Ferdinand to oppreſs their religion: whereby they violate not only the law of nature, but alſo their own covenants: but when the armies drew near, by the mediation of their neighbours the differences were compoſed, and arms laid down for the preſent.

Anno Chriſti 1529. Philip Landgrave of Heſs endeavoured to reconcile the differences between the Saxon and Helvetian divines concerning the euchariſt: for which end he called from Wittenberg, Luther, Juſtus Jonas, and Melancthon; from Helvetia, Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. From Norenberg, Oſiander: from Hall, John Brentius: from Strasborough, Bucer and Hedio. At their coming, all were courteouſly entertained by the landgrave: after dinner Oecolampadius and Bucer went to ſalute Luther, who ſpake friendly to Oecolampadius; but being ſaluted by Bucer, he anſwered, 'You are naught, and a knave;' the diſputation continued many days, but in the beginning of it Luther told them that he would not depart an hair's breadth from his opinion; and when they could not agree, yet the Helvetians deſired Luther that he would account of them as of brethren; which he would by no means aſſent unto: then did Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and Bucer proteſt before the aſſembly that Luther had not defended his opinion by the word of God, that his error had been clearly ſhewed him, and that the truth of their cauſe had been abundantly demonſtrated both out of the word of God and the moſt ancient fathers: and ſo (the ſweating ſickneſs breaking out) the diſputation ended, and they returned home. Yet it pleaſed God, that this fruit the conference had, that they agreed in thirteen other articles, and promiſed mutual love each to other; and to join in prayer to God to diſcover his truth to them. The landgrave of Heſs alſo was converted to the true opinion hereby; ſo that he was hardly drawn to ſubſcribe the Auguſtine confeſſion, proteſting that he was not ſatisfied about the tenth article. Alſo Francis Lambert his preacher, who had formerly been addicted to Luther, being now overcome with the truth of God's word, changed his opinion about the ſacrament, ſignifying his opinion to the whole church by a confeſſion which he wrote, and delivered it to the miniſters of Strasborough when he lay upon his death-bed, who after publiſhed it.

About that time there aroſe up the cata-baptiſts, which denied the baptiſm of infants, and re-baptized themſelves and fell alſo into many other abominable errors and hereſies: with theſe Zuinglius at firſt dealt very mildly and brotherly; but when they began to aſperſe him with lies, to ſeduce his hearers, and make a ſchiſm in the church, he was forced to oppoſe them more ſtrongly in his public miniſtry and by diſputations: but though he had ſilenced them, they raged the more againſt him; whereupon the ſenate impriſoned ſome, proſcribed others, and (for ſatisfying their faith) put ſome to death: the firſt father of Balthaſar Hucmerus, an apoſtate, and one that for Zuinglius, his kindneſs, loaded him with lies and reproaches.

The monks and fryars being caſt out of their houſes, and brought to penſions, ſought to enſnare him; and for that end, ſuborned ſometime ſome to ſeize upon him, and to carry him away, others to kill him; ſo that he could not ſtir abroad in ſafety in the night, whereupon his friends guarded him when he was abroad at ſupper, and the ſenate were fain to appoint a guard about his houſe in the night time.

Anno Chriſti 1531. They of Zurick and Bern ſtopped proviſion from being carried to the five popiſh pages, and withall ſet out this declaration: that being compelled by the wrongs of the five cities, they had barred them from proviſion, and becauſe they refuſed the conditions of peace which were propounded by the interceſſors, violating the covenants of the former years, by which order was taken that no man's religion ſhould be prejudicial to him: wherefore, ſay they, it is lawful for us to deny them food; and if any conteſt ſhould ariſe about it, it ought to be imputed to them who deſire nothing but diſſentions.

But when by reaſon hereof thoſe five cities were pinched with want, they levied troops, and came forth with banners diſplayed, and ſooner than was expected entered into the bounds of them of Zurick, where was a garriſon of one thouſand men placed: this garriſon diſcerning its own weakneſs, ſent meſſenger after meſſenger into the town to haſten to help them: but ſuch was the ſpeed of the enemy that the ſuccours came late: yet when they came to the top of the mountain, they ſaw their ſoldiers fighting, and in preſent danger, whereupon exhorting and encouraging one another, they ran down the hill with all ſpeed: but the paſſage was ſo narrow that they could go but ſingle, ſo that wanting time to rank themſelves, they were oppreſſed with multitude: about three hundred and eighty of them were ſlain, and the reſt eſcaped by flight.

Zuinglius

Zuinglius was in this battle; for it is the cuſtom of the Switzers that their chief miniſter goeth out with them to battle; and Zuinglius being wiſe, courageous, and valiant, conſidered with himſelf that if he ſhould ſtay at home and the battle prove ill, he ſhould be expoſed to much envy, as if he had encouraged others before danger approached, and then proved faint-hearted himſelf.

The truth is, he never approved this cutting off proviſion from the five pages; and when he ſaw the magiſtrates would needs do it, he went to them and craved leave to depart from Zurick, becauſe his counſel was not obeyed; but they being troubled at this motion, ſent certain choice men to him to requeſt that he would not forſake their church, which at laſt he aſſented to, 'though (ſaid he) it be to the danger of my life.'

About fourteen days before the fight, in a ſermon he foretold his own death: and a comet appearing about that time, he told a friend privately that the comet was fatal to him, and one other, meaning as was ſuppoſed Oecolampadius.

Zuinglius in the battle was overthrown thrice, and yet ſtill got up again: the fourth time being wounded with a ſpear, he fell on his knees, and ſaid well, 'they can kill the body, but they cannot kill the ſoul.'

As the ſoldiers were ſpoiling the ſlain, Zuinglius was found alive lying upon his back, his arms folded, and his eyes lift up to heaven, whereupon they aſked him whether he would have a prieſt to confeſs to, which he denied; then they willed him to call upon St. Mary, which he alſo refuſed, ever looking up to heaven, whereupon one gave him his death's wound: and when his body was known, the enemies condemned him to be cut into four parts and burnt. This fell out *anno Chriſti* 1531, and of his age 44. after he had been paſtor at Zurick twelve years. Three days after his death, ſome of his friends coming to the place, found his heart untouched by the fire.

He began to preach at Glarona *anno Chriſti* 1516. againſt many of the popiſh errors and abuſes, before the name of Luther was ſo much as heard of in thoſe parts.

Beza made this epitaph on him,

Zuinglius arderet gemino cum ſanctus amore,
Nempe Dei imprimis, deinde ſuæ patriæ:
Dicitur in ſolidum devoviſſe duobus,
Nempe Deo imprimis, deinde ſuæ patriæ,
Quam bene perſolvit ſimul iſtis vota duobus,
Pro Patria examinis, pro Pietate cinis!

He had a wit fitted for great matters, honeſt, candid, ſound, and vehement, yet not cruel, or bloody, but heroical and chearful. His doctrine and judgment were ſound; his ſtudy of piety, and reforming religion from popiſh ſuperſtitions is ſeen in his works. In his ſermons he was very methodical, teaching the truth with great perſpicuity: he was very ſharp in reproving vices, eſpecially the penſions of the Switzers, oppreſſion of the poor, and prodigality. He uſed to ſay that it was a wicked warfare, and nothing more hateful to God than for the hire of foreign princes to ſpill blood: when he thundred moſt againſt ſin, leſt the innocent ſhould be affrighted, he uſed to ſay, *Bone vir, hæc te non moveant, nihil ad te quod dico: ne cures igitur:* Honeſt man, be not affrighted at theſe things, I ſpeak not to thee, therefore care not for it. He uſed to ſtudy ſtanding, and tied himſelf to certain hours, which he would not omit except neceſſity compelled him. From his firſt riſing till ten o'clock he employed himſelf in reading, writing, interpreting the ſcripture, and making his ſermons: after dinner till two o'clock, he conferred with his friends, or gave counſel to ſuch as ſought it: and ſo to his ſtudy till ſupper: after which (having walked a while) he buſied himſelf in writing letters, which many times held him till midnight.

Monumenta ingenii et eruditionis reliquit multa, quæ in quatuor tomos digeſta typiſque excuſa extant.

The Life of JOHN FRITH, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1531.

JOHN FRITH was born at Weſtram in Kent, and had from his childhood a marvellous love to learning; a wonderful promptneſs of wit, and was of a ready capacity to receive and underſtand any thing; neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal to that worthy diſpoſition that God had given him. He was firſt a ſtudent in Cambridge, where he profited exceedingly in the knowlege both of the arts and tongues, where it pleaſed God he fell into acquaintance with William Tindal, through whoſe inſtructions, he firſt received into his heart the ſeed of the goſpel, and ſincere godlineſs. About the ſame time cardinal Wolſey undertaking to build a ſtately college in Oxford, ſought out the moſt learned men to be fellows in the ſame, and amongſt others John Frith (though but batchelor of arts) was appointed for one; but when divers of them were perſecuted for religion, and accuſed of hereſy; he, together with ſome others, who were choſen with him out of Cambridge, was committed to priſon, in a dark cave where ſalt fiſh was then kept, the ſavour whereof infected them all, whereof ſome of them died; but Mr Frith, by God's providence, eſcaped the danger, in the ſame year wherein Queen Elizabeth was born, having been diſmiſſed out of his former priſon by means of Cardinal Woolſey's letter, whereupon he went beyond ſea to avoid the ſtorm: but after two years he came back, and having ſome buſineſs in Reading, he was there taken for a vagabond, and ſet in the ſtocks, where they ſuffered him to ſit till he was almoſt pined with hunger: at laſt he deſired to ſpeak with the ſchool-maſter of the town, who when he came to him, Frith, in Latin, bewailed his captivity. The ſchool-maſter being overcome with his eloquence, began exceedingly to affect and pity him, the rather when he ſpake in Greek to him alſo, and repeated divers verſes out of Homer: upon this the ſchool-maſter repaired ſpeedily to the magiſtrates, and procured his enlargement: yet neither then was he in ſafety; for Sir Thomas Moor (the then lord chancellor) perſecuted him both by land and ſea, promiſing great rewards to thoſe that could bring any news of him: Frith, to avoid this ſtorm, changed place and apparel often; yet at laſt he was betrayed by one William Holt, a taylor, who Judas like pretended great friendſhip to him, and ſo was ſent to the tower, where he had many conflicts with the biſhops, but eſpecially in writing with Sir Thomas Moor: and in his diſputations he uſed ſuch ſtrength of reaſon, and evidence of ſcripture, that doctor Canner archbiſhop of Canterbury, never gave more credit to any author than to John Frith, and at Frith's candle he lighted his lamp; alſo he converted Raſtal to his part, who was Moor's ſon in law.

During his impriſonment in the tower it happened that doctor Curreine, chaplain in ordinary to king Henry the VIII. preached a ſermon in Kent before his majeſty, wherein he inveighed bitterly againſt the ſacramentaries, as they then were called, which denied the real preſence: and he proceeded ſo far herein, as that he ſaid, 'It is no marvel though this abominable hereſy doth ſo much prevail amongſt us, ſeeing there is now one in the tower which is ſo bold as to write in the defence of it, and yet no man goeth about his reformation,' &c. This doctor was ſet on work by Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, on purpoſe to procure the deſtruction of Mr Frith: they alſo ſuggeſted to the king that he was kept in the tower rather for his ſafeguard than for his puniſhment by ſuch as favoured him, as by the lord Cromwel and others; hereupon the king called to him the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the lord Cromwel, willing them forthwith to call Frith to examination, that ſo he might either be compelled to recant, or to ſuffer condign puniſhment: but when as they delayed time, the king took it ſo hainouſly, that he ſent a commiſſion to the archbiſhop, to Stokeſly biſhop of London, and ſome others, without further delay to proceed to examination of him; and that there ſhould be no concourſe of citizens at the ſad examination; the archbiſhop removed to Croydon, whither Stokeſly and the reſt of the commiſſioners reſorted.

But before the day for his examination came, the archbiſhop ſent one of his gentlemen and one of his porters to fetch Frith from the tower to Croydon. This gentleman had the archbiſhop's letter, and the king's ring to the lord Fitz-Williams conſtable of the tower for the delivery of the priſoner; the lord Fitz-William's lodging then at Weſtminſter, underſtanding for what end they were come,

fell

fell a curſing and banning Frith, and all other heretics, ſaying, 'Take your heretic with you, I am glad that I am rid of him.'

Frith being delivered to theſe two men, as they went in a wherry towards Lambeth, the gentleman being very ſorry for his condition, ſaid to him; conſider the ſtate wherein you are, a man altogether caſt away in this world if you do not the more wiſely behave yourſelf. but tho' your caſe be very dangerous, yet may you help yourſelf by giving way for a time, and ſomewhat relenting of your opinion, which hereafter when occaſion and opportunity ſhall ſerve, you may promote again. You have many friends which will ſtand for you, ſo far as they are able and dare do. It is great pity that one which hath ſuch ſingular knowlege in Greek and Latin, and is ſo ready and ripe in all kinds of learning, as well in the ſcriptures as in the ancient fathers, ſhould now ſuddenly ſuffer all thoſe excellent gifts to periſh, with little profit to the world, and leſs comfort to your wife, children, and kindred. And as for your opinion about the ſacrament, it is ſo unſeaſonably vented at this time in England, that it is like to do more hurt than good: therefore be ruled by good counſel till a fitter opportunity may ſerve. This I am ſure of, that my lord Cromwel, and my lord of Canterbury much favour you, knowing you to be an eloquent and learned young man, young in years, but old in knowlege, and likely to be a profitable inſtrument of much good in this realm; and therefore they will never ſuffer you to ſuſtain any open ſhame if you will be adviſed by their counſel; but if you ſtand ſtiff in your opinion, it is not poſſible for them to ſave your life; for as you have good friends, ſo you have mortal foes.

I moſt heartily thank you Sir (ſaid Mr Frith) for your good will and counſel, whereby I ſee your love to me; yet my cauſe and conſcience is ſuch, that in no wiſe I either may, or can for any worldly reſpect without danger of damnation ſtart aſide, and fly from the truth whereof I am convinced, and which I have publiſhed concerning the Lord's ſupper; ſo that if I be aſked what my judgment is about it, I muſts needs declare my knowlege and conſcience therein, as I have formerly written, though I were ſure to loſe twenty lives if I had ſo many; and further, you ſhall underſtand that I am furniſhed with ſcriptures, fathers, ſchoolmen, and others, for the proving of it, ſo that if I may be indifferently heard, I am ſure my adverſaries can neither juſtly condemn me nor mine aſſertion, but that with me they muſt condemn ſaint Auguſtine, and moſt of the ancient writers; yea the very biſhops of Rome of ancient time ſpeak for me, and defend my cauſe. Yea marry (quoth the gentleman) you ſay well, if you might be indifferently heard: but I much doubt thereof, for that our maſter Chriſt was not indifferently heard, nor ſhould I think, if he were now preſent in the world, eſpecially in this your opinion, the ſame being now ſo odious in the world, and we ſo far from the true knowlege thereof. Well (ſaid Mr Frith) I know aſſuredly that this doctrine of the ſacrament is very hard meat to be digeſted both of the clergy and laity: but this I will ſay to you, that if you live but twenty years more, whatſoever ſhall become of me, you ſhall ſee this whole realm of mine opinion, though happily ſome particular perſons ſhall not be fully perſuaded therein; and if this come not to paſs, then count me the vaineſt man that ever you heard ſpeak with a tongue. And whereas you ſay my death would be very grievous to my friends, I grant that for a ſmall time it would be ſo: but if I ſhould ſo moderate my cauſe that I ſhould only be kept in priſon, that would not only be a longer grief unto me, but would breed no ſmall diſquietneſs to my friends both in body and mind: therefore all things well conſidered, my death in this cauſe ſhall be better to me and all my relations, than life in continual bondage and penury: and almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor ſervant, whoſe cauſe I now defend, and not mine own; from the which (through God's grace) I never intend to ſtart, nor otherwiſe to give place ſo long as God will give me life.

When they were landed at Lambeth, after they had refreſhed themſelves with victuals, they all three went on foot towards Croydon; the gentleman ſtill with himſelf lamenting the peril that Frith was in, and therefore he deviſed with himſelf by what means he might deliver him out of the biſhop's hands; and having in mind contrived the way, he walked with the porter, and privately imparted his thoughts to him, and finding him forward to join with him therein, he went again to Mr Frith, and told him that the buſineſs which he had undertaken, to lead him as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, ſo grieved him, that he was overwhelmed with cares and ſorrows, whereupon he was reſolved, what danger ſoever he incurred, to find out a way to deliver him out of the Lyon's mouth; and yet ſaid he, yonder good fellow and I have contrived a means whereby you may eaſily eſcape from this imminent danger, and we alſo be cleared from any vehement ſuſpicion for when we come to yonder hill, called Briſtow-cauſway, where are woods on each hand, you ſhall turn into that on the left hand which leads into Kent, and ſo by the help of your friends convey yourſelf away, and we will ſo order the matter that they ſhall never ſeek that way for you &c. Mr Frith having diligently hearkened to his ſpeech, ſaid with a ſmiling countenance, and is this the effect of your ſecret conſultation all this while? Surely, ſurely you have loſt more labour formerly, and ſo you are like to do this alſo; for if you ſhould both leave me here, and go to Croydon, declaring to the biſhops that you had loſt Frith, I would ſurely follow after as faſt as I could, and bring them news that I had found and brought Frith again: do you think that I am afraid to declare mine opinion before the biſhops in ſo manifeſt a truth? you are a fond man (quoth the gentleman) thus to talk; do you think, that your reaſoning with the biſhops will do any good? But I much marvel you were ſo willing to flie the realm before you were taken, and now ſo unwilling to ſave yourſelf when you may. Marry (quoth Frith) there is a great difference between eſcaping then and now: for then I deſired to eſcape becauſe I was at liberty, and yet not attached, which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the improvement of my ſtudies beyond ſea, where I was reader of the Greek tongue: but now being taken by the higher powers, and that by almighty God's permiſſion and providence I am fallen into the biſhop's hands only for religion's ſake, and for ſuch doctrine as I am bound in conſcience under pain of damnation to maintain, if I ſhould now ſtart aſide and run away from my God, and from the teſtimony of his word, I ſhould deſerve a thouſand hells. And therefore I moſt heartily thank you both for your good wills towards me, beſeeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, or elſe I will go thither all alone. And ſo with a chearful and merry countenance he went with them, ſpending the time with pleaſant and godly communication till they came to Croydon, where for that night he was well entertained in the porter's lodge. On the morrow he was called before the biſhops to be examined, at which time he ſhewed himſelf exceeding ripe and ready to anſwer all objections, even beyond all mens expectations: and his allegations out of St. Auguſtine and other ancient fathers were ſuch, as ſome of them much doubted of Auguſtine's authority in that caſe: and when they had done, doctor Heath in private confeſſed to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that no man could avoid his allegations out of St. Auguſtine; yet after this, without any regard to his piety, learning, or merit, he was turned over to Stokeſley biſhop of London, who would not hear what St. Auguſtine or any other ſaid for his opinion: but calling him into his conſiſtory, after he had witneſſed there a good confeſſion he condemned him, and ſo delivered him over to the major and ſheriffs of London to be burnt.

When he came into Smithfield where he was to ſuffer, he ſhewed much conſtancy and courage: and being tied to the ſtake, and the fire kindled, he willingly embraced the ſame: but the wind blowing away the flame, made his death ſomewhat the longer: yet (through God's grace) he bore it with ſuch patience even as though he felt no pain in that long torment, and ſo at laſt quietly reſigned up his ſpirit unto God, *anno Chriſti* 1531. While Mr Frith was beyond the ſeas, he much help Mr Tindal in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament.

At the time of his burning, one doctor Cook (a perſon in London) admoniſhed the people that they ſhould no more pray for him then they would pray for a dog: whereupon John Frith ſmiling, prayed God to forgive him: this

this ſpeech of the doctor much moved the people to anger, and this mild anſwer of the martyr ſunk deeply into their minds.

The books that were written by this bleſſed martyr were many, and much ſought after in king Henry VIII. and queen Mary's reign, to be burned; and in the time of king Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, for the inſtruction and comfort of the godly. But it pleaſed God by a marvellous occaſion to cauſe three or four of his moſt uſeful treatiſes to be reprinted of late, which was this.

On midſummer eve, *anno Chriſti* 1626. a codfiſh being brought into the market of Cambridge, and there cut up for ſale, in the maw of the fiſh was found wrapt up in canvas a book in decimo ſexto containing three treatiſes of Mr. Frith's: the fiſh was caught about the coaſt of Lin, called Lin-deeps, by one William Skinner; when the fiſh was cut open, the garbiſh was thrown by, which a woman looking upon, eſpied the canvas, and taking it up, found the book wrapped up in it, being much ſoiled and covered over with a kind of ſlime and congealed matter. This was beheld with great admiration, and by Benjamin Prime, the batchelor's beadle (who was preſent at the opening of the fiſh) was carried to the vice-chancellor, who took ſpecial notice of it, examining the particulars before mentioned. By Daniel Boys, a book-binder, the leaves were carefully opened and cleanſed: the treatiſes contained in it were,

A Preparation to the Croſs.
A Preparation to Death.
The Treaſure of Knowlege.
A Mirrour, or Glaſs to know thyſelf:
A brief inſtruction to teach one willingly to die, and not to fear death.

How uſeful the reviving of theſe treatiſes by ſuch a ſpecial providence hath been, may eaſily be diſcerned by ſuch as have lived ſince thoſe times.

The Life of WILLIAM TINDAL, *who died* anno Chriſti 1536.

WILLIAM Tindal was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the univerſity of Oxford, where he grew up and encreaſed in the knowlege of the tongues and liberal arts, but eſpecially in the ſcriptures, whereunto his mind was ſingularly addicted: inſomuch as being in Magdalen-hall, he read privately to ſome fellows and ſtudents ſome parts of divinity, inſtructing them in the truth and knowlege of the ſcriptures: his life alſo was ſo blameleſs, that he acquired much love and eſteem thereby.

After he had profited exceedingly, and taken his degrees there, he removed to Cambridge, and being well ripened in the knowlege of God's word, he went to live with one Mr. Welch in Gloucesterſhire, where he was tutor to his children; and many abbots and doctors reforting thither, Mr. Tindal diſcourſing with them of Luther, Eraſmus, &c. ſhewed them plainly his judgment in religion, proving the ſame by the word of God, and confuting their errors; which cauſed them to bear a ſecret grudge in their hearts againſt him. Not long after it happened that ſome of theſe great doctors invited Mr. Welch and his lady to a banquet, where they had talk at will, uttering their blind ſuperſtitions without gainſaying. Then Mr. Welch and his lady coming home, and calling for Mr Tindal, began to reaſon with him about thoſe matters whereof they had talked before with the prieſts. Mr. Tindal anſwering by the ſcriptures maintained the truth and confuted their errors, whereupon the lady Welch ſaid, there was ſuch a doctor as may expend 100l. per annum, and ſuch a one as may ſpend 200l. per annum, and ſuch another as may ſpend 300l. per annum, and is it reaſon think you that we ſhould believe you before them? Mr. Tindal gave her no anſwer at that time, and talked but little afterwards of thoſe matters, becauſe he ſaw it was in vain; but fell upon tranſlating a book called *Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani*, and having finiſhed it, he gave it to the knight and his lady, who after they had well read and peruſed the ſame, did no more ſo often invite the doctorly prelates to their houſe as before, neither had they that chear and countenance when they came as formerly, which they well perceiving, ſuppoſed that it was by the means of Mr. Tindal, whereupon they utterly withdrew themſelves and came no more thither.

Then did the country prieſts cluſter together, ſtorming and railing againſt Mr. Tindal in their alehouſe-meetings, concerning whom himſelf writes thus: 'I was, ſaith he, in that country much moleſted by a company of unlearned prieſts that had never ſeen more Latin than in their portheſſes and miſſals, which yet many of them can ſcarcely read: and if they be but ſorrily learned, they get *Albertus Magnus de ſecretis mulierum*, which they pore night and day upon, making notes therein, &c.'

Theſe men railed and raged againſt him, affirming that he held heretical opinions, and thereupon accuſed him to the biſhop and chancellor, whereupon the chancellor appointed thoſe prieſts and Mr Tindal to appear before him: Mr Tindal ſuſpecting the matter, as he went, prayed heartily unto God to give him ſtrength to ſtand faſt to the truth: when he came, the chancellor threatened him grievouſly, reviling and rating him, as though he had been a dog, accuſing him of many things whereof no proof could be brought, and ſo diſmiſſed him for the preſent.

Not long after Mr. Tindal happening into the company of one that was eſteemed a learned doctor, in diſputing with him he drave him to that iſſue that the doctor burſt out into theſe blaſphemous words, we had better be without God's laws, than the popes. Mr. Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, replyed, I defy the pope and all his laws; and if God ſpare me life, ere many years I will cauſe a boy that drives the plough to know more of the ſcripture than you do.

The rage of the prieſts encreaſing, Mr. Tindal told Mr Welch, that he well perceived that he could ſtay there no longer with ſafety, and that his ſtay might be prejudicial to his family; and therefore with his good leave he departed and went to London, where he preached a while, as he had done in the country before: and then hearing a great commendation of Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of London, he endeavoured to get into his ſervice, but the Lord ſaw that it was not good for him, and therefore he found little favor in the biſhop's ſight.

Remaining thus in London about the ſpace of a year, and being deſirous for the good of his country to tranſlate the New Teſtament into Engliſh, he found that there was no place for him to do it in England, and therefore being aſſiſted by maſter Humphry Munmouth, a godly citizen, and other good men, he left the land and went into Germany; where this good man being inflamed with a tender care of and zeal for his country, refuſed no travel nor pains, if by any means poſſible he might reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the ſame taſte and underſtanding of God's holy word and truth which the Lord had endued him withall: then conferring with Mr. John Frith he thought in his mind that no way would more conduce thereunto, than if the ſcriptures were tranſlated into their vulgar language that ſo the people might ſee the plain text before them; becauſe the knowlege of the ſcriptures was hidden from the people's eyes; upon theſe conſiderations he there ſet upon this work: tranſlating the New Teſtament *anno Chriſti* 1527. and then ſetting upon the old, he finiſhed the five Books of Moſes, with ſundry moſt learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one of them: the like alſo he did upon the New Teſtament: beſides divers other godly treatiſes which he wrote there; which being publiſhed, and ſent over into England, became exceeding profitable to the whole Engliſh nation.

At his firſt going over into Germany, he went into Saxony, and had much conference with Luther, and other learned men in thoſe quarters: and then returning into the Netherlands, made his greateſt abode at Antwerp: he wrote alſo divers other books under ſundry titles, amongſt which is that moſt worthy monument of his called, The obedience of a Chriſtian man, with divers other of treatiſes, as the wicked mammon, the practice of prelates, with divers expoſitions upon portions of ſcripture: as alſo ſome anſwers to ſir Thomas Moore, and other adverſaries of the truth, no leſs delectable then right fruitful to be read: theſe books being ſent over and diſperſed in England, it

cannot be imagined what a door of light they opened to the eyes of all the nation, which for a long time had been ſhut up in darkneſs. He wrote alſo one book of the Declaration of the ſacrament and againſt the maſs, but he kept it by him, and did not print it, conſidering how the people for the preſent were held under their groſs idolatry; and therefore judging that it would be odious to them to hear theſe things at the firſt, he waited a fitter time for the publication of it.

Theſe godly books, but eſpecially his tranſlation of the New Teſtament coming abroad, as they brought ſingular profit to the godly: ſo the ungodly clergy diſdaining and envying that the people ſhould be wiſer than they, and withall fearing leaſt by the ſhining beams of the truth, their hypocriſy and works of darkneſs ſhould be unmasked, they began to make a great ſtir: but eſpecially the devil envying the progreſs of the goſpel, fought by all means to hinder the bleſſed travels of this worthy man: for when he had finiſhed his tranſlation of Deuteronomy, minding to print it at Hamborough, he ſailed thitherward. But by the way upon the coaſt of Holland he ſuffered ſhipwreck, by which he loſt all his books and writings, and ſo was compelled to begin all again to his great hinderance and doubling of his labors.

Thus having by that ſhipwreck loſt all his money, copies and time, yet (through Gods mercy) he was not diſcouraged, but taking the opportunity of another ſhip, he went to Hamborough, where he met with Mr. Coverdal, who aſſiſted him in the tranſlation of the five books of Moſes, the ſweating ſickneſs being in that town all the while, which was *anno Chriſti.* 1526. and during their imployment in that work, they were entertained by a religious widow, Mrs. Margaret Van Emerſon.

When his Engliſh Teſtament came abroad, ſatan's and the pope's inſtruments raged exceedingly, ſome ſaying that there were a thouſand hereſies in it: others that it was impoſſible to tranſlate the ſcriptures into Engliſh: others, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their own language, &c. and at laſt the biſhops and prieſts procured of king Henry the eight a proclamation prohibiting the buying or reading of it, *anno Chriſti* 1527. Yet not ſatisfied herewith, they ſuborned one Henry Philips to go over to Antwerp to betray him: who, when he came thither, inſinuated himſelf into Mr. Tindal's company, and pretended great friendſhip to him; and having learned where his abode was, he went to Bruxels, and there prevailed ſo far, that he brought with him the emperor's attorney to Antwerp, and pretending to viſit Mr. Tindal, he betrayed him to two catchpoles, which preſently carried him to the attorney; who, after examination, ſent him to priſon in the caſtle of Filford, eighteen miles off, and withal they ſeized upon all his writings, and what elſe he had at his lodging.

The Engliſh merchants at Antwerp, who loved Tindal very well, did what they could to procure his releaſe; alſo letters were ſent by the lord Cromwell and others out of England in his behalf: but Philips ſo beſtirred himſelf that all their endeavours came to nothing: and Tindal was at laſt brought to his anſwer, after much reaſoning, although he deſerved not death, yet they condemned him to die.

When he was brought forth to the place of execution, whilſt he was tied to the ſtake, he cried with a fervent and loud voice, 'Lord open the king of England's eyes.' And ſo he was firſt ſtrangled by the hangman, and then burnt, *Anno Chriſti* 1536.

The power of his doctrine, and the ſincerity of his life was ſuch, that during his impriſonment (which was about a year and an half) he converted his keeper and his daughter, and ſome others of his houſhold: and Philips that betrayed him, long enjoyed not the price of innocent blood, but by God's juſt judgment was devoured by lice.

The emperor's attorney that proſecuted againſt him, left this teſtimony of him, that he was *Vir doctus, pius, & bonus*, a learned, pious, and godly man: whilſt Mr. Tindal was priſoner in the caſtle, there was much writing, and great diſputations betwixt him and them of the univerſity of Lovain, which was but nine or ten miles from thence, ſo that they had all enough of him, not knowing how to anſwer the authorities and teſtimonies of ſcriptures, whereupon he grounded his doctrine.

On a time the company of Engliſh merchants being at ſupper together at Antwerp, there was a juggler amongſt them who by his magical art could bring all kind of dainty diſhes, and wine, from any place they pleaſed, and ſet it on the table incontinent before them, with many other ſuch like things: this being much talked of abroad, Mr. Tindal hearing of it, deſired of ſome of the merchants that he might be preſent at ſupper to ſee the jugler play his pranks. Accordingly ſupper was apppointed, and Mr. Tindal with the merchants went to it: and the jugler being requeſted to play his pranks, and to ſhew his cunning, he after his wonted boldneſs began to utter all that he could do: but all was in vain; ſo that at laſt after all his ſweating, toiling and labour, when he ſaw that nothing would go forewards, but all his enchantments were void, he openly confeſſed that there was ſome man preſent at ſupper which diſturbed and hindered all his doings.

Concerning his tranſlation of the New Teſtament which was ſo villified by his adverſaries, he thus writes in an epiſtle to John Frith: I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord Jeſus, to give up reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one ſyllable of God's word againſt my conſcience, nor would do it for all that's in the earth, whether honour, pleaſure, or profit, &c.

Moſt of his works are mentioned before in his life.

The Life of THOMAS CROMWELL, *Earl of Eſſex, who died* anno Chriſti, 1541.

THOMAS Cromwel was born at Putney in Surrey: his father was a ſmith, and therefore could beſtow no great coſt in his education, ſo that his poverty was a great hindrance at firſt to his virtue; yet ſuch was the activity, and foreward ripeneſs of nature in him; his wit ſo pregnant; his judgment ſo ſound; his tongue ſo eloquent; his ſervice ſo faithful: his ſtomach ſo couragious, and his pen ſo active, that he could not be long concealed, nor hindred from favour, and friends to employ him: nothing was ſo difficult which his wit and induſtry could not compaſs; he had alſo a very fine memory in retaining whatſoever he had once gotten, inſomuch as in a journey to and from Rome, he learned the whole New Teſtament tranſlated by Eraſmus without book.

As he grew towards ripeneſs of years, he had a great mind to travel into foreign countries to ſee the world, and learn experience; and ſo paſſing over the ſea, he went into France, from thence into Italy, at laſt he came back to Antwerp, where he was entertained by the Engliſh merchants to be their ſecretary.

It happened about the ſame time, that the inhabitants of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, were minded to ſend to Rome for the renewing of their two pardons, which, though it would coſt them great expences, yet they found ſuch gain by that Roman merchandize, that they choſe one Jeffrey Chambers, and another, whom they furniſhed with writings, and good ſtore of money, and ſo ſent them to Rome to diſpatch that buſineſs: by the way when they came to Antwerp, Chambers ſuſpecting his own weakneſs for ſo weighty a work, conferred and prevailed with Thomas Cromwell to aſſiſt them therein: Cromwel, though he knew the difficulty of the enterprize, and what it was to have to deal with ſuch greedy cormorants, as the pope, and his cardinals were, yet having ſome ſkill in the Italian tongue, and as yet being ungrounded in the true religion, he conſented to go along with them.

Coming to Rome, he gat information, that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in new fangled diſhes, and ſtrange delicates, whereupon he prepared certain fine diſhes of jelly, made after the beſt Engliſh faſhion, but never before ſeen at Rome; and taking his time, with his two companions, when the pope was newly come from hunting, and gone into his pavilion, they brought their Engliſh preſents in with a *three mans ſong* (as it was then called.) The pope marvelling at the ſtrangeneſs of the ſong, and underſtanding that they were Engliſhmen, and came not empty handed, he willed them to be called in: Cromwell doing his obeiſance, offered him his jolly-junkets, telling him,

him, that they were ſuch as none but kings and princes in England uſed to feed upon; deſiring him to accept of the preſent which he, and his companions, that were poor ſuiters to his holineſs, had preſented as novelties for his recreation, &c. The pope ſeeing the ſtrangeneſs of the diſhes, bade one of his cardinals to taſte of it, who liked it ſo well, that he commended it to the pope; the pope alſo was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he aſked them what their ſuits were, and commanding them to teach his cook the making of that meat, he incontinently confirmed both their pardons according to their requeſts: all this while Cromwel had no ſound taſte of religion, and himſelf would often after tell doctor Cranmer what a ruffian he was in his young days: how he was in the wars with the duke of Burbon in the ſiege of Rome; as alſo how he aſſiſted Chamber's in publiſhing, and ſetting forth the pardon of Boſton every where in churches as he went, and ſo he continued, till at laſt, learning the New Teſtament by heart, it pleaſed God to begin to touch, and affect his heart with the knowlege, and ſavour of the truth: in the mean time, cardinal Woolſey began to rule all under the king, or rather with the king in England; ſo that men of the beſt wits, and ableſt parts, ſought to get into his ſervice: amongſt whom Thomas Cromwel alſo gat preferment under him, and having faithfully ſerved him divers years, the cardinal at laſt preferred him to be his ſollicitor: about which time Woolſey was building his ſtately college in Oxford (now Chriſt church) for the furtherance whereof, he pulled down ſome ſmall monaſteries, and priories in divers parts of the realm, the charge whereof he committed to Cromwel, wherein he was ſo induſtrious, that he gat him much hatred amongſt many ſuperſtitious perſons, and with ſome of the nobility that were about the king.

Shortly after the cardinal grew into diſgrace with the king and fell into a premunire: ſo that his houſhold being diſſolved, Thomas Cromwel amongſt others, ſought to get into the king's ſervice: and Sir Chriſtopher Hales maſter of the rolls (though a great papiſt) yet liked Cromwel ſo well, that he commended him to the king, as a man moſt fit for his purpoſe, having then to do againſt the pope. But the king having had former complaint made to him againſt Cromwell for his homely dealing with the monaſteries, images, altars, &c. he deteſted his very name, and ſome that ſtood by alſo, with railing, and reviling words, ſought more to inflame the king's hatred againſt him: but there being preſent at the ſame time, the lord Ruſſel, earl of Bedford, with a vehement boldneſs he ſtood forth, and took upon him the defence of Cromwel, uttering much in his commendation before the king; and withal, telling him, that when himſelf was at Bohemia, about the king's affairs, he was in extream peril of his life, had not Cromwel by his ſingular device and policy freed him from the ſame: adding, that foraſmuch as his majeſty had now to do with the pope, there was in all England none ſo fit for the king's purpoſe, which could ſay or do more in that matter than he: the king hearing this, was content to ſee, and ſpeak with him, and to hear what he could ſay: Cromwel having private notice that he ſhould be ſent for to the king, provided himſelf before hand, and gat in a readineſs the copy of the biſhop's oath, which they uſed to make to the pope at their conſecration, and ſo being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Weſtminſter, *anno Chriſti* 1530. the king propounding ſundry queſtions to him, he anſwered him very ſatisfactorily, and withal ſhewed him how his princely authority was abuſed within his own realm by the pope, and his clergy, who being ſworn to him, were afterwards diſpenſed with, and ſworn anew unto the pope, ſo that he was but an half king, &c. He alſo ſhewed him how he might accumulate himſelf whatſoever the clergy in England was worth, if he pleaſed to take the occaſion now offered unto him: the king giving good ear to this, and liking his advice, aſked him, if he would ſtand by what he had told him: yea ſaid he, I can avouch it to be certain, and therewith he ſhewed the biſhop's oath unto the king: hereupon the king preſently admitted him into his ſervice, and taking his ring off his finger, he ſent him therewith into the convocation houſe amongſt the biſhops; Cromwel coming boldly into the houſe, placed himſelf amongſt the biſhops, where he made an oration, and declared unto them the authority of a king, and the office of ſubjects, eſpecially of biſhops and churchmen under the public laws, which laws (ſaith he) you have all tranſgreſſed, and highly offended by derogating from the king's royal eſtate, falling under a premunire, by conſenting to the power legantine of the cardinal, as alſo by being ſworn to the pope, contrary to your fealty to the king, to whom therefore you have forfeited all your goods, chattels, lands, poſſeſſions, and whatſoever livings you have: the biſhops hearing this, were much amazed, beginning to excuſe, and deny the fact: but Cromwel ſhewing to them the very copy of the oath given to the pope at their conſecration, they could not deny the matter any longer, but fell to intreaty: and after a ſhort debate amongſt themſelves were content to give to the king 100884. li. to free them from the premunire.

After this Cromwel growing into great favour with the king, he firſt knighted him: then made him maſter of his jewel-houſe: then of the privy council: then maſter of the rolls; then knight of the garter: and laſtly, earl of Eſſex: great chamberlain of England, and the king's vicegerent to repreſent his own perſon: which office is ſeldom conferred upon any ſubject in England, and was never better diſcharged than by this lord.

Neither did his honours make him grow proud, or remiſs in his duty, but he was rather quickened thereby to work more abundantly for the good both of church and ſtate: and above all his other vertues, he is chiefly to be commended for his ſingular zeal, and laborious travel beſtowed for the reſtoring of the truth, and demoliſhing the ſynagogues of Antichriſt, the abbies, and religious houſes; for it pleaſed almighty God to make him an inſtrument to perſuade the king to ſuppreſs, firſt the chauntries, then the ſmaller monaſteries, and at length all the abbies in England, both great, and leſs: and though the buildings might have been beſtowed to much better, and more godly uſe, viz. to the relief of the poor, and to many public uſes of piety, and charity: yet herein the ſecret judgment of God is to be admired, and adored, in that thoſe houſes that were ſo full of all manner of abominations (as appeared to the king's commiſſioners upon examination, remains upon record) ſo horrible to be heard, ſo incredible to be believed, ſo ſtinking before the face of God and man, that no marvel it is, if God's vengeance from heaven, ſo highly provoked thereby, would not ſuffer any monument of thoſe houſes to be unplucked up: the doctrines, laws, and traditions alſo of ſuch as inhabited them, was rebellion againſt Chriſt, derogatory to his glory, pernicious to man's ſalvation: ſo that of both we may ſay with Matthew Paris: *Cujus fetor uſque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhallabat.* i. e. whoſe filthy ſtink did breathe up a moſt peſtiferous fume even to the clouds of heaven, and with Sodom's ſins cried loud for vengeance, &c.

The biſhop of Rome's power being thus aboliſhed out of England, there were yet divers popiſh biſhops, his creatures, which privily watched all opportunities to reſtore it again: but Cromwel (as a mighty wall, and defence of the church) reſiſted it continually, and ſo fruſtrated all their expectations, and endeavours: about this time ſome tumults began to ariſe about religion: whereupon the king ſummoned, and aſſembled moſt of his biſhops, and learned men to meet, and treat ſoberly, and modeſtly about moſt of the controverſial points: to this convocation, Cromwel went, and accidentally by the way he met with Alexander Aleſius, a Scotchman, whom he took along with him: and having taken his place as the king's vicegerent, at the upper end of the table, he made an oration to them, wherein in the king's name he thanked them for their ready, and cheerful meeting together, told them that the king deſired that they ſhould debate about the preſent controverſies of religion, for that he would ſuffer no alteration but by the advice, and conſent of them, and his parliament; 'Therefore (ſaith he) he deſires you for Chriſt's ſake, that all malice, obſtinacy, and carnal reſpects being ſet apart, you will friendly and lovingly diſpute amongſt yourſelves of the controverſies moved in the church, and that you will conclude all things by the word of God; neither will his majeſty ſuffer the ſcriptures to

be wrested by any falſe gloſſes, papiſtical laws, or by any authority of doctors, or counſels, much leſs will he admit any articles, or doctrine not contained in the ſcripture, but only founded upon continuance of time, and old cuſtoms, or by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do, &c. The only way to unity is to determine all things by the rule of God's word, as himſelf requireth, &c.

In this convocation many points were debated, wherein Aleſius, being a godly, and learned man, did the church good ſervice, and ſo through Cromwel's induſtry, though religion could not be wholly reformed, yet the reformation of it was well begun at that time through all England. And this good lord was always very ſtudious how to advance the cauſe of Chriſt; his whole life was nothing elſe but a continual care and travel to further the true knowlege of the goſpel, and to reform the houſe of God; he cauſed all the people through the kingdom to be inſtructed in the Lord's prayer, and creed, in Engliſh; then he procured the ſcriptures to be tranſlated, and publiſhed for every Engliſh man to underſtand; then he reſcued the vulgar ſort from damnable idolatry, cauſing many of their groſſeſt pilgrimages to be deſtroyed: he procured, that divers idle holy-days ſhould be aboliſhed; that liberty ſhould be given to eat eggs, and white-meats in lent; by him it was provided, that for the better inſtruction of the people, beneficed men ſhould be reſident on their cures to teach, and keep hoſpitality. Infinite almoſt were the private benefits which he did in helping poor godly men, and women out of trouble, and great diſtreſſes; yea, his whole life was full of ſuch examples, being a man ordained of God to do many good, eſpecially to deliver ſuch as were in danger of perſecution for religion ſake. Some examples are ſet down by Mr Fox in his book of Martyrs, Vol. 1. page 507 &c.

Uſually men advanced from mean and baſe degree, to high and ample dignities, grow proud and inſolent, forgetting what they were, and from whence they came, and ſo calling off their old friends that were formerly beneficial unto them; but it was far otherwiſe with this courteous and Chriſtian earl, as may appear by theſe examples: on a time he was riding in his coach with archbiſhop Cranmer through Cheapſide, where ſpying a poor woman of Hounſlow, to whom he was indebted for certain old reckonings, to the value of forty ſhillings, he cauſed her to be called unto him, where queſtioning with her what was her name, and where ſhe lived; withal he aſked her whether he was not ſomewhat indebted unto her, ſhe ſaid yea, but ſhe durſt never call upon him for it, though now ſhe ſtood in great need of it: he therefore preſently ſent her to his houſe with one of his men, and when he came from the court, he did not only diſcharge his debt, but gave her an yearly penſion of four pound, and a livery every year ſo long as ſhe lived after.

Another example was this: at what time Thomas Cromwel went with the French army into Italy, the army being overthrown, he fell into much want, and being in the city of Florence, he met a rich merchant, called Francis Freſcobald's, and aſked of him an alms for God's ſake; the merchant under his tottered attire, ſeeing an ingenuous countenance, moved with pity, demanded of what country he was, &c. To whom he anſwered, 'I am Sir of England, my name is Thomas Cromwel, my father was a ſheerer of cloth, and I ſtraying from mine own country, came with the French army into Italy, by whoſe overthrow I am fallen into this want:'

The merchant conſidering the ſtate of the young man, and loving the Engliſh nation, amongſt whom he had formerly lived, and from whom he had received many courteſies, took him into his houſe, entertained him kindly, and when he was deſirous to return into his own country, he gave him an horſe, a new ſuit of apparel, and other neceſſaries, and ſixteen ducats of gold to bear the charges of his journey.

It ſo fell out after, that at what time the lord Cromwel was ſo highly in favour with his prince, and advanced to ſo many dignities, that this Francis Freſcobald, was by many great loſſes that befel him in his merchandizing, become very poor, yet remembring that in England ſome merchants owed him fifteen thouſand ducats, he purpoſed, if he could get that money, to content himſelf to live upon it, and to give over trading, and for this end he came into England; and it fell out that whilſt he was here, endeavouring to get in his debts, he met with the lord Cromwel, whom he had forgotten, as alſo the kindneſs which he had ſhewed him.

The lord Cromwel, as he was riding to the court, eſpied him in the ſtreet, and eying him well, he remembred him, and alighting from his horſe (to the admiration of his followers) he went, and in a moſt kind manner embraced him, and ſcarcely refraining from tears, he aſked him whether he was not Francis Freſcobald the Florentine: yea Sir, ſaid he, and your humble ſervant: my ſervant (quoth Cromwel) no, as you have not formerly been my ſervant, ſo will I not now account you other than my ſpecial friend, aſſuring you, that I have cauſe to be ſorry, that you knowing what I am (or at leaſt ſhould be) would not make known your arrival to me, that I might have paid part of that debt that I confeſs I owe you: but being now upon urgent affairs for my prince, I muſt intreat you to excuſe my leaving of you, deſiring you with the faithful mind of a friend, that you come this day to my houſe to dinner, and ſo remounting he went to the court.

Francis wondering with himſelf who this lord ſhould be, at laſt, called to mind, that it was the ſame man, whom he had formerly relieved at Florence, for which he was wondrous joyful, hoping that by his authority he ſhould the ſooner recover his debts; about dinner time he repaired to the lord Cromwel's houſe, and there walking in the court, he attended his coming; the lord ſhortly returning, he no ſooner diſmounted, but he again embraced this gentleman with ſo friendly countenance, that the lord admiral, and the other lords that were with him, marvelled at it, which he perceiving, turning towards them, and holding Freſcobald by the hand, he ſaid, my lords, marvel not that I am ſo glad to ſee this man, for by his means I have attained to this preſent dignity, and that you may not be ignorant of his courteſy to me, I will relate it to you, and ſo he told them every thing in order, as is before recited: and ſo, ſtill holding him by the hand, he had him into his dining room, and placed him next to himſelf at the table: when dinner was ended, and the lords departed, he would needs know of what occaſion had brought him to London: Francis related his great loſſes to him, and told him that all that remained was this money that he came to ſue for: Cromwel having comforted him againſt his afflictions, and told him that he ſympathized with him in the ſame, ſaid further, you ſhall receive in this your diſtreſs ſome conſolation for your old courteſies that you ſhewed me in times paſt, and I further profeſs in the word of a true friend, that during this life, and ſtate of mine, I will never be wanting to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to ſupply your lack and neceſſity: and ſo taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, and commanding all to depart, he opened a cheſt, and firſt gave him ſixteen ducats which he had given him in money, then ten ducats that he diſburſed on his apparrel, and ten other that he paid for his horſe; and further, ſaid he, for the intereſt of your money, take theſe four bags, in each of which is four hundred ducats, theſe you ſhall receive from the hand of your aſſured friend; Freſcobald, though brought to low ebb, yet expreſſing the vertue of a modeſt mind, would have refuſed the kindneſs offered, but that the other enforced him againſt his will to receive it.

Then he cauſed him to give him a note of the names of his debtors, which he gave to one of his ſervants, charging him diligently to enquire out the men, and then to require them to make payment of thoſe debts within fifteen days, or to abide the hazard of his diſpleaſure: the ſervant ſo carefully performed his lord's command, that in a ſhort time he procured Freſcobald all his debts: who willingly forgave the intereſt:

And all this while he lodged in the lord Cromwel's houſe, who gave him noble entertainment, and profered, that if he would continue in England, and make his bank here, he would lend him 60000 ducats for four years gratis.

But Freſcobald, deſirous to return into his own country, and to live a private life, with many thanks for his extraordinary

extraordinary favours, he took his leave, and went to Florence, where he died the year following; alſo at another time, being with other lords at the monaſtery of Sheen, examining ſome monks that denied the king's ſupremacy, as he ſat at dinner, he ſpied afar off a certain poor man, that uſed to ſweep their cells and cloiſters, and to ring the bell, &c. whom when the lord Cromwel had well noted, he called him to him, and before all the table, took him by the hand, aſked him kindly how he did, and turning to the lords, ſaid; my lords, ſee you this poor man, this man's father was a great friend to me in my neceſſity, and hath given me many a meal's meat.

Then ſaid he to the poor man, come unto me, and I will ſo provide for thee, that thou ſhalt not lack whilſt I live: thus this worthy and noble lord excelled in divers eminent vertues, eſpecially in a flouriſhing authority, excellent wiſdom, and fervent zeal to Chriſt, and his goſpel: his great care was to preſerve, and nouriſh peace abroad in forreign realms.

In all neighbouring princes courts he kept ſpecial intelligence, that nothing was there done, or intended, whereof he had not notice: nor was any ſpark of miſchief kindled againſt our king, or kingdom, which he by wit, and policy did not quench, and keep down; and if policy prevailed not, he would purchaſe peace by money, ſo that during the time of his advancement the king never had war with any forreign nation, though many great princes were much incenſed againſt him: he employed his authority no leſs alſo in keeping all things in good order at home: hampering the popiſh prelates, and diſappointing their ſubtile devices: then in bridling other unruly perſons, forcing them to ſubjection by the laws: he was a ſuccour, and refuge to all godly perſons; a terror to evil doers, ſo that the very report that Cromwel was coming quieted many fraies, and much evil rule: a company of ruffians appointing to fight in Pater Noſter row, and having blocked up the ends of the ſtreet with carts, that none ſhould interrupt them, Cromwel hearing of it, in the heat of the fight came down Pannier alley towards them, but ſo ſoon as the report of Cromwel's coming was heard, the cars could not keep them in, but they ran away, and ſo the fray was ended.

Alſo there was a ruffianly ſerving man, who to put himſelf into the gallanter garb, as he conceived, nouriſhed his hair till it hung down upon his ſhoulders; on a time the lord Cromwel met this fellow as he walked in the ſtreets, who ſeeing his diſguiſed habit, which he judged might be of bad example unto others, he called him to him, and enquired whoſe man he was and with all aſking him whether his maſter, or any of his fellows wore their hair ſo long, or no; he anſwered no. but to excuſe himſelf, he pleaded that he had made a vow not to cut his hair for ſuch a time; to whom the lord Cromwel anſwered, that ſince he had made himſelf a votary, he would not force him to break his vow, but yet he would lay him in priſon till the time was expired, and ſo preſently ſent him to the marſhal-ſey, where he lay till his maſter having perſuaded him to cut his hair, petitioned for his releaſe, and ſo being brought before the lord Cromwel with his ſhort hair, he diſmiſſed him: alſo a fryar wearing his cowle after the diſſolution of the monaſteries, Cromwel meeting him in Paul's churchyard, ſaid to him, will not this coule of yours be left off yet:

If I do not hear by one o'clock that this apparrel of thine is changed, thou ſhalt be hanged immediately for example to all others, and ſo he durſt never wear his coule after: innumerable were the benefits which this worthy lord did, by his prudent policy, grave authority, and godly zeal for the good both of the church, and ſtate; what good orders he eſtabliſhed, what wickedneſs he ſuppreſſed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuſes he diſcovered, what crafty juglings, and ſuperſtitious deluſions he detected, and aboliſhed out of the church; as the rode of grace, wherein a man ſtood incloſed with an hundred wyers, wherewith he made the image roll his eyes, nod his head, hang the lip, move, and ſhake his jaws, according as the value of the gift offered, pleaſed, or diſpleaſed the prieſt: if it were a ſmall piece of ſilver, he would hang the lip, if it were a good piece of gold, his chaps ſhould go merrily, &c.

But Cromwel diſcovering this forgery, cauſed the image, with all his engines to be openly ſhewed at Paul's croſs, and there to be torn in pieces by the people: alſo the blood of Hale's he cauſed to be brought to the ſame place, where it was proved to be the blood of a duck: he alſo proved the holy maid of Kent to be a notorious whore: alſo the roode of Cheſter, of Thomas Becket, our lady of Walſingam, with many more curſed monuments of idolatry, this good man, ſtirred up by the providence of God, removed out of the peoples way, that they might walk more ſafely in the ſervice of almighty God.

About this time Edmond Bonner was a Lutheran, and a great profeſſor of the goſpel, whom therefore the lord Cromwel much favoured, and procured for him the biſhoprick of Hereford; then obtained of the king that he ſhould be ſent over as ambaſſador into France, and ſent over by him a letter which he procured of our king to the king of France, wherein he deſired him to licenſe a ſubject of his to print a large Bible in Engliſh at Paris, becauſe paper was eaſilier to be had there than in England: as alſo becauſe they had more ſtore of good workmen to diſpatch the ſame.

Bonner much beſtirred himſelf in this buſineſs, and outwardly ſhewed great friendſhip to the merchants that had undertaken this work, entertaining them often at his table, and ſo rejoiced in the printing of thoſe Bibles, that himſelf would oft overſee the preſs; yea he was ſo zealous, that he cauſed them to print a New Teſtament in Engliſh, and Latin, and himſelf took off many of them, and gave them to his friends: then did the lord Cromwel procure his advancement to the biſhoprick of London, and Bonner took the oath of ſupremacy before theſe Engliſh men that printed the Bible, and before maſter Coverdale, who was the over-ſeer of the preſs; to whom he promiſed, that when the Bible was printed, he would have at leaſt ſix of them to ſet up in ſeveral places in Paul's church.

Afterwards, by the procurement of Cromwel, the bible of Tindal's tranſlation was printed at London, one of which he preſented to king Henry, and obtained that the ſame might be freely read of all his ſubjects: but the ſetting forth hereof did exceedingly incenſe the popiſh biſhops, eſpecially becauſe of the prologues to the books, and a large table in the end of it, wherein were ſet down texts about the Lords ſupper, and to prove the lawfulneſs of miniſters marriage, and againſt the maſs: but whilſt Cromwel was thus labouring for the public good, and endeavouring to deliver the poor ſaints out of their troubles, the malice of theſe popiſh biſhops encreaſed ſo againſt him, that they continually laboured by falſe trains, and crafty ſurmiſes to caſt him out of the king's favour.

About this time, there was one John Lambert, a godly, and learned miniſter, called in queſtion for his religion, the king himſelf ſat amongſt the biſhops, whilſt he was examined, and after a long diſputation betwixt the biſhops, and him, in the cloſe of the day, the king ſaid to him: 'What ſayeſt thou now after all this pains that hath been taken with thee? wilt thou live or die? thou haſt yet free choice:' to whom Lambert anſwered, I wholly ſubmit myſelf to the will of your majeſty: the king replied, if you ſubmit yourſelf to me, you muſt die, for I will be no patron to heretics; and ſo, by the ſecret, and crafty counſel of Stephen Gardner, turning himſelf to the lord Cromwell, he ſaid, Cromwell, read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him; which through human frailty, and being ſurprized on the ſudden, he did read.

But when the day came wherein Lambert was to be burnt, Cromwell ſent for him into his houſe, and taking him into his ſecret chamber, he aſked him forgiveneſs for that which he had done.

The ſubtile malicious prelates ceaſed not, all this while, by themſelves, and their agents about the king, to calumniate and traduce this good lord, inſomuch that a parliament being ſummoned, *anno* 1541. Cromwell being in the council chamber, was ſuddenly apprehended, and committed priſoner to the tower, which was much lamented by all good men, who prayed heartily for him: but the popiſh party much rejoiced, eſpecially the clergy, whom he could not abide for their popery and maſked hypocriſy: ſhortly after he was attainted by parliament: the crimes which they laid to his charge were theſe; firſt he was accuſed of hereſy, and for a ſupporter of ſuch perſons, as

Barns, Clark, and many others, whom by his authority, and letters written to the sheriffs, and justices in divers shires, he had rescued out of the hands of their adversaries, and discharged out of prison: then, that he had dispersed amongst the king's subjects many books, containing much heresy in them; thirdly that he had caused to be translated into English many books, comprizing matters against the sacrament of the altar, and that he had commended it as good and Christian doctrine; fourthly they pretended that about two years before, he had spoken some words against the king, but the witnesses to prove this did not agree amongst themselves. But the truth was, the king was a weary of his queen, the lady Anne Bullen, a virtuous and religious woman, to whom he had been married but a few months, and cast his wanton affections upon the lady Katharine Howard, which Cromwell laboured to dissuade him from, and therefore he must be taken out of the way. This storm Cromwell did foresee at least two years before, considering the variable affections of the king, and the subtle malice of Stephen Gardner, and his associates; and thereupon he called together his servants, and shewed them in what a slippery state he stood, and therefore required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest through their default any occasion might arise against him: also he took such order for them, that most of them, especially his gentlemen that were younger brethren, which had little but his service to take to, he well provided for, by leaving money in the hands of their friends for them; and having twelve boys that were his musicians, he gave them twenty pound apiece, and so returned them to their friends; and as his great prosperity had not puffed him up with pride, so neither was he at all dejected in his adversity, but bore it with admirable constancy, and Christian fortitude, and patience.

Some commissioners coming to examine him whilst he was in the tower, he carried himself so gravely, and patiently, and answered them so discreetly, that they could put no interrogatories to him, either concerning ecclesiastical or civil affairs, wherein he was not exceeding ripe, and well furnished with an answer. Amongst the commissaries, there was one whom the lord Cromwell desired to carry from him a letter to the king, which he refused; saying, That he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor: then he desired him at least to carry a message from him to the king, which request he assented to, provided that it were not against his allegiance: the lord Cromwell taking witness of the other lords what he had promised. 'You shall, said he, commend me to the king, and tell him; by that time he hath so well tried and proved you, as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him.' His enemies durst not bring him to his answer, nor try him by his peers, but procured an act of attainder, whereby he was condemned before he was heard; yet the king not long after his death repented his haste, wishing that he had his Cromwell alive again; when he came upon the scaffold on tower-hill, he spake thus unto the people.

'I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some perhaps may expect that I should, and will; for if I should so do, I were a very wretch; I am by the law condemned to die, and I thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence, for I always lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for which I ask him hearty forgiveness. It is not unknown to many of you, that I was a great traveller, and being but of mean parentage, was called to high estate, and now I have offended my prince, for which I heartily ask him forgiveness, beseeching you to pray with me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me, &c.'

'And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I may waver nothing in my faith:' then kneeling down on his knees he spake these words: 'O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I wretched sinner do submit myself wholly to thy blessed will, and being sure that that thing cannot perish, which is committed to thy mercy; willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it unto me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just; I beseech thee most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see, and know that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in thy most merciful goodness; I have no merits, nor good works that I may alledge before thee; of sins, and of evil works, alas! I see a great heap, but yet through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins, but wilt take, and accept me for righteous and just, and make an inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom. Thou merciful Lord was born for my sake, didst suffer hunger and thirst for my sake, didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake: all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake: thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious blood to be shed upon the cross for my sake: now most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me, that thou hast freely done for me, who hast also given thyself for me: let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins; let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness; let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfactory for my sins; give me Lord thy grace, that my faith waver not, but be firm, and constant to the end; that my hope in thy mercy, and life everlasting may not decay; that love wax not cold in me: finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death: grant O most merciful Father, that when death shall shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry, and say unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my soul, Amen.' Having ended his prayer, he made a godly exhortation to those that were about him on the scaffold, and so quietly commended his spirit into the hands of God, *anno Christi* 1541.

Upon his monument was this engraven, Cromwel, surnamed the great, whom Woolsey first raised from the forge to eminent good fortunes; whom Henry the VIII. used as his instrument to suppress the pope's supremacy, and to dissolve religious structures: whom he advanced to the highest pitch of honour and authority: whom he cast down suddenly, and bereft both of life, and dignities, lyes here interred.

This Cromwel, this pillar of the state was born in Putney, a village in Surrey, by the Thames side, four miles distant from London. He was son to a blacksmith, but in his latter days a brewer. Whose mother, after his father's decease, was married to a shere-man.

He was a man of an active, and forward ripeness of nature, ready and pregnant of wit, discreet, and well advised in judgment, eloquent of tongue: faithful and diligent in service: of an incomparable memory; of a reaching politic head; of a noble, and undaunted spirit. Whose good parts, being perceived by cardinal Woolsey, he took him straight into his service, made him his solliciter, and employ'd him in matters of greatest importance: after whose fall, he was presently advanced to the king's service, wherein he so industriously, and wisely demeaned himself, as that he was thought worthy by the said king, to have the ordering of all his weighty affairs. Whereupon, at several times, he heaped these several offices and honours upon him. He made him master of his jewel-house: baron Cromwel of Okeham: principal secretary: master of the rolls: chancellor of the exchequer: keeper of the privy seal: justice of the forests, and chases from the river of Trent northward: great chamberlain of England: earl of Essex; knight of the garter; vice gerent, or his vicar general.

Thus fortune raised him in a short time for a sudden fall. For upon the eighteenth day of April, *anno* 1540. he was invested with the honour of the earldom of Essex, and high chamberlain-ship of England: upon which day also the king made his son Gregory, lord Cromwel. Upon the ninth of July next, and immediately following (being envied of many for his honour, and authority, and hated for his religion) he was suddenly arrested in the council chamber, and committed to the tower: upon the nineteenth of the said month he was attainted by parliament of

of hereſy and high treaſon. And upon the eighth and twentieth of the ſaid month, he was beheaded on the tower-hill.

Many lamented this great man's fall, but the popiſh party much rejoiced, eſpecially they of the clergy, for that he was an enemy to popery, and could never endure the ſnuffing pride of the prelates. Thankful he was and liberal, never forgetting former benefits. Careful he was of his ſervants for whom he had provided competent livelyhoods, notwithſtanding the ſuddenneſs of his fall: and always faithful and forward he was to do his friends good.

Services done by this lord Cromwell to king Henry VIII within a few years after his firſt coming into favour with the ſaid king, copied out of the original remaining in the treaſury of the exchequer.

Imprimis: The king purchaſed Hampton court; and the manor of Moye.

Item: The king purchaſed St. James's in the fields, and all the ground whereof the new park in Weſtminſter is made.

Item: He hath purchaſed all the old tenements in Weſtminſter, where now is builded the new garden, the tennis court, and cock pit.

Item: He purchaſed the manor of Piſow of the lord Scroop; and the manor of Weſton Baldock.

Item: He purchaſed the manor and park of Copped hall; and lands to a great value of the earl of Northumberland.

Item: He purchaſed certain lands of Thomas Roberts, the auditor, lying by Waltham.

Item: He purchaſed of the lady Audley the manor of Lanameuerie, and Keymes in Wales.

Item: He purchaſed the manor, and certain other lands in Cobham, whereof a park is made, of the abbot of Cheſney.

Item: He purchaſed the manor of Alderbrook in the foreſt of Waltham, of one Monoke.

Item: he hath purchaſed the manor of Edmonton in the county of Middleſex; and repaired the tower of London, to his great charge.

Item: He hath newly made the ſhips, called the Mary Roſe, the Peter the Pomegranate, the Lion the Katharine Gally, the Bark, the Minion, and the Sheep-ſtake.

Item: He hath purchaſed the manor of Cogthall, and Eſſorford, of Mr. Southwell.

Item: He hath purchaſed the woods by Portſmouth in Hampſhire, ſufficient for the new making of *Henry-grace Dieu*, and the great gally.

Item: He hath bought, and made within the tower bows for a thouſand men.

Item: With a great and chargeable train he paſſed the ſeas in his own perſon to Calice and Bulloin.

Item. He hath new built Hampton-court; as alſo the place at Weſtminſter, with all the tennis courts, cock pit, and walled in the park.

Item: He hath new built St. James's in the fields, a magnificent and goodly houſe.

Item: he hath purchaſed the manors of Dunmington, Ewelme, Hook Norton, and others of the duke of Suffolk.

Item: He hath made a great deal of new braſs ordnance here in England: and much other in the town of Calice.

Item: he hath newly built a great part of the walls of Calice.

Item: He hath moſt coſtly wars in Scotland: and others in Ireland.

Item: He hath been at a moſt coſtly charge for the coronation of queen Anne.

Item: He hath maintained the great and ſumptuous houſe of the lady Katharine, Dowager; and many other good ſervices he did for his king which were but ill requited.

This great man gave great relief to the poor. Two hundred poor people were ſerved at his gates twice every day, with bread meat, and drink ſufficient.

He had above two hundred and twenty men in check-roll. He gave liveries garded with velvet to his gentlemen, and garded with the ſame cloth to his yeomen.

Sanders, that Engliſh runnagate, that never ſpeaks well of any godly man, or zealous profeſſor, or of the truth, will have him to die for the breach of a law made by himſelf, viz. That one appeached of treaſon, ſhould not come into the king's preſence till he had proved himſelf not guilty; but this is but a popiſh lie, for neither did he ever ſuch an act, neither was any ſuch thing charged upon him in his attainder.

The Life of JOHN BRADFORD, *who died* anno Chriſti 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD was born at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, and by his parents brought up in learning; and afterwards he ſerved Sir John Harrington, a man much employed under Henry the 8th and Edward the 6th; in which place he had opportunity of much advantaging himſelf, for his maſter found him ſo active, and fit for his employments, that above all others he made uſe of his faithful ſervice. And thus he continued with him for ſeveral years. But God intending him for better employment, having given up a juſt account to his maſter, with his good approbation, he went to Cambridge, where by his diligence in ſtudy, he profited ſo much in knowledge, and ſo pleaſed all by his godly and blameleſs converſation, that, after one year's abode in the univerſity, he was made maſter of arts, and choſen fellow into Pembroke hall. There Mr Bucer falling into acquaintance with him, highly prized, and perſuaded him to enter into the miniſtry, which he moſt modeſtly excuſed, for want of learning; to whom Bucer ſaid, 'If thou have not fine manchet, yet give the people barley bread, or ſuch as thou haſt.' Being thus perſuaded to enter into the miniſtry, Biſhop Ridley made him a prebend in St Paul's, where he continued preaching three years faithfully, reproving ſin ſharply, yet ſweetly preaching Chriſt crucified, and powerfully impugning errors and hereſies, and perſuading to a godly life.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Bourn, biſhop of Bath made a ſeditious ſermon at Paul's croſs, which ſo moved the people to indignation, that they were ready to pull him out of the pulpit, and one threw a dagger at him; whereupon Bourn requeſted Mr Bradford (who was behind him) to ſtand in his place, and to quiet the people, which accordingly he did; whom, when the people ſaw, they cried, 'Bradford, Bradford; God ſave thy life, Bradford.' Bourn not yet thinking himſelf ſafe, requeſted Mr Bradford to convey him into the ſchool-maſter's houſe, which accordingly he did, going at his back, and ſheltering him from the people; whereupon one ſaid to him, 'Ah Bradford! Bradford! thou ſaveſt him that will help to burn thee.'

In the afternoon Mr Bradford preached at Bow-church, and ſharply reproved the people for their ſeditious carriage. Yet, within three days after, he was ſent for before the council, and charged with ſedition for this act, and by them was ſent priſoner, firſt to the tower, then from thence they removed him to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation he was ſent to the Counter in the Poultry: in which places, for the time that he remained priſoner, he preached twice a day, unleſs ſickneſs hindered, and often adminiſtered the ſacrament.

Preaching, reading, and praiſing, was his whole life. He eat but one meal a day, and that a ſpare one too; and his continual ſtudy was upon his knees.

In the midſt of dinner he uſed to meditate, with his hat on his eyes, from which flowed plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. He was in ſuch credit with his keeper at Southwark, that at an evening he would give him leave, upon his bare word, to go into London and viſit a ſick friend; and he was ſo mindful of his promiſe, that he uſed to return to priſon again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity.

He was of perſon ſomewhat tall and ſlender, ſpare of body, of a faint ſanguine colour, with an auburne beard. He ſlept not above four hours in the night, and till ſleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His recreation was honeſt company, and Chriſtian diſcourſe a little after dinner; and ſo to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour ill ſpent wherein he did not ſome good, either with

with his pen, ſtudy, or exhorting others, &c. He was no niggard of his purſe, but would liberally communicate what he had to his fellow priſoners.

Once a week he viſited the thieves on the other ſide of the priſon, giving them godly exhortations, and diſtributing ſome money amongſt them. An intimate friend of his aſked him, if he ſhould procure his liberty, what he would do, and whither he would go? To whom he anſwered, that he cared not whether he were delivered out of priſon or no: but if he ſhould that then he would marry, and abide ſecretly in England, and teach the people as the time would ſuffer him.

He was had in great reverence and admiration of all good men, ſo that many which knew him not but by fame only, much lamented his death. Yea, many papiſts wiſhed heartily that he might live. Few days paſſed wherein he ſhed not ſome tears before he went to bed; nor was there any priſoner with him, but received ſome profit by him. He had many opportunities of eſcaping, but would not embrace them.

The night before he was carried to Newgate, he dreamed that chains were brought for him to the counter, and that the day following he ſhould be carried to Newgate and that the next day he ſhould be burned in Smithfield, which accordingly came to paſs; for that day in the afternoon, the keeper's wife came running into his chamber, ſaying, O Mr. Bradford, I bring you heavy news, for to morrow you muſt be burned, your chain is now a buying and preſently you muſt go to Newgate. With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, lift up his eyes to heaven, and ſaid, I thank God for it, I have looked for this a long time, it comes not now to me ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour: the Lord make me worthy thereof.

He ſpent the reſt of the evening in prayers, well watred with tears, whereby he raviſhed the minds of the hearers. The morning before he ſhould be burnt as he was putting on a clean ſhirt, in which he was to ſuffer, he made ſuch a prayer of the wedding garment that ſome preſent were in ſuch great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears were attentive to hear his prayer.

At his departing out of his chamber he prayed earneſtly, and gave money to every ſervant and officer in the houſe, exhorting them to fear and ſerve God continually, labouring to eſchew all manner of evil. Then turning to the will he prayed vehemently, that his words might not be ſpoken to them in vain, but that the Lord would work it effectually in them for his Chriſt's ſake. The priſoners with weeping tears took their farewel of him, whilſt he remained a priſoner. he was oft examined before the biſhops and proffered life if he would recant; to whom he anſwered, life with God's diſpleaſure is worſe than death; and death in his true favour is true life. When he came into Smithfield, (where another young man was to ſuffer with him) he fell flat on his face and prayed; then taking a fagot in his hand, he kiſſed it, and the ſtake alſo; then putting off his raiment, he ſtood by the ſtake and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, ſaid, O England, England, repent of thy ſins, repent of thy ſins: beware of idolatry, beware of falſe antichriſts, take heed they do not deceive thee: and turning his head to the young man, he ſaid, be of good comfort brother, for we ſhall have a merry ſupper with the Lord this night; and then embracing the reeds, he ſaid: ſtrait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal ſalvation, and few there be that find it; and ſo he ſlept in the Lord.

He was very charitable, in ſo much as in a hard time he ſold his chains, rings, and jewels to relieve thoſe that were in want. He was ſo humble from the ſenſe of his corruptions, that he ſubſcribed ſome of his letters out of priſon thus, the moſt miſerable, hard hearted, unthankful ſinner John Bradford. A very painted hypocrite John Bradford. *Miſerrimus peccator* John Bradford; the ſinful John Bradford, &c. He ſuffered martyrdome *anno Chriſti* 1555.

In his examination before the biſhop of Wincheſter, he often told him, that he had ſworn ſix times never to admit of the authority of the biſhop of Rome; and therefore (ſaid he) I dare not anſwer you, if you examine me as a delegate from him, leſt I ſhould break my oath. To which Gardiner anſwered, that he pretended ſtoutly to defend the doctrine taught in king Edward's days; yet (ſaid he) thou dareſt not anſwer me.

Bradford.] That all men may know that I am not afraid, ſaving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly anſwer by God's grace, although I ſee my life lieth thereon. But, oh Lord, into thy hands I commend it, come what will, only ſanctify thy name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace. Now ask me what you will.

Gardiner.] What ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament? Do you not believe Chriſt's real preſence there in his natural body?

Bradford.] my Lord, I do not believe that Chriſt is corporally preſent in the ſacrament; but that he is preſent there to the faith of the due receiver. As for tranſubſtantiation, I plainly and flatly believe it not.

At another time, one of the earl of Darby's men came to him ſaying, Ah maſter Bradford, conſider your mother, ſiſter, friends, kinſfolk, and country, what a great diſcomfort will it be to them to ſee you die as an heretic? To whom he anſwered, I have learned to forſake father, mother, brother, ſiſter, friends, and all that ever I have; yea, and my own ſelf; for elſe I cannot be Chriſt's diſciple. And in a letter to his mother and brethren, he thus writes: I am now in priſon, ſure enough from ſtarting, and I thank God I am ready with my life and blood to ſeal thoſe truths which I have preached unto you, if God ſhall account me worthy of that honour; for it is a ſpecial benefit of God to ſuffer for his name and goſpel, as now I do, I heartily thank him for it and am ſure that I ſhall be partaker of his glory: if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall alſo reign with him, as St. Paul ſpeaks. Therefore be not faint hearted, but rather rejoice, at leaſt for my ſake, who am now in the highway to heaven for through many afflictions we muſt enter into that kingdom. Now will God make known who are his: when the wind doth blow, we cannot diſcern the wheat from the chaff; but when the blaſt comes the wheat remains, but the chaff flyes away, and the wheat is ſo far from being hurt by the wind, that it is more cleanſed and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is caſt into the fire, is made more precious, ſo are God's children by the croſs of afflictions. God's children are now chaſtiſed here, that they may not be condemned with the world: but ſure great plagues from God hang over this realm for it. And no marvel if God's hand lies ſo heavy upon us; for lately, as there was never more knowledge, ſo never leſs godly living. It was counted a fooliſh thing to ſerve our God truly; and fervent prayer was not paſſed upon. Preaching was but a paſtime; the communion was counted too common; faſting to ſubdue the fleſh was far out of uſe; almes were almoſt nothing: malice, covetouſneſs and uncleanneſs were common every where, with ſwearing drunkenneſs, and idleneſs; and therefore all this evil is come upon us, &c. Yea I my ſelf loved not his truth as I ſhould, therefore God thus puniſheth me, nay in puniſhing bleſſeth me: and I thank him more for this priſon than for any parlour; yea than for any pleaſure that ever I had; for in it I finde God, my ſweet, good God always.

And in another place.

Let us repent, and be heartily ſorry that we have ſo carnally, ſo hypocritically, ſo covetouſly, ſo vain gloriouſly profeſſed the goſpel: let the anger, and plagues of God, moſt juſtly fallen upon us, be applyed to our ſins, that from the bottom of our hearts every one of us may ſay, it is I Lord have ſinned againſt thee; it is my hypocriſy, my vain glory, my covetouſneſs, uncleanneſs, carnality, ſecurity, idleneſs, unthankfulneſs, ſelf-love, &c. that hath deſerved the taking away our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good miniſters by exile, impriſonment, and death. It is my wickedneſs that cauſeth ſucceſs, and encreaſe of authority, and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us, &c.

The

The Life of NICOLAS RIDELY, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1555.

NICHOLAS Ridely was born in Northumberland of worſhipful parents, and bred at ſchool in Newcaſtle, and from thence ſent to Cambridge, where he grew ſo famous for his learning, that after diverſe other offices whereunto he was called in the univerſity, he was choſen maſter of Pembroke-Hall, and made doctor in divinity. From thence he was called by archbiſhop Cranmer to be vicar of Herne in Eaſt-Kent, where he was a fruitful and faithful preacher, at which time it pleaſed God to reveal to him the true doctrine concerning the Lord's ſupper; and amongſt others to convert by his miniſtry the lady Phines, who proved an eminent inſtrument of God's glory. After a while he was made a prebend of the cathedral church of Canterbury; but not liking his ſociety there, he travelled into France, and at his return was made chaplain to king Henry the VIII. and biſhop of Rocheſter, and from thence (in Edward the VI. days) he was removed to be biſhop of London; in which places he took ſo great pains in preaching, that he was dearly beloved of his flock, to whom alſo he was ſingularly examplary in his life; ſo that his very enemies had nothing to ſay againſt him. Every Sabbath, and holy day he preached in one place, or other, except extraordinary occaſions hindred him; and to his ſermons multitudes of people reſorted, ſwarming about him like bees to gather the ſweet flowers, and wholſome juice of his fruitful doctrine.

He was paſſingly well learned, and of ſuch reading, that he deſerved to be numbred amongſt the greateſt ſcholars that theſe latter ages produced, as appeared by his notable works, pithy ſermons, and ſundry diſputations in both univerſities, which drew an acknowlegment of his learning from his very adverſaries.

He was of a ſtrong memory, and of great reading, of a deep wit, very judicious, and very merciful. He was of perſon right comely, and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of his body; he was free from malice, and ſoon forgat all injuries and offences done againſt him; very kind to his kindred; yet withal telling them, that if they did evil, they ſhould look for nothing from him, but ſhould be as ſtrangers to him.

He uſed all means to mortify his fleſh; being much in prayer, and contemplation; was ſober in diſcourſe, and ſometimes merry at meals, after which he uſed to play at cheſs about an hour, and then returned to his ſtudy till five o'clock at night, when coming down, he had prayers in his family, then went to ſupper, then plaid a game at cheſs, and ſo returned to his ſtudy till eleven o'clock at night.

His manner was daily to read a lecture to his family at prayer-time, giving to every one that could read a New Teſtament, and hiring them with money to learn chapters by heart, being marvellous careful that his family might give an example of godlineſs and vertue to others.

He called biſhop Bonner's mother, his mother, and when he was at Fulham, had her conſtantly at meals with him, ſetting her at the upper-end of the table, who ever was preſent. And as he was godly himſelf, ſo nothing appeared in his family, but vertue, and godlineſs.

He was firſt converted by reading Bertram's book of the ſacrament, and much confirmed by conferrence with Dr Cranmer, and Peter Martyr. In the beginning of queen Mary's days, he was impriſoned with the firſt, firſt in the tower, and from thence he was ſent to Oxford with Cranmer, and Latimer, and there kept in the common goal, till at length being ſevered from his brethren, he was committed to the cuſtody of one Iriſh, with whom he remained till the day of his death, which was October, 16.

Anno Chriſti 1555. Writing to Latimer in priſon he ſaith, 'I pray you good father, let me have ſomething more from you to comfort my ſtomach, for except the Lord aſſiſt me in his ſervice, I ſhall play but the part of a white-liver'd knight; but he can make a coward in his cauſe, to fight like a man.' In a letter to Mr Bradford he ſaith, as far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received both meat, money, and ſhirts, not only from our acquaintance, but from ſome ſtrangers alſo. I know for whoſe ſake they do it, &c.

And again, ever ſince I heard of our dear brother Roger's his ſtout confeſſion, and departing (bleſſed be God for it) I never felt any lumpiſh heavineſs in my heart, as ſometimes I did before. And again,

'Sir, bleſſed be God, notwithſtanding our hard reſtraint, and the evil reports raiſed of us, we are merry in God, and all our care is, and ſhall be (by God's grace) to pleaſe and ſerve him, from whom we expect, after theſe temporary, and momentary miſeries, to have eternal joy, and perpetual felicity, with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, &c. As yet never a learned man, ſcholar or other, hath viſited us ſince our coming to Bocardo, which now may be called the college of Quondam's; for we be no fewer than three, and I dare ſay every one well contented with his portion, which is our heavenly Father's good and gracious gift. Farewel, we ſhall by the grace of God one day meet and be merry together; which day aſſuredly approacheth, the Lord grant it may ſhortly come.'

Writing to his maſter Grindal, who was now in exile, he thus gives him an account of his condition. I was (ſaith he) 'about two months cloſe priſoner in the tower, after that without (my ſeeking) I had the liberty of the tower granted me, and ſo I continued about half a year, till refuſing to be preſent at maſs, I was ſhut up cloſe priſoner again. The laſt lent but one, by reaſon of the riſing in Kent, the tower was ſo full of priſoners, that my lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, Mr Latimer, Mr Bradford, and myſelf, were all put into one priſon, where we remained till almoſt Eaſter, and then Dr Cranmer, Mr Latimer, and myſelf, were ſent down to Oxford, and were ſuffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us. About Whitſunday following was our diſputation at Oxford, after which he had pen, ink, and all things taken from us, yea, and our own ſervants were removed from us, and ſtrangers ſet in their ſteads, and all of us kept apart, as we are unto this day. God be bleſſed we are all three in health, and of good cheer, and have looked long ago to have been diſpatched; for within a day or two after our diſputations we were condemned for heretics: the Lord's will be fulfilled in us, &c.

When he was brought before the pope's delegate (the biſhop of Lincoln) in the divinity ſchool in Oxford, whilſt the commiſſion was reading, he ſtood bare till he heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holineſs, and then he put on his cap, and being admoniſhed by the biſhop to pull it off, he anſwered, I do not put it on in contempt to your lordſhip, &c. but that by this my behaviour, I may make it appear that I acknowlege in no point the uſurped ſupremacy of Rome, and therefore I utterly contemn and deſpiſe all authority coming from the pope. Then the biſhop commanding the beadle to pull off his cap, he bowing his head, ſuffered him quietly to do it.

After diverſe examinations, he was at laſt degraded, condemned, and delivered to the bailiffs to be kept till the next day, when he ſhould be burnt.

The night before he ſuffered he cauſed his beard to be ſhaven, and his feet waſhed, and bade his hoſteſs, and the reſt at the board to his wedding: he aſked his brother alſo whether his ſiſter could find in her heart to be preſent at it? Yea, ſaid he, I dare ſay with all her heart. His hoſteſs (miſtreſs Iriſh) weeping, he ſaid, 'O miſtreſs Iriſh, I ſee now that you love me not; for in that you weep, it appears that you will not be at my marriage, nor are therewith content; I ſee you are not ſo much my friend as I thought; but quiet yourſelf, though my breakfaſt be ſomewhat ſharp, and painful, yet I am ſure my ſupper ſhall be more pleaſant and ſweet.'

His brother profering to watch with him he refuſed it, ſaying, I intend to go to bed, and ſleep as quietly as ever I did in my life. In the morning he came forth in a fair black gown, faced with foins, and ſippet of velvet, &c. and looking behind him, he ſpied Mr Latimer coming after, to whom he ſaid, 'O! be you there? Yea, ſaid Latimer, have-after as faſt as I can follow.' Coming to the ſtake, he lift up his hands and eyes, ſtedfaſtly to heaven, and eſpying, Mr Latimer, he ran with a cheerful counte-

nance to him, embraced, and kiſſed him, and comforted him, ſaying, 'Be of good heart brother, for God will either aſſwage the fury of the flame, or give us ſtrength to abide it.' So he went to the ſtake, kneeled by it, kiſſed it, and prayed earneſtly, and being about to ſpeak to the people, ſome ran to him, and ſtopped his mouth with their hands.

Afterwards being ſtripped, he ſtood upon a ſtone by the ſtake, ſaying, 'O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks, for that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee even unto death, I beſeech thee Lord God have mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver it from all its enemies.'

As a ſmith was knocking in the ſtaple which held the chain, he ſaid to him, 'Good fellow knock it in hard, for the fleſh will have his courſe.' Then his brother brought a bag of gunpowder, and would have tied it about his neck. Dr Ridley aſked what it was? His brother anſwered, gunpowder; then ſaid he, I take it as being ſent of God, therefore I will receive it as ſent from him. And when he ſaw the flame a coming up to him, he cried with a loud voice, '*In manus tuas*, &c. 'Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my ſpirit, Lord receive my ſoul.' but the fire being kept down by the wood, he deſired them for Chriſt's ſake to let the fire come to him, which his brother in law miſ-underſtanding, ſtill heaped on faggots, whereby his nether parts were burnt, before his upper parts were touched. At laſt his upper parts fell down into the fire alſo, and ſo he ſlept in the Lord.

Biſhop Ridley upon a time croſſing the Thames, there roſe on a ſudden ſuch a tempeſt, that all in the boat were aſtoniſhed, looking for nothing but to be drowned: 'Take heart, ſaid he, for this boat carrieth a biſhop that muſt be burnt, and not drowned.' He ſuffered martyrdom *anno Chriſti*, 1555.

He was a man ſo reverenced for his learning, and knowlege in the ſacred ſcriptures, that his very enemies were enforced to acknowlege that he was an excellent clerk, and if his life might have been redeemed with money, the lord Dacre's of the north, being his kinſman, would have given 10000l. for the ſame, rather than that he ſhould be burnt. But ſo unmerciful and cruel was queen Mary, that notwithſtanding Dr Ridley's gentleneſs towards her in king Edward the ſixth days, ſhe would by no intreaties, nor other means be perſuaded to ſpare his life. 'The tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.'

'In a letter which he wrote to his friends, he hath this paſſage: 'I warn you my friends, that ye be not aſtoniſhed at the manner of my diſſolution, for I aſſure you I think it the greateſt honour that ever I was called to in all my life: and therefore I thank the Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleaſed him of his great mercy to call me to this high honour, to ſuffer death willingly for his ſake, and in his cauſe; wherefore all you that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God, our heavenly Father, that for his Son's ſake my Saviour and Redeemer Chriſt, he hath vouchſafed to call me, being elſe without his gracious goodneſs, in myſelf but a ſinful and vile wretch, to call me (I ſay) to this high dignity of his true prophets, faithful apoſtles, and of his holy and choſen martyrs to die, and to ſpend this temporal life in the defence, and maintainance of his eternal and everlaſting truth.'

Whilſt he was Mr of Pembrook-hall, he uſed to walk much in the orchard, where he learned without book almoſt all Paul's Epiſtles, and the Epiſtles of James, Peter John and Jude, concerning which himſelf ſaid, 'Though in time I did forget much of them again, yet the ſweet ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into heaven, and the profit thereof I have felt in all my life time hitherto.'

The Life of HUGH LATIMER, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1555.

HUGH Latimer, born at Thirkeſton in the county of Leiceſter, being of a prompt and ſharp wit, was by his parents brought up in learning, and at the age of fourteen he went to Cambridge, where, after he had profited in other ſtudies, he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of ſchool-divinity, commenced batchelor in divinity, and was a very zealous papiſt, made an oration againſt Philip Melancthon: railed againſt Mr Stafford, divinity-lecturer, and willed the ſcholars in no wiſe to believe him.

He was ſo zealous in his popiſh religion, and therewith ſo ſcrupilous, that being a prieſt, and uſing to ſay maſs, he was ſo ſervile an obſerver of the Romiſh decrees, that he thought he had never ſufficiently mixed his maſſing wine with water, and that he ſhould never be damned if once he were a profeſſed fryar. He uſed to carry the croſſe before the proceſſion.

Mr Thomas Bilney, ſeeing Mr Latimer to have a zeal in his ways (although without knowlege) was ſtricken with a brotherly pity towards him, thinking by what means he might beſt win this ignorantly zealous brother to the true knowlege of Chriſt. And thereupon going to his ſtudy, he deſired him to hear him make a confeſſion of his faith, which Latimer conſenting to, was ſo touched thereby, that he gave over ſchool divinity and ſtudied more orthodox divines. So that whereas before he was an enemy to, and almoſt a perſecutor of Chriſt, he was now a zealous ſeeker after him; changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into diligent conferring with Mr Bilney, and others: and aſked Mr Stafford forgiveneſs before he died.

Being thus won to Chriſt, he was not ſatisfied with his own converſion, but pitying the miſery of others, he became a powerful public preacher; and an inſtructor of many in private alſo; whereupon the devil raiſed up many doctors and fryars againſt him, and the biſhop of Ely forbade him to preach, *anno Chriſti* 1529: yet he continued three years preaching with much applauſe; yea the biſhop himſelf hearing him upon a time, commended him, and wiſhed that he had the like gifts himſelf.

He uſed often to viſit the priſoners, to relieve the needy, and feed the hungry. Amongſt the adverſaries which the devil raiſed againſt him, one was doctor Redman, who wrote to him to divert him from the truth: to which he made this ſhort anſwer; 'Rev. Mr Redman, it is enough enough for me that Chriſt's ſheep hear no man's voice but Chriſt's; and as for you, you have no voice of Chriſt againſt me; whereas for my part I have an heart ready to hearken to any voice of Chriſt that you can produce. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from talking with the Lord my God. But ſhortly after, complaint was made againſt him to the cardinal, who ſent for him; but by the means of Dr. Buts the king's phyſician, a favourer of good men, he was choſen into the number of thoſe which laboured in the cauſe of the king's ſupremacy: whereupon he went to the court, and lodged in Dr Buts his chamber, preaching many times in London. At laſt being weary of the court, by the lord Cromwell's means he had a living given him in Wiltſhire, whither he preſently removed; the place was called Weſt-Kingſton, near Sarum, where with much diligence he inſtructed his flock, and preached zealouſly many times abroad in the country. Whereupon ſome popiſh prieſts drew up articles againſt him; and he was much moleſted by the biſhop of London, and Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, by whom he was cited to appear before him, and the biſhop of London. Theſe malicious perſons detained him for a long ſpace from his cure at home, calling him three times every week before them, which much troubled him, ſeeing they would neither preach themſelves, nor ſuffer him to do his duty: hereupon he wrote to the archbiſhop, expoſtulating with him, for ſo detaining him from his charge, and that for no juſt cauſe, but only for preaching the truth againſt ſundry abuſes which were crept into the church. Yet this nothing prevailed till the king reſcued him out of their hands, and at the requeſt of the lord Cromwell made him biſhop of Worceſter. In which place he buſily employed himſelf in inſtructing his flock, and giving them a good example by his holy life. He ſpent all his time in ſtudy, teaching, preaching, exhorting, viſiting, correcting, and reforming to the utmoſt of his power, and as the times could bear, and though he could not utterly extinguiſh the reliques of popery, yet he ſo wrought that they ſhould be uſed with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. Yet neither there was he quiet; for one of great place accuſed him to the king for

for preaching ſedition, but the king reſted ſatisfied with his anſwer.

At New-years-tide the biſhops uſed to preſent the king with a New-years gift, and biſhop Latimar, amongſt the reſt, preſented him with the New Teſtament, wrapped up in a napkin, with this poſy about it, *Fornicatores, & adulteros judicabit Dominus*: whoremongers and adulterers God will judge. But the ſix articles coming out, and he ſeeing that he could not retain his office with a good conſcience, of his own accord he reſigned his biſhoprick: and when he put off his rochet in his chamber amongſt his friends, he gave a skip in the floor for joy, feeling his ſhoulders lighter, and being (as he ſaid) diſcharged of ſo heavy a burthen. This was *anno Chriſti* 1539. after which he betook himſelf again to his mean partonage at weſt-Kingſton in Wiltſhire, not far from Briſtow: yet by the malice of certain popiſh prieſts who ſlandered his doctrine, he was much endangered; whereupon he had recourſe to Mr. Ralph Morrice, who was Dr. Cranmer's right hand, by whoſe intreaties the archbiſhop ſo prevailed with the king for him, that for the preſent he was freed out of his troubles; yet neither then would the biſhops ſuffer him to be quiet, till he was laid up in the tower, where he remained till Edward the ſixth's reign. At which time being reſtored to his liberty, he continued a faithful and painful preacher all that king's days; preaching twice every Sabbath, though 67 years of age. He roſe to his ſtudy winter, and ſummer, at two a clock in the morning. He evidently fore-ſaw, and fore-told all thoſe plagues which England afterwards felt under Queen Mary; and fore-told concerning himſelf, that his preaching of the goſpel would coſt him his life; and that Wincheſter was kept in the tower for the ſame purpoſe, which afterwards proved ſo. In the begining of Queen Mary's reign he was ſent for up by a purſuivant, whereof he had notice ſix hours before he came to his houſe, yet inſtead of flying, he prepared himſelf for his journey. And when the purſuivant came, he ſaid to him; my friend, you are welcome; I go as willingly to London to give an account of my faith, as ever I went to any place in the world; and I doubt not but as God hath made me worthy formerly to preach his word before two excellent princes, ſo he will enable me to bear witneſs to the truth before the third, either to her eternal comfort, or diſcomfort. The purſuivant having delivered his letter, told him, that he was commanded not to ſtay for him, and ſo immediately departed: his adverſaries hoping that he would have fled; but Latimer haſted after to London, and as he rode through Smithfield, he ſaid, that Smithfield had groaned for him a long time. Coming before the council, after many mocks and ſcorns, he was ſent to the tower, where the Lord gave him ſuch a valiant ſpirit, that he did not only bear the terribleneſs of impriſonment, but derided and laughed to ſcorn the doings of his enemies.

This aged father being kept in the cold winter without a fire, bade the lieutenant's man to tell his Mr that if he did not look better to him, perchance he would deceive him. The lieutenant, thinking that he intended to make an eſcape, charged him with his words, to whom he anſwered, you think I ſhall burn, but except you let me have a fire, I will deceive your expectation, for I am here like to ſtarve with cold. Thus he continued a long time in the tower, with as much patience as a man in his caſe could poſſibly do; and at laſt from thence he was carried to Oxford, with Cranmer and Ridley where they ſpent their time in brotherly conference, fervent prayer, and fruitfull writing. Yea, many times he continued ſo long in fervent prayer, that he was not able to get up without help. Three things he more eſpecially prayed for.

1 That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, ſo that he would give him grace to ſtand to his doctrine, that he might give his heart's-blood for the ſame.

2 That God of his mercy would reſtore his goſpel to England once again, once again, which he often inculcated in his prayer, and that with ſo much ardour, as though he had ſeen God before him, and ſpoken to him face to face.

3 That the Lord would preſerve queen Elizabeth, and make her a comfort to this comfortleſs realm of England. The Lord moſt graciouſly anſwering all thoſe his requeſts. At laſt he was condemned, and with doctor Ridley was carried to be burned. When he came to the ſtake, he lift up his eyes with an amiable and comfortable countenance, ſaying, *fidelis eſt Deus*, &c. God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above that which we are able &c. when the fire was brought, he ſaid to Dr Ridley, be of good comfort brother, and play the man, we ſhall this day light ſuch a candle by God's grace in England, as I truſt ſhall never be put out. When he was ſtripped into his ſhroud, he ſeemed a very comely perſon to all that were preſent: and whereas in his cloathes he appeared a withered, and crooked, ſilly old man, he now ſtood bolt-upright, as comely a father as one might likely behold. As he was burning, his blood ran out of his heart in ſuch abundance, as if all the blood in his body had been gathered thither, to the great aſtoniſhment of the beholders, according to his former requeſt, that he might be ſo happy as to ſhed his heart's-blood for the truth. When the fire was firſt kindled, he cried, O father of heaven receive my ſoul: And ſo receiving the flame, and, as it were embracing it, having ſtroaked his face with his hands, and bathed them a little in the fire, he ſoon died with very little pain, or none at all, *anno Chriſti* 1555.

In a letter to king Henry the eighth, he thus concludes; wherefore, gracious king, remember yourſelf, have pity upon your ſoul, and think that the day is even at hand when you ſhall give an account for your office, and of the blood that hath been ſhed with your ſword: in the which day that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſt, and may have your *quietus eſt* ſealed with the blood of our Saviour Chriſt, which will only ſerve at that day, is my daily prayer, &c.

The Life of THOMAS CRANMER, *who died* anno Chriſti, 1555.

THOMAS Cranmer was a gentleman by birth, of a very ancient family, born at Arſelacton in Nottinghamſhire, brought up at ſchool, and from thence ſent to Cambridge, where profiting much in learning, he was choſen fellow in Jeſus college. After which he married a wife, and thereby loſing his fellowſhip, he was choſen divinity reader in Buckingſham college, but not long after his wife dying in child bed, the maſter and fellows choſe him again fellow into Jeſus college. After which he commenced doctor in divinity.

From thence he was choſen a fellow in the foundation of Cardinal Wolſey's college in Oxford, but foreſeeing the danger which after followed, he refuſed that place. Whilſt he was in Cambridge, the queſtion aroſe about king Henry's divorce from his brother's widow; and the plague breaking forth at Cambridge, Dr Cranmer retired to Waltham-abby. At which time this fell out.

The king to recreate himſelf, and to take private counſel with thoſe in whom he moſt confided, who were the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and ſome others, went on hunting to Waltham, at which time he ſignified his mind to Steven Gardiner his ſecretary, and to Fox his almoner, willing them to ſearch what was moſt expedient for him to do; to end well that controverſy about his marriage and as God would have it, theſe two men lodged in the houſe of one Mr. Creſſie at Waltham, where alſo Dr. Cranmer was, having left Cambridge upon the forementioned occaſion, and being tutor to Mr. Creſſie's two ſons. Gardiner and Fox thus meeting with him, and knowing him to be famous for learning, and piety, invited him to their good cheer, and aſked his advice concerning the king's cauſe. Dr Cranmer was at firſt very loth to deliver his judgment, but being much importuned by them, he at laſt ſaid:

'I cannot ſay much on the ſudden in ſo weighty a buſineſs without ſtudy and meditation, but in my opinion, ſeeing trouble of mind and conſcience, nothing can more encreaſe it than ſo great delays, and wandering in Romiſh ſuits, in which whoſoever are once entangled, can ſcarce ever extricate themſelves out of the ſnares. I think it better therefore, that laying aſide all delays, and court ſuits, wherein the king hath been too long toſſed with great af-

fliction

fliction of mind, the judgement of divines, both in our own and foreign univerſities, be ſearched out, which may be ſtrengthened with the law of God; and as they ſhall, by God's word, prove it lawful or unlawful, ſo let the king proceed, and have the cauſe then determined in his own country, whereby he may live in lawful matrimony, with a cheerful mind and quiet conſcience; which is much to be deſired by all his faithful ſubjects.'

When he had thus ſpoken, with great gravity and wiſdom, Gardiner and Fox preſenting that excellent counſel, as given from God, wiſhed that the king had had ſuch counſel given him before he ever ſent to Rome.

The day after, when they came to the king, he aſked them what was done in his buſineſs; whereupon Fox told him of their meeting, and conference had with Dr Cranmer. But proud Gardiner, ſeeking to inveſt himſelf in the praiſe which was due unto another, would have made himſelf the author of that council; but the king neglecting his ſpeech, aſked Fox if Cranmer was at Waltham ſtill? and being told that he was, he preſently ordered him to be ſent for, ſaying, 'I judge his counſel right; if I had known it two days ago, I had ſaved infinite charges, and had lived with a more ſafe and quiet conſcience.

When Dr Cranmer came to him, he much excuſed himſelf as inſufficient to be engaged in ſo great a matter, yet beſought him to commit the trial of it to the beſt learned men in both univerſities: which advice the king liked well; yet required him to write his judgment upon it alſo; and commanded the Earl of Wiltſhire to provide him retired lodgings, books, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for ſo great a work. Which taſk being finiſhed, and confirmed by ſcriptures, councils, and fathers, he preſented it to the king; who (having read it) aſked him, whether he would juſtify it before the pope? Dr Cranmer profeſſing his willingneſs, the king haſtened his diſpatch to Rome; and ſent other learned men abroad to foreign univerſities, to diſpute this queſtion amongſt the divines there, where it was concluded, that no ſuch matrimony was lawful by the word of God.

When the king's ambaſſadors came to Rome, the pope proffering them his foot to kiſs, the Earl of Wiltſhire's ſpaniel caught his great toe in his mouth; whereupon the ambaſſadors ſcorned to kiſs after the dog, and the pope pulled in his foot again. There Cranmer and the reſt proffered to defend, that, *jure divino*, the brother ought not to marry the brother's wife. But none appearing againſt them, the pope made Dr Cranmer his penitentiary, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

From thence Dr Cranmer travelled to the emperor's court at Vienna, proffering to diſpute with his divines upon the ſaid queſtion; but Cornelius Agrippa, in private conference, receiving full ſatisfaction from him thereupon, eaſily perſuaded other learned men, that were in the emperor's court, not to contend with Cranmer, who (as he ſaid) was in the truth; ſo that no man contradicting him, Cranmer departed from the emperor; and, having travelled all over Germany, he brought home with him into England the opinions and ſentences of the moſt learned men that lived in the univerſities and courts of princes. And (in the mean ſeaſon, others ſent from the king) paſſing through all the univerſities of Italy and France, brought home likewiſe their determinations in that point, confirmed with their public and authentic ſeals, agreeing with thoſe that Cranmer had brought out of Germany. In this journey, to and fro, he learned all the New Teſtament by heart.

Auguſt 23. *anno Chriſti* 1533 William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, and the king reſolved to place Dr Cranmer in his room, who was at this time in Germany about the king's buſineſs, and was loath to take upon him an office of ſuch dignity in the church: for he knew that there was an oath to be taken to the pope of Rome, before he could be inſtalled in that place. He feared alſo what iſſue the king's divorce might have, and was not ignorant of the king's violent diſpoſition. He knew that ſudden and great changes were dangerous, and that the court, to which he was not accuſtomed, was full of deceits and counterfeitings. That he muſt in all things obey the king's will; and that if he tripped in any thing never ſo little, there would be ſome, who, out of envy at his felicity, would tumble him down headlong when he began to fall.

He alſo having buried his firſt wife, was now fallen in love with a young maid, who was niece to Oſiander's wife, whom he determined to marry, though he knew it was forbidden by law for a prieſt to marry, or for a man to be made a prieſt who had married a ſecond wife.

Weighing theſe things ſeriouſly with himſelf, when he was ſent for by the king to return home ſo ſoon as he could, he ſtayed in Germany ſix whole months, framing one excuſe or other; hoping, that in the mean time, ſome or other would get the archbiſhopric. But ſuch were the times then, that every man feared the ſlipperineſs of that place, and therefore declined it.

At laſt Dr Cranmer privately marrying his wife at Norimberg, returned home, and was made archbiſhop, tho' againſt his will: for he had refuſed the dignity offered him, becauſe he was to be tied to the pope, againſt all right and equity, and therefore he gave the pope's bull into the king's hands, ſaying, that he would never receive biſhopric of England, but from him who was the head of England; nor take an oath that was derogatory to the king's authority. And thus being made archbiſhop, he carried himſelf as formerly he had done, riſing every morning at five o'clock to his ſtudy, and never being idle all the day. After dinner, if he had no ſuitors, he ſpent an hour at cheſs, and ſo to his ſtudy again. He was by nature very charitable, and gentle; ſo prone to forgive and forget wrongs that it grew into a proverb, 'Do my lord of Canterbury a ſhrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live.'

He ſtoutly oppoſed the ſix bloody articles, and yet with ſuch humility and modeſty, that the king could not be offended with him for it. He was ſo free from paſſion, that he never miſcalled the meaneſt of his ſervants. He was juſt in paying all men, ſo that when he was caſt into priſon, he owed no man a farthing. He relieved many that were in want.

The whole weight of reforming religion lay upon his hands, ſo that for ſixteen years together his houſe was never empty of learned men, to aſſiſt in deciding eccleſiaſtical controverſies. His charity to the poor was very great, for whom he provided lodgings, being ſick, lame, wounded, &c. and appointed an almoner, phyſician, and chirurgion, to attend them, having daily hot broth and meat ſent them from his own kitchin.

He had many and great enemies of the papiſts, eſpecially wily Wincheſter, and his companions, who laid a train to take away his life, at leaſt his archbiſhopric, by bringing him within the compaſs of the ſix articles; which by Dr Parker, the firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury in Queen Elizabeth's days, is thus related. 'Dr Cranmer (ſaith he) being in great heavineſs for the death of Lord Cromwel, was accuſed by the papiſts, and much threatened by them; and though he knew that he was not ſafe for one moment of time, yet he changed not the cheerfulneſs of his countenance, becauſe as yet he kept the king's right in the defence of the goſpel, by his ſingular wiſdom, gravity and modeſty.'

But the king being ſoon entangled by converſing with Wincheſter, and his popiſh party, they daily ſo deafened him with their continual complaints againſt the archbiſhop, that, through wearineſs he was almoſt conſtrained to grant unto them the life of that moſt innocent man. Yet, by God's ſpecial providence, he was ſo rooted in his heart, that when the papiſts moſt preſumed and the godly moſt feared his ruin, the king reſolved to provide for his ſafety and welfare.

In the mean time, proud and malicious Gardiner, whoſe favour and authority was thought to be greateſt with the king, provoked him often to diſputations about points of divinity in the preſence of the king: in which the king obſerved that Cranmer never departed from his innate gravity and modeſty, whereas Gardiner always rather affected a little glory than the truth. And when Gardiner, that he might leſſen the authority of the ſcriptures, had, by many ſophiſtical arguments, endeavoured to prove, that thoſe called the Apoſtles Canons were of equal validity and authority with the ſacred ſcriptures; Cranmer ſo enervated the force of all his arguments in the king's hearing, by his ſolid,

ſolid, calm, and moderate anſwers, that the king ſaid, in the preſence of many, unto Gardiner, that Cranmer was an old weather-beaten ſoldier in divinity, and was not to be encountered by ſuch freſh water ſoldiers as himſelf.

But this Gardiner, ſwelling with pride, ſtirred up as many againſt Cranmer as poſſibly he could, judging that nothing could hinder their counſels and purpoſes, if he were taken out of the way.

At Canterbury, and all over Kent, by the procurement of Gardiner, many were ſuborned to accuſe Cranmer of hereſy.

In the parliament, one Goſwick, a knight for Bedfordſhire, ſaid openly, that all heretical ſedition flowed from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his family. Some great men about the king hereupon laboured much to perſuade him, that, by reaſon of theſe imputations, Cranmer ſhould be excluded from the council board, and committed to the tower of London, till enquiry could be made concerning the truth of thoſe reports; for (ſaid they) ſo long as he ſits in council, for fear, men will conceal that which they know, not daring to utter or reveal it. They alſo diſperſed rumours, that Cranmer was already condemned in the judgment of the king, and ſhould ſhortly be beheaded as Cromwel had been a little before.

All this while, Cranmer, though he ſet a good face on't, yet privately, amongſt his friends, much bewailed the condition of thoſe evil times, rather than his own. But the king diligently ſearched out all theſe treacherous deſigns of the papiſts, and marked whereunto they tended.

Once, for recreation's ſake, after ſupper, the king would go in his barge upon the Thames, and being there, commanded his barge-men to land him at Lambeth ſtairs. Some of the archbiſhop's ſervants obſerving that he drew thitherward, preſently informed their maſter, who haſted to the bridge, either to ſalute the king as he paſſed by, or to entertain him into his houſe. The king ſeeing him, bid him come into his barge; and ſetting him by him, had much private conference with him, the barge men, in the mean ſeaſon, rowing hither and thither.

In this conference, the king feignedly complained, that ſince the death of Cromwel, England was much troubled with heretical factions and parties; that it was to be feared, that if theſe wranglings about religion were nouriſhed, more grievous miſchiefs and civil wars would ariſe; and therefore that the diſſentions about religion were to be appeaſed: for which end, by the advice of his biſhops and nobles, he would endeavour to find out the arch heretic, who was the author of this miſchief; and whom, being found, he intended ſeverely to puniſh; yea, cruelly to burn him, thereby to prevent further diſorders.

Cranmer, though he was ſomewhat affrighted, yet anſwered with a mild countenance, that he liked the counſel as wholeſome, that the whole flock of hereticks was to be reſtrained by the death of the arch heretic. But he admoniſhed the king, with fatherly gravity and modeſty, that he would not judge them heretics, who relied wholly upon the word of God, and not to the traditions or laws of men. Well (quoth the king) to deal plainly, we are told by many, that you are the arch-heretic of our kingdom; and that in Kent, and all your province, you hinder the faith, eſtabliſhed in parliament by the ſix articles, from being received by our people; and therefore tell us plainly, both what you think, and what you have done concerning them?

To this the archbiſhop ſtoutly replied, that he was ſtill of the ſame opinion that he had expreſſed in parliament when that law was made; and that yet he had not offended againſt that law ſince it was made. Then the king, by little and little, moderating the ſeverity of his ſpeech, aſked him pleaſantly, whether his private bed-chamber was free from the breach of the ſix articles. Cranmer (though he underſtood by the ſix articles, that it was a capital offence for a prieſt to be married, and that the king knew well that he was a married man, yet) anſwered, That though he had married a wife, yet it was in Germany, before he took upon him the archbiſhopric; but for all that, he had done nothing againſt that ſevere law: for (ſaith he) when the law was once made, I never touched my wife, but ſent her into Germany, to her kindred and friends.

By this plain anſwer, without daubing, Cranmer begot in the king's mind ſuch an opinion of his learning and honeſty, that he cheered him up, telling him that thoſe articles were not ordained for his ſake; and ſhewing him what were the chief accuſations laid in againſt him, which Cranmer knowing to be falſe, and forged by the envy and malice of his popiſh adverſaries, intreated the king to appoint inquiſitors, whereby the truth might be ſifted out; for, ſaith he, I am not afraid to undergo the hazard of a judgment.

The king, truſting to his ingenuity, bade him ſearch, and try out his own cauſe himſelf. But Cranmer replied, that it would ſeem unequal to his adverſaries, that he ſhould be made cenſor of his own acts, and therefore ſtill deſired another judge. But the king ſtill affirmed, that he would make none other the inquiſitor of his life, having put ſo much truſt and confidence in him alone, knowing that he would certainly and fully relate the truth, without a lie, of his own deeds, whether they were good or bad. After which words the king diſmiſſed him.

Preſently after Dr Cranmer ſent Dr Cox, his vicar general, and Mr Anthony Huſſey, his ſecretary, with ample commiſſion to ſearch out the plots which were contrived againſt him by the papiſts of Canterbury, who ſpent a month or two, and yet did little; being perſons that favoured the popelings.

In the mean time his adverſaries at court urged much that he might be impriſoned, and might then be examined of the hereſies laid to his charge; preſuming, that if once he were removed out of the king's ſight, they might eaſily overwhelm him with feigned crimes, and ſo work his deſtruction. And the king, being tired with their daily importunities, granted, that if he was manifeſtly convinced of any crimes, either againſt church or ſtate, he ſhould be carried to priſon.

Hereupon Gardiner and his aſſociates reſolved the next day to ſend him priſoner to the tower; and the king concealed his purpoſe, that he might ſee how far their malice would extend, and yet reſolved to ſecure him: For about midnight he ſent Mr Denny, one of his bed-chamber, whom he moſt confided in, as not liking the popelings, to Lambeth, for Dr Cranmer; who, being rouſed out of his ſleep, came preſently to the king; who, in theſe words, told him what he would have him do. Almoſt all my counſellors, ſaith he, are urgent to have you impriſoned, becauſe almoſt all England is defiled with hereſies, which, they ſay, proceeds from you, and certain learned ſtrangers whom you keep in your houſe; and therefore they would have you under cuſtody, whilſt the cauſe is enquired after, without which they cannot find out the original; and to-morrow is the day appointed for your commitment; and therefore conſider whether it be well done or no.

Dr Cranmer heartily thanked the king for giving him this warning, ſaying, that he refuſed not to go to priſon, nor to ſtand in judgment, truſting to his innocency and clear conſcience; affirming, that he would rather hazard a juſt judgment, than ly under unjuſt ſuſpicions. Only he deſired, that ſince his doctrine and faith were called into queſtion, he might have learned and equal judges to hear the ſame. But the king, pitying the plain ſimplicity of the man, who would thus expoſe himſelf to the malice of his mortal enemies, ſaid to him; Are you ſo fooliſh? for if you be once led away from your dignity, and from the light and ſight of men, many falſe and perjured witneſſes will ariſe againſt you, which otherwiſe durſt not come into your preſence? Wherefore, ſeeing you neither provide for your dignity nor ſafety, I will give you counſel, that you be not overwhelmed by your ſpiteful adverſaries. To-morrow they will ſend for you; they will object againſt you the crimes of hereſy, and commit you to priſon; then do you requeſt them, that ſince you are one of my privy council, they would deal with you as they would be dealt by in the like caſe, viz. That they would produce your accuſers in open judgment, whom if you be not able to anſwer, you will patiently endure impriſonment. But if they regard not this, your juſt and equal requeſt, but will proceed to impriſon you, appeal to my preſence and audience, by delivering this token to them to

ſuperſede their decree; with which words he drew off his ring from his finger, and delivered it to Cranmer; and ſo diſmiſſed him.

The next morning, Gardiner and his accomplices met in the council chamber, ſent to Lambeth for Cranmer; but when he came, would not let him in. The nobles and courtiers that paſſed by, marvelled much thus to ſee the primate of all England, and the moſt inward counſellor of the king, thus ſhut out, and ſitting amongſt ſerving men that waited for their maſters. This being told to Dr Butts, the king's phyſician, being moved with the indignity of the fact, he went preſently to drive away the gazers, and to honour the preſence of ſo worthy a father.

But preſently Dr Butts was ſent for to the king, and when he came to him, he ſaid, I have ſeen an unuſual matter, and ſuch a thing as was never before heard of. What's that? (quoth the king). Cranmer, ſaid he, the primate of the kingdom, is become ſome bodies ſerving man, and hath ſtood almoſt this hour before the door of the council-chamber waiting upon ſome maſter. Ha! (ſaid the king) do my counſellors ſo diſgracefully uſe the primate? and being moved with the indignity of the thing, he preſently ſent a command that Cranmer ſhould be admitted into the council-chamber.

When he was entered, it was declared to him, that the king and his counſellors were informed, that all England was turned from the catholic faith, and depraved with hereſy, which proceeded from him and his family, and that therefore he muſt be committed to the tower, whilſt a ſpeedy inquiſition was made to know whether thoſe things were true or not. Cranmer deſired that his accuſers, witneſſes, and proofs that they had againſt him, might be produced, and that it might be lawful for him to anſwer preſently, and thereby to defend himſelf; alledging that it was very unequal, that the primate of England, and a counſellor, whoſe faith was never doubted of, nor came into queſtion, ſhould be thus diſgracefully thruſt into priſon, upon bare ſuſpicions, to the prejudice of his cauſe: urging many other reaſons why they ſhould deal more gently and mildly with him.

But when neither intreaties nor arguments could prevail, but that he muſt needs go to priſon, Cranmer ſaid, that he was very ſorry that they forced him to appeal to the king from themſelves, with whom he had ſo often communicated in counſel, and from whom he expected equal dealing upon all occaſions; and thereupon, delivering the king's ring to them, he commanded them to ſuſpend their decree, and to preſent themſelves before the king.

Then ſaid the Lord Ruſſel (afterwards Earl of Bedford) Did not I tell you that the king would never ſuffer him to be impriſoned, unleſs he were guilty of high treaſon againſt his majeſty? and ſo they went with Cranmer to the king.

The king ſharply rebuked them, telling them, that he looked for more wiſdom and gravity amongſt them, than to keep Cranmer out of the council-chamber, to force him to ſtand at the door amongſt ſerving men: aſking them, whether any of themſelves would endure ſuch a diſgrace? and withal ſwore (ſtriking himſelf upon the breaſt) that he was more beholden to Cranmer than to any man whatſoever; and that he had tried him, and knew that no prelate could exceed him in his fidelity to his king; and therefore that all that loved him, ſhould hold Cranmer in higheſt price and eſtimation.

The king ſpeaking thus, when all others held their peace through fear, the duke of Norfolk anſwered, It was not our purpoſe to hurt the archbiſhop at all; but that keeping him in cuſtody, whilſt the inquiſition depended, his innocency being known, he might come out with greater credit. But, ſaid the king, I will not have Cranmer ſo handeld, nor any that are dear to me. But I perceive ſome crooked and cankered hearts raiſe theſe tragedies, which, unleſs they be quiet, I will interpoſe my authority to reſtrain them; and ſo he departed in a chafe, and all the counſellors ſhook hands with Cranmer, deſiring to be reconciled to him: And he, being of a moſt ſweet and mild diſpoſition, eaſily forgave all offences, blotting them utterly out of his mind; and from that time forward he lived ſecure from all treacheries, being in ſuch high favour with the king.

But when Dr Cox and Huſſey lay loitering at Canterbury (not without ſuſpicion), and did nothing in the inquiſition, the king ſecretly ſent Dr Lee, to ſearch out what was done in Cranmer's behalf; who, going ſpeedily to Canterbury, acquainted himſelf with ſome godly perſons, by whoſe directions he ſearched the houſes of ſome popiſh prieſts at midnight, where he found letters written from Gardiner, which opened the whole plot againſt Cranmer. Theſe he immediately carried to the king, who viewing of them, from that time forwards began to withdraw his affections from thoſe popelings; and withal acquainted Cranmer with thoſe letters, bidding him beware of his enemies, now he knew them.

Amongſt the letters that were found in Kent, one was written by the ſuffragan of Dover, another by Dr Barber, a civilian; which two men were well eſteemed of by the archbiſhop, and promoted by him, and he always ſhewed them great favour.

When the archbiſhop had their letters, he called theſe two men into his ſtudy, and ſaid unto them, You two are men in whom I have always put moſt confidence, and to whom I have always communicated all my ſecrets; you muſt now give me ſome good counſel; for I am ſhamefully abuſed by one or two whom I have truſted as myſelf; but theſe perſons have not only diſcloſed my ſecrets, but alſo have taken upon them to accuſe me of hereſy, and are become witneſſes againſt me. I require you therefore to give me faithful advice how I ſhall behave myſelf towards them, &c. 'Mary, (quoth Dr Barber) ſuch villains and knaves deſerve to be preſently hanged, without further trial.' 'Hanging is too good, (ſaith the ſuffragen); and if there want an executioner, I would be the hangman myſelf.'

At theſe words, the archbiſhop, lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid, 'O Lord, and moſt merciful God, whom may a man truſt in theſe days? It's true which is ſaid, 'Curſed be he that truſts in man, and makes fleſh his arm.' There was never man uſed as I am; but, Lord, thou haſt evermore defended me, and lent me one good maſter (meaning the king), without whoſe protection I could not be ſafe for one day: I praiſe thy holy name for it.' Then did he pull out of his boſom thoſe two letters, ſaying, 'Know you theſe my maſters? With that they fell down on their knees, aſking forgiveneſs with many tears. 'Well, (ſaid the gentle archbiſhop) God make you both good men; I never deſerved this at your hands: but aſk God forgiveneſs, againſt whom you have highly offended.

Thus we ſee how his enemies, from time to time, endeavoured, by all means, to have brought him into diſpleaſure with the king. Yet it pleaſed God ſo to overrule the king's heart, that he would never be alienated from him: Which favour the king continued to him as long as he lived. And in king Edward the ſixth's days he continued in his place, and much helped forward the work of reformation. But in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he was a principal man whom ſhe maligned.

——Manet alta mente repoſtum
Judicium cleri, ſpretæque injuria matris.

Her mother's wrongs were ſtronly laid to heart,
And clergy's doom; for which they now muſt ſmart.

And therefore ſhe appointed commiſſioners to examine him, who commanded him to bring to them an inventory of all his goods, which they ſeized upon; and ſhortly after he was ſent priſoner to the tower, for treaſon (as was pretended), but for religion indeed.

Before he was committed to the tower, ſome of his friends perſuaded him to fly, and to reſerve himſelf for better times; but he anſwered ſtoutly, 'If I were accuſed of theft, murder, or any other wickedneſs, perhaps I could more eaſily be perſuaded to fly; but now I ſee that I muſt be queſtioned, not for my faithfulneſs towards men, but for my faith towards God; and concerning the truth of the holy ſcriptures againſt papiſts; and therefore I will rather loſe my life in the defence of the truth, than by flying out of the kingdom to deſert ſuch a cauſe. From thence he was removed to Oxford; where again he was called

called before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commiſſioners; to the latter he did obeiſance, but to the pope's delegate he would do none. Before them he made a worthy confeſſion of his faith.

When they proceeded to degrade him, he pulled forth an appeal from the pope to the next general council; but his death being determined, his appeal was rejected, and he degraded. When he came back into priſon, he deſired to eat; for he had eaten nothing that day before; for, ſaid he, 'I was ſomewhat troubled, but now I thank God my heart is quiet.' He had not one penny in his purſe to help himſelf, but the Lord ſtirred up a gentleman's heart to give him ſome money, for which he had like to have come into great trouble. He was kept in priſon almoſt three years, and the doctors in Oxford laboured by many ſubtle tricks to draw him to a recantation; removing him to the dean's houſe of Chriſt Church, where he had dainty fare, recreations, and what elſe might entice him from Chriſt to the world: they promiſed him life, the queen's favour, his former dignity, and what not, if he would but with his hands ſubſcribe to a few words by the way of recantation, which if he refuſed, there was no hope of pardon.

With many ſuch provocations, and flatteries, they at laſt prevailed with him to ſubſcribe it. After which he neither had inward quietneſs in his own conſcience, nor any outward help from his adverſities: for the queen being glad of his recantation, yet preſently reſolved his death, appointed the time (when he leaſt expected it) and the perſons that ſhould ſee it performed. He had no notice of his death, till the very morning a little before he was to ſuffer. At which time there was a great concourſe of people, ſome expecting that he ſhould make his publick recantation at his death, others hoping better of him.

From priſon he was brought to St Mary's church, where Dr Cole (by the queen's order) preached, and in his ſermon affirmed, that God was ſo incenſed for the ſlaughter of Sir Thomas Moore, and Dr Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, (who were beheaded in the reign of king Henry the 8.) that he could not be appeaſed by any other means, but by the ſacrificing of Cranmer. During his ſermon, Cranmer was ſet on a ſtage before him; which ſad ſpectacle much affected many, to ſee him, who had lived in ſo great honour and favour, to ſtand there in a ragged gown, ill favour'd clothes, an old cap, and expoſed to the contempt of all men. Cole, in his ſermon, ſhewed for what Dr Cranmer was condemned, encouraged him to take his death patiently, and rejoiced in his converſion to popery. But that joy laſted not long. The ſermon being ended, Dr Cranmer entreated the people to pray for him, that God would pardon his ſin, eſpecially his recantation, which moſt of all troubled his conſcience, which he ſaid was contrary to the truth which he thought in his heart, and written for fear of death, and upon the hope of life. And, ſaid he, that hand of mine which hath written contrary to my heart, ſhall firſt be puniſhed. At theſe words the doctors began to rage and fume, and cauſed him to be pulled down from the ſtage, and his mouth to be ſtopped that he ſhould not ſpeak to the people.

The place appointed for his martyrdom was the ſame where Dr Ridley, and Mr Latimer had before ſuffered; and when he was brought to it, he kneeled down, and prayed; and ſo put off his cloaths. When the fire was kindled and came near him, he ſtretched out his right hand, which had ſubſcribed, holding it ſo ſtedfaſt, and immovable in the fire (ſaving that once he wiped his face with it) that all might ſee his hand burned before his body was touched: when the fire came to his body, he endured it patiently, ſtanding ſtedfaſt always in one place, moving no more than the ſtake which he was bound to: ſo long as he could ſpeak, he repeated, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit: and ſo in the flames he gave up the ghoſt, anno *Chriſti*, 1556. and of his age, 72.

Dr. Cranmer's works were theſe.

He corrected the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible in many places.

He wrote *Catechiſmum Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ.*
Ordinationes Eccleſiæ Reformatæ.
De miniſtris Ordinandis.
De Euchariſtia.
Jura Eccleſiaſtica.
Contra Gardineri concionem.
Contra Tranſubſtantionis errorem.
Quomodo Chriſtus adſit in Cœna.
De eſu Cœnæ Dominicæ.
De Oblatione Chriſti.
Homilia Chriſtiana.
Common-places.
A Confutation of underwritten verities.
Againſt the pope's primacy.
Againſt Purgatory.
Againſt Juſtification.
Divers Letters to learned men.

The Life of Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, *who died* anno Chriſti 1586.

PHILIP Sidney, was ſon and heir to Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, preſident of Wales, and knight of the moſt noble order of the garter: a perſon of great parts, and in no mean grace with queen Elizabeth: his mother was daughter to the duke of Northumberland, and ſiſter to the earls of Warwick and Leiceſter ſo that his deſcent was apparently noble of both ſides. In his very childhood there appeared in him ſuch excellent parts, and endowments of nature, that his father conceiving great hopes of him, was very careful of his education, ſo that having ſoon drunk in the principles of learning at home, he was ſent to the univerſity, where he profited exceedingly in the knowlege of the arts, ſo that after an incredible proficiency in all the ſpecies of learning, he left the academical life, for that of the court, whither he came by the invitation, and inſtigation of his uncle the earl of Leiceſter, at that time a great favourite of the queen's: fame had before hand blazed abroad his noble accompliſhments; he was of a comely preſence, and framed by a natural propenſion to arms, ſo that he ſoon attracted the good opinion of all men, and ſo highly prized in the good opinion of the queen, that ſhe thought the court wanted a great ornament, when he was abſent from it.

Whilſt he was at court, at his ſpare hours he compoſed that incomparable book for fancy, and language, called his *Arcadia*, when he was but one and twenty years old; the queen thought him ſo fit for the greateſt employments, that ſhe ſent him upon an embaſſy to the emperor of Germany at Vienna, which he diſcharged to his own honour, and her good content; yea, his fame was ſo renowned through Chriſtendom, that he was in election for the kingdom of Poland, but our queen refuſed to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to looſe the jewel of her times; he married the daughter and ſole heir of Sir Francis Walſingham, then ſecretary of ſtate, a lady deſtinated to the bed of honour, who after his death was married to the earl of Eſſex, and after his death to the earl of St. Albans: during his abode at court, he became of intimate acquaintance with Sir Fulk Grevil, afterwards lord Brook, who thought himſelf ſo much honoured by his friendſhip, that having erected for himſelf a ſtately monument in St. Mary's church in Warwick, he cauſed to be engraven upon his tomb: 'Fulk Grevil, ſervant to queen Elizabeth, counſellor to king James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney.' The ſtates of the Netherlands having obtained aid of our queen againſt the Spaniards, they agreed to deliver up to her ſome cautionary towns for her ſecurity, whereupon ſhe ſent over Sir Philip Sidney to be governor of Flushing, and of the caſtle of Ramekins; afterwards his uncle the earl of Leiceſter was ſent over as deputy-general for the queen, who was honourably entertained by the ſtates: and not liking to lye ſtill, and do nothing, he made his preparation for the taking in of Zutphen, whereupon the prince of Parma ſought to furniſh the place with victuals, ſending with it a convoy of ſeven hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot: to intercept theſe, Leiceſter ſent Sir John Norris, to whoſe aſſiſtance came the earl of Eſſex, the lord Willowby, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Stanely, and Sir William Ruſſel, in all two hundred horſe, and one thouſand five hundred

dred muſketteers and pikes: the day being dark by reaſon of great foggy miſts, the Spaniards whilſt their wag gons made foreward, ſtaid in a place of advantage near Zutphen, upon whom the Engliſh were entered before they were aware, and were entertained with a furious charge of ſhot, which notwithſtanding they abode, and ſo valiantly followed the ſkirmiſh, that they overthrew, put back, ſlew, and took priſoners many of them, but herein the day proved doleful, that the worthy Sir Philip Sidney as he was changing his horſe, was ſhot by the muſket above the left kee, which ſo ſhivered the thigh bone, that the bullet could not be got out; being thus wounded, he was carried to Arnheim in Gelderland. Whilſt he lay thus upon his wound, Mr Humphray Fen, a godly and able miniſter, being at this time chaplain to the earl of Leiceſter, went to viſit him, who found him carefully fitting and preparing himſelf for death: wherein he was much holpen by that faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt; and after Mr. Fen had been a while with him, Sir Philip told him that he had made his will, and that he was now minded to be his own executor, and ſo cauſing a cabinet to be brought to him, he gave him a good ſum of gold, which he had formerly bequeathed to him in his will: in this his laſt ſickneſs, his Arcadia came into his mind, and he conſidered that in it were divers light, and amorous paſſages, which might tend to the corrupting of the incautious reader: it was not as yet printed, neither was there any copy of it, but only one, which was in the hands of his entire friend, Sir Fulk Grevil, and therefore to ſhew his repentance for the vanity of his youth, he ſent to Sir Fulk Grevil, and conjured him by all the obligations of friendſhip that were betwixt them, that he ſhould preſently burn that copy, that ſo it might never go abroad into the world, which earneſt requeſt of his dying friend, ſir Fulk Grevil had intended to have fulfilled, but that the importunity of ſome about him, prevented it: ſir Philip Sidney lay thus languiſhing upon his wound for the ſpace of five and twenty days, bearing the pains of it with admirable patience and Chriſtian fortitude, at the end whereof he quietly reſigned his ſpirit into the hands of his merciful redeemer *anno Chriſti* 1586.

His death was much bewailed both by the queen and all good men, for the great hopes that they had of this worthy gentleman, in whom were compleat all the vertues, and valour which could be expected in him: his body was brought over into England, where he was honourably interred with his anceſtors. I have many years ago ſeen this epitaph hanging up in Paul's church of him.

England, Netherland, the heavens, and the arts,
The world, and the ſoldiers have made ſix parts
Of noble Sidney, for who can ſuppoſe,
That a ſmall heap of ſtones can Sidney incloſe?

England hath his body, for ſhe it bred;
Netherland hath his blood, in her defence ſhed;
The heavens have his ſoul: the arts his fame;
The ſoldiers the grief, the world his good name.

I have alſo ſeen this epitaph of him.

Carmen Apollo dedit, belli Mars contulit artes:
Sed juveni vitam mors rapit ante diem.

Apollo made him wiſe,
Mars made him very ſtout,
Death made him leave the world,
Before his youth was out.

Certain it is, ſaith one, that he was a noble and matchleſs gentleman, and it may be juſtly ſaid of him without hyperboles of fiction, as it was of Cato Uticenſis: that he ſeemed to be born to do that only which he went about.

The Life of JOHN CALVIN, *who died* anno Chriſti 1562.

MASTER John Calvin was born at Noviodune, a famous city of France, June the ſixth, *anno Chriſti* 1509 His father's name was Gerard Calvin, his mother's Joan Franca, both of good repute, and of a competent eſtate. Gerard was a very prudent man, and therefore well eſteemed of, both by the nobility and others of the country; he gave his ſon John very liberal education from his childhood.

From the grammar ſchool, he ſent him to Paris, and placed him with Maturinus Corderius, a man well eſteemed both for his probity and learning, and of chiefeſt account amongſt all the ſchool maſters in France for his training up of youth. From thence John Calvin was tranſlated to the ſchool at Montacute, where he had Hiſpanus for his maſter, under whom, by reaſon of his ſharp wit, he profited ſo much, that from the Grammar, he proceeded to the ſtudy of Logic, and other arts.

His father from the beginning, deſigned him to the ſtudy of divinity, which he judged him to be very much inclined to, being religiouſly addicted from his childhood, and a ſevere reprover of his ſchool-fellows faults. And being thus reſolved, he procured a benefice of the biſhop for him, in the cathedral church of Noviodune, as alſo a cure in a neighbour village, called Biſhops bridge, where himſelf was born, though afterwards he removed to the city of Noviodune, in which place our John before his ordination preached divers ſermons to the people. But this purpoſe of his (both their minds changing) was afterwards altered; for his father ſeeing that the ſtudy of the law was a certainer ſtep to riches and honour, altered his mind upon that account, and his ſon growing into acquaintance with a certain kinſman of his, called Peter Robert Olevitane, was by him inſtructed in the true reformed religion, whereupon he addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and began to abominate and withdraw himſelf from the ſuperſtitious ſervices in the popiſh church.

Upon this occaſion he went to Orleans, where Peter Stella the moſt famous lawyer in France, read his lectures, whoſe auditor John Calvin was, and in a ſhort ſpace, wonderfully profited in that ſtudy: ſo that many times, occaſionally ſupplying his maſter's room, he rather ſeemed a doctor, than a learner of the law: and when he was about to depart, all the profeſſors in that univerſity, proffered freely to beſtow the degree of a doctor upon him as having ſo well deſerved of the univerſity. But all this while he neglected not the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and divinity; inſomuch as few in that city, that were addicted to the reformed religion, but they came to him to be ſatisfied in their doubts, and went away admiring his learning and zeal. And ſome that were intimately acquainted with him at that time, teſtified that his manner was conſtantly to continue his ſtudies till mid night, and in the morning ſo ſoon as he awakened, to ruminate what he had read over night, whereby he fixed it in his memory, neither would he ſuffer himſelf to be diſturbed during the time of his meditation: and the better to fit him for his ſtudies, he always ſupped very ſparingly. By which practice he attained to excellent learning, and a very good memory: yet withal hereby he contracted ſuch weakneſs of ſtomach, as brought upon him many diſeaſes, and at laſt an immature death.

About this time the univerſity of Biturg grew famous, for that they had procured out of Italy the eminenteſt lawyer of his time, Andrew Alcait, whom our John alſo would needs be a hearer of: thither therefore he went, and during his abode there he grew into familiar acquaintance with Melchior Wolmarus, a German, the public profeſſor of Greek in that univerſity, a man famous for religion and learning. Under him he ſtudied the Greek tongue, for which benefit he ſo much prized him, that afterwards he dedicated to him his comment upon the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians.

Whilſt he was employed in theſe ſtudies, he neglected not that of divinity, ſo that he preached divers ſermons in a neighbour town called Liverta. But whilſt he was thus buſied, news came to him of his father's death, which called him back into his own country; and having ſettled his affairs there, he went back to Paris, being now about four and twenty years old, at which time he wrote that excellent commentary upon *Seneca de Clementia*, being much affected with that author, whom he uſed to ſay agreed very well with his genius. After a few months ſtay at Paris, he grew acquainted with all that profeſſed the reformed religion; and amongſt the reſt with Stephen Forgeus, a famous

famous merchant, who afterwards ſealed the truth with his blood.

From thence forward, at the earneſt requeſt of all the godly that held their private meetings in Paris, he laid aſide all other ſtudies, and wholly applied himſelf to that of divinity, wherein alſo he found the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God.

At this time alſo Nicholas Cope was rector of the univerſity at Paris, who being to make an oration upon the Kalends of November, at which time the pontificians uſed to celebrate their All-ſaints day, at the inſtigation of John Calvin, he ſpake of religion more purely and clearly than they uſed to do. This the Sorboniſts could not bear, and the parliament of Paris was angry at it, inſomuch as they cited him to appear before them, which accordingly he was about to ſubmit to; but as he went, ſome of his friends adviſed him to take heed of his adverſaries; whereupon he returned home, and immediately after left France, and went to Baſil, where his father was a profeſſor of phyſic.

The officers ſent by the parliament, ſearching for Cope, went into Mr Calvin's houſe, who, by chance, not being at home, they ranſacked his ſtudy; and amongſt his papers found many of his friends letters, which had like to have endangered the lives of many; ſo bitterly were the enemies of the church at that time enraged againſt the people of God, eſpecially one John Morinus, whoſe abominable cruelty is infamous till this day. But it pleaſed God to divert that ſtorm, by the prudent and pious diligence of the queen of Navar, the only ſiſter of king Francis, a woman of an admirable wit, and exceeding tender of the welfare of the profeſſors of the reformed religion. She alſo ſent for Mr Calvin to her court, uſed him very honourably, and heard him gladly.

But Mr Calvin finding Paris too hot for his abode, went to Xantone, where ſojourning with a friend, at his requeſt, he drew up ſome ſhort admonitions, which were diſperſed amongſt certain prieſts, to be taught to their people, that ſo their people might, by little and little, be drawn to ſearching out of the truth.

Shortly after he went to Nerac, a city of Aquitain, where he viſited that good old man James Faber Stapulenſis, who being formerly a profeſſor of the mathematics and philoſophy in Paris, was perſecuted for the truth by the Sorboniſts; but by the friendly help of the queen of Navar, was delivered and ſent to this town of her juriſdiction. This good old man received young Mr Calvin with very fatherly affections, propheſying, that in time to come he would prove a famous inſtrument for the building up of the French church.

From thence Mr Calvin went again to Paris, being called thereto by the ſpecial providence of God. For at this time that wicked Servetus was come thither, diſperſing his poiſon againſt the ſacred Trinity; who hearing of Calvin, pretended that he was deſirous to confer with him; and a time and place was appointed for their meeting, whether Calvin went, not without peril of his life, who was fain to hide himſelf from the rage of his enemies: but when he had waited long for him, Servetus came not, being indeed afraid of the very ſight of Mr Calvin; this was *anno Chriſti* 1534, infamous for the abominable cruelty exerciſed againſt the poor ſaints of God, eſpecially againſt Gerard Ruffus, a maſter of art of Sorbon, and Caroldus an Auguſtine monk, who, under the protection of the Queen of Navar, had, for a year or two, very much propagated the truth; which the devil envying, now ſtirred up his inſtruments to pull them out of the pulpit, and to caſt them into priſon. Yea, king Francis himſelf was ſo irritated, by reaſon of certain papers againſt the maſs ſcattered about the city, and fixed to his chamber door, that he preſently commanded a public proceſſion, wherein himſelf and his three children aſſiſted, with a bare head, carrying a torch in his hand, to expiate that wickedneſs; and commanded eight of the ſaints of God to be burned alive, in four principal parts of the city; ſwearing publicly, that he would not ſpare his own children, if he knew them to be infected with thoſe damnable hereſies.

Calvin beholding theſe ſad ſpectacles, went preſently after to Orleans, where he publiſhed his famous book, which he called Pſychopannychia, againſt that error long before broached, and now again revived, of them which held 'The ſoul's ſleeping after they were ſevered from their bodies.' And ſo purpoſing to bid adieu to France, he aſſociated to him his old friend, with whom he had ſojourned at Xantone, and travelling through Lorain, went towards Baſil: but being not far from the city of Menton, they fell into great ſtraits; for one of their ſervants, who had gotten all their money, being mounted upon a luſty horſe, ran away from them, and could by no means be overtaken, ſo that they were fain to ſend their other ſervant to borrow ten crowns, which, with much ado, carried them to Straſburgh, and from thence to Baſil. There Mr Calvin became an intimate friend to thoſe famous men Simon Grynæus, and Wolfgang Capito. He ſtudied alſo the Hebrew tongue; and though he endeavoured by all means to conceal himſelf, yet was he forced to publiſh his inſtitutions, which he called but the foundation of a far greater work.

The proteſtant princes in Germany hearing of this bloody act of king Francis, were much provoked by it: yet did the king, at this time, ſeek their friendſhip; and to excuſe his cruelty, by the advice of William Bellaius Langæus, he ſent them word that he had only puniſhed certain Anabaptiſts, who ſet up their fanatic ſpirits inſtead of ſcripture, and ſhewed themſelves contemners of all magiſtrates. Which diſgrace, put upon the true religion, Mr Calvin not enduring, took occaſion from thence to publiſh that his incomparable book, prefixing a preface to king Francis, which ſurely he never read, or elſe it would have provoked him to have given a great wound to the Babyloniſh whore; for that king (therein not like his ſucceſſors) was a great weigher of matters, had a good judgment to diſcern the truth, was a favourer of learned men, and not altogether eſtranged from the profeſſors of the goſpel. But neither he, nor the people of France, either ſaw or heard thoſe things, the ſins of the king and people haſtening God's wrath againſt them.

Mr Calvin having publiſhed this book, and performed that office of duty to his country, had a great deſire to viſit the dutcheſs of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII. of France, a woman famous for her piety, and thereby alſo to have a ſight of Italy. To her therefore he went, and endeavoured to confirm her in the truth; ſo that ſhe loved him dearly all his life after; yea, even after his death honoured his memory.

Returning out of Italy (into whoſe borders he uſed to ſay, that he went that he might return again), he came into France, where ſettling his affairs, and taking along with him his only brother Anthony Calvin, he intended to return to Baſil or Straſburgh; but all other ways being ſtopped by reaſon of wars, he went to Geneva, without any purpoſe of ſtaying there: yet preſently after it appeared, that it was ſo ordered by divine Providence; for a little before, the goſpel of Chriſt was almoſt miraculouſly brought into that city, by the labour and induſtry of two excellent men, William Farell of the Delphinate, ſometimes a ſcholar of Faber Stapulenſi's, and Peter Viret, a Bernate, whoſe labours God afterwards wonderfully bleſſed and proſpered.

Calvin hearing of theſe worthy men, (as the manner is among the godly) went to viſit them; to whom Mr Farell (being a man endued with an heroical ſpirit) ſpake much to perſuade him rather to ſtay with them at Geneva, than to go any further. But when he ſaw that perſuaſions would not prevail, he ſaid thus unto him, 'I proteſt unto thee, in the name of the omnipotent God, that if thou proceedeſt to frame excuſes, and wilt not join with us in this work of the Lord, that the Lord will curſe thee, as ſeeking thy own, rather than the things of Jeſus Chriſt.' Calvin, being terrified with this terrible threatening, ſubmitted to the judgment of the preſbytery, and of the magiſtrates, by whoſe ſuffrages, together with the conſent of the people, he was choſen not only their preacher, but alſo profeſſor of divinity: the firſt he refuſed, the ſecond he accepted of, *anno Chriſti* 1536, in the month of Auguſt. This year became famous by a ſtricter league between the Bernates, and the city of Geneva; as alſo by the entertainment of the goſpel at Lauſanna, where a free diſputation was already held between the pontificians and the proteſtants, at which Mr Calvin was preſent.

Then did Mr Calvin publiſh a certain form of Chriſtian doctrine, fitted for the church of Geneva, as yet ſcarce crept out of the pollutions of popery. He added alſo a catechiſm, not that which we have by way of queſtion and anſwer, but one much ſhorter, containing the chief heads of religion. Then did he, together with Mr Farrel and Carolus (moſt of their colleagues, through fear, forſaking them) attempt to form a church amongſt the citizens; for which end he propoſed, that all the people being gathered together, ſhould publicly forſwear popery, and withal ſhould ſwear to obſerve the Chriſtian religion and diſcipline, contained in a few heads; which thing, through God's mercy, was effected, *anno Chriſti* 1537, though many of the citizens refuſed, the city being yet ſcarce free from the ſnares of the Duke of Savoy, and the dregs of popery, and many being much inclined to factions. Yet a public ſcribe reading them, the ſenate and people of Geneva ſwore together to thoſe heads of Chriſtian religion and diſcipline.

The devil being much enraged at this excellent work, having tried a thouſand ways by open enemies to overthrow it; and not prevailing by thoſe ways, he ſought under the pretence of piety to deſtroy it; ſtirring up firſt the Anabaptiſts, and then Peter Caroli, not only to diſgrace them, but as much as in them lay, utterly to have ſubverted it. But the Lord was wiſer and ſtronger than Satan, as the event ſhewed; for Calvin, with his colleagues, in a public and free diſputation, did, with great gravity, out of the word of God, confute the Anabaptiſts, March the 18th, 1537, that, which is ſeldom ſeen, from that time forwards there never appeared any of them in that church. But the other diſturber of their church's peace, Peter Caroli, cauſed greater and longer troubles, whereof this is a brief account.

This impudent ſophiſter was bred in the college of Sorbon, from whence at laſt he was caſt out for an heretic; whereupon he went firſt to Geneva, then to Lauſanna, and from thence to Neocom; but ſo infected and inflamed by the devil, that whereſoever he came he left an impreſſion of his foul ſpirit; and when he ſaw himſelf oppoſed by the proteſtants he went to the papiſts, and from thence to the proteſtants again; and at laſt brake forth into open railing againſt Mr Farrel, Viret, and Calvin, as if they held ſome corrupt opinions about the ſacred trinity.

Hereupon there was a full ſynod aſſembled at Berne, in which Peter Caroli was condemned for his calumny, and thereupon removed. But ſhortly after he went to Mediomatrice, that he might hinder the work of the Lord happily there begun by Mr Farrel. From thence writing an epiſtle, he rallied upon the godly, giving hopes to the papiſts that he would return to them again: yet he was ſent to Rome, that he might give ſatisfaction to the pope himſelf. There he was received with ſcorn, and being oppreſſed with poverty, and infected with the French pox, at laſt, with much ado, he gat into an hoſpital, where ſhortly after he died miſerably; and this truly was his unhappy end.

About the ſame time Mr Calvin obſerving that there were many in France that knew, and were convinced of the truth, and yet indulged themſelves, as if it were enough that they reſerved their hearts for Chriſt, though they were preſent at the popiſh ſervices, publiſhed two elegant epiſtles, one to exhort the flying of idolatry, directed to Gerard Ruffus, whom we mentioned before: the other of the popiſh prieſthood, directed to the ſame man, who was now made a biſhop, and was fallen from his former zeal: but whilſt Mr Calvin was thus employed, he met with grievous ſeditions at home.

The goſpel indeed was entertained, and popery abjured in Geneva; but many were not reformed of the prophane ſcandalous courſes in which they had been indulged, and which they had learned of the impure popiſh clergy; and thoſe antient feuds which had ſprung up by reaſon of the Savoyan wars, amongſt the chiefeſt families, were not yet laid aſide. Theſe at firſt were gently admoniſhed; and when that prevailed not, more ſharply reprehended: and when yet they continued to be ſtubborn and refractory, and that the city, by the factions of certain private perſons, was divided into parties, ſo that by no means they would endure to be brought into that order to which they had been ſworn, Mr Farrel, Calvin, and Caroldus, inſpired with an heroical ſpirit, did openly profeſs that they could by no means adminiſter the holy ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper to perſons who were at ſuch bitter enmity amongſt themſelves, and ſo utterly averſe to all eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

Another evil that fell out was this: A difference there was in ſome eccleſiaſtical rites between the Bernates and the Genevians; the Genevians uſing common bread at the ſacrament, and a different ſort of fonts; they alſo aboliſhed all holy days but the Lord's day; whereupon the Bernates aſſembling a ſynod at Lauſanna, decreed, that wafers ſhould be uſed in the ſacrament, and required that in Geneva the ſame practice ſhould be obſerved. But the college of miniſters at Geneva deſired that they might firſt be heard; and for this end appointed a ſynod at Zurick.

Upon this occaſion, the ſyndics, which were choſen for that year at Geneva, (who, for the time, are the chief magiſtrates), aſſembling the captains of the ſeditious perſons, ſo far prevailed, (though Mr Calvin and his colleagues interpoſed, and deſired firſt to be heard), the greater part overcoming the better, that theſe three worthy ſervants of Chriſt were commanded within two days to depart the city, becauſe (as was alledged) they refuſed to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. When this decree was brought to Mr Calvin, he ſaid, 'Truly, if I had ſerved men, I ſhould have had but an ill reward; but it is well that I have ſerved him who doth always perform to his ſervants what he hath once promiſed.'

Who would not now have thought that this buſineſs muſt needs have brought deſtruction upon the church of Geneva? but the event ſhewed the wonderful wiſdom of God in turning it to good; partly by employing the labours of theſe his ſervants elſewhere, by variety of experiences to fit them for greater employments; partly, that the ſeditious perſons in Geneva overthrowing themſelves by their own violence, that church might be purged from many pollutions. So wonderful doth God ſhew himſelf in all his ways, eſpecially in the admirable government of his church.

At the time appointed, theſe three worthy fathers, to the great grief of all good men, left Geneva, and went to Zurick; where gathering a ſynod of the Helvetian churches, the ſynod decreed, and by the interceſſion of the Bernates, tried the minds of the Genevians for their re-admiſſion; but when they prevailed not, Calvin went to Baſil, and from thence to Straſburgh; where, by the deſire of the ſenate, and the importunity of thoſe bright ſtars which at that time ſhined in that church, Bucer, Hedio, Capito, Niger, and their colleagues, he was deſigned to be the profeſſor of divinity, with a competent ſalary allowed; which place he diſcharged with the great applauſe of learned men: and, by the conſent of the ſenate, he planted the French church there, and ſettled diſcipline in it.

Thus was the expectation of Satan fruſtrated, Calvin ſettled in another place, and a new church erected for the former ſubverted. Yet, in the mean time, did not the devil ceaſe to endeavour wholly to eradicate the church of Geneva; for which end he ſtirred up ſome wicked men, (yet under the pretence of piety, to bring in that deceit of changing common bread into wafers; indeed only to ſtir up new controverſies. Wherein alſo Sathan failed not of his purpoſe, many godly men upon this occaſion abſtaining from the ſacrament, till Mr Calvin, by his holy letters had perſuaded them not to contend for a thing ſo indifferent in itſelf. By this means unleavened bread was again brought into uſe in the Genevian church; concerning which, Calvin being afterwards reſtored, would never contend, and yet withal did not diſſemble his judgment about the ſame.

But behold! preſently after fell out a far greater evil, *anno Chriſti* 1539, which yet, by the prudent diligence of Mr Calvin, was quickly extinguiſhed; which was this: There was the biſhop of Carpentoratum, called James Sadolet, a man of great eloquence, which yet he abuſed to the ſubverſion of the truth, for which cauſe he was made a cardinal. This man ſeeing the flock deprived of ſuch able and vigilant ſhepherds, thought it a fit time to inſnare them; for which end he wrote letters under the pretence

pretence of his neighbourhood, directed to his dear friends (as he called them) the ſenate, council, and people of Geneva, in which he omitted no arguments whereby he might perſuade them to return into the boſom of the Romiſh church. At this time there was no man in Geneva that would undertake to anſwer the ſame; ſo that probably they would have done much miſchief, but that they were written in a foreign language. But when Mr. Calvin at Straſborough had read them, forgetting all the wrongs which had been done him, he returned an anſwer ſo ſpeedily, truly, and eloquently, that the cardinal deſpairing of accomplishing his end, wholly gave over his deſign.

Neither indeed did Mr Calvin defer till this time the manifeſting of his paſtoral bowels, which he yet retained to the Genevians, eſpecially to thoſe that ſuffered with him in the ſame cauſe, as may appear by thoſe excellent epiſtles which he wrote to them the ſame year wherein he was baniſhed, wherein his principal ſcope was to exhort them to repentance, to bear with the wicked, to maintain peace with their paſtors, and to be frequent in calling upon God; as alſo to ſtir them up to expect light after thoſe deadly miſts of darkneſs, which he told them would follow, as alſo the event ere long made to appear.

About the ſame time alſo he publiſhed his Inſtitutions much enlarged, and his Commentary upon the Romans, dedicated to Simon Grynæus his dear friend, and that golden book of his concerning the Lord's ſupper, which he made for the uſe of his French church, which Galaſius afterwards turned into Latin. In which he handled the doctrine of the ſacrament ſo dextrouſly, and learnedly, that it ſerved to determine the unhappy controverſies about it, to the ſatisfaction of all good and learned men. Neither was his happineſs leſs in reclaiming many anabaptiſts from their errors, amongſt whom were theſe two principal men, Paul Voliſius, who afterwards was a paſtor in the church of Straſborough; the other was John Stordee, who afterwards dying of the plague, Mr. Calvin by the advice of Bucer married his widow, called Idellita, a very grave and honeſt matron.

In theſe ſtudies and labours did Mr Calvin continue at Straſborough to the year 1541. In the which year the emperor Charles V. aſſembled two diets, the one at Worms, the other at Ratiſbone, for compounding the differences about religion: at both which, by the deſire of the divines of Straſborough, Mr Calvin was preſent, to great advantage of the churches, eſpecially of his own French congregation, and where he was moſt lovingly entertained, and highly prized by Philip Melanchthon, and Gaſper Cruciger, ſo that Philip called him his divine. He alſo had much conference with them about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and they could not but very well approve of his opinion therein.

But now the time was come wherein the Lord purpoſed to ſhew mercy to his poor church at Geneva: for one of the Syndics, who had promoted the decree for their baniſhment, did ſo miſdemean himſelf in his office, that being found guilty of ſedition, whilſt he thought to eſcape out at a window, being a fat man, he fell down, ſo bruiſed himſelf, that within a few days after he died. Another of them had his head cut off for a murder; the other two having done the common wealth much diſ-ſervice in an ambaſſy wherein they were employed, were fain to fly their country, and were condemned in their abſence.

Thoſe evil inſtruments being thus removed, the city of Geneva began to call for their Farell and Calvin; but when by no means they could recover Farell from Neocom, where he was now ſettled, they uſed all their endeavours to procure Calvin; and for that end they ſent ambaſſadors to Straſborough, uſing alſo the interceſſion of thoſe of Zurick, to requeſt that Mr. Calvin might be ſent back to them.

The ſenate of Straſborough were exceeding unwilling to hearken to it. Calvin himſelf, although he had not changed his mind towards the Genevans for the miſcarriages of ſome wicked men, yet abhoring to enter into new troubles, but eſpecially becauſe he found the Lord bleſſing his miniſtry at Straſborough, did abſolutely refuſe to return. Beſides Bucer, and the other paſtors, did profeſs their great unwillingneſs to part with him.

But the Genevans ſtill preſſing hard for him, Bucer at laſt thought that their requeſts ſhould be condeſcended to, at leaſt for a time; which yet was not granted by Mr Calvin himſelf, till they had urged him with the judgment of God in caſe he refuſed, and with the example of Jonah. But this falling out juſt at the time when Calvin, with Bucer was going to viſit the diet at Ratiſbone, his return was delayed for a time; and in the mean time the Genevans obtained of the Bernates that Peter Viret ſhould go from Lauſanna to Geneva; and indeed this made Mr Calvin far more willing to return to Geneva, when he ſaw that he was to have ſuch a colleague, by whoſe labours and counſels he might be much furthered in reforming that church.

So after ſome months Mr Calvin went to Geneva Sept. 13 *anno Chriſti* 1541, being ſingularly welcomed by the people, and eſpecially by the Senate, who acknowledged the wonderful mercy and goodneſs of God towards them, in reſtoring him to them again. And whereas the Senate of Straſborough had decreed that after a time he ſhould return to them again, they of Geneva would never give over till they had reverſed that decree, which at laſt was yielded to by them of Strasborough, yet with this proviſo, that that penſion which they had ſettled upon him ſhould ſtill be continued to him; but Mr Calvin could never be perſwaded to receive it, caring for nothing leſs than for riches. Mr Calvin being reſtored to his church, and perceiving that the city needed ſuch bridles, he profeſſed that he could not comfortably exerciſe his miniſtry amongſt them, except together with the doctrine of the goſpel, they would embrace the presbyterian government, for the well regulating of the church. Hereupon elders were choſen, and a model of the preſbyterial government was drawn up conſonant to the word of God, and grateful to the citizens, which the devil afterwards fought by all his artifices to deſtroy, but all in vain.

He wrote alſo a catechiſm in French and Latin, not ſo much different from the former, but much larger, divided into queſtions and anſwers, which indeed was an admirable piece, and found ſuch approbation and entertainment abroad, that it was turned into high Dutch, Engliſh, Scotiſh, low Dutch, Spaniſh, yea and Immanuel Tremelius turned it into Hebrew, and Henry Stevens turned it into Greek alſo.

His ordinary labours were theſe: every other Sabbath he preached twice, Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, he read his divinity lectures. Every Thurſday he aſſiſted in the conſiſtory for the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. On Fridays he read a lecture for the clearing of ſome hard places of ſcripture. Beſides which, he wrote many commentaries upon the ſcriptures: anſwered many adverſaries to the truth; wrote many letters to ſundry places, of advice, and direction, in weighty buſineſſes. So that we have cauſe to wonder how it was poſſible for one man to undergo ſo many buſineſſes.

He made very much uſe of Farell and Viret, and yet himſelf contributed much more to them. And truly their familiarity, as it was much envied by the wicked, ſo it was very grateful to all good men. And it was a very pleaſant ſight to behold theſe three men, ſo famous in the church, and all agreeing in the work of the Lord, and yet ſo excelling in ſeveral gifts of the ſpirit, Farell exceeded in a certain greatneſs of mind, whoſe thundering ſermons could not be heard without trembling, and whoſe ardent prayers would lift a man up into heaven. Viret did ſo excel in ſweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips. Calvin, look how many words he ſpake, with ſo many grave and pithy ſentences he filled the minds of his hearers: ſo that, ſaith Mr. Beza, 'I often thought that the gifts of theſe three men meeting in one, would make up a compleat paſtor.

Beſides the forementioned labours of Mr. Calvin, he had alſo the charge and buſineſs of a family to look after; beſides many forein buſineſſes; for God ſo bleſſed his miniſtry, that from all parts of the Chriſtian world he was ſought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly to hear him preach: ſo that at the ſame time there was an Italian church, an Engliſh church, and a Spaniſh church, beſides the church of Geneva, that that city ſeemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his ſake.

Thus, though he was loved of the good, and feared of the

the wicked; and things were excellently ſettled; yet he did meet with many oppoſitions for the exerciſe of his graces: for as ſoon as he returned to Geneva, being mindful of that ſaying of our Saviour, 'Seek firſt the kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, and all other things ſhall be added unto you:' his firſt and chiefeſt care was by the conſent of the ſenate to ſettle ſuch an eccleſiaſtical polity as was moſt conſonant to the word of God: from which afterwards it ſhould not be lawful either for the miniſters or people to recede. But before proof was made of it, not only ſome of the common people, but even of the chief men that had caſt off popery, and given their names only to Chriſt, ſhewed their hatred againſt it. Yea ſome of thoſe miniſters which continued there when theſe three good men were caſt out, though the chiefeſt of them left their ſtations, being found guilty of ſundry wickedneſſes, although, being convinced in their conſciences, they durſt not oppoſe it, yet, underhand they manifeſted their diſlike of it, and would by no means be brought into order: and that pretending the example of other churches, wherein no excommunication was uſed. Yea ſome of them cried out that it would introduce the popiſh tyranny again.

But Mr Calvin overcame theſe difficulties by his conſtancy, joined with ſingular moderation; ſhewing that not only the true doctrine, but eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was alſo to be fetched out of the word of God, and that his had the approbation of the moſt learned men of that age, as Occolampadius, Zuinglius, Zuichius, Melancthon, Bucer, Capito, and Myconius, which he proved out of their writings: withal telling them that other Chriſtian churches were not to be condemned which had not proceeded ſo far, nor thoſe paſtors which found that their people needed not ſuch a bridle: and laſtly ſhewing what a vaſt difference there was between the popiſh tyranny, and the eaſy yoke of the Lord: ſo that he at laſt obtained that his diſcipline was written, read, and confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people, and generally received, Nov. 20th, 1541.

But though theſe things were ſo happily carried on, yet Mr. Calvin, conſidering that he was like to meet with ſome difficulties in the exerciſe of it, did his utmoſt endeavour that Viret, who was only lent them by the Bernates for a time, and Farell, who was now ſettled at Neocom, might be joined with him as his perpetual fellow-paſtors; but he could not poſſibly effect it; Viret preſently returning to Lauſanna, and Farell remaining at Neocome, ſo that the whole praiſe of ſettling the Genevian church is due to Mr Calvin alone,

The year following, viz. 1542, Mr Calvin met with many afflictions, ſome at home, but eſpecially by the enflamed fury of the adverſaries of the truth abroad, in France and Italy, whence they drave away many profeſſors of the goſpel, for the comforting of whom, he laid out himſelf exceedingly, writing many encouraging letters every way, both to thoſe that were eſcaped, and to thoſe alſo that yet remained within the reach of the lions jaws.

The ſame year alſo there fell out two other great evils, Famine, and Peſtilence its uſual companion, and at this time the cuſtom of Geneva was, that ſuch as were infected with the peſtilence, ſhould be removed into an hoſpital out of the city, where, being in need of a conſtant and ſedulous paſtor, when, by reaſon of the danger moſt men refuſed it, there were three that offered themſelves, viz. Calvin, Sebaſtian Caſtalio, and Blanchet; and lots being caſt between theſe three, it fell upon Caſtalio, who notwithſtanding his former forwardneſs, now ſhamefully drew back, and refuſed it; and when Calvin would have caſt lots again, the ſenate, and Blanchet, who now took this work upon him, would not ſuffer it.

About this time alſo other miſchiefs fell out; for Peter Toſſanus, the paſtor of Montbelgard, was much troubled about the controverſy of the Lord's ſupper; and at Baſil, where the foundation of church government was ſcarce laid (do Myconius what he could to the contrary) it was by ſome evil affected perſons ſubverted; and both theſe men had recourſe to Calvin for his counſel. And at Neocome, though Mr. Farell laboured with great ſucceſs, yet the work of the Lord was much obſtructed, partly by open force, and partly by the apoſtate Peter Caroli, of whom we ſpake before; about which buſineſs we may diſcern Mr Calvin's labours, partly by his printed letters, and partly by the teſtimony of ſuch as were eye witneſſes of it.

But there was a far more audacious act of the Sorboniſts at this time, who neither having authority from God nor man, yet dared to impoſe ſundry articles of Chriſtian religion, as they called them, but ſuch indeed as were ſtuffed with ſo many errors, and fooleries, wherein that ſociety of men did abound, as that it was a wonder how any man that had the uſe of reaſon ſhould aſſent thereunto, yet many, partly through fear, and partly through ignorance ſubſcribed them. Wherefore Mr Calvin anſwered them, learnedly confuting their errors by ſolid arguments, and ſo ſet forth their fooleries, that every man which was not wilfully blind might eaſily diſcern the ſame.

Thus ended this year, to which the next ſucceeded, no whit milder, either in regard of the famine or peſtilence, which infeſted all Savoy; and Mr Calvin proceeded according to his accuſtomed manner, confirmed his own at home, and ſtrongly oppoſed the adverſaries abroad; publiſhing his four books about free-will, which he dedicated to Phil. Melancthon, againſt Albert Pighius, the greateſt ſophiſter of his age, and who had ſingled out Calvin for his antagoniſt, being promiſed a cardinal's hat if he could carry away the victory from him. But being fruſtrated of his labour, he gat that which the enemies of the truth only deſerve, viz. That he ſtank amongſt learned and good men, himſelf being deceived by the devil How much Melancthon eſteemed of thoſe books of Mr Calvin, himſelf teſtifies in his epiſtles which are in print. Mr Calvin alſo the ſame year wrote to the church at Montbelgard, whereby the mouths of calumniators may be ſtopped, who accuſe him of too much rigidneſs in the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline,

The year following, which was *anno Chriſti*, 1544. Mr Calvin declared his opinion about the purpoſe of the church of Neocome in eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and at home Sebaſtian Caſtalio, whom we mentioned before, being a light man, and very ambitious, having tranſlated the New Teſtament into French, was exceedingly diſpleaſed that Mr. Calvin did not approve of it; yea, he grew ſo angry, that he vented divers errors, and not content therewith, he publicly preached that the Canticles of Solomon was an impure and obſcene ſong, and therefore would needs have it expunged out of the ſacred canon; and becauſe the miniſters oppoſed him, he railed exceedingly againſt them; which they judging unfit for them to bear, called him before the ſenate, where being heard with much patience, he was at laſt condemned of ſlanders, and commanded to depart out of the city.

From thence he went to Baſil, where being at laſt admitted. What his carriage was there, is beſides my purpoſe. The year before the emperor Charles the fifth being to war againſt the king of France, had promiſed the Germans that they ſhould not be moleſted for their religion, till a general council ſhould be called, which as he told them, he would take care to be effected. This the pope Paul the third was much incenſed at, and publiſhed a harſh expoſtulation againſt the emperor, becauſe he had equalized the heretics with the catholics, and had thruſt his ſickle into another man's harveſt: the emperor anſwered, that which he thought to be reaſon: but Mr Calvin becauſe he ſaw in the pope's letters, that the truth of the goſpel did ſuffer, together with the innocency of good men, took him up very roundly, and repreſſed his impudence.

At this time a dyet was aſſembled at Spires, upon which occaſion Calvin publiſhed the book of neceſſity of reforming the church, than which that age produced not a book of that ſubject, that was more weighty and nervous. The ſame year alſo Mr. Calvin in two books did ſo confute the Anabaptiſts and Libertines, who had revived the monſtrous hereſies of the former ages, that whoſoever read them, except he was willing to it, could not be deceived by them, and they which had been formerly deceived could not but be reclaimed to the truth. Yet the queen of Navar was offended with his book againſt the Libertines, being ſo bewitched with two of the chief patrons of that hereſy; Quintinus and Poquetus, whom Calvin had noted by name, that though ſhe was not otherwiſe tainted with their errors, yet ſhe had a great opinion that they were good men, and therefore took herſelf to be wounded thro' their ſides: which when Mr Calvin underſtood, he wrote to her with admirable moderation, as not unmindful of her dignity, nor of all the good ſhe had done for the church

church of God, and yet withal became a faithful servant of Jesus Christ; he reprehended her imprudence for admitting such men, and asserted the authority of his ministry; and he so far prevailed, that the men of that abominable sect of libertines, which began apace to flock into France, afterwards kept themselves in Holland and the countries adjacent.

The labours of this year being finished, the succeeding year 1545, brought new and greater labours with it, for the plague, increasing in the city and neighbouring villages, seemed as if it would devour all before it; and covetousness so prevailed with the poor people, who were employed to attend the rich in their sickness, and to cleanse their houses, that by an horrible conspiracy amongst themselves, with a pestilentious ointment they anointed the posts, thresholds, and doors of many houses, whereby a more grievous pestilence ensued; and these wicked instruments of the devil had bound themselves to Satan by an oath, that by no torments they should confess their wickedness: yet many of them being taken in the city and villages were punished according to their deserts.

It is almost incredible what envy and reproach this act brought upon Geneva, and especially upon Mr Calvin, as if the devil should rule there altogether where he was most opposed. This year was also infamous by that abominable and cruel edict which the parliament of Aquitain set forth against the poor Waldenses of Merindol, Cabriers, and those parts, whereby most unheard of cruelties were exercised, not against some few, but against all of them, without any distinction of ages or sex, yea, to the very burning of their towns.

Some of these that escaped flying to Geneva, Mr Calvin was the more afflicted for them, and careful of them, because a little before he had written consolatory letters to them, and sent them faithful pastors for the instructing of them purely out of the gospel, and had also (where they were in danger before) preserved them, by his intercession to the German princes and Helvetians.

The unhappy controversy also of the Lord's supper sprang up again; Osiander, a man of a proud and monstrous wit, reviving it out of the ashes: for the quenching of which flame Mr Calvin did what possibly he could, as may appear by his letters which he wrote to Melancthon about the same. But the intemperancy of Osiander was such, that he would by no means hearken to the wholesome counsel that was given him by those two men.

In the mean while the plague, still raging in the city, took away many good men; whereupon Mr Calvin, out of the pulpit, thundered against many wickednesses, especially against whoredom, which was not laid aside, notwithstanding that judgment of God amongst them. Good men assented to this which Mr Calvin spake; but some there were of the great men of the city which hindered the reformation hereof, till at last they ruined themselves thereby: And to all these evils this was added to compleat them, that now (though very unseasonable) the controversy about the privileges of the city sprang up, neither could the faithful pastors be suffered to dispose of the ecclesiastical goods taken from the pontificians, as they ought to be. About this business were many clamours, many complaints, and much pains taken by writing and conference, but they proved all in vain: whereupon Mr Calvin did publicly profess that he could not endure so many sacrileges, which he knew would at length be severely punished by God, yet withal, he acknowleged the justice of God, in that the goods which were formerly so unjustly gotten by the massprists, God would not suffer them to be brought into the church's treasury.

Master Calvin yet met with two more things which did afflict him this year. A wicked fellow was returned to Geneva, his own country, who for a time had lived as an hermit in France. This man pretending to the reformed religion, Mr Calvin (who was very acute in prying into mens minds, and manners) taking notice of him, admonished him first gently, and afterwards more freely, and at last reproved him for carrying himself more proudly in the congregation than beseemed him. The man not bearing this, easily found out such as had been reproved for their wickedness by Mr Calvin, by whose favour and help he might be assisted; so that a pastor being to be chosen in the room of one that was dead, this man by the help of his companions, sought the place, and so far prevailed that the senate commanded that in the election regard should be had of him. Mr Calvin with his colleagues opposed it, shewing how far this his seeking to intrude himself was dissonant from the word of God, and at length obtained of the senate, that they should proceed in their election according to the ecclesiastical constitutions formerly agreed upon.

At this same time also there were many in France, who being fallen at first through fear of persecution, began at last to please themselves with this conceit, that it was no sin to be present with their bodies at the popish services, so they kept the true religion in their hearts. This pernicious error was long since condemned by the fathers: against these Mr Calvin wrote, and confuted that error; and because these persons thought him too rigid, he adjoined to his own, the opinions of these learned and godly divines, Philip Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and the church of Zurick, so that the name of these Nicodemites stank amongst all good men, for so were they called who cloaked their errors with his example.

The next year, being 1546. proved nothing milder than the former. For frequent intelligence came of the preparations of the emperor, and the pope's frauds against the protestants: wherefore Mr Calvin judged it necessary to confirm the minds of the citizens against the terror of these reports, especially considering the impudency of many wicked men, who were so far from being curbed by all the bridles of ecclesiastical discipline, that on the contrary they raged the more, and sought to break them all in sunder. These men having gotten one Amedius Perrinus, a vain, bold, and ambitious man, for their captain; (for indeed he had long before procured to be chosen the captain general by the suffrages of the people,) this man supposing (as the truth was) that neither he, nor such like himself could stand whilst the ecclesiastical laws were in force, and especially whilst Mr Calvin did so thunder against their lascivousness, began now to discover what he, and his associates had been long contriving; which being taken notice of, and speedily prevented by the authority of the senate, he indeed held his peace, but the contrived wickedness presently brake out more openly.

For shortly after one of the senators in a public assembly of the people blamed Calvin as one that taught false doctrine; suborned (as was supposed) hereunto privately by the two of the college of pastors, both of them being drunkards, and therefore no whit less fearing the severity of the laws than the others forementioned. But Mr Calvin made little account of this barking. Yet this man that thus accused him, was called before the senate, and his cause being heard, was condemned for slander, and those two drunken ministers which had set him on, were removed out of their places, being forbidden going into taverns: whereby we see, that the wickedness of the wicked returns upon his own pate.

The troubles of this year being thus ended, the next year, which was 1547, proved far worse, indeed that age saw not a more calamitous time than that was; the churches of Germany seeming utterly subverted, the protestant princes taken, and cities yielding up themselves, after so great labour used, and so great difficulties passed through in planting the gospel amongst them, with what great grief the godly soul of Mr Calvin was afflicted for the desolations of the churches is not easy to express, especially if we consider that great affection which he bore to them, though far remote from him, which indeed was no other than if he had bore them all upon his shoulders. And indeed he was wonderfully grieved when he heard of those holy men, his worthy friends, Philip Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, &c. in so great danger that they seemed nearer to death than life.

But yet, that Mr Calvin bore up with a valiant mind in this tempest, appears both by his writings and by his carriage; for being much vexed at home by sundry wicked men, yet would he not start at all from his fixed course. To speak somewhat of his domestic troubles, Mr Calvin wholly employed himself to shew, that the life of Christianity did not so much consist in vain speculations, as in practice, he necessarily met with those enemies which did not

not only oppoſe all piety and honeſty, but threatened war to their own country. The chief of theſe was that Perrinus before mentioned, who, with his companions had brought themſelves into this condition, that they muſt needs uſe extremity; for which end they appealed from the preſbytery to the ſenate. The preſbytery, on the contrary, pleaded their eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, agreeable to the word of God, and ſettled by authority; and therefore they deſired the ſenate, that their privileges might not be infringed. The ſenate concluded, that the eccleſiaſtical laws, being eſtabliſhed, ought not to be violated. But when this audacious fellow would not otherwiſe be ruled, the ſenate decreed that he ſhould be depoſed from his captainſhip, and live a private life.

Though all theſe things were tranſacted before the ſenate, yet was Mr Calvin wonderfully afflicted by them; for once, upon a public hearing, there was ſuch a tumult raiſed, that they were very near embruing their hands each in other's blood; which ſedition Calvin, with his colleagues, hearing of, interpoſed themſelves, though it was with the peril of his life, (the faction of the wicked being moſt againſt him) and ſtopped it.

Yet theſe men proceeding in their wickedneſs hated him the more for it; ſo that Mr Calvin ſharply reproved them for it in his ſermons, and God's judgments threatened by him proved not in vain; for one of them writing an infamous libel, and affixing it to his pulpit, wherein were contained many railings againſt the ſacred miniſtry, and particularly againſt Mr Calvin, that he deſerved to be thrown into the river Rhodanus; this man being apprehended and convicted of theſe and many other blaſphemies, had his head cut off. And after his death there was another libel found written by his own hand, containing blaſphemies againſt Moſes and Chriſt himſelf; with which impiety there was no doubt but that he had infected others.

At this very time, and in the midſt of theſe troubles Calvin wrote his Antidote againſt the ſeven ſeſſions of the Council of Trent. He alſo ſending letters to the church of Chriſt in Roan, confirmed them againſt the fraud of a certain Franciſcan friar, who had ſpread the poiſonſome doctrines of the Libertines and Carpocratians amongſt them.

The year following, which was 1548, the evil of the aforenamed faction in Geneva brake forth again; the devil (which is almoſt incredible) abuſing thoſe perſons to be inſtruments thereof, who indeed were the greateſt enemies to it, viz. Farell and Viret. Theſe men coming to Geneva, made a grave oration in the ſenate about compoſing their differences. Mr Calvin requiring nothing but that thoſe men ſhould mend their manners, and Perrinus, with his aſſociates, promiſing any thing ſo he might be reſtored to his former place. For Perrinus being reſtored to his place, he and his wicked companions grew ſo impudent, that they cut their cloaths croſs on their breaſts that they might know each other; others of them called their dogs by the name of Calvin; others inſtead of Calvin called him Cain; others, out of an hatred to Mr Calvin, profeſſed that they would not come to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

All which Mr Calvin and his colleagues did boldly and faithfully reprove, and when they were called before the ſenate, the innocency of the good men eaſily carried away the victory. So that the Amneſtie (or forgetfulneſs of wrongs) was ſolemnly ſworn to December 18. But it afterwards appeared that all this was done through diſſimulation, and that Perrin ſought nothing thereby, but to be choſen a ſyndic, that he and his might, by that means have the more liberty to act all their wickedneſs, as the event declared.

Mr Calvin, in the midſt of theſe broils, was ſo far from giving over his accuſtomed labours, that (as if nothing had moleſted him) he wrote learned commentaries upon ſix of Paul's epiſtles; as alſo, by weighty arguments confuted the interim, which was publiſhed for the deſtruction of the German churches, ſhewing withal the right courſe for reſtoring of thoſe churches.

He diſcovered alſo, in a book, the vanity of judicial aſtrology, which many began now to give too much heed to; and being ſaluted by letter from Brentius, now in exile, he wrote conſolatory letters to him, in which friendſhip it had been happy if Brentius had continued. Bucer alſo being a baniſhed man in England at this time, Calvin wrote to him to declare and open his mind more fully about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and comforted him in a moſt friendly manner.

He alſo wrote letters of advice to the duke of Somerſet, now protector of England, (who afterwards ſuffered an unworthy death) about ſuch matters, as if his council had been hearkened to, it had been happy for England, and perhaps the church there had happily avoided many of thoſe ſtorms which afterwards befel it.

In the midſt of theſe contentions the church of Geneva did wonderfully increaſe, which did exceedingly torment the devil and his inſtruments, and Mr Calvin was very ſolicitous to entertain and provide for ſuch as were baniſhed for the name of Chriſt; which care of his it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs the year following, that the fury of thoſe wicked men, though it was not quite extinct, yet for the preſent it was laid aſleep. And truly he had need of ſuch a truce, being grievouſly afflicted with a domeſtic accident; for at this time he loſt his dear wife, a very choice woman; yet did he bear this accident with ſuch conſtancy, that therein he gave an excellent example of fortitude to the whole church.

The ſame year there aroſe a great contention in the Saxon church about things indifferent; whereupon ſending to Mr Calvin for his judgment, he freely declared his opinion to them. He alſo admoniſhed Melanchthon of his duty, whom ſome accuſed for too much ſofneſs in this point; but Mr Calvin afterwards found it to be a falſe charge: for at this time it was unknown with what mind and ſpirit the whole troop of Flaccians were carried, which afterwards raiſed ſuch great troubles to the church, and were acted with ſuch fury and impudence, as if they had been hired by the pope of Rome to carry on his cauſe.

But it pleaſed God to compenſate this wound inflicted upon the churches of Germany, by a great bleſſing upon the Helvetians; for Farrell and Calvin going to Zurick, when many thought that Mr Calvin did too much favour the doctrine of conſubſtantiation, in a ſynod of all the Helvetian and Rhetian churches, he ſhewed his agreement with them: And indeed there was no great difficulty to bring good men and lovers of the truth into an harmonious concord.

This agreement of the Helvetian and Rhetian churches was written, which did more and more unite Bullinger and Calvin, and the church of Zurick with that of Geneva. Mr Calvin alſo, about this time, wrote two learned epiſtles to Lælius Socinus, the poiſon of whoſe opinions did not appear till after his death; for, in his life-time, going through the churches, he had deceived Melanchthon, Calvin, and Camerarius; but afterwards it appeared that he had favoured Servetus, Caſtalio, and Ochin, and their mad opinions; for his commentary upon the firſt chapter of John coming forth, ſhewed that he went beyond the impiety of all thoſe heretics, which had corrupted the moſt divine portion of ſcripture.

Anno Chriſti 1550 ſucceeding, the church of Chriſt enjoyed peace; and then it was decreed in Geneva, that the miniſters, not only in their ſermons, which many neglected, and others heard with ſmall profit, but from houſe to houſe, at many ſeaſons of the year, ſhould divide the city amongſt them, and require of every family an account of their faith; by which means its ſcarce credible what profit came to the people thereby. Another decree for the aboliſhing of Chriſtmaſs-day, and that no holy day ſhould be obſerved but the Sabbath only; which did ſo offend ſome looſe perſons, that they bruited abroad that Mr Calvin had aboliſhed the Sabbaths, to bring the greater odium upon him. This offence taken by ſome, occaſioned Calvin to write his book of Scandals, dedicated to Laurence Normendius, his intimate friend.

Anno Chriſti 1551, great contentions brake out in the church; and this year was begun with the death of Bucer, to the great grief of the whole church, and of Mr Calvin eſpecially, who always highly prized him. About the ſame time died Joachim Vadian, a ſenator of Geneva, a man endued with ſingular learning and piety; whereupon the wickedneſs of the factious perſons brake forth again which

which had ſlept a great while. Theſe men would by no means ſuffer the exiles which fled thither for religion to enjoy the privileges of the city; and not content therewith, Mr Calvin having been forth to preach beyond the Rhodanus as he came home they entertained him with ſcorns; and one Raimund his colleague, having occaſion one evening to paſs the bridge over the Rhodanus, they had almoſt caſt him into the river; and laſtly, they raiſed a great tumult in the church of St Gervaſe, becauſe a child being brought to be baptized, the miniſter refuſed to give him the name of Belthazar (which name had been, for ſome reaſon, forbidden by their law); neither could Mr Calvin tell how to cure thoſe evils, but by his invincible patience.

About the ſame time another miſchief invaded the church of Geneva, which was occaſioned by one Jerome Bolſec, a friar Carmelite of Paris, who had indeed laid aſide his coul, but not his monkiſh mind. This man firſt fled to the dutcheſs of Ferrara, whom he deceived, till being found out he was driven from thence. Then, pretending to be a phyſician, he came to Geneva; but the learned phyſicians there rejecting him, that he might manifeſt himſelf a divine, he vented ſome falſe and abſurd opinions about predeſtination firſt in private, and then in the public congregation. Him therefore did Mr Calvin confute, firſt with a moderate reproof only; then ſending for him to him, he laboured to inſtruct him better; but he, either puffed up with his monkiſh pride, or provoked by the ſeditious perſons, ſeeking by him to provoke Mr Calvin, took the boldneſs, upon the ſixteenth of October, to preach upon this text, 'He that is of God, heareth the words of God; and they which hear them not are not of God;' whence he took occaſion to preach up free will, and that predeſtination was out of works foreſeen, withal reproaching the true doctrine, and ſhewing himſelf ſeditiouſly proud: and he became the more bold, becauſe ſeeing Mr Calvin's ſeat empty, he judged him to be abſent. But indeed, Mr Calvin, coming too late, ſate behind ſome others; and when the friar had done, Mr Calvin ſuddenly ſtanding up, though he had thought of no ſuch thing before, then truly, if at any time, he ſhewed what a man he was, confuting the friar with ſo many teſtimonies of ſcripture, with ſo many places out of St Auguſtine; and laſtly, with ſo many weighty arguments, that all were aſhamed of what he had taught, but only the impudent fellow himſelf; inſomuch that one of the magiſtrates of the city apprehended him and committed him to priſon for a ſeditious perſon; and after hearing and examining his cauſe, the judgment of the ſenate of the Helvetian churches being alſo requeſted, upon the 23d day of December he was publicly condemned for ſedition and Pelagianiſm, and baniſhed the city, being threatened with ſevere puniſhment if he were afterwards found either in the city, or territories belonging to it.

After this, going into a neighbouring town, he was the cauſe of many and great ſtirs there, till he was twice expelled the country of the Bernates. From thence going into France, he ſought to get into the miniſtry in the reformed churches, which he found in a peaceable condition, firſt in Paris, then in Orleans, pretending great penitency for his former miſcarriages, and of his own accord ſeeking reconciliation with the church at Geneva: but preſently after, when he ſaw the churches under affliction, he fell back to his popery, loading the reformed churches with many reproaches.

At the ſame time, the college of miniſters at Geneva, in a public meeting, aſſerted the true doctrine of predeſtination, which Calvin put into writing; ſo that all the devil got by theſe contentions was, that that head of Chriſtian religion, which before was very obſcure, was now very clearly opened to the underſtanding of all that were not contentious.

The year following, which was 1551, it further appeared what a flame this wicked varlet had kindled, though condemned by the common judgment of ſo many churches. For the difficulty of the queſtion not having been ſufficiently explicated by the ancients, did ſtir up, eſpecially ſome curious wits, to make enquiry into the ſame; by which means the factious perſons, ſuppoſing that they had gotten an excellent advantage againſt Mr Calvin, thought, that by removing him they might ſubvert all things; ſo that it cannot be imagined what ſtirs aroſe, not only in the city, but alſo in other places, as if the devil had ſet all his engines on work to raiſe contentions. For though there was a ſweet agreement amongſt the chief paſtors of the churches, yet there were not ſome wanting in the country of the Bernates which accuſed Calvin, as if he had made God the author of ſin, being forgetful how far he had profeſſedly oppoſed that curſed tenet, when he had confuted the Libertines.

At Baſil, Caſtalio, a good and ſimple man, though he did all things cloſely, yet it was diſcerned that he defended Pelagianiſm, and Melancthon had ſo begun to write of theſe things, that tho' he had formerly ſubſcribed Calvin's book againſt Phigius, yet he ſeemed to brand the Genevians, as if they held the Fate of the Stoics. The Pontificans alſo, though they had been a thouſand times confuted, yet renewed their old ſlanders. Theſe things did much trouble Mr. Calvin's mind, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the efficacy of error was ſo great at this time, that the mouth of truth in ſome places ſeemed to be ſtopt by public authority. Neither was this a controverſy of a few years.

This ſame year that good Hermit, whom we mentioned before, appeared publicly to diſpute with Calvin, who had ſuffered a repulſe when ſome years before he had ſought to creep into the miniſtry; whereupon he turned lawyer, and the patron of factious perſons. Their cauſe came to be heard before the ſenate, with a great contention on both ſides; the firſt fighting with impudency, and the favour of the wicked; but Mr Calvin defending his doctrine only with the authority of truth. And the truth prevailed, Mr Calvin's writings being judged pious and orthodox by his very adverſaries. But the repentance of this his adverſary is not to be paſſed over in ſilence; for a few years after, when he lay upon his death bed, he profeſſed that he could have no peace of conſcience till Mr Calvin had forgiven him, which he not only did ſpeedily, but comforted and confirmed him to his laſt hour.

Anno Chriſti 1553. The malice of the factious brake out ſo impetuouſly, that not only the church, but even the common-wealth, was brought into extream hazard thereby; for they proceeded ſo far by the clamours and threats, and by their number oppreſſing the liberty of good men, that the ancient edicts about conſtituting of ſenators was by them diſſolved; and pretending that they were afraid of the foreign exiles, they took from them all their weapons and ſwords (except when they travelled abroad) ſo that nothing ſeemed remaining, but when they had got all the power into their own hands, that they ſhould then effect what they had often aimed at.

The devil alſo then miniſtered another occaſion of troubles, for the ancient enemy of the ſacred trinity, and of the true God, Michael Servetus, a very monſter, compoſed of many ancient and prodigious hereſies, having gone about a long time as a phyſician, and ſpread his blaſphemies under the name of Michael Villanovanus, at laſt publiſhed a great book at Vienna, belonging to Geneva, the printer whereof was Arnollet of Lions, the corrector to the preſs William Guerotius, long ago addicted to the factious Geneviſts, but a few months before being like to be puniſhed for his whoredoms, and other wickedneſſes, was fled from Geneva to Lions.

This Servetus having publiſhed his book, ſtuffed with blaſphemies, was at Vienna caſt into priſon for the ſame, but making an eſcape he came (by a ſecret providence) to Geneva, thinking to paſs further, but (as God would have it) being diſcovered, and Mr Calvin acquainting the magiſtrates with it, they caſt him into priſon: much means was uſed to bring him to a ſight of his wickedneſs, and to repentance for the ſame; but when this deſperate wretch (encouraged by ſome of the chief of the factious perſons) would not be brought to a recantation of his abominable blaſphemies, by the common conſent of all the Helvetian churches, he was condemned to death, and upon the ſeven and twentieth of October, without any ſign of repentance, was burned alive.

The ſame year Mr. Farell being very ſick, Mr. Calvin went to Neocome to viſit him; but his diſeaſe prevailing, he left him for dead; yet it pleaſed God wonderfully beyond expectation to raiſe him up again, to the great joy of the church.

Whilſt

Whilſt the buſineſſes of Servetus were in agitation, there roſe up one amongſt the factious, one Bertelerius, a moſt impudent man, who for many wickedneſſes was ſuſpended from the ſacrament by the preſbytery; whereupon he went to the ſenate, deſiring by them to be abſolved, which being effected, there was no doubt but the reins of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline being let looſe, all things would grow into confuſion; therefore Mr. Calvin in the name of the preſbytery oppoſed it, ſhewing that the Chriſtian magiſtrate ought to preſerve, not to deſtroy the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions: yet the falſe clamours of the adverſaries prevailed, who ſaid that the preſbytery encroached upon the authority of the magiſtrate, ſo that in a meeting of the common council it was decreed, that the laſt appeal ought to be to the ſenate, who might abſolve whom they thought fit. After which the ſenate not much minding the buſineſs, ſuffered this Bertelerius ſurreptitiouſly to get letters of abſolution from them, confirmed by the ſeal of the commonwealth. But Perinus and his companions, hoped that one of theſe two things would follow, viz. that either Calvin would not obey this mandate of the ſenate, and ſo he would be oppreſſed by the people in a tumult; or elſe that he would obey it, and then it would be eaſy for them to diſſolve the decrees of the preſbytery, and ſo open a door to all licentiouſneſs.

But Mr Calvin (though he had notice of this but two days before the ſacrament was to be adminiſtred, in the month of September) in the time of his ſermon, lifting up his voice, and ſtretching forth his hand, ſpake much againſt the contemners and profaners of thoſe ſacred myſteries: 'But I, ſaith he, following Chryſoſtome, will rather ſuffer myſelf to be ſlain, than this hand of mine ſhould reach the holy elements to thoſe that have been judged contemners of God.' This ſpeech, which is wonderful to obſerve, did ſo far prevail with them, who othewiſe were head-ſtrong enough, that Perinus ſent privately to Bertelerius, commanding him not to obtrude himſelf upon the Sacrament, and ſo, through God's mercy, the ſacrament was peaceably adminiſtred, and received with a certain trembling, as if God himſelf had been preſent in their ſight.

In the afternoon Mr Calvin preached upon that text in the Acts, wherein Paul took his leave of the church of Epheſus, wherein he profeſſed that he was not the man that would himſelf oppoſe the decree of the magiſtrate, exhorting the congregation to perſevere in that doctrine wherein they had been taught, as if he had taken his laſt farewel of Geneva. And ſeeing, ſaith he, things are come to this paſs, give me leave, brethren, to uſe the words of the apoſtle to you, 'I commend you to God, and the word of his grace;' which words as they wonderfully daunted the wicked, ſo they prevailed much more with the godly party, to put them in mind of their duty.

The day after Mr Calvin with his colleagues, and the whole preſbytery intreated the ſenate, and the common-council that they might be heard before the people, whilſt they ſhould give in reaſons for the abrogating of that forenamed law. This was eaſily aſſented to, their minds being wonderfully changed; and it was decreed, that that law ſhould be ſuſpended, and that the judgment of the four Helvetian cities ſhould be deſired therein; and that nothing in the mean time ſhould be acted that was prejudicial to the laws formerly eſtabliſhed.

Thus this tempeſt was rather diſperſed than wholly quieted, which beyond hope, being diverted from Mr Calvin, the factious ſought to bring it upon the head of Mr Farell: for Mr. Farell, as ſoon as he was recovered of his great ſickneſs, came to Geneva, and there in a ſermon ſharply reproved the factious, partly relying upon the juſtneſs of the cauſe, and partly upon his age, and that ancient authority which he had amongſt them. But they, complaining that he had done them much wrong, when he was returned to Neocome, appointed him a day to anſwer it before the ſenate, and withal ſent to the ſenate at Neocome that he might appear at the day appointed. He came therefore again to Geneva, yet not without danger, whilſt the factious cried out that he deſerved to be thrown into the river of Rhodanus: but an honeſt young man of the citizens adviſed Perinus, that Mr. Farell, the common father of the city, might be no way wronged; joining alſo with himſelf another honeſt young man, they gave notice to the well affected citizens, that they ſhould ſtand by Mr Farell at the day of hearing, which alſo they did; ſo that his adverſaries being aſtoniſhed and deterred hereat, of their own accord craved pardon, and Mr Farell was diſmiſſed.

About this time a grievous calamity befel the church of England by the immature death of that godly prince, king Edward VI. which was a grievous wound to all the reformed churches. Yet at this time Mr. Calvin wrote his learned commentaries upon the goſpel of St. John.

Geneva (as we heard before) having inflicted deſerved puniſhment upon Servetus, not as upon a ſectary, but as upon a monſter for his horrible impieties and blaſphemies, by which for thirty years ſpace he had infected the Chriſtian world both by his teaching and writings: it cannot be imagined how this ſtirred up the rage of Satan, ſuch a flame ariſing from hence as ſet Poland firſt, then Tranſylvania and Hungary all on a fire, which himſelf ſeemed to foretel by the ſpirit of Satan, when in the beginning of his book he ſet this ſentence out of the Revelation, 'There was a great battle in heaven, Michael, and his angels fighting with the dragon:' for his aſhes being ſcarce cold, a great controverſy ſprung up about the puniſhing of heretics: ſome holding that they ought to be reſtrained, but not to be puniſhed with death. Others thinking that it could not be clearly ſtated out of God's word, what was hereſy; thereupon ſaid, that it was lawful to hold either part in all the heads of religion, and that all men, though holding a wrong opinion, were to be left to the judgment of God. This latter opinion ſome good men inclined to, fearing that the contrary tenet might kindle the cruelty of tyrants againſt the godly. The principal of theſe were Sebaſtian Caſtalio, and Lælius Socinus, therein pleading their own cauſe: the former indeed more cloſely, and the latter more openly, as one that ſtudied to vindicate the clear authority of the ſcripture, in a certain preface, to the perverting of the Holy Bible; and in his annotations upon the firſt epiſtle of Paul to the Corinthians had endeavoured to draw men from the written word of God, as an imperfect rule, as if Paul had taught to ſome of his diſciples that were more perfect than the reſt, a certain more hidden divinity than that which he had committed to writing. Hereupon Mr Calvin *anno Chriſti* 1554. ſet forth a copious confutation of all the doctrine of Servetus, which was ſubſcribed by all his collegues: adding many reaſons why, and how far a magiſtrate might proceed in puniſhing ſuch an one as was lawfully convicted of hereſy. The adverſaries on the contrary publiſhed a rhapſody, collected partly out of the writings of the ancient fathers, which they perverted to their own ends, and partly out of the writings of certain unknown fanatics, and under the name of Martin Bellius, which indeed was Caſtalio, though afterwards he foreſwore it, and falſifying alſo the name of the city, in which they falſely pretended that it was publiſhed.

To this book, ſwarming with many errors and blaſphemies; Mr. Beza anſwered, thereby to free Mr. Calvin from that labour, who was now buſy in writing his learned commentaries upon Geneſis, and in diverting other dangers from the church: for the factious went on to innovate things in the city, and though the amneſtie was again renewed before the ſenate upon the ſecond of February, yet they daily grew worſe and worſe, ſo that Mr Calvin was much buſied both in blaming and reproving them for their wickedneſs, and in endeavouring to ſtrengthen the godly againſt the poiſon of their impiety; for they had proceeded to ſuch a height of wickedneſs, that they turned part of the ſacred ſcriptures into obſcene ſongs, and uſed to beat ſtrangers whom they met in the night, and ſometimes alſo to rob them.

They alſo privately uſed the books of Bolſecus, Caſtalio, and other corrupt men, that they might renew the controverſy about Predeſtination; yea, they proceeded to ſcatter abroad a falſe and ſcandalous libel, wherein they grievouſly aſperſed that worthy ſervant of Chriſt, Mr Calvin. Caſtalio alſo ſent another Latin book to be privately printed at Paris, to which Mr Beza anſwered, and Mr Calvin alſo confuted ſome of the fooleries of the ſame kind. About this time the care of the Engliſh exiles lay heavy upon him, ſome of which were come to Verſalia; others to Embden, and

and others to Frankford, all sending to Mr. Calvin for advice and counsel: neither was he a little troubled for the audaciousness of some of the pastors (encouraged by the secret favour of others) of the French church, long since planted by him at Strasborough: and in short how great pains he took this year for several churches, may appear by the multitude of epistles wrote by him, by which he stirred up many noblemen to embrace the gospel, and strengthened many of the brethren, some of which were in extreme danger, and others already cast into bonds.

We spake before of the sweet harmony that was between the Helvetian and Rhetian churches, about the doctrine of the sacrament. This concord did exceedingly displease the spirit of error; therefore he easily found out one that might easily rekindle the fire which was before extinguished, viz. Joachim Westphalus, who was seconded by Hesshusius, then a minister of the word, but afterwards a bishop, of whom we shall speak more afterwards: hereupon Mr Calvin published an explication of that argument, which, by how much it imbittered their spirits, by so much the more it satisfied all good men that were lovers of the truth.

The year following, viz. 1555. By the special mercy of God, brought peace along with it to the church of Geneva, which was now quiet from its domestic stirs; for the factions ruined themselves: God discovering their horrible treason to the state, by the means of one of the conspirators, who in his drunken fit discovered it; whereupon some of them were beheaded, others of them were banished, who though a while after they vexed the city, yet perished shamefully in the end, leaving an example of the just judgment of God upon such persons, though it may be deferred for a time. Thus the common wealth was freed from these pests. To which another mercy was added by the answer of the four Helvetian cities, to whom the question about the discipline (which we spake before) had been proposed, who unanimously confirmed the ecclesiastical polity as it had been before settled, contrary to the expectation of the factions.

Yet something was not wanting whereby Mr Calvin might be further exercised: for he took great pains in constituting the church in Polonia by the will of the king: in comforting the afflicted in England, who were much troubled by reason of the cruel burning of those three bishops and martyrs, incomparable for piety, viz Nicholas Ridley, John Hooper, and Hugh Latimer, who suffered amongst many other worthy men, and shortly after that great Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury: as also in comforting the imprisoned brethren in France; especially those five valiant martyrs who this year were burned at Cameracum.

But at home the errors of Servetus began to spring up again, whose blasphemies Matthews Gribaldus was observed to favour, a lawyer of some note, and the Lord of a town not far from Geneva: this man coming to Geneva, was brought to Mr Calvin by some Italians who had been his scholars when he taught at Padua; but Mr Calvin refused to give him his hand, till they could agree about some of the chief heads of divinity, viz. about the sacred trinity, and divinity of Christ, till when he would by no means be perswaded to do it; and because he refused Mr Calvin told him that an heavy judgement of God hung over his head for his pertinacious impiety, which shortly after came to pass: being first forced to fly to Tubing, where he was entertained by the favour of Vergerius, and being afterwards taken at Berne, upon a feigned submission was dismissed: but returning to his old course, and entertaining and favouring Gentilis (of whom we shall speak anon) God found him out, and prevented his punishment by man, by striking him with the plague whereof he died. About this time also Mr Calvin met with another trial: for certain neighbour ministers, who were underhand encouraged by Bolsecus, thinking to get themselves a name by opposing so great a man, and indeed they lay under many other scandals, railed exceedingly against Mr Calvin, as if he made God the author of sin, because he would exclude nothing from the eternal foresight and ordination of God. Mr Calvin being little moved with these calumnies, was yet at last provoked by their importunities, so that he obtained of the senate leave to go with their ambassadors to Berne, there to defend himself and the truth before the Bernates, which accordingly he did, and so prevailed, that one Sebastian was branded with infamy, and banished; Bolsecus also was commanded to depart out of their coasts; so all these calumnies ended in smoke: and one Andreas Zebedaus, who had been his most bitter accuser, after Mr Calvin's death, himself also lying upon his death bed at Novidune, a town four miles distant from Geneva, sending for some of the chief citizens, did of his own accord confess the truth which before he had opposed, and detesting his former actions, caused all his papers to be burnt before his, and their faces.

The next year, viz. 1556. A certain ague seized upon Mr Calvid as he was preaching, which handled him so roughly, that it made him come down from the pulpit: hereupon many false rumours were spread abroad, which were so grateful, especially to the papists, that at Noviodune, his own country, the priest had returned public and solemn thanks for the death of Calvin; but the prayers of good men prevailed for his health, and he was so far from dying of that disease, that rather being increased in his strength, he undertook a longer journey than he was used to do, viz. to Frankford, being invited thither to pacify some controversies which were sprung up in the French church there. At length returning home, though something impaired in his health, yet remitted he nothing of his daily labours, publishing the next year his very learned commentaries upon the psalms, to which he prefixed a very precious preface.

The rest of the year being very full of tumults by reason of some factious ministers, and God sending a famine also, yet Mr Calvin spent it in defending the truth against Joachim Westphalus, and when notwithstanding Westphalus continued his prattle, Mr Beza answered him, and stopped his mouth. Then also Mr Calvin and Beza, both confuted the calumnies of Castalio, against the eternal predestination of God which he had spread abroad, yet concealing his name.

At this time a grievous persecution arising at Paris against the godly, it was a great affliction to Mr. Calvin; many being taken when they were assembled in St James's street for the celebration of the Lord's supper, being about eighty in number (the rest escaping by the benefit of the dark night) who the next morning were led to prison, loaden with scorn and reproaches, though some of them were noble women of good account. Against these sheep of Christ the king's anger was enflamed, not only by those about him, but by the very occasion of the times: for this fell out at the same time when the king's army had received such a notable defeat at St Quintan: besides these godly persons were forced to meet in the night, because they could not do it in the day, which further irritated him: hereupon also these old lying scandals were raised against them, especially by one Democarus a doctor of Sorbon, who charged the Christians as the cause of all the evils which befel this kingdom.

There were also some false witnesses suborned against them, which the credulous multitude was too apt to believe; there were therefore seven of them brought forth to be burned, amongst whom there was a noble woman, who with six others shewed admirable patience: and whereas they were accused for promiscuous whoredoms at their meetings, especially by the Sorbonists, who thought the more to incense the king thereby, a godly and learned man, who had lately been their pastor, easily confuted those lies, and the German princes interceeding in their behalf (which Mr. Calvin procured with admirable celerity) the tempest was in a good measure blown over.

The next year being 1558, proved very happy to the commonwealth of Geneva, by reason of that strict league made betwixt them and the Bernates. But a grievous persecution brake out against the church in France again; and at home the heresies of Servetus were revived by Valentine Gentilis, mentioned before. To stop the former, Mr Calvin sent letters to the German princes, which opened to them the great calamities which the churches groaned under, requesting them to intercede for them, and in the mean time himself endeavoured by his daily letters to support them under their afflictions. And for Gentilis, who was a man of an unhappy, but sagacious, and subtil wit, presently after the burning of Servetus, he gat his book,

Calvin's confutation of it, and not weighing the truth in the balance of the ſanctuary, but of carnal wiſdom and reaſon, he concludes that the Father was the only one God of himſelf, who propagated eſſence to the other two perſons; ſo that he began to profeſs that there were three Gods, three Eternals, Omnipotent and Immenſe Gods: and to prove it, he wreſted not only the ſacred ſcriptures, but the council of Nice alſo, and rejected Athanaſius his creed, as alſo the teſtimony of all the ancients, viz. of Ignatius. Tertullian, Irænæus, and Lactantius, by a certain unheard of impudence; yea, did not only reject all the orthodox writers which followed the Nicene council, but reproached them as wicked men. Other blaſphemies alſo followed this about the hypoſtatical union.

He firſt vented theſe things in private (as he pretended, for diſputation ſake) to ſome of the Italian congregation; whereupon an aſſembly being called on purpoſe, Mr Calvin, before ſome choice ſenators, and all the miniſters and elders, having patiently heard them, confuted them ſo fully out of the word of God, that all the Italians preſently ſubſcribed to the orthodox faith, except only ſix, who afterwards being called one by one, ſubſcribed with their hands, but not with their hearts as time made to appear. Gentilis therefore returning to his old courſe, and going on to ſpread his former blaſphemies, is apprehended, diſſembles not his opinion, being heard as much, and as long as he would. At length, ſeeming to be convinced by Mr Calvin, he feigned incredible repentance, and gave in a recantation ſigned under his own hand. Hereupon he was diſmiſſed, firſt taking an oath that he would not go forth of the gates of the city; but preſently, contrary to the ſame, he flies into Savoy to Matthew Gribaldus, and preſently after two of his diſciples, Alciat and Blandatra followed him, who afterwards proved the infectors of Tranſylvania, and the countries adjacent.

But God's judgment hanging over the head of Gentilis, he ſtaid with Gribaldus (both of them caſting off the other two as illiterate fellows) and there he wrote a book againſt Athanaſius and Calvin, and ſo going to Lions, he there printed it, dedicating it to Gaienſis a præfect, who was altogether ignorant of the blaſphemies contained in it. Whilſt he was at Lions he was apprehended by the papiſts, but when he ſhewed them that he had written a book againſt Calvin, he was diſmiſſed, as one that had deſerved well of their church.

From thence he went into Tranſylvania to Blandatra, Alciat, and their companions; but they having now ſucked in the hereſies of Samoſatenus, and he not well agreeing with them therein, Chriſt indeed drawing him forth to condign puniſhment, he returned into Savoy to his friend Gribaldus; but God's plague had now ſwept away that peſt, and Mr Calvin alſo was dead at Geneva. Hereupon Gentilis, either infatuated by God, or thinking that there was none left at Geneva that could anſwer him, went ſtrait to Galenſis, who was juſtly offended with him; who therefore preſently apprehending him, by the juſt judgment of God, ſent him to Berne, there to be tried; where being convicted of perjury and many manifeſt impieties, after many ways were uſed to bring him to repentance, but in vain he had his head cut off, thereby ſuffering a juſt reward for all his impieties.

Towards the latter end of this year, in October, Mr Calvin was taken with a quartane ague, which phyſicians ſay, is deadly to old perſons, which though it held him but eight months, yet it ſo debilitated his lean, and overworn body with his inceſſant labours, that he never thoroughly recovered his health again: yet all this time, though his phyſicians warned him, and his friends diſſuaded him from his preaching and lectures, yet did he continually buſy himſelf night and day in dictating, and writing letters every way, often ſaying, 'That nothing was more troubleſome to him than an idle life.' At this time alſo he publiſhed the laſt edition of his Inſtitutions in French and Latin, and his learned Commentary upon Iſaiah.

The year following, viz. 1559, was famous for the league entered into between the two moſt potent kings of Spain and France, which was ſtrengthened by affinity betwixt them, which was likely to prove fatal to Geneva, but that the council of the Pontificans, who abuſed the ſimplicity of king Henry of France, hindered it. For king Henry publiſhed moſt ſevere decrees, and caſt ſome of his ſenators into priſon, who had declared their judgment freely, that he ought to proceed gently in matters of religion, till a general council could be called; having this in his eye principally, to reſtore the duke of Savoy to his country, that by his help he might utterly deſtroy Geneva.

In the mean time Mr Calvin (though ſickly) laboured hard at Geneva, comforting and confirming the afflicted churches and brethren; as alſo by his frequent and fervent prayers craving help of God. And behold the wonderful work of God? whilſt all things were full of terror, the king of France in the great marriage ſolemnity which was made for the confirmation of the peace, in his running a tilt, received his death's wound, and that by the hand of the captain of his guard, by whom a little before he had apprehended and impriſoned the aforeſaid ſenators. This death of the king was expiated (as he thought) by the cardinal of Lorraine, who upon the one and twentieth of December, cauſed that learned lawyer, faithful counſeller, and holy martyr of Chriſt, Annas du Bourg, to be unjuſtly and cruelly burned. But by the ſingular bleſſing of God, in the midſt of theſe calamitous times, the hearts of the Genevians were ſo raiſed up, and confirmed, that in the very ſame year, and almoſt moment of time in which two ſuch potent kings had contrived their deſtruction, by the encouragement of Mr. Calvin they laid the foundation, and built a famous ſchool, adorning it with eight maſters for boys, as alſo with Hebrew, Greek, philoſophy, and divinity profeſſors; which being finiſhed to the honour of God Omnipotent, Mr Calvin in a great aſſembly in the chiefeſt church, read, and declared thoſe things which conduced to the perpetual eſtabliſhment of ſo holy and profitable a foundation, whereby he did as it were ſolemnly conſecrate it.

The year after, which was 1560. Mr Calvin was by ſome loaden with much envy, as if he had ſtirred up an aſſembly againſt Francis II. the heir of his father's kingdom; which aſſembly was called, The tumult of Amboiſe; whereas indeed Mr. Calvin never underſtood what it was, as alſo both by word of mouth, and by his letters to friends, he diſliked it. This year one Sancarus of Mantua (Italy byeing fatal to the Polonians) began to teach, that Chriſt was mediator only according to his humane nature; accuſing all of Arianiſm, that ſhould ſay that he was mediator according to his deity, as if thereby they made the Son leſs than the Father. This calumny, and all his other doctrine was notably confuted, as by Philip Melanchon, and Peter Martyr, ſo alſo Mr Calvin, at the requeſt of the Polonians, did briefly, but ſtrongly confute the ſame; and foreſeeing what ſhortly after came to paſs, that whilſt ſome more unſkilful perſons would take upon them to confute Sancarus, if they took not heed, would fall into an error of them which held three Gods: he eloquently admoniſhed them, that taking heed of Blandatra, and his followers, they ſhould ſo aſſert Chriſt to be our Mediator according to both his natures, that in the mean time they ſhould not multiply deities: but this labour of his was vain towards them that were to periſh.

About this time the Bohemian Waldenſes ſent two of their brethren to Mr Calvin to deſire his judgment about ſome matters of religion, whom he lovingly ſatisfied, exhorting them alſo that they would enter into a nearer conjunction with other reformed churches. At the ſame time alſo queen Mary being dead, and queen Elizabeth ſucceeding, many of the godly French relying upon her piety and humanity, fled for refuge into England, with the conſent of that reverend man, Edmund Grindal, biſhop of London, they craved leave of her that one might be ſent from Geneva to plant a French church there; whereupon Gabion was ſent.

Towards the latter end of this year king Francis of France died ſuddenly, and that in ſuch a juncture of time, when all things ſeemed ſo deſperate, that they could not be cured by God himſelf; and king Charles the ninth, a child, was ſcarce entred into his kingdom, when by a herald letters ſubſcribed with his name were brought to Geneva, wherein he complained that many were ſent out from thence, that infected his kingdom, deſiring that they might

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be presently called back, threatning that otherwise he would not let pass the revenging of that injury.

Mr Calvin being hereupon sent for by the senate, answered in his own, and in his colleagues names that at the request of the churches of France, they had exhorted certain men that were sound in the faith, and of an holy life, whom they judged fit for the work, that they should not be wanting to lend their help to their country in so holy a cause, especially the churches craving assistance from them for their further edification: and that this they had done, not to disturb the kingdom, but that the people might be taught the gospel of peace; and if they were accused for any thing further than this, that they were ready to answer their accusers before the king: so this business went no further.

The same year Mr Calvin and Mr Beza, answered the impudent book of Tileman Hushusius. Mr Calvin also confuted those blasphemies which Gentilis had published at Lions against him, and Athanasius: he published also his lectures upon Daniel, which he dedicated to the French churches; and as he interpreted that prophet, so in his preface he was himself a prophet, foretelling the tempest that hung over them. At which time also Francis Balduines, afterwards called Ecebolius, because he had changed his religion three or four times, being suborned by the Cardinal of Lorain, by evil means reconciled to the king of Navar, dispersed a certain book up and down the court, written either by himself, or (as some rather thought) by Cassander, wherein he stiled himself a pious and moderate man, which book was worse than the emperor's Interim; for that under the specious pretence of restoring moderation, he sought to bring in all the popish corruptions. Mr Calvin being informed hereof published an answer to this book, to which some other answers were shortly after added, which made a full discovery of the wit and purpose of Balduians; which this railer could by no means digest, whereupon he never gave over to brand Calvin and Beza with his impudent reproaches; till the year after being grown odious both to God and men, of both religions whom he had so often deceived by his turning, whilst he was following a suit of law at Paris, he wore away, and ended his wretched life.

In the year 1562. God gave peace and liberty to the French churches, by a public edict of the king's; but not long after, the king of Navarre being suborned by popish subtilty, presently after the duke of Guise had committed that abominable massacre at Vassy, began that civil war, which continued many years after, to the miserable devastation of France; and it cannot be spoken how much Mr Calvin was affected and afflicted therewith, which so far increased his disease, that it was easy to divine, that it would not be long before he was translated to a better life; yet did he not desist from exhorting and comforting every one, no nor from preaching and reading his ordinary lectures. And the same year he published that excellent confession of faith, which was sent to the states of the empire met together at Franckford, in the name of the prince of Conde, and of all the godly in France, who besides the injuries which they sustained by an unjust war, were unworthily traduced to the Germans, as if they held many false and monstrous opinions.

One thing also is not to be pretermitted, that on the nineteenth of December. Mr Calvin lying in bed sick of the gout, being the Sabbath day, and the North-wind having blown two days strongly, said to many that were present, truly I know not what is the matter, but I thought this night I heard warlike drums beating very loud, and I could not perswade myself but it was so: let us therefore go to prayers, for surely some great business is in hand. And this very day there was a great battle fought between the Guisians and the protestants not far from Paris, news whereof came unto Geneva within a few days after.

The year after, which was 1563. Mr Calvin's disease did so far increase, that it was almost incredible that so weak a body, exhausted with so many labours, and worn out with so many diseases, should yet retain so valiant and generous a mind: so that even then he could not be perswaded to favour himself, and if at any time he abstained from his public labours (which yet he never did but when by necessity he was enforced thereto) yet he was busy at home, either in giving counsel to those that fought it, or in dictating to his scribes; the witnesses whereof are those two serious admonitions to the Polonians, to take heed of those blasphemous persons which denied the sacred Trinity. The answers which he returned to the brethren's messengers, who were now met in a synod at Lions; his commentaries upon the four books of Moses, which himself turned out of Latin into French: and lastly, his commentary upon Joshua, which he now began, and finished a little before his death.

In the year 1564, Feb. 6. Mr Calvin being short-winded, by reason of a stopping in his lungs, preached his last sermon, and from thence forward he spake little, only now and then he would be carried to the congregation, the last time being March the last. His diseases, being attracted by the incredible labours both of his mind and body, were very many; for (besides that naturally he was but of a weak body, lean, and inclineable to a consumtion) he slept little, and spent a great part of the year in preaching, teaching, and dictating.

For at least ten years together he abstained from dinner, taking no food at all till supper; so that it was wonder how he could escape a phthisic so long. He as often troubled with the head-ach, which his abstince only could cure, whereupon he sometimes fasted thirty six hours together. But partly through straining his voice, and partly through his too frequent use of ale, (which was taken notice of too late) he was first troubled with the hemorrhoids, which at length proved ulcerous and then five years before his death he did many times pisse blood: and when his quartan ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg, then the cholic, and last the stone, which yet he never discerned till a few months before his death.

The physicians applied what remedies possibly they could, neither was there ever man that was more observant of their rules; but in respect of the labours of his mind, he was extreme negligent of his health, so that the violent pains of headach could never restrain him from preaching: And though he was tormented with so many and violent diseases, yet did never any man hear him utter one word that did unbeseem a valiant or Christian man: Only lifting up his eyes to heaven, he used to say, 'How long, Lord?' for he often used this motto in his health, when he spake of the calamities of his brethren, which always more afflicted him than his own.

When as his colleagues admonished, and earnestly entreated him, that in his sickness he would abstain from dictating, but especially from writing himself, he answered, 'What? would you have me idle when my Lord comes?'

March 10. when all the ministers came to him, they found him cloathed, and sitting at his little table where he used to write and meditate: he beholding them (when he had rubbed his forehead a while in his hand as he used to do when he meditated) with a cheerful countenance, said, 'I give you hearty thanks, my dear brethren, for the great care you have of me; and I hope, within these fifteen days (which was the time they were to meet about church censures) I shall be present at your consistory; for then I believe God will declare what he will do concerning me, and that he will receive me to himself.' Accordingly he was present that day, which was March 14. And when all their businesses were quietly dispatched, he told them that God had given him some further help, and so taking a French testament in his hand, he read some of the annotations upon it, and asked the ministers judgments about the same, because he had a purpose to amend them. The day after he was somewhat worse, as being tired with the former day's labour.

March 27. he caused himself to be carried in his chair to the senate door, and then leaning upon two, he walked into the court, and there presented to the senate a new rector for the school: and, with a bare head, he returned them thanks for all their former favours; and, in particular, for the great care they had taken of him in his sickness, 'For I perceive (saith he) that this is the last time that I shall come into this place:' which words he could

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ſcarce utter, his voice failing him; and, with ſo many tears on both ſides, he bade them farewell.

April 2. which was Eaſter-day, though he was very weak, yet he cauſed himſelf to be carried to the church in his chair, where, after ſermon, he received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper at Mr Beza's hands; and, with a cheerful countenance, though weak voice, ſang the pſalms with the reſt of the congregation, ſhewing, though in a dying countenance, ſigns of much inward joy.

April 25 he made his will in this form: 'In the name of God, Amen, *anno Chriſti* 1564, April 25. I Peter Chenaat, citizen and notary of Geneva, do witneſs and proſeſs, that being ſent for by that reverend man John Calvin, miniſter of the word of God in the church of Geneva and a free denizon of the ſame city, who then truly was ſick in body, but ſound in mind, told me that his purpoſe was to make his teſtament, and to declare his laſt will deſiring me to write it down as he ſhould dictate unto me with his tongue, which I profeſs I did preſently, ord by word, as he told me; neither did I add or diminiſh any thing from that which he ſpake, but have followed the very form ſuggeſted by him; which was this:

'In the name of the Lord, Amen. I John Calvin, miniſter of the word of God in the church of Geneva, oppreſſed and afflicted with divers diſeaſes, ſo that I eaſily think that the Lord God hath appointed ſhortly to lead me out this world, I therefore am determined to make my teſtament, and to commit to writing my laſt will, in this form following:

'Firſt I give thanks to God, that taking pity on me whom he created and placed in this world, hath delivered me out of the deep darkneſs of idolatry into which I was plunged, and that he brought me into the light of his goſpel, and made me a partaker of the doctrine of ſalvation, whof I was moſt unworthy: Neither hath he only gently and graciouſly born with my faults and ſins, for which I yet deſerved to be rejected by him, and driven out; but hath uſed towards me ſo great meekneſs and mildneſs, that he hath vouchſafed to uſe my labours in preaching and publiſhing the truth of his goſpel. And I witneſs and profeſs, that I intend to paſs the remainder of my life in the ſame faith and religion which he hath delivered to me by his goſpel, and not to ſeek any other aid or refuge of ſalvation than his free adoption, in which alone ſalvation reſteth. And with all my heart I embrace the mercy which he hath uſed towards me for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, compenſing my faults with the merit of his death and paſſion, that ſatisfaction may be made, by this means for my ſins and crimes, and the remembrance of them may be blotted out. I witneſs alſo and profeſs, that I humbly beg of him, that being waſhed and cleanſed in the blood of that higheſt Redeemer, ſhed for the ſins of mankind, may ſtand at his judgment ſeat under the image of my Redeemer.

'Alſo, profeſs that I have diligently done my endeavour, according to the meaſure of grace received, and bounty which God hath uſed towards me, that I might preach his word holily and purely, both in ſermons, writings, and commentaries, and interpret his holy ſcripture faithfully. I alſo witneſs and profeſs, that I have uſed no juggling, no evil and ſophiſtical arts in my controverſies and diſputations, which I have held with the enemies of the goſpel; but I have been converſant candidly and ſincerely in maintaining the truth.

'But (out alas!) that ſtudy and zeal of mine, if it be worthy ſo to be called, hath been ſo remiſs and languiſhing, that I confeſs innumerable things have been wanting to me to the well performing of my duty, and unleſs the unmeaſureable bounty of God had been preſent, my ſtudies had been vain and vaniſhing away. Moreover, I acknowledge, that unleſs the ſame bounty had been preſent unto me, the goods of the mind which God hath given me, would have made me guilty of the greater ſin and ſlothfulneſs before his judgment-ſeat. For which cauſes I witneſs and profeſs, that I hope for no other help for ſalvation but this only, that ſeeing God is a Father of mercy, he ſhewed himſelf a Father unto me, who acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner.

'As for other things; After my departure out of this life, I would have my body committed to the earth in that order and manner which is uſual in this church and city, till the bleſſed day of reſurrection cometh.

'As touching that ſlender patrimony which God hath given me, concerning which I have determined thus to diſpoſe: Let Anthony Calvin, my moſt dear brother, be mine heir; but, only for honour's ſake, let him take before hand, and have to himſelf, the ſilver charger which was given me by Varannius for a gift, wherewith I deſire him to be contented: For whatſoever things remain in mine inheritance, I requeſt and commit them to his faith, that he return them to his children when he ſhall die.

'I bequeath ten golden ſcutes to the ſchool of bo s, from the ſame my brother and heir. Alſo, ſo much to poor ſtrangers. So much to Joan, the daughter of Charles Coſtan, and of my kinſwoman. But to Samuel and John, the ſons of my ſaid brother, I deſire to have given to them forty golden ſcutes by mine heir when he dieth. To Ann, Suſan, and Dorothy, his daughters, thirty ſcutes of gold. But to David their brother, becauſe of his lightneſs and miſcarriages, but five and twenty ſcutes of gold. This is the ſum of the whole patrimony and goods which God hath given me, ſo near as I can eſtimate it, ſetting a price upon my library, my moveables, and all my houſhold goods, with all my other faculties. If there be found any thing above, I would have it to be diſtributed to all thoſe children, the ſons and daughters of my brother; neither do I exclude that David, if he prove a good huſband.

'If there ſhould be any ſurpluſage above that ſum, I believe there will be no great matter, eſpecially when my debts are paid, the care whereof I have committed to my ſaid brother, upon whoſe love and fidelity I rely. For which cauſe I will and appoint him to be the executor of my teſtament; and, together with him, the worſhipful man Laurence Normandy, giving them power to take an inventory of my goods, without any more accurate diligence of the court. I alſo permit them to ſell my moveables, that, out of the money made thereof, they may execute my will above written. Dated this 25th of April, *anno Chriſti* 1534.'

When this will was made and confirmed, Mr Calvin ſent to the four ſyndics, and all the aldermen, deſiring to ſpeak with them all yet once more in the court before his death, whether he hoped to be carried the next day. The ſenators anſwered, that they would rather come to him, deſiring him to have a regard to his health. And the day after when they came all to him from the court, after mutual ſalutations, and pardon craved for their coming to him, whereas he rather would have come to them, and profeſſing that he had long deſired to ſpeak with them, though he had deferred it till now, even till he found the approaching of his departure out of this world, he ſaid:

'Honoured Maſter,

'I give you great thanks, that you have honoured me thus far, having not deſerved it from you; and for that you have ſo often borne with mine infirmities, which to me has always been an argument of your ſingular good will towards me: and albeit, in performance of mine office, it could not be but that I muſt undergo many bickerings, and divers aſſaults, becauſe every good man muſt be exerciſed therewith; yet I know, and acknowledge, that none of theſe things have fallen out through your default: And I earneſtly beſeech you, that if I have not always done that which behoved me, you rather would have regard of my will than of my ability; for I can truly teſtify, that I have been heartily ſtudious of the welfare of your common wealth; and howſoever I have not fully performed mine office, yet ſurely I have ſtudied the public good according to mine ability, and except I ſhould acknowledge that the Lord hath uſed my ſervice ſometimes not unprofitably, I could not avoid the crime of diſſembling. But this I requeſt of you again and again, that I may be excuſed by you for that the things are ſo little that I have publickly and privately performed, in compariſon of thoſe things which it behoved me to have done. Certainly, of mine own accord, I acknowledge that I am much indebted to you for this cauſe alſo, that ye have patiently borne with my

my too much vehemency fometimes; which fin alſo I truſt God that he hath forgiven me.

'But as touching the doctrine that you have heard from me, I take God to witneſs, that I have not raſhly and uncertainly, but purely and ſincerely taught the word of God entruſted to me, whoſe wrath I would otherwiſe have felt now hanging over me, as I am certainly aſſured that my labours in teaching it hath not been diſpleaſing to him. And I teſtify this the more willingly, both before God and you, becauſe I doubt not but that the devil, according to his cuſtom, will raiſe wicked, light, and giddy headed people, to corrupt the ſincere doctrine which you have heard from me.'

Then conſidering the unmeaſurable benefits which God had conferred on that city, he ſaid:

'I am a very good witneſs out of how many great dangers the hand of the great and beſt God hath delivered you. Moreover, you ſee in what eſtate you now are; therefore, whether your affairs be proſperous or adverſe, let that be always converſant before your eyes, that God is he alone that eſtabliſheth kingdoms and cities, and therefore will be worſhipped by mortal men. Remember what that great David doth teſtify, that when he enjoyed a deep peace he fell fouleſt; and ſhould never have riſen again, if God of his ſingular goodneſs had not reached out his hand to him. What then ſhall become of ſuch punies, if he fell, being ſo ſtrong and powerful a man? Ye had need of great humility of mind, that ye may walk circumſpectly, and with great reverence before God, and truſt upon him only, being ſure that it will always be, as ye have often found, that by his aid you may ſtand ſure, although your ſafety and welfare may be hung, as it were, upon a very ſlender thread. Wherefore, if proſperity befal you, take heed, I pray you, that you be not puffed up with pride like prophane perſons, but rather give thanks to God with lowlineſs of mind. But if adverſity ſhall happen unto you, and death ſhall ſtand before you on every ſide, yet truſt in him that raiſeth up the dead; yea, then eſpecially, think that ye are ſtirred up by God, that ye may more and more truſt in him alone. And if ye deſire that this your common wealth may be preſerved in a firm eſtate, ſee that ye be not defiled with any filthineſs; for he is only the higheſt God, King of kings, and Lord of Lords; he will honour thoſe that honour him, and caſt down thoſe that deſpiſe him. Honour him therefore, according to his own precepts, and daily think of this, that we are far from doing that which is required of us.

'I know the diſpoſitions and converſations of every one of you, and I know that you have need of exhortation. There is none of thoſe that excel moſt, unto whom many things are not wanting; therefore, let every man look about him, and let him aſk of the Lord thoſe things which he underſtands himſelf to ſtand in need of. We ſee what vices reign in the greateſt councils of the world; ſome are ſtark cold, and neglect the public, taking care only for their own private affairs; others are indulgent to their private affections; others uſe not the excellent gifts God hath beſtowed upon them as they ought; others proudly boaſt of their own parts, and upon a certain confidence therein, expect that every man ſhould ſubſcribe to their opinions.

'I exhort old men that they envy not the younger, whom they find adorned with excellent gifts from God: I admoniſh the younger, that they carry themſelves modeſtly, without arrogance, and let not one moleſt another. Avoid contentions, and all bitterneſs of ſpirit, which diverts many from the right way in the government of the common-wealth: and ye ſhall the better avoid theſe things if every man contain himſelf within his own ſphere, and all adminiſter that part of the common-wealth faithfully which is committed to him. I pray you, for God's ſake, let there be no place for favour or hatred in the judgment of civil cauſes. Let none pervert right by ſubtile and cunning tricks. Let no man hinder the laws from prevailing. Let no man depart from that which is juſt and equal. If ſiniſter affections begin to ariſe, let him reſiſt them conſtantly, looking upon him that hath placed him in his throne, and beg of him his holy ſpirit.

'To conclude: I beg of you again, that you pardon mine infirmities, which I acknowlege and confeſs before God, angels, and your worſhipful ſelves.'

Having thus ſpoken, he prayed unto God to multiply his gifts and bleſſings upon them more and more, and to govern them by his Holy Spirit, for the ſafety and good of the common-wealth. And giving his hand to every one of them, he diſmiſſed them all, who departed, full of ſorrow and heavineſs, as from their common father, with many tears.

April 28. the miniſters of Geneva being come to him, he ſpake thus unto them:

'Brethren, after my deceaſe ſtand faſt in this work of the Lord, and be not diſcouraged; for the Lord will preſerve this church and common-wealth againſt the threatenings of the enemies. I pray God keep you from diſſentions. Embrace one another with mutual charity. Think again and again what you owe to this church wherein the Lord hath placed you, and let nothing divert you from your duty, otherwiſe it will be eaſy for ſuch as ſeek them to find out evaſions; but ſuch ſhall find that God cannot be deceived. As ſoon as I came to this city the goſpel indeed was preached, but the affairs were very troubleſome, many conceiting that Chriſtianity was nothing elſe but to overthrow images. And there were not a few wicked perſons from whom I ſuffered many moſt unworthy things; but the Lord our God ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened me, (though by nature I was not bold) that I gave not place to any of their endeavours. Afterwards, when I returned hither from Straſburgh, I followed this vocation with an unwilling mind, becauſe it ſeemed to me that it would prove unfruitful; for I knew not what the Lord had determined, and the matter was full of many and great difficulties; but going on, at laſt I found that God had much bleſſed my labour. Stand faſt, therefore, in this your vocation; retain that order that is begun, and do your utmoſt endeavours that the people may be kept in ſubjection to your wholeſome doctrine, for ſome are wicked and ſtubborn. Things as you ſee are, through God's mercy, well ſettled, and therefore ye ſhall be left without excuſe before God, if, through your ſlothfulneſs, they be unſettled again.

'I profeſs, brethren, that I have lived with you conjoined in true love and ſincere charity; and that I now ſo depart from you. If you have found me any whit pettiſh in this my diſeaſe, I crave pardon of you; and give you very great thanks, that ye have ſuſtained the burden impoſed upon me during the time of my ſickneſs.'

Having thus ſpoken, he gave his hand to each of them, who departed from him with much ſorrow, and weeping.

A while after, Mr Calvin underſtanding, by letters from Mr Farell to Mr Viret, who was now an old man of eighty years old, and ſickly, was yet determined to viſit him, and was now onward on his journey; he wrote thus to him to ſtay him.

'Farewel, my beſt and ſincereſt brother; and ſeeing God will have you to outlive me in this world, live mindful of our friendſhip; which, as it hath been profitable for the church of God here, ſo the fruit thereof tarrieth for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourſelf for my ſake. I hardly draw my breath; and I expect daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I live and die to Chriſt, who is gain to his, both in life and death. Again farewel. May 11. *anno Chriſti* 1564.'

Yet, for all this letter, the good old man came to Geneva, and having fully conferred with Mr Calvin, returned back to Neocome.

The reſt of his days, even till his departure, Mr Calvin ſpent almoſt in perpetual prayer, with his eyes fixed upon heaven, and his voice full of ſighs, by reaſon of his ſhort breath.

May 27. being the day whereon he departed, he ſeemed to ſpeak more ſtrongly, and with leſs difficulty; but this was but a lightening before death. In the evening about eight o'clock, on a ſudden, certain ſigns of preſent death appeared; at which time Mr Beza being newly departed from him, ſome ran to acquaint him therewith; whereupon he preſently returned, but found him to have yielded up his ſpirit into the hands of God, without the leaſt ſtruggling; yea, not ſo much as ſending forth one groan,

having had his underſtanding, memory, and voice even to the laſt gaſp, being much more like to one that was fallen aſleep than dead. So that day, at ſun-ſetting, that great bright light was taken out of this world.

That night, and the day following, there was great weeping and wailing all over the city. Many citizens and ſtrangers deſired to ſee him after he was dead, and amongſt the reſt queen Elizabeth's ambaſſadors, who being ſent into France, were then there.

The next day after, being the Sabbath, his body was coffined; and in the afternoon he was carried forth, the ſenators, paſtors, and profeſſors of the ſchool, and almoſt the whole city following the corpſe, not without abundance of tears. He was buried in the common church-yard, without much pomp, no tomb-ſtone being added, as himſelf had commanded; whereupon Mr Beza made theſe verſes:

Romæ ruentis terror ille maximus,
Quem mortuum lugent boni, horreſcunt mali,
Ipſa a quo potuit virtutem diſcere virtus;
Cur adeo exiguo, ignotoque in ceſpite clauſus
Calvinus lateat rogas?
Calvinum aſſidue comitata modeſtia vivum,
Hoc tumulo manibus condidit ipſa ſuis.
O te beatum ceſpitem tanto hoſpite!
O cui invidere poſſunt cuncta marmora!

He was a man of an incredible and moſt ready memory, in the midſt of almoſt infinite diſtractions, and of a moſt exact judgment. He was very regardleſs of means and preferment, even when it was offered: he eat little meat, took very little ſleep, was wholly compounded of ſweetneſs and gravity: diſcreet and mild was he in bearing with men's infirmities; yet would he ſeverely, without diſſimulation, reprove their vices, which freedom he always uſed from a child. Such a preacher he was, that, like another Orpheus, he drew England, Spain, and Italy to him, filling Geneva with ſtrangers.

Such a voluminous writer, that (as it was ſaid of St Auguſtine) he wrote more than another could well read. His writings were ſo eagerly received, that, as moſt rare and precious pieces, they were forthwith tranſlated into all languages.

What ſhall I ſpeak of his indefatigable induſtry, even beyond the power of nature, which being parallelled with our loitering, I fear will exceed all credit? and may be a true object of admiration, how his lean, worn, ſpent, and wearyiſh body could poſſibly hold out.

He read every week in the year three divinity lectures, and every other week, over and above, he preached every day; ſo that (as Eraſmus ſaith of Chryſoſtome) 'I do not know whether more to admire the indefatigableneſs of the man or his heart.' Yea, ſome have reckoned up, that his lectures were yearly 186, his ſermons 286; beſides every Thurſday he ſat in the preſbytery.

Every Friday, when the miniſters met in conference to expound hard texts, he made as good as a lecture. Yea, beſides, there was ſcarce a day wherein he ſpent not ſome part, either by word or writing, in anſwering the queſtions and doubts of ſundry paſtors and churches, that ſought unto him for advice and council. Over and above which, there was no year paſſed wherein came not forth from him ſome great volume or other in Folio, ſo that in a few years (beſides many golden tractates, and ſundry exquiſite anſwers, which upon ſhort warning he made to principal adverſaries) his huge explications upon the five books of Moſes, Joſhua, Job, Pſalms, all the prophets, and upon the whole New Teſtament, came forth into the world fuller of pithy ſententious matter than of paper. Theſe things conſidered, what breathing time could he find for idleneſs or looſe thoughts?

In his laſt grievous ſickneſs, procured by his intolerable labours, he could ſcarce be compelled by his friends to pretermit his daily taſk of preaching, and reading his divinity lectures; and at home, when he could not go abroad, he rather wearied others with continual dictating to them, than himſelf. Nothing was more frequent in his mouth than this, 'Of all things an idle life is moſt irkſome to me;' and when his friends uſed all their endeavours to perſuade him to favour, and to reſpect himſelf; 'Why (ſaith he) will ye have God to find me idle at his coming?' Yea, ſuch conſcience did he make of miſpending a minute, that he was loath to detain the miniſters that came to viſit him from their public exerciſes. What wonder then is it that he ſcarce attained to the age of 56? yea, rather it is a wonder that he lived ſo long. Indeed he lived but 54 years, ten months, and ſeventeen days, the half of which time he ſpent in the holy miniſtry of the goſpel.

Many ſlanders were caſt upon him, as that he was ambitious; but how could that be? whereas he preferred his abode in the common-wealth and church of Geneva, before all other places, which he called the ſhop of poverty. Others charge him, that he ſtudied to heap up riches, whereas his laſt teſtament ſhews that he was a very poor man; for all his goods, yea, and his library, being ſold very dear, (ſaith Mr Beza) ſcarcely amounted to three hundred crowns; and Calvin himſelf, in his life time, hearing of this impudent ſlander, anſwered; 'If I cannot perſuade men whilſt I am alive that I am no great monied man, yet my death will ſhew it.' And the ſenate of Geneva can teſtify, that, his ſtipend being very ſmall, he was ſo far from being not contented therewith, that when they offered to enlarge his penſions, he utterly refuſed the ſame: and, by the ſmall eſtate which he left at his death, it appears alſo, that either his gifts were not great, or elſe that he ſpent as God ſent.

Some reproached him for his brother A. Calvin, becauſe he was divorced from his wife, who was proved an adultereſs. What could theſe men have ſaid, if he had kept an adultereſs in his houſe? May they not as well reproach Jacob, David; yea, and Chriſt himſelf, for that one of his diſciples was a devil, as himſelf told them? Some ſaid that he was given to delights and luxury; his many great books eaſily confute this ſlander. Some gave out, impudently, that he ruled in Geneva both in church and common-wealth, ſo that he ſometimes ſat upon the tribunal. But for theſe things, neither they which knew him, nor enſuing ages, who may collect his manners out of his writing, will give any credit to them. But it is far more eaſy to calumniate than to imitate him.

Omnia Calvini opera, quæ diverſis chartarum formis edita, ſi uno formæ genere imprimerentur, juſtæ magnitudinis, tomos 20. *in folio efficerent.* Moſt of them are mentioned particularly in his life.

The Life of John Knox, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1572.

JOHN KNOX was born at Gifford, in Lothian, in Scotland, *Anno* 1505, of honeſt parentage: brought up firſt at ſchool, then ſent to the univerſity of St Andrews to ſtudy under Mr John Mair, who was famous for learning in thoſe days, and under whom, in a ſhort time, he profited exceedingly in philoſophy and ſchool divinity, and took his degrees, and afterwards was admitted very young into orders: then he betook himſelf to the reading of the fathers, eſpecially Auguſtine and Hierom's works; and laſtly to the earneſt ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, by which being, through God's mercy, informed of the truth, he willingly embraced it, and freely profeſſed it, and imparted it to others.

But the biſhops and friars could by no means endure that light which diſcovered their darkneſs, and therefore preſently raiſed up a perſecution againſt him; eſpecially David Beton, archbiſhop and cardinal, who cauſed him to be apprehended and caſt into priſon, purpoſing to have ſacrificed him in the flames. But it pleaſed God, by a ſpecial providence, that he was delivered, and therefore preſently fled to Berwick to the Engliſh, where he preached the truth of the goſpel with great fruit, and defended it againſt the popiſh party, ſo that his fame ſpread abroad exceedingly. He preached alſo at Newcaſtle, London, and in ſome other places; ſo that king Edward VI. taking notice of him, profered him a biſhopric, which he rejected, as having *aliquid commune cum Antichriſto*, ſomething in it common with Antichriſt.

King Edward being dead, the perſecution raiſed by queen Mary made him leave England, and go to Frankfort upon Maine, where, for a time, he preached the goſpel to the Engliſh congregation; but meeting with oppoſition there, both from papiſts and falſe brethren, he went to Geneva, where

where alſo he preached to an Engliſh congregation, and was very intimate with Mr Calvin, continuing there ſome years.

Anno Chriſti 1559, and of his age 54, the nobility of Scotland, with ſome others, beginning the reformation of religion, ſent for him home; and at his coming to Edinburgh he was lodged in the houſe of that worthy man James Syme, where he began privately to inſtruct ſuch as reſorted to him, amongſt whom was the laird of Dun, David Forreſs, and Elizabeth Adamſon, the wife of James Baranne, burgeſs of Edinburgh, and ſome others.

After a while Mr Knox perceiving that divers, who willingly entertained the doctrine of Chriſt, yet made no ſcruple to go to maſs, and to communicate in the abuſed ſacraments after the papiſtical manner, he began as well in private conference, as in his miniſtry, to ſhew the impiety of the maſs, and the great danger of communicating with idolatry, wherewith ſome being terrified in conſcience, the buſineſs began to be agitated from one to another. Hereupon the laird of Dun invited Mr Knox to ſupper, where were preſent David Forreſs, Mr Robert Lockart, John Willock, and William Maitland; at which meeting the queſtion was propoſed and debated, and Mr Knox did ſo fully and learnedly anſwer whatſoever was objected againſt his doctrine, that Mr Maitland concluded in theſe words, 'I ſee very well that all our ſhifts will ſerve nothing before God, ſeeing that they ſtand us in ſo ſmall ſtead before men.

After theſe reaſonings the maſs began to be abhorred, and Mr Knox at the requeſt of the laird of Dun went with him to Dun, where he remained a month, preaching every day to the people, the principal men of that country reſorting to his miniſtry.

At the month's end he went to Calder, whither reſorted to him the lord Erſkine (afterwards earl of Argyle) lord James the prior of St Andrews (afterwards earl of Murray) where they heard, and ſo approved his miniſtry, that they wiſhed it had been more public.

A while after the earl of Glencairn ſent for Mr Knox to his place of Finlayſton, where after he had preached to them, he adminiſtered the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper to the earl, his lady, two of his ſons, and ſome others; and ſo he went back to Calder; to which place many reſorted to him from Edinburgh, and the country round about, not only to hear his doctrine, but alſo to partake of the holy ſacrament which before they had never received.

From thence he departed the ſecond time to the laird of Dun's, where he preached the goſpel with more liberty and boldneſs than he had before, and many of the gentlemen of the country after they had heard his doctrine, deſired alſo to be made partakers of the Lord's ſupper, and (thro' God's mercy) his miniſtry had ſuch an impreſſion on their hearts, that they preſently refuſed all ſociety with idolatry and bent themſelves to the uttermoſt of their powers to maintain the truth of Chriſt.

This ſo vexed the friers, that from all quarters they flocked to their biſhops to complain of Mr Knox, ſo that he was ſummoned to appear in the Black Fryars church in Edinburgh the fifteenth of May following, and accordingly he appeared; thither came alſo John Erſkine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, which the biſhops taking notice of, durſt not proceed againſt him: inſomuch that Mr Knox the ſame day that he ſhould have appeared before them, preached in Edinburgh in a greater audience than ever he had before. The place where he preached was in the biſhop of Dunkellin's great lodging, in which place he preached ten days together, both forenoon and afternoon. Then did the earl of Glencairn ſolicit the earl Marſhall to hear Mr Knox, which he with his counſellor Drummond did, and ſo liked his doctrine, that he willed Mr Knox to write unto the queen regent ſomewhat that might move her to hear the word of God. This Mr Knox was willing to do, and wrote that which was afterwards printed, called, A Letter to the Queen Dowager, which was delivered by the earl of Glencairn into her own hands: the queen after ſhe had read the latter, delivered it to that proud prelate Bacon, biſhop of Glaſgow, ſaying in ſcorn, 'Pleaſe you my lord to read a paſquill?

Whilſt Mr Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, there came a letter to him from the Engliſh congregation which was ſettled at Geneva, *anno Chriſti* 1555, being ſeparated from the contentious and ſuperſtitious company at Frankfort, requiring him in the name of God, that he was their choſen paſtor, ſo he ſhould repair to them for their comfort.

Upon this he took his leave in every congregation where before he had preached, exhorting them to fervent prayer, frequent reading of the ſcriptures, and mutual conference, till God ſhould give them greater liberty; and then he ſent before him to Diep his mother in law Elizabeth Bows, and his wife; but himſelf by the importunity of Robert Campbell ſtaid a while in Scotland, going to the earl of Argyle, then in Campbell caſtle, where he taught certain days, the laird of Glenurquaire being one of his auditors, who entreated the earl of Argyle to retain him in Scotland: but he was reſolved upon his journey, and would by no means ſtay at that time; yet promiſing, that if the Lord bleſſed thoſe ſmall beginnings, whenſoever they pleaſed to command him, they ſhould find him obedient to their call.

Shortly after he paſſed over into Fance, and from thence went to Geneva, whereupon the biſhops of Scotland ſummoned him, and for non appearance, condemned him, and burnt his effigies at the croſs of Edinburgh. From which unjuſt ſentence, when Mr Knox heard of it, he ſent an appellation, which he directed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

March the tenth, *anno Chriſti*, 1556, certain of the nobility of Scotland ſent this enſuing letter to Mr Knox at Geneva.

"Grace, mercy and peace for ſalvation.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in theſe parts (thanks be to God) are ſtedfaſt in the belief wherein you left them, and have a godly thirſt and deſire from day to day to enjoy your preſence again, which if God ſo move your heart, and give you life, we deſire you in the name of the Lord that you return to us again into this place, where you ſhall find all faithful that you left behind you; who will not only be glad to hear your doctrine, but ready to jeopard their eſtates for the ſetting forth of the glory of God, as he will permit time. And albeit the magiſtrates of this country be as yet but in the ſtate you left them; yet at the writing hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty uſed than was before; but rather believe that God will augment his flock, becauſe we ſee daily the friars (enemies to Chriſt's goſpel) in leſs eſtimation both with the queen's grace and the reſt of the nobility of the realm. This in few words is the mind of the faithful here preſent, and of others abſent The reſt of our minds this faithful meſſenger will ſhew you, when he comes to you. Fare you well in the Lord.

Subſcribed

Glencairn. Argyle.
Erſkine. James Stewart.

Mr Knox upon the receipt of this letter adviſed with Mr Calvin, and other miniſters, who upon mature deliberation, told him that he could not refuſe this call, unleſs he would ſhew himſelf rebellious againſt God, and unmerciful to his country: whereupon he returned anſwer, that he would come to them ſo ſoon as he could ſettle the affairs of that dear flock that was committed to his charge.

Shortly after he began his journey, and arrived in Scotland that very day whereon the biſhops ended their provincial council; and hearing that the brethren were met at Dundee, he went to them, and earneſtly requeſted that he and his brethren might join together to make a confeſſion of their faith; which being aſſented to, he went to St. Johnſton to them, where alſo he preached to to the people; but preſently came a ſummons that the preachers ſhould appear before the queen regent at Stirling, which being known abroad, the proteſtants repaired in a peaceable manner to St. Johnſton to accompany their preachers to the queen; and leſt ſuch a multitude ſhould affright her, the laird of Dun, a zealous, godly and prudent man, went before to Stirling, to acquaint the queen that the cauſe of their meeting was only with their preachers to give in a confeſſion of their faith, and to aſſiſt them in their juſt defence:

The queen very craftily ſolicited him to ſtay the multi-

tude,

tude, and the preachers alſo, promiſing to take ſome good order about their affairs; yet when the preachers appeared not upon the day appointed, ſhe put them to the Horn, prohibiting all men upon pain of rebellion, to aſſiſt, comfort, relieve or receive any of them; which treacherous dealing of hers ſo inflamed the multitude, that neither the exhortations of the preachers, nor the command of the magiſtrates could reſtrain them, but that they pulled down the images, and all other monuments of idolatry in St Johnſton. This being told the queen, ſhe was ſo much enraged at it, that ſhe vowed to deſtroy man, woman, and child in that place, then utterly to burn the town, and to ſow it with ſalt for a perpetual deſolation.

The proteſtant congregation hearing hereof, preſently wrote a letter to the queen, and cauſed it to be laid on her cuſhion where ſhe ſat at maſs, wherein they declared, that except ſhe moderated her wrath, and ſtayed her intended cruelty, they ſhould be compelled to take the ſword in their juſt defence againſt all that ſhould purſue them for matters of religion, and for their conſcience ſake, which ought not to be ſubject to any mortal creature, farther than God's word doth command, &c. They further requeſted that ſhe would permit them to live in that peace and liberty which Chriſt had purchaſed for them by his blood; but that they might have his word truly preached, and the holy ſacraments rightly adminiſtered to them, for that they had rather expoſe their bodies to a thouſand deaths, than to hazard their ſouls to perpetual damnation by denying Chriſt, and his manifeſt truth.

They wrote alſo another letter to the nobility of Scotland, which coming abroad, the brethren in Cunningham and Kile met together at the church of Craggy, where Alexander earl of Glencairn, ſaid to them, 'Let every man do as his conſcience ſhall direct him, I will by God's grace ſee my brethren at St. Johnſton, yea though never a man will go along with me, though I have but a pike on my ſhoulder; for I had rather die with that company, than live after them.' This ſpeech ſo encouraged the reſt, that they all reſolved to go forward.

In the mean time the queen ſent her French forces, and the biſhops and prieſts their bands againſt St. Johnſton; whereupon the brethren repaired thither from all quarters for their relief; which the queen hearing of, ſent the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrews to them to know the cauſe of that great meeting? They anſwered that it was only to reſiſt the cruel tyranny decreed againſt them, and to protect the town from ruin.

The lords anſwered, that they were far otherwiſe informed.

Then Mr. Knox ſpake thus unto them: 'The preſent troubles (honourable lords) ought to move the hearts of all the true ſervants of God, and ſuch as bear any true love to their country, and countrymen, deeply to conſider what will be the end of this intended tyranny. The rage of Satan ſeeks the deſtruction of all thoſe in this realm that profeſs the name of Chriſt. Therefore I moſt humbly require you, my lords, in my name to tell the queen, that we, whom ſhe in her blind rage doth perſecute, are faithful ſervants to God, and obedient ſubjects to the authority of the realm, whereas that religion which ſhe maintains by fire, and ſword, is not the religion of Jeſus Chriſt, but expreſsly contrary to the ſame, a ſuperſtition deviſed by man's brain, which I offer myſelf to prove againſt all men in Scotland which will maintain the contrary, God's word being admitted for a judge. Tell her alſo from me, that this her enterprize ſhall not proſperouſly ſucceed in the end, and that herein ſhe fights againſt God.'

The lords promiſed to deliver his meſſage; yet did the queen ſtraightway ſend her herald to them, to command them preſently to depart the town upon pain of treaſon. But when ſhe perceived their number to encreaſe, and their reſolutions, fearing the event of a battle, ſhe upon a parly and large promiſes, prevailed with them to depart home. But before their departure, Mr Knox preached a ſermon, wherein he exhorted them to conſtancy, adding, 'I am perſuaded that this promiſe ſhall be no longer kept, than till the queen and her Frenchmen can get the upper hand.' Which ſhortly after fell out accordingly; but when ſhe was entered St Johnſton, ſhe, contrary to promiſe, garriſoned it, ſaying, 'That ſhe was not bound to keep promiſe with heretics.' This was ſo diſtaſteful to the earl of Argyle and the prior of St Andrews, that they forſook the queen, and went towards St Andrews, ſending to the laird of Dun and ſome others to meet them there, which accordingly they performed, taking Mr Knox along with them, who in the way preached at Carrel one day, in Anſtruther the ſecond, intending the third day to preach at St Andrews.

The biſhop of St Andrews hearing thereof, preſently raiſed one hundred ſpearmen, and went thither on the Saturday, whereas the lords had none but their houſhold ſervants about them; and at the ſame time the queen and her Frenchmen lay at Falkland, twelve miles from St Andrews. The biſhop ſent word to the lords, that if John Knox offered to preach the next day, he ſhould be ſaluted with a dozen of caeliivrs, whereof the moſt part ſhould light on his noſe. The lords after long deliberation ſent for Mr. Knox, to hear his opinion herein; yet withal adviſed him to forbear for his own ſafety, and not to preach that day in contempt of the biſhop.

To which Mr Knox anſwered, 'God is my witneſs that I never preached Chriſt Jeſus in contempt of any man, neither do I now intend to preſent myſelf in that place with reſpect to my own commodity, or for the hurt of any creature; but to forbear preaching to-morrow, except I be violently withholden, I cannot out of conſcience conſent to it: for in this town and church God was pleaſed firſt to call me to the honour and office of a preacher, from which I was driven by the tyranny of the French, and procurement of the biſhop, as ye all know well enough. How long I continued priſoner, what torments I ſuſtained in the French gallies, and what were the ſobs of my heart is now no time to relate: this only I cannot conceal, which many heard me ſpeak when my body was far from Scotland, that I certainly hoped in open audience to preach in St. Andrews before I departed this life. And therefore, my lords, ſaith he, ſeeing God above the expectation of many hath brought me to this place where firſt I was called to the office of a preacher, and from which I was moſt unjuſtly removed, I beſeech your honours not to hinder me from preſenting myſelf to my brethren: and as for the fear of danger that may come to me thereby, let no man be ſolicitous; for my life is in the cuſtody of him whoſe glory I ſeek, and therefore I cannot ſo fear their boaſts and tyranny, as thereby to be deterred from doing my duty when God of his mercy offereth me ſuch an occaſion: I deſire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, only I crave audience; which if it be denied me here at this time, I muſt ſeek further where I may have it.'

Upon this ſpeech the lords were fully content that he ſhould ſupply the place, which accordingly he did without interruption; and his ſermon ſo wrought upon the magiſtrates and people, that preſently after ſermon they removed all the monuments of ſuperſtition and idolatry out of that church. The biſhop advertiſed hereof, preſently departed to the queen, who with her French ſoldiers lay within twelve miles; and by his grievous complaints did ſo far incenſe her, that it was reſolved without delay to aſſault St Andrews and the two lords, who were but ſlenderly accompanied: and accordingly order was given immediately to provide quarters for the queen and her army at Couper, ſix miles from St Andrews.

The lords being informed hereof, reſolved to meet them before they came to Cowper, and withal gave ſpeedy advertiſement to all the brethren to repair towards them with all poſſible expedition; which alſo they did with ſuch diligence, that God's wonderful work appeared therein: for when at night the lords came to Cowper; there were not a hundred horſe, and ſome few foot; and before the next day at noon, their number was above three thouſand; and that number did ſo continually encreaſe, as if men had rained from the clouds: but the enemies being not informed hereof, aſſured themſelves of the victory, and therefore haſted away in the night; yet when by their ſcouts they were informed of the number and order of the proteſtants who were ready to receive them, their hearts failed, and interceſſors were ſent to make an agreement, and a truce was taken for eight days, till an agreement might be finiſhed.

But all this was done but in policy by the queen, that ſhe

ſhe might gain time to draw off her ordnance, and to make a handſome retreat over the water of Forth. The proteſtants finding themſelves thus deluded, took counſel now they were together, to free St Johnſton from the French garriſon, that their exiled brethren might return home, and accordingly they ſent a trumpet to ſummon the town; but the captains anſwered, that they would keep and defend it according to their promiſe made to the queen: yet as ſoon as they were beſieged, they required a truce for twelve hours, at the end whereof they delivered it up to the lords; and the ſame day being Sabbath, thanks were publickly returned unto God, and preſently the monuments of idolatry were demoliſhed, and the rude multitude ſet fire to the abbey, though Mr Knox would have prevented it. A poor old woman ſeeing the fire rage ſo furiouſly, and run ſo ſwiftly, ſaid I ſee that God's judgments are juſt, and no man is able to ſave where he will deſtroy; ever ſince my remembrance this place hath been nothing but a den of whoremongers: it is incredible to believe how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins deflowred by thoſe filthy beaſts, and eſpecially by that wicked man called the biſhop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praiſe God for this deſtruction.

The queen hearing of theſe proceedings, fearing what might follow, reſolved to ſend ſome French bands to Stirling, to hinder their coming over the Forth; which the lords having intelligence of, privately in the night with great expedition poſſeſſed themſelves of the town before the French came, whereupon the queen and her party preſently left Edinburgh, and went to Dunbar. Then did the proteſtants march to Edinburgh, where alſo the monuments of idolatry were demoliſhed by the rude multitude. Coming thither they wrote to the queen deſiring that they might enjoy liberty of their conſciences; That Jeſus Chriſt might be truly preached, and the ſacraments duly adminiſtered, and that ſcandalous and unable miniſters might be removed; but ſhe returning no anſwer, the proteſtants returned home, the lords only ſtaying, who were now called, The lords of the congregation.

In the mean time the French being informed hereof, and preſuming that they ſhould meet with no reſiſtance, haſtened to Edinburgh; which the lords hearing, called upon God for aſſiſtance in that ſtrait. It is true, they might have retired themſelves, but then they had expoſed the brethren of Edinburgh to danger, and therefore they rather reſolved to hazard the uttermoſt extremity.

The French firſt marched to Leith, and as the lords were advancing for their aſſiſtance, the townſmen ſurrendered the town to the French, without making any reſiſtance; whereupon the lords retreated to Cragingate, there to oppoſe the enemy.

Divers mediators paſſed to and fro in the mean time to have ſettled peace, and at laſt ſundry articles were agreed upon, and the duke of Caſtleherald, and the earl of Huntley promiſed the lords, that if the queen brake any one of her articles, they would forſake her party, and join with them. The next day the lords left Edinburgh, and when it was judged dangerous for Mr Knox ſtill to abide miniſter at Edinburgh, the brethren requeſted Mr John Willock to remain with them, to which he gladly aſſented, deſiring to make it appear, that he preferred the comfort of the brethren before his own life.

Shortly after open war brake forth between the queen regent, and the proteſtants; and the queen having more French forces, with money, and ordnance ſent her, the Scotiſh nobility were fain to ſend to queen Elizabeth for aid, and till it came, to retire themſelves towards the Highlands for their ſafety.

In the mean time the queen Regent with her French men went from place to place, plundering, ſpoiling, and making havock of all without reſiſtance; which ſo puffed her up with pride, that ſhe boaſtingly ſaid? where is now John Knox his God? my God is now ſtronger than his, yea, even in Fife. But her brags laſted not long: for the earl of Arran, and the lord James, went to Dyſert, having not above five hundred horſe, and a hundred foot; whereas the French were above four thouſand, beſides Scots as adhered to them; and yet the proteſtants ſkirmiſhed daily with them, ſometimes from morning till night, and ever went away with the better, killing four for one; which continued for one and twenty days together, during all which time they never put off either clothes or boots.

And at the end of that time came into Edinburgh Frith a fleet of the Engliſh to aſſiſt the proteſtants, which filled their hearts with joy, and the French with rage and madneſs. Thither came alſo ſome forces by land under the command of lord Grey: and after an agreement made with the Scotiſh lords, ſome of the Engliſh and Scots attempted to take Leith by ſtorm, and in a cruel conflict ſome of them gat upon the walls, but the ſcaling ladders proving too ſhort, they were not ſeconded by their fellows and ſo after divers hours fight were forced to retire, which the queen regent beholding from Edinburgh caſtle walls, burſt out into a great laughter, ſaying, Now will I go to maſs and praiſe God for that which mine eyes have ſeen. And when the French had ſtripped the ſlain, and laid their naked bodies along their walls, the queen looking on them ſaid, Yonder are the faireſt tapeſtries that ever mine eyes beheld; I would that the whole fields which are betwixt Leith and this place were all ſtrewed with the ſame ſtuff. But this joy laſted not long; for a fire kindling in Leith, many houſes, and much of their proviſion was conſumed thereby; whereupon the king of France ſent ambaſſadors to queen Elizabeth to conclude a peace, which was effected, and the Engliſh and French armies were drawn out of Scotland; to the great joy of that nation, inſomuch that thankſgivings for their great deliverance by the help of the Engliſh were inſerted into their liturgy. And preſently after ſome commiſſioners of the Scottiſh nobility were appointed to ſettle miniſters in their places, by whom Mr Knox was ſettled at Edinburgh, where he preached many excellent ſermons.

Anno Chriſti 1566. The earl of Murray being ſlain on the Saturday, Knox preaching at Edinburgh the next day, amongſt the papers given in of thoſe that deſired the prayers of the church, he found one with theſe words, Take up the man whom he accounted another God. At the end of his ſermon he bemoaned the loſs which the church and ſtate had by the death of that virtuous man, adding further, 'There is one in this company that makes this horrible murder the ſubject of his mirth, for which all good men ſhould be ſorry, but I tell him he ſhall die where there ſhall be none to lament him. The man that had written thoſe words was one Thomas Matellan, a young man of excellent parts, but bearing ſmall affection to the earl of Murray: he hearing this commination of John Knox, went home to his ſiſter and ſaid, That John Knox was raving, to ſpeak of he knew not whom. His ſiſter replied with tears, If you had taken my advice, you had not written thoſe words; ſaying further, That none of John Knox his threatenings fell to the ground without effect; and to indeed this came to paſs; for ſhortly after this gentleman going to travel, died in Italy, having none to aſſiſt, much leſs to lament him.

Towards Mr Knox his latter end, his body became very infirm, and his voice ſo weak, that people could not hear him in the ordinary place, wherefore he choſe another place wherein he preached upon the hiſtory of Chriſt's paſſion, with which, he ſaid, It was his deſire to cloſe his miniſtry. Finding his end near, he importuned the council of the city to provide themſelves a worthy man to ſucceed in his place: Mr James Lawſon profeſſor in Aberdeen was the man pitched upon, and commiſſioners were ſent from the church of Edinburgh, to requeſt him to accept of the place. Mr John Knox alſo ſubſcribed that requeſt, adding, *Accelera mi frater, alioqui ſero venies*: Haſte my brother, otherwiſe you will come too late: this made Mr Lawſon to haſten his journey, and when he was come, he preached twice to the good liking of the people, whereupon order was taken by the rulers of the church for his admiſſion, at which time John Knox would needs preach, though very weak, which alſo he performed with ſuch fervency of ſpirit, that he was never before heard to preach with ſuch great power, or more content to the hearers. In the end of his ſermon he called God to witneſs, That he had walked in a good conſcience with them, not ſeeking to pleaſe men, nor ſerving either his own, or other mens affections, but in all ſincerity and truth had preached the goſpel of Chriſt. He exhorted them in moſt grave and pithy words to ſtand faſt in the faith they had received;

and ſo having prayed zealouſly for God's bleſſing upon them, and the multiplying of God's ſpirit upon their new paſtor, he gave them his laſt forewel.

Being conveyed to his lodging, that afternoon he was forced to betake himſelf to his bed; and was viſited by all ſorts of perſons in his ſickneſs, to whom he ſpake moſt comfortably: amongſt others the earl of Morton came to ſee him, to whom he ſaid, 'My lord, God hath given you many bleſſings, wiſdom, honour, nobility, riches, many good and great friends, and he is now about to prefer you to the government of the realm (the earl of Marr, the late regent, being newly dead.) In his name I charge you, uſe theſe bleſſings better than formerly you have done, ſeeking firſt the glory of God, the furtherance of his goſpel, the maintainance of his church, and the miniſtry, and then be careful of the king to procure his good, and the welfare of the realm. If you do thus, God will be with you, and honour you: if otherwiſe, he will deprive you of all theſe benefits, and your end ſhall be ſhame and ignominy.' Theſe ſpeeches the earl called to mind about nine years after, at the time of his execution, ſaying, That he had found John Knox to be a prophet.

A day or two before Knox's death, he ſent for Mr David Lindſey, Mr Lawſon, and the elders and deacons of the church, to whom he ſaid, the time is approaching, which I have long thirſted for, wherein I ſhall be releaſed from all my cares, and be with my Saviour Chriſt for ever. And now God is my witneſs whom I have ſerved with my ſpirit in the goſpel of his ſon, that I have taught nothing but the true, and ſincere word of God; and that the end that I propoſed in my miniſtry was, To inſtruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort their conſciences who were humbled under the ſenſe of their ſins, and born down with the threatenings of God's judgments. I am not ignorant that many have, and do blame my too great rigour, and ſeverity; but God knoweth that in my heart I never hated thoſe againſt whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their ſins, and laboured according to my power to gain them to Chriſt. That I did forbear none of what condition ſoever, I did it out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in the function of his miniſtry, and I know will bring me to an account. Now brethren for yourſelves, I have no more to ſay, but to warn you that you take heed of the flock over which God hath placed you overſeers, which he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And you Mr Lawſon fight a good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind, and God from heaven bleſs you and the church whereof you have the charge: againſt it (ſo long as it continues in the doctrine of the truth) the gates of hell ſhall not prevail. Having thus ſpoken, and the elders and deacons being diſmiſſed, he called the two preachers to him and ſaid There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly, you have ſometimes ſeen the courage and conſtancy of the laird of Grange in the cauſe of God; and now that unhappy man is caſting himſelf away; I pray you go to him from me, and tell him, That unleſs he forſake that wicked courſe that he is in, the rock wherein he confideth ſhall not defend him, nor the carnal wiſdom of that man be counted half a god (which was young Lethington) ſhall yield him help; but he ſhall be ſhamefully pulled out of that neſt, and his carcaſe hung before the ſun (meaning the caſtle, which he kept againſt the king's authority) for his ſoul it is dear to me, and if it were poſſible, I would fain have him ſaved. Accordingly they went to him, conferred with him, but could by no means divert him from his courſe; but as Knox had foretold, ſo the year after the caſtle was taken, and his body was publicly there hanged before the ſun: yet at his death he did expreſs ſerious repentance.

The next day Mr Knox gave order for the making of his coffin, continuing all the day (as he did alſo through all his ſickneſs) in fervent prayer, crying, Come Lord Jeſus, ſweet Jeſus into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Being aſked whether his pains were great? He anſwered, That he did not eſteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys. Oft after ſome meditation he uſed to ſay, Oh ſerve the Lord in fear, and death ſhall not be troubleſome to you; bleſſed is the death of thoſe that have part in the death of Jeſus.

The night before his death, he ſlept ſome hours with great unquietneſs, often ſighing and groaning, whereupon when he awaked, the ſtanders by aſked him how he did, and what it was that made him mourn ſo heavily? To whom he anſwered, In my life I have been aſſaulted with temptations from Satan, and he hath oft caſt my ſins into my teeth to drive me to deſpair, yet God gave me ſtrength to overcome all his temptations: but now the ſubtile ſerpent takes another courſe, and ſeeks to perſwade me, that all my labours in the miniſtry, and the fidelity that I have ſhewed in that ſervice hath merited heaven and immortality: but bleſſed be God that brought to my mind theſe ſcriptures, What haſt thou that thou haſt not received? And, Not I, but the grace of God in me, with which he is gone away aſhamed and ſhall not return: and now I am ſure that my battle is at an end, and that without pain of body, or trouble of ſpirit, I ſhall ſhortly change this mortal, and miſerable life with that happy and immortal life that ſhall never have an end. After which one praying by his bed, having made an end, aſked him; if he heard the prayer? yea, ſaid he and would to God that all preſent had heard it with ſuch an ear and heart as I have done: adding, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit: with which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling aſleep rather than dying, he ended his life.

Never was man more obſervant of the truth and juſt authority of the church rules according to the word of God, and the practice of the pureſt primitive times: he always preſſed due obedience from the people to the faithful paſtors, and elders of the church. He died *anno Chriſti* 1572. and of his age 62. men of all ranks were preſent at his burial: the earl of Morton, when the corps was put into the ground, ſaid, here lies the body of him who in his life time never feared the face of any man.

Scripta reliquit ad londinenſes & alios. Ad evangelii profeſſores. Quibuſdam ſit orandum. In Pſalmum ad matrem. Contra miſſam Papiſticam. doctrinale miſſaticum. De fide euchariſtia. Ad eccleſias afflictas. Ad Scotiæ reginam matrem. Concilium in anguſtiis. Buccine afflatum primum. Appellationum a ſententia cleri. Ad populum Scotiæ. In Geneſin conciones, et alia quædam.

He was a man no leſs learned than endued with virtue; a conſtant preacher of the truth, and a valiant defender of the ſame through his whole life.

His zeal, learning, and courage, did notably appear in this example. *Anno Chriſti* 1550. he was called before Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, and his doctors to give an account of his opinion about the maſs, where preaching before them, he did ſo ſharply tax their idolatries, and blaſphemies, and by ſuch ſolid arguments confute the ſame, that his adverſaries were ſilenced, and had not wherewithal to reply againſt him.

The Life of GALEACIUS CARACCIOLUS, *Marquiſs of Vico who died,* anno Chriſti, 1592.

GALEACIUS Caracciolus was born at Naples, *anno Chriſti*, 1517. His father's name was Calantonio deſcended of the ancient, and noble family of the Caracciolis of Capua: his mother was deſcended of the noble family of the Caraffi, whoſe brother was afterwards pope Paul IV. His father was very careful of his education in his youth, and then being well known to, and in favour with the emperor Charles V. he requeſted him to entertain this his ſon into his ſervice, which the emperor willingly did, and liked him ſo well, that ſhortly after he made him his gentleman ſewer; in which place, and office he demeaned himſelf ſo well, that he won the favour of the nobility, and reſt of the court, and grew to be of ſpecial account with the emperor himſelf: and indeed few were to be compared with him for innocency of life, elegancy of manners, ſound judgment, and knowlege of many things: his father alſo being deſirous to continue his name, and advance his houſe, provided for him a wife, a virgin of noble birth, called Victoria, daughter to the duke of Nuceria, with whom he had in portion 6500l. his

his father's eſtate being worth 5000 l. *per annum*. By this wife he had ſix children, four ſons and two daughters.

But God intending to advance him to an higher dignity than that to which he was born, was pleaſed, in mercy, by degrees to reveal himſelf and his truth to him. The firſt beginning of it was this: There lived about this time in Naples, a noble Spaniard, called John Waldeſius, who having got ſome knowlege of the truth of the goſpel, eſpecially in the doctrine of juſtification, he uſed often to confer with, and inſtruct divers other noblemen, his companions and familiar friends, in points of religion, confuting the falſe opinion of our inherent juſtification, and merit of good works, and thereby deteſting the vanity and fondneſs of ſome popiſh points, by which means (the Lord bleſſing his labours) many of theſe noblemen began to creep out of darkneſs, and to diſcern the truth, amongſt whom was one John Francis Cæſarta, a kinſman to Galeacius: he diſcourſing often with Galeacius, began to convince him of the vanity of wordly privileges; of the true means of our juſtification; of the excellency and power of God's word, and of the folly of moſt of the popiſh ſuperſtitions. Now Galeacius much eſteemed this kinſman, yet the world hung ſo heavy upon him, that for the preſent theſe things ſeemed to make but ſmall impreſſion upon his ſpirit.

At this time Peter Martyr was a public preacher, and reader at Naples, whoſe holy life, and ſweet copious teaching, made him very famous. Hereupon, Galeacius was once content, at Cæſarta's motion, to go and hear his ſermon; yet, not ſo much out of a deſire to learn, as tickled with a curious humour to hear ſo famous and learned a man. Peter Martyr, at this time, was ſhewing out of 1 Corinthians, the weakneſs and deceitfulneſs of the judgment of man's reaſon in ſpiritual things, and the power, and efficacy of God's word in thoſe men in whom the Lord works by his Spirit, which he illuſtrated by this compariſon:

If a man ſhould ſee men and women dancing together afar off, and hear no inſtrument, he would judge them mad or fooliſh; but if he come near and hear the muſic, and mark their meaſures, &c. he will then not only delight to ſee them, but feel a deſire in himſelf to bear them company: Even ſo, many men, when they behold in others a ſudden and great change of their looks, apparel, behaviour, and whole courſe of life, at firſt he will impute it to melancholy, or ſome fooliſh humour; but if he look nearer, and begin to hear, and perceive the ſweet harmony and conſent of God's ſpirit and word in them, then they change their opinion, and begin, firſt, to like them, and that alteration in them; and afterwards feel in themſelves a deſire to imitate, and be of the number of ſuch men, as forſaking the world's vanity, walk according to the rule of the goſpel, that they may come to true and ſound ſanctification.

This compariſon, by the wonderful power and efficacy of God's ſpirit, wrought wonderfully in Galeacius, (as he often confeſt to his friends) that from that hour he reſolved to forſake his former pleaſures and practices, and to ſet himſelf to ſeek out true happineſs; and, for that end, he read the ſcriptures every day, as the fountain whence it muſt be drawn, and wherein the way to heaven was diſcovered. He choſe ſuch company, by whoſe life and conference he might be edified in the true religion, and in his moſt holy faith.

But this great alteration being obſerved in Naples, his old companions were much amazed at it: ſome judged it a melancholy paſſion; others eſteemed it plain folly, and feared that he would become ſimple and doting. But ſuch as feared God, as they wondered much to ſee ſo great a change in ſo great a man, ſo they exceedingly rejoiced to ſee it, and praiſed the Lord in his behalf. But the more courageouſly this worthy ſervant of Chriſt went on in the ways of godlineſs, the more the devil raged againſt him by his temptations, endeavouring thereby to ſtop his courſe; or, if it were poſſible, to drive him back again, that 'having begun in the ſpirit, he might end in the fleſh.' Firſt, his zealous profeſſion procured him a great number of mocks, and made him the ſubject of moſt vile ſlanders: many took occaſion thereby extremely to hate him; his father was much diſpleaſed and vexed, ſeeing how the honour and advancement of his houſe was like to be eclipſed thereby, and therefore he often and ſharply chid him, charged him, with his fatherly authority, to put away his melancholy conceits: this much grieved him, being always very ſubmiſſive and obedient to his parents. His wife Victoria alſo (though a wife, kind, and dutiful wife) yet would ſhe by no means yield to his motion, for the change of her religion, fearing infamy and reproach thereby; and therefore ſhe was always ſoliciting of him, with complaints, tears, kind entreaties, and all other ways that a wife could uſe to her huſband.

It was alſo a great temptation, that almoſt all the nobility in and about Naples, being of kin, and familiar acquaintance with him, oft reſorted to him, to draw him forth to his old ſports and pleaſures. And his office ſometimes calling him to the court, it was a great trouble to him, for there he heard of any thing rather than of religion; not a word of God's word, but all of pleaſures, honours, &c. or how they might rid out of the way the forſakers of popery, and profeſſors of the true faith; yet Satan ſet upon him by a more dangerous temptation, to withdraw him from the truth; for at that time Italy was much peſtered with the Arians and Anabaptiſts, who, with glorious ſhews deceived all the ſimple: theſe men ſet upon Galeacius, ſeeking by all means to entangle him in their errors and blaſphemous fancies; but God's goodneſs appeared wonderfully, enabling him, newly entered into the ſchool of Chriſtian religion, and as yet little ſtudied in the ſcriptures, to reſiſt the cunning ſnares of theſe diſſembling heretics, many of them being grounded ſcholars, and thoroughly ſtudied in the ſcriptures; yet he, by the ſincere ſimplicity of God's truth, and aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, not only diſcerned the fondneſs of their opinions, but untied the knots, and brake the ſnares, and mightily confuted them; yea, through God's mercy, being often in their meetings, he was ſtrongly confirmed in the truth by hearing and ſeeing of them. Yet he met with a more dangerous temptation, for the Waldeſians, with whom he moſt converſed, though they were right in ſome points of religion about juſtification, &c. and diſliked ſome abuſes in popery, yet they frequented the popiſh churches, heard their maſſes, and were preſent at their vile idolatries, and this they did to avoid perſecution, and this was a dangerous example to Galeacius; but, through the good providence of God, his office calling him into Germany, to the emperor's court, at Straſburgh he met with his old friend Peter Martyr, (who was then divinity profeſſor there) by whom he learned, that the knowledge of the truth of juſtification was not ſufficient to ſalvation, if in the meantime a man defiled himſelf with idolatry, which the ſcripture calls ſpiritual whoredom: from him he received many other comfortable inſtructions, and thereby was much confirmed in the truth. And ſo returning to Naples, he declared his judgment to the Waldeſians, concerning the ſhunning of idolatry, whereupon they preſently forſook him, being unwilling to hear of that doctrine which would expoſe them to all manner of ſufferings. But God, of his infinite mercy, wrought in him ſuch heroical reſolutions, that ſeeing his friends forſook him, and he had no hope of ſeeing a reformation in Naples, he reſolved to forſake his country, and ſeek for Chriſt and his religion whereſoever he might find them; and that he would rather forſake father, wife, children, goods, honours, &c. to win Chriſt, than to enjoy them all, and want Chriſt Jeſus. Yet herein he met with many grievous combats; for ſo oft as he looked upon his aged father, that dearly loved him, and whom he again reſpected with all duty and reverence, ſo oft he was ſtricken to the heart with unſpeakable grief to think of leaving of him; and ſuch like reaſonings he had in his heart: What! muſt I needs forſake my loving father, or elſe I cannot have God my Father? And muſt I needs fail in my duty to him, if I perform my duty to God? Shall I hereby bring his hoary hairs with ſorrow to the grave? Shall I bring an obloquy upon him and my whole kindred? Shall I be the cauſe of his death, that would (if need were) redeem my life with his own death? Yet I muſt rather hazard his life, than caſt my own poor ſoul with horror into hell.

And no leſs was he grieved in reſpect of his noble wife, having no hope that ſhe would renounce popery, and go with

with him She was in the prime of her youth; a lady of great birth, fair, wife, and modeſt; but her love and loyalty to him paſſed all, which filled him with theſe reaſonings: Shall I thus ſuddenly leave my dear wife, the only joy of my heart in this world, my companion, the augmenter of my joy, and leſſener of my woe? Shall I thus leave her for ever? Shall I deprive myſelf of her, and thereby of all others alſo, and of all comfort of a conjugal life, and married eſtate? Alas! poor lady, what will become of her, and her little ones, when I am gone? What will ſhe do but weep, and wail, and pine away with grief? Yet muſt I, for Chriſt's ſake, reſolve to leave her, and all, to follow Chriſt.

Whilſt he meditated on theſe things, he thought he heard and ſaw his wife ſighing, and ſobbing, and weeping and howling, and running after him, ſaying, Ah! my dear lord, and ſweet huſband, whither will you go? And will you leave me, poor woman, comfortleſs and ſuccourleſs? What can honours, riches, gold, ſilver, jewels, friends, &c. do, when I want you? What joy can I take in my children without you? but rather my grief to be doubled to look on them? How can any be perſuaded that you care for me, or them? Is this the love you have ſo often boaſted of? &c.

Theſe thoughts tormented him the more, becauſe they boiled in his heart, and he durſt impart them to none, leſt they ſhould have hindered his departure: yet the thoughts about his children extremely augmented his grief; they were goodly and towardly children, worthy ſuch noble parents; they were young, and therefore not apprehenſive what it was to want a father. He loved them tenderly: when his wife the lady did ſometimes put into his arms the youngeſt to play with, how did it cut him to the heart? and what ado had he to contain from floods of tears? how did he in himſelf thus reaſon? And ſhall I preſently leave theſe ſweet babes to the wide and wicked world, as though they had never been my children? to be a father is a comfort; but a father of no children, and yet to have children, is a miſery? And you, poor orphans, what will become of you when I am gone? your hap is hard to be fatherleſs, your father yet living. What can your great birth now help you? by my departure you ſhall loſe all, honour, living, dignity, &c. yea, hereby you ſhall be expoſed to infamy, reproach, ſlander, &c. that you ſhall curſe the time that ever you had me for your father.

Many other were the temptations that he conflicted withal, though inferior to theſe; as leaving the company of ſo many noblemen, his kindred and acquaintance; to loſe his honourable office at court; to leave for ever his native ſoil, the fruitful Italy; to deprive himſelf and poſterity of the noble title of a marqueſdom; to undertake a long and tedious journey; to caſt himſelf into exile, poverty, ſhame, and other miſeries; to leave ſo brave a ſeat, the garden and orchard whereof exceeded all others in Italy, to ſee which, there daily reſorted many ſtrangers out of all parts: yet he reſolved, through God's grace, to leave all and follow Chriſt; ſaying thus unto himſelf: 'Thou, Lord, art he that dreweſt me out of the miſty darkneſs of ignorance, enlightening my mind with thy Holy Spirit, and with the heavenly knowledge of thy truth: thou haſt made known to me the way of ſalvation, and haſt ranſomed me to thyſelf, by the blood of thy Son. Now, therefore, Holy Father, I am only thine, conſecrated to thy glory, and therefore I will follow thee, and obey thee, and walk in thy ways whitherſoever thou ſhalt be pleaſed to call me. Not my father, wife, children, honours, lands, riches, nor all my delicacies and pleaſures, ſhall hold me one hour from following thee. I deny myſelf, and I deny this whole world for thee, and thy ſake. O Lord, thou knoweſt how many enemies compaſs me; how many hinderances and temptations lie in my way, &c. O Lord, have mercy upon me, and deliver my ſoul, &c. O bleſſed and happy theſe miſeries that pull me out of the world's vanities, and ſink of ſins, that I may be made heir of everlaſting glory. Welcome, therefore, the croſs of Chriſt; I will take it up, O Lord, and will follow thee.'

According to this holy reſolution, making his mind known only to a few of his choice friends, of whoſe piety he hoped well, he wrought ſo much upon them, that they vowed to accompany him in his voluntary exile; yet, ſee the deceitfulneſs of man's heart, moſt of theſe, when they came to the borders of Italy, and began ſeriouſly to conſider what they left behind them, and what they went to, they firſt (with Lot's wife) began to look back, and afterwards went back; turning again to the vomit of their pleaſures.

But, oh! the unſearchableneſs of God's judgments! theſe ungrateful perſons, refuſing ſo great a mercy offered them, the Lord purſued with a juſt revenge; for purpoſing to ſerve God in their pleaſures, in the midſt of popery, they were taken by the inquiſition, forced publicly to recant, and abjure their religion; and ſo became the ſubject of miſery and infamy, and were equally odious to both parties: yet their apoſtaſy was a great diſcouragement to Galeacius, ſeeing himſelf forſaken of thoſe by whoſe ſociety he hoped to have enjoyed much comfort in a ſtrange country.

Notwithſtanding all this he prepared for his departure; and finding his opportunity, he concealed his purpoſe, leſt the authority of his father might have diverted him: and ſo, getting ſome thouſand merks which his mother had left him, on the 20th of March, *anno* 1551, and of his age 34, he departed from Naples as if he intended for the emperor's court, whither indeed he went, attending his office for a ſhort time; and then, bidding adieu to the court, and all worldly pleaſures, he went ſtraight to Geneva, where he arrived in ſafety, through God's mercy, and with a joyful heart.

In that city, though there was an Italian church, yet met he with none of his acquaintance but one, a nobleman of Stena, and now a preacher to the Italian congregation. Thus, bleſſing God for freeing him from the antichriſtian yoke, and bringing of him where he might ſafely profeſs his name, with a free conſcience. He aſſociated himſelf with Mr Calvin, and ſubmitted to his inſtruction, who finding his ſincerity, meekneſs, &c. moſt kindly entertained him into his fellowſhip: and this their mutual love was ſo firmly grounded, that it continued to their lives end. Mr Calvin ſhews how he honoured and eſteemed him, by his epiſtle to him, wherein he dedicates to him his commentary upon the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. And amongſt many other high commendations that he gives him there he acknowledgeth that the example of Galeacius prevailed much with him, for the ſtrengthening of his faith, and increaſe of his godlineſs.

But when the news of his fixing at Geneva came to the emperor's court, and to Naples, it cannot be imagined how ſtrangely it affected all that heard it; but, above all, his own friends were wonderfully aſtoniſhed at it, and his family; where nothing was to be heard but lamentations, tears, and pitiful complaints, ſo that it ſeemed a lively pattern of woe and miſery: yet was the old marqueſs his father moſt affected of all others, foreſeeing hereby the ruin and downfal of his eſtate and family; but the evidence of ſorrow being once over, he began to caſt about by what means he might recover him again; and for that end ſent a couſin german of his, that was moſt dear to Galeacius, with letters to Geneva, full of authority, proteſtations, bitter complaints, and loving intreaties to return home again, for the comfort of his aged father, the reviving and cheering up his forlorn wife, and diſtreſſed children, and to the unſpeakable joy of all his kindred.

This gentleman coming to Geneva, found Galeacius in a mean houſe, which he had taken for his uſe, with only two ſervants attending upon him: but how ſad was the meeting of theſe two gentlemen, which was ſpent in nothing but embracings, ſighs, ſobs, and tears; yea, it ſo exceeded, that for divers hours they could not ſpeak a word to other; till at laſt the gentleman hoping, and longing to recover his friend, with pitiful words, mixed with tears, he delivered his letters, till he had recovered more freedom of ſpeech; which having once obtained, to his letters he added obteſtations, intreaties, perſuaſions, and exhortations, all mingled with many tears, that he would reſpect the ruin of his houſe, the grief of his old father, the deſperate condition of his wife and children, &c. and remedy all by his return into Italy. But Galeacius, being as unmovable as a rock, without delay, returned him anſwer,

ſwer, that he knew all this which he ſaid to be true; yet withal he would have him know, that he had done nothing rashly, he had conſulted with God, by whoſe grace he was moved hereunto; and by the ſame grace that he had his eyes opened to diſcern the truth, and to ſee the ſuperſtitions in popery, &c.

He told him alſo, that he had well weighed the infamies, reproaches, and miſeries which attended this his change. But, ſaid he, ſeeing one of theſe muſt needs be choſen, either to ſtay at home with a burthened conſcience, under an heap of errors and ſuperſtitions, or elſe to leave houſe, lands, family, country; yea, and all the world's glory, thereby to obtain liberty to ſerve the Lord purely, according to his word; that therefore he reſolved of two evils to chuſe the leſs, and rather to ſhut his eyes againſt the ſplendor of worldly glory and empty vanities, than that the ſight of them ſhould hinder him from following the call of Chriſt, who ſaith, That he is unworthy to be his diſciple, who leaveth not father, mother, wife, children, &c. yea, and his own life, to follow him: therefore, ſaid he, I forſook all theſe, becauſe I could not enjoy Chriſt and them; being heartily ſorry that they would not come to him, or that he might not have liberty ſafely to live with them. But for himſelf, he ſaid, he had riches, honour, and joy enough, ſo long as in that cottage, with his two ſervants, he might live in the true church of God, enjoy his word and ſacraments free from pollution, and the ſociety of godly men, and have time to converſe with God by holy meditation, and to confer with his religious friends about God's great goodneſs ſhewed him in his converſion, &c.

His kinſman was much aſtoniſhed at this anſwer, yet had nothing to reply; conſidering that his reſolution was not grounded on carnal reaſon, or the will of man, but upon the holy word of God, and his powerful and unreſiſtable calling; therefore, with a ſorrowful heart he held his tongue, bitterly complaining within himſelf, that he had ſucceeded no better: and ſo, after a while, he took his leave of his beloved friend, with many tears and pitiful cries on both ſides. When he came near Naples, there was much running to hear good news; but when he had delivered his heavy meſſage, the ſorrow of them all was redoubled upon them; father, wife, children, friends, &c. were all overwhelmed with grief: and the rather, becauſe at the ſame time the emperor had publiſhed an edict, wherein he proclaimed Galeacius guilty of high treaſon, confiſcating his goods, and making himſelf and his poſterity incapable of his father's marqueſdom. This made the old man, notwithſtanding his great age, to go to the emperor, and ſue to him, that his ſon's falling from the Roman church might not prejudice his poſterity, but that himſelf only might bear the puniſhment of his fault. But before he entered upon this journey, he diſpatched away a meſſenger with a letter, to charge his ſon, upon his filial obedience, to meet him ſuch a time at Verona, within the Venetian territories, hoping, if he could ſpeak with him, that he ſhould recal him from the ſociety of the hereticks of Geneva.

Galeacius having received this letter, and taken advice upon it, purpoſed not to diſobey ſo lawful a command of his father, though he feared it would but further exaſperate him: yet, before he went, he reſolved by God's grace, that neither threatenings, intreaties, allurements, &c. ſhould ſtir him one inch from that courſe of religion, whereby he had begun to ſerve the Lord: and thus, armed with heavenly fortitude, and the prayers of the church, he haſted to Verona, where he found his father, who received and uſed him kindly; and after ſalutations, he ſet upon him with all the cunning and ſubtile arguments that he could poſſibly invent to draw him home again. Galeacius humbly anſwers, That his body and eſtate is his father's, but his conſcience is the Lord's: tells him, that he cannot embrace that motion, but he muſt make ſhipwreck of a good conſcience; and therefore humbly entreats him, that ſeeing his only deſire was to obey God, and ſave his ſoul, that he would not urge him more to reſpect eſtate and family, than God's glory and his own ſoul's health. The old marquiſs ſeeing the unmoveableneſs of his ſon, which he deemed wilfulneſs, yet enjoined him at leaſt to ſtay there till he had been with the emperor and preferred his petition to him: this Galeacius aſſented to, and performed. But ſo ſoon as ever he underſtood that the emperor had granted his father's requeſt, he, with a joyful heart, returned to Geneva: and, being there, he conſidered how to employ himſelf for the public good; for which end he deviſed how to ſettle the diſcipline of the Italian church there, which was much increaſed by a confluence of families, which fled from the bloody inquiſition.

About this time Calvin was delegated to go to Baſil about matters of religion, with whom (at his requeſt) Galeacius went, and there met with Celſus, deſcended of the noble family of the earls of Martinengo in Italy, lately, through God's mercy, eſcaped out of the mire of popiſh ſuperſtition. This Celſus was then purpoſed to go for England, but by the perſuaſion of Galeacius he went with him to Geneva, where they both joined together; and, by the help and direction of Calvin, they eſtabliſhed a form of diſcipline for the Italian church. and Celſus was choſen the firſt paſtor thereof, in which place he performed the office of a faithful and vigilant watchman, and had two elders joined aſſiſtants to him: the principal of the elders was Galeacius himſelf, by whoſe authority and diligence the church was preſerved in peace and unity.

Anno 1555. his uncle, Paulus Quintus, was made pope; hereupon the old marquiſs wrote to him, commanding him to meet him at Mantua in Italy, ſending him proviſion of money for his journey. He obeyed, and went thither, where his father entertained him with more than ordinary kindneſs: then he told him, that he had procured of his uncle, the pope, a diſpenſation for him, whereby he might freely live in any city within the Venetian territories, without being moleſted for his religion and conſcience. He told him, that hereby he would be a greater ſolace to his old age, than his abſence had been a grief; earneſtly intreating him that he would gratify him in this requeſt, and all in a moſt pathetical manner, beſeeching him not to reject ſo great a favour offered him by the pope, telling him that hereby he might recover his honours, eſtate, friends, and eſtimation.

Galeacius was wonderfully perplexed with this motion, conſidering the proffers and promiſes, and authority of his father, which he knew not well how to deny, nor how to embrace, the rather becauſe he wanted the advice of his faithful friend Mr Calvin. Being in this great perplexity, he durſt not rely upon his own wit, but, retiring himſelf, betook himſelf unto fervent prayer unto God his Saviour, the Author of true wiſdom, humbly craving the aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, that, in this his extremity, he might reſolve upon that which was moſt for God's glory, and his own found comfort. And the Lord anſwered his prayers, directing him in the way that he ſhould chuſe: for conſidering that the pope, Antichriſt-like, directly oppoſed himſelf to Chriſt, his religion, and true church, that therefore he might, by no means ſue for, or accept any favour at his hands, nor be at all beholden to him for any thing. Beſides, God's Spirit ſuggeſted to him, that it carried with it a ſhew of apoſtaſy, to forſake the fellowſhip of Chriſt's church, and to live amongſt idolaters: as alſo how ſcandalous it would be to profeſſors, who would be ready to think that he had taken his farewel of religion, and renewed acquaintance with his old friend the world: and further, that this was to forſake the ordinary means of the true word and ſacraments, and to live in a place where there was nothing but idolatry. He further ſaw that Satan's policy herein was to entangle him again in the cares of the world, and pleaſures of Italy, and thereby to dazzle his eyes with ſenſual delights, that by degrees the power of godlineſs might decay in him: and laſtly, God's Holy Spirit taught him wiſdom how to anſwer all his father's objections, and confute all his arguments.

Hereupon he beſeeched his father not to draw him to that which afterwards he might have cauſe to repent of, by making him a prey to the papiſts, who held it for a maxim, 'that faith was not to be kept with heretics,' therefore, ſaith he, it is better for me, and more joy to you, that I live in this poor eſtate, than that I ſhould endanger my life, and my whole poſterity. The marquiſs being ſilenced hereby, returned with an heavy heart to Naples, and Galeacius, with a merry heart, to Geneva, where

where he was received by his friends, and the whole church, with exceeding rejoicing for his safe return; but, by the way, he visited that godly princess, the old dutchess of Ferrara, who entertained him honourably, and had much conference with him about his conversion, temptations, journeys, the church at Geneva, and the great Calvin; and so lovingly dismissed him, sending him in her own coach, for his ease, as far as to the town of Francolium.

During these occurrences, his wife Victoria burned in hearty affections towards him, and it is inexpressible how vehemently she longed for his company, so that she never ceased writing to him, beseeching him to return again to her, and his children: but when letters prevailed not, she earnestly desired him to meet her in some city within the territories of the Venetians: this request he yielded to, hoping to prevail with her to leave her superstition, and to come with him to Geneva. The place where they were to meet was Læsina, a city in Dalmatia, a hundred miles by water from Vicum: thither he went, and she came not according to promise, but sent two of her eldest sons to meet him there; their sight and company was most acceptable to him: but being frustrate of his expectation in meeting with his wife, he sent them back, and returned to Geneva; where, after a few days, came letters posting from his wife, craving pardon for her former failing, and beseeching him once more to come to that place, where, without fail, she solemnly vowed to attend him. This request seemed very unreasonable, that he should so spend his time, and weary out himself, in such long and dangerous journeys: yet considering, that at his first coming from her, he had not so fully discharged his duty, by endeavouring her conversion, he yielded to go; and accordingly *anno* 1558, he came again to Læsina, where he understood that many of his friends, together with his wife, had intended to have met him, but that a mariner of Venice had disappointed them; hereupon he resolved to go to Vicum, relying on the Lord's protection, having, as he conceived, a special call thereunto.

When he came to his father's castle, it cannot be expressed how great joy the whole family was filled with; but, above all others, his wife, surpassed with joy and delight, hoping that now she had recovered her dear Lord and husband, the only comfort and solace of her life; but within a few days all this joy was turned into tears and mourning, when he had discovered his constant resolution to persevere in his religion, and that he would rather die than be drawn from it; yet, in the midst of these mournings, which almost broke his heart, he comforted himself in the Lord, dealing with his wife in a loving way, and earnest manner, to go and live with him her husband, as the law of God and nature required, promising her, that she would have liberty of her religion, to live as she would; but she flatly answered, though with many tears, that she would never go with him to Geneva, and that she would not live with him as long as he was entangled with those heresies; yea, so violent and wilful she was, that she there denied him that duty which a wife is bound by all law to yield to her husband, nor would by any means lye with him as man and wife; saying, that she was expresly forbidden by her confessor to do it, upon the pain of excommunication: How this unwomanly answer pierced his heart, it is easy for husbands to guess; yet he bore it with invincible constancy and quietness of mind; but withal told her, that if she denied him that matrimonial duty, which by the law of God she owed him, he would sue out a divorce against her. Notwithstanding she still persisted in her obstinacy, rather chusing to break God's command than her confessor's: he therefore resolving to depart, reiterated his former protestation to her, and so bad her to take it as his last warning.

The doleful day of his departure being come, he went to his father to take his leave, whose former love was now turned into fury, so that he gave him his farewel with many an heavy and bitter curse, which the Lord turned into blessing; and so, having passed this brunt, he came into the hall, where was his wife, children, and many of his near kindred and dear friends, all fraught with grief and heaviness. Nothing was heard but sighs, sobs, and cries: nothing was seen but tears and wringing of hands. His wife, embracing and taking him about the neck, beseeched him, with loving and pitiful speeches, that he would pity himself, her, and his children, and not so willingly cast them all away. His young children, all upon their knees, with arms stretched out, hands holden up, and faces swoln with tears, crying unto him to have pity upon them, his own bowels, and not to make them fatherless before their time. His kindred, with heavy countenances, and watery eyes, looked ruefully on him; and though through grief they could not speak, yet every look and gesture was a loud cry, and strong entreaty for his stay amongst them. Unutterable was the grief of them all, and unspeakable was the torment and temptation that he felt in this agony, when he must either leave Jesus Christ, or these his friends for his sake. Yet, above all, there was one most lamentable sight, which would have broke an heart of flint: Amongst all his children he had one daughter of twelve years old, a proper and towardly gentlewoman, who catching fast hold about his knees, held him so hard, that he could by no means shake her off, and fatherly affections would not suffer him to hurt her: he laboured to be loose, but she held fast; he went forwards, but she trailed after, crying to him, not to be so cruel to her his child, who came into the world by him. This so wonderfully affected him being a man of a most loving and tender hearted nature, that, as he oft related, it made his very bowels to roll within him, and that his heart was ready presently to burst asunder. But, being armed with a divine and supernatural fortitude, he brake through all these temptations, and trode under foot whatsoever might hinder him from Christ; and so, leaving that heavy house, and dolorous company, he hastened to the sea side, and taking ship, he presently caused them to hoist sails towards Læsina; yet, with a toiled and distressed mind, betwixt sorrow, when he remembered whom he had for ever left behind, and joy to remember that he had escaped. Yet he could not so master natural affections, but that he brake out into tears, and often looked back to that which he had left behind, yet saw that he must leave all for Christ's sake. But it much pierced his heart, when, in looking back, he saw his wife, children, and kindred, standing on the shore, who, when their cries could be heard no longer, ceased not to look after the ship so long as it was in sight; neither could he refrain, but, with a woful countenance, looked at them again so long as he could discern them. And remembering all the former passages of his father's curses, his wife's tears, children's cries, &c. it fetched from him many a heart-breaking sigh, and bitter groan; yet the spiritual strength and courage of his mind was constant and invincible; so that after a while he cheered up himself, and bended the knees of his heart to the Eternal Father in heaven, giving him most hearty thanks, for that he had furnished him with such a portion of grace, as to withstand and conquer Satan in so perilous a conflict; and for delivering him from popish thraldom, and the bloody inquisition, which he was in continual danger of whilst he was in Italy.

He praised God also for giving him time, opportunity, and grace to perform that duty to his wife, which he had omitted at his first departure from her; as also, that he had made that protestation to her, upon her moodish and undutiful behaviour towards him. And so, through God's goodness, he came safely to Geneva, October 4 *anno* 1558.

His safe arrival brought exceeding joy to the whole church there, especially to the Italian congregation, among whom he lived with unspeakable contentment in his own conscience, in his former private and quiet life; and, after a few years, he began to find in himself some reasons which inclined him to think of entering into a married condition; and the rather, because he never heard from his wife, nor found any relenting in her, nor remorse for her former obstinacy. This his purpose he communicated to Mr Calvin, craving his advice and counsel in a matter of so great importance: his answer was, that it was not convenient, and less scandalous, if he could abstain from marriage. Galeacius told him that he could not abstain, and gave him many weighty reasons which inclined him to marriage; withal imparting to him some secret reason. Holy Calvin, a man of a sharp judgment, and of a wise discerning

discerning spirit, foresaw that many would speak evil of the fact, others would be scandalized, because few truly understand the doctrine of divorcement, and fewest of all knew of the circumstances of this particular fact. Galeacius urged such arguments out of God's word, as Calvin could not sufficiently answer; and thereupon he told him at last, that if he would go to the judicious Peter Martyr, and all his opinion, and the opinion of the learned divines of Rhætia and Switzerland, and request them, after mature deliberation, to set down their judgments, and the reasons of it in writing, for his own part he would subscribe unto them, and yield him what liberty they thought fit in this matter: always provided, that he should submit and stand to their judgments in this case. This Galeacius willingly assented to, desiring nothing more than to find out what the Lord by his word, and the voice of his church, should prescribe to him.

And accordingly he wrote to the divines, and churches after mentioned, who meeting together, and seriously debating the case, and weighing all circumstances, at last unanimously resolved, that he might, with a safe conscience, leave his former wife, who had first maliciously deserted him, and so be married to another. And this their opinion they confirmed by scripture, fathers, councils, and by the civil law; which being returned to Galeacius, he still taking the consent of the church along with him, sued out a divorce, and had it legally, by the magistrate, granted unto him.

After which, advising with his godly and prudent friends, he began to think of disposing himself in marriage, wherein yet he sought not so much after riches, beauty, birth, &c. as for a fit companion of his life, with whom he might comfortably spend the remainder of his days, and serve God cheerfully till the coming of his Lord and Master. And the providence of God (which never fails his children that wait and depend upon him) provided him such a wife as his heart desired, viz. a matronly gentlewoman, a widow that came from Roan in France to Geneva, for true religion's sake: She was well reported of for piety, modesty, and many excellent qualities, and about forty years of age. Galeacius considering her fitness in many regards, married her, *anno* 1566, and of his age 43, and they lived together many years after, with much comfort, and excellent agreement, so that the great afflictions and unquietness of his former life was now fully recompensed with a life full of all contentment and Christian joy.

His next care was to unburthen himself of all worldly cares, prescribing to himself a moderate and frugal course of life; kept only two maid servants, lived in great sobriety, yet always free from sordid baseness, neither wanting necessaries, nor having superfluities. His attire was plain, but comely: and he, that might in his own country have been attended with many servants, did often walk the streets alone, not having one man with him: yea, he disdained not oft to go into the market and provide his own necessaries, and sometimes would buy and carry home fruits, herbs, roots, and such other things; esteeming this course of life, together with freedom of religion, better than the marquisdom of Vicum. Yet under this mean attire was shrouded that gravity, majesty, and deportment, that any wise observer might easily discern that he came of a noble race: he was a great ornament to, and was highly esteemed by all the city of Geneva, every one speaking of his praise, so that it was hard to say, whether he was more beloved or admired amongst the magistrates, ministers, and persons of all ranks. No public meeting was appointed, or solemn feast made, unto which he was not invited, every one thinking himself happy that might enjoy his company; and (though he would have refused it) yet every one gave him the tittle of a marquis all his life long. His noble qualities were such, that every one honoured him. Strangers, princes, and noblemen, that visited Geneva, would by no means omit to see, and be acquainted with Galeacius, honouring him no less than if he had been in Naples.

His chief converse was with those Italians of his own church, in whose eyes his humble mind, and friendly conversation made him more honourable. He was one of a thousand; for besides his noble birth and princely education, he truly feared God, was affable, courteous, and friendly to all men; wise, discreet, and very eloquent: as his memory was exceeding good, so his smooth stile, his easy, quiet, and seemly delivery, made his speech most graceful to all that heard him.

With poor men, if they were godly and honest, he would converse as familiarly, as if they had been his equals: he was of a free and liberal heart; no poor or distressed man did ever desire his assistance, but presently he would reach out to them his helping hand to relieve them, and the loss of his former estate never troubled him, but when he had not wherewithal to give to charitable uses. It was his joy and delight to be lending and giving to those that wanted. Prisoners and distressed persons did often taste of his bounty. He visited the sick, and his presence and Christian exhortations were very comfortable to them. Every day he joined with the church in their public service: he never omitted to hear sermons, shewing wonderful devotion and reverence to the word of God. He daily read a portion of the holy scriptures.

As an elder of the church, he carefully observed, and enquired into the manners and lives of professors, encouraging the good, admonishing offenders. Where he saw or heard of any dissentions or suits of law amongst Christian neighbours, he was exceeding careful to compose and end them.

He wholly dedicated himself and all his abilities to the advancement of God's glory, and the edification of his church. But after a long calm of peace and tranquility, God raised up new storms, yet further to try his patience, and exercise his graces; for first he fell sick of a grievous and doubtful disease, proceeding from abundance of rheum, which made him so short-winded that he could hardly draw his breath, wherewith he was exceedingly tormented night and day, so that he could scarce get any sleep. This was procured by his long and wearisome journeys, which he had formerly taken by sea, and by land, for his conscience sake.

Then there came to Geneva a nephew of his, bringing him letters from his former wife, and his eldest son, persuading him yet at length to return to his native country and former religion; giving him hope that hereby he might advance his youngest son to the place of a cardinal, &c. But the soul of this worthy gentleman was much wounded and grieved hereat, as abhoring those profane dignities in the popish church; and to shew his distaste of the motion, he burnt the letters before the messenger's face; and, withal, not deigning to answer them by writing, he, by word of mouth, returned a grave, wise, and zealous answer. Yet this important Jesuit (for so he was) ceased not to molest him with frivolous reasons, and fleshly arguments, promising him an huge sum of money if he would return home, &c.

But the noble and holy heart of this godly Christian, in an heavenly zeal, and ardent love to his Saviour Jesus Christ, could not but shew itself, which made him to cry out, 'Let their money perish with them, who esteem all the gold in the world worth one day's society with Jesus Christ, and his Holy Spirit. And cursed be that religion for ever, which shall wed men to the world, and divorce them from God. Go home, therefore, and take thy silver with thee; make much of that dross of the earth,' &c. 'But know, that my Lord and Saviour hath made me enamoured of far more precious jewels, and durable riches.' Which words so enraged this papist, that he brake out into ill words and reproachful terms, and so went his way. Being delivered from this temper, his sickness encreased more and more upon him: his pain was most grievous, but he bare it with an heroical courage; and as the pains increased, so his faith and patience encreased; and as the outward man perished, the inward man was renewed day by day; and above all, he found unspeakable comfort and sweetness in his prayers to the Lord, and would often say, that in the midst of his prayers his soul seemed to be ravished, and to taste of the blessed joys of heaven; and as the sufferings of Christ abounded in him, so the consolations by Christ abounded much more.

The physicians spared no pains to cure him, nor his friends to visit him, especially his loving and tender wife was never from about him; but all was in vain, the time

of

of his diſſolution drawing on; therefore he wholly ſequeſtered himſelf from any more care of his body, and from all worldly cogitations: he took his farewel of his wife, and all his Chriſtian friends, ſaying, That he would lead them the way to heaven: his heart and thoughts were all in heaven, and he cried to Jeſus Chriſt, that as he had ſought him all his life, ſo he would now receive, and acknowlege him as his own: and ſo in the preſence of his friends, whilſt the miniſters were exhorting, and praying with him, he peaceably and quietly yielded up his ſpirit into the hands of his merciful God, and faithful Creator, *Anno Chriſti*, 1592, and of his age about 74.

As Moſes, when he was come to years, refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, and choſe rather to ſuffer adverſity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon, eſteeming the rebuke of Chriſt greater riches than the treaſures of Egypt: ſo our noble Galeacius, when he was come to years, and the knowlege of Chriſt, refuſed to be called the ſon and heir to a marquiſs, cup-bearer to an emperor, nephew to a pope, and choſe rather to ſuffer affliction, perſecution, baniſhment, loſs of lands, livings, wife, children, honours and preferments, than to enjoy the ſinful pleaſures of Italy for a ſeaſon; eſteeming the rebuke of Chriſt greater riches than the honours of a marqueſdom, without Chriſt; and therefore ſeeing he muſt either want Chriſt, or want them, he deſpoiled himſelf of all theſe to gain Chriſt.

The Life of JOHN Lord HARRINGTON, *Baron of Exton who died*, Anno Chriſti, 1613.

JOHN lord Harrington was the eldeſt ſon of the lord and lady Harrington, to whoſe care, and tuition king James commited the education of his eldeſt daughter the lady Elizabeth who was after married to Frederick, prince elector Palatine: they were perſons eminent for prudence, and piety, who carefully educated this their ſon, both in religion, and learning: and this honourable lord, as a thankful man for their care, and honour received from them, returned honour to them again and that with advantage: being no leſs honourable to them, than they were to him: he was of an excellent wit, firm memory, ſweet nature, and prompt to learning, ſo that in a ſhort time, he was able to read Greek authors, and to make uſe of them in their own language: he ſpoke Latin well, wrote it in a pure, and grave ſtile, was able to confer with any ſtranger readily, and laudably in the Italian, and French tongues: underſtood the authors which he read in Spaniſh: and for the arts, he was well read in logic, philoſophy, and the Mathematicks: he made a good progreſs in the Theorique part of the art military, and Navigation, ſo that he wanted nothing but practice to make him perfect in both: and for his underſtanding in heavenly knowledge, and the myſteries of ſalvation, it was admirable; ſo that there was ſcarce any queſtion that could be propounded to him about thoſe matters, unto which he was not able ſuddenly and underſtandingly to anſwer; being well grounded both in religion, and learning at home, his noble father ſent him to travel abroad in France, and Italy, that by experience he might ripen that knowledge which before he had gained, and for a guide, and tutor for him in his travels, he choſe and ſent over with him one Mr Tovy, a grave, learned, and religious man, and formerly the head maſter of the free-ſchool in Coventry: but how dangerous a thing it is for religious gentlemen to travel into thoſe popiſh countries, may appear by the example of this nobleman, and his tutor, whoſe ſound religion, and heavenly zeal for the truth being taken notice of by the Jeſuites, they took their opportunity to adminiſter a ſlow-working poyſon to them, that ſeeing they had no hopes of corrupting their minds, they might deſtroy their bodies, and bring them to their graves: of this poiſon, Mr Tovy, being aged, and to leſs able to encounter with the ſtrength of it, died preſently after his return to England: but the lord Harrington, being of a ſtrong and able body, and in the prime of his age, bore it better, and conflicted with it longer, yet the violence of it appeared in his face preſently after his return, and not long after haſtened his immature death: he was eminent for ſobriety, and chaſtity: his lips were never heard to utter any unchaſte, or unſeemly ſpeech, which was the more admirable, conſidering that he was in the heat of youth, living in the court, and had been a traveller into thoſe countries which are ſchools of uncleanneſs, where few return ſuch as they went out, but of chaſte are made unchaſte, or if unchaſte before, they are made ſeven fold worſe then they were: but this our nobleman was as fiſh, freſh in ſalt waters, and kept himſelf undefiled, as Lot in the midſt of Sodom: and indeed he took the right way to preſerve his chaſtity, by avoiding the incentives, and provocations to luſt: he ſpent not his time in courting of ladies, amorouſly contemplating the beauty of women, which are bellows of luſt, and baits of uncleanneſs: but he preferred his books before their beauty, and for his ſociety, choſe men of parts, and learning, for arts and arms: beſides, he was very temperate in his diet, ſhunned feaſting, and was frequent in faſting; and hated idleneſs, and much ſleep, which are the two nurſes of uncleanneſs: and in the night when he lay awake, to prevent temptations, he exerciſed his thoughts with heavenly meditations: his juſtice, ſo far as he had occaſion to ſhew it, was very examplary; he dealt very honourably and honeſtly with every one that he dealt with; and whereas his father had contracted great debts by his princelike houſekeeping, and other public and private occaſions, he was very ſolicitous for the diſcharge of the ſame, giving power to his executrix to ſell part, or all his land, if need were, therewith ſpeedily to diſcharge the creditors: and being aſked when the writing was drawn up, whether he aſſented to it? he anſwered, Yea, with all my heart, for my honour and my honeſty are my neareſt heirs.

But the ſplendor of his religion out ſhined all his moral, and natural accompliſhments: this was the temple that ſanctified the gold, and the altar that ſanctified the offering: this was that which enobled his ſobriety, juſtice, and other vertues: and this appeared both by his private, and public exerciſes of piety, which were rare in a young man, more rare in a young nobleman, yea, and hardly found in ſuch a meaſure in any man, of what age and condition ſoever.

He uſually roſe every morning about four or five o'clock, ſeldom ſleeping above ſix hours; when he firſt waked, his conſtant care was to ſet his heart in order, and to fit it for holineſs all the day after, offering the firſt fruits of the day and of his thoughts unto God: being up, he read a chapter out of the holy ſcriptures, then with his ſervants in his chamber he went to prayer; then he ſpent about an hour in reading ſome holy treatiſe, to enliven his affections, and encreaſe his knowlege: he read over Calvin's Inſtitutions, and Rogers his treatiſes, which were his two laſt books: before dinner and ſupper, he had a pſalm, chapter, and prayer in his family, and a pſalm ſung, and prayer after ſupper: and beſides theſe public duties, he prayed privately every morning in his cloſet, then betook himſelf to ſome ſerious ſtudy for three or four hours together, except he was interrupted by ſome ſpecial buſineſs: the reſidue of the morning he ſpent in converſe with his friends, riding the great horſe, or ſome ſuch other honeſt and noble recreation till dinner time; thus avoiding idleneſs, and preventing temptations, which enſue thereupon ordinarily: preſently after his dinner he retired into his ſtudy to meditate upon ſome ſermons that he had lately heard, or if he was diſappointed of that opportunity, he neglected not the firſt that was offered to him; yea, many times in his travels by land, or water, he thus buſied himſelf, the reſt of the afternoon he ſpent in buſineſſes, ſtudy of hiſtories, the art of war, mathematics, and navigation, wherein he attained to a great meaſure of perfection: after ſupper he prayed with his ſervants, then withdrew himſelf into his ſtudy, where he kept a diary or day book, wherein he recorded what he had done that day; how he had offended, or what good he had done; what temptations he met with, and how he had reſiſted them; and ſurveying his failings, humbled himſelf before God for them; and for ſuch failings as were fit to be known only to God and his own ſoul, he wrote them down in a private character, which none could read but himſelf, and then betook himſelf to his reſt; and to prevent evil thoughts before ſleep, one that waited upon him in his chamber, read a chapter or two

ent of the holy ſcriptures to him, and this practice he continued for four years together before his death.

And as his care was thus in private to walk with God, ſo no leſs was his care in public alſo, which appeared eſpecially in his uſe of the time, and means of God's worſhip. He was a moſt religious obſerver of the Lord's Sabbaths, both in public and private duties, yet preferring, as he often profeſſed) the public before the private, ſo that though he had an houſhold chaplain, yet he ever frequented the public aſſemblies twice every day; yea, whilſt he was a courtier: and if his occaſions caſt him into a place where the word was not preached, he would ride to ſome other place, ſometimes four miles, rather than want it: immediately after ſermon, he withdrew himſelf from company for about half an hour, to meditate upon, and apply what he had heard to his own ſoul: after the evening ſermon, two of his ſervants having written, he cauſed them to repeat both the ſermons in his family before ſupper; and ſuch was his memory, that uſually he could remember, and ſpeak of more than they had written; then he wrote them down in his book, and prayed himſelf with his family, wherein he had an excellent gift: and by way of preparation to the Sabbath, every Saturday night he uſed to call himſelf to a ſtrict account how he had ſpent the whole week, and accordingly to humble himſelf for his failings, and to return praiſe to God for mercies received from him: on the Sabbath morning, riſing betimes, he uſed, as he was making himſelf ready, to repeat to his ſervant thoſe ſermons which he had heard the Lord's day before: he uſed monthly to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; and to fit himſelf to feaſt at the Lord's table, he kept a private faſt the day before, and then he looked over his book for his carriage that month, and ſpent the whole day in prayer, meditation, and ſelf-examination, obſerving how it was with him ſince his laſt receiving, what progreſs he had made in piety, how he had thrived in grace, and what more ſtrength he had gotten over his corruptions: and thus he ſpent the whole day, not coming out of his ſtudy till about ſupper time: alſo the morning before he received, he read over 1 Cor. 11. Wherein is contained the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper, and to his ſervants that were to communicate with him, he read a little treatiſe to them, wherein the right manner of preparation was contained; and beſides theſe monthly faſts, he kept many other days of afflicting his ſoul upon ſundry occaſions: he was wondrous attentive in hearing the word of God preached, or read, and carried himſelf exceedingly reverently therein, knowing that he was in the preſence of God, that was no reſpecter of perſons, and that he heard not the words of a man, but of God: ſhewing thereby, that when he came to hear, he willingly laid down his honour at Chriſt's feet; and to avoid oſtentation, or the appearance of it in his private duties, he never admitted any one, either to his prayer, or repetition of ſermons in, and with his family, but only one friend, that was moſt intimate with him. And thus was this holy ſervant of Chriſt, blameleſs and pure, and the Son of God without rebuke, in a naughty and crooked generation, amongſt whom he ſhined as a light in the world, holding forth the words of life, that he might rejoice in the day of Chriſt, that he had not run in vain, nor laboured in vain.

He further manifeſted the ſincerity of his religion, by his love to all that were truly godly, eſpecially to faithful and painful miniſters; as alſo by his mercy, and charity to the needy ſaints and poor members of Jeſus Chriſt: after his return from his travels, by way of thankfulneſs of God he gave yearly, by the hand of a private friend, twenty pounds to the poor, and the ſecond Sabbath after his landing in England (having ſpent the day before with his tutor Mr Tovy, in faſting, prayer, and thankſgiving) he heard the word, received the ſacrament, and gave to the poor of that pariſh, five pounds; and beſides, he gave forty pounds to be beſtowed upon poor miniſters and other Chriſtians, for the relief of their neceſſities; yea, ſuch were his bowels of tender mercy, that he gave the tenth part of his yearly allowance, which was a thouſand pounds *per annum*, to pious and charitable uſes, beſides much that he gave occaſionally, as he travelled, walked abroad, &c. And all his other graces were beautified and adorned with admirable humility, which is rarely found in perſons ſo honourable, and honoured both by God and men.

From the firſt day of his laſt ſickneſs, he ſtrongly apprehended the approach of his death, and therefore accordingly prepared himſelf for it (though others thought of nothing leſs than his death:) beſides his private meditations, he called often for others to pray with him, prayed often himſelf: made confeſſion of his ſins, and oft confeſſed his faith, and undoubted hope of ſalvation by Chriſt, profeſſing with much cheerfulneſs that he feared not death in what ſhape ſoever it came: he uttered many heavenly ſpeeches, deſiring to be diſſolved, and to be at home with God, and his Father, profeſſing not above two hours before his death, that he ſtill felt the aſſured comforts, and joys of his ſalvation by Chriſt Jeſus, and when death itſelf approached, he breathed forth theſe longing expreſſions, O that joy! O my God, when ſhall I be with thee? and ſo in the midſt of thoſe longing deſires, he ſweetly and quietly reſigned up his ſpirit unto God, *anno Chriſti*, 1613. and of his age 22.

He was not ſo eminent in place, as he was in grace, his gifts and graces, and power of religion were exceeding rare; ſo that the papiſts, who brag ſo much of merits and good works, cannot bring forth a parallel example amongſt them, of any man of his age, honour and rank, nay ſcarce of any age or degree whatſoever, that ſhewed ſo much power of popery, or the form of ſeeming ſanctity, as this young nobleman did of true piety, and power of godlineſs.

The Life of PHILIP de MORNAY, *Lord of Pleſſis Marly.*

PHILIP de Morday was by the father's ſide of the houſe of Mornay, allied to the moſt illuſtrious families in France, being ſomewhile ſince united to the royal family of Bourbon. His mother was of the noble family of Bec Creſpin in Normandy, which, for having done worthy ſervice in the conqueſt of England, obtained the hereditary dignity of conſtable of Normandy.

This Philip was born the fifth of November, *anno Chriſti*, 1549. James de Mornay his father was a valiant gentleman, but (according to that age) much addicted to the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, in the which he was very careful to bring up his children. Frances de Bec his mother (daughter to Charles de Bec Creſpin, vice-admiral of France, was a woman of reſolution and wiſdom above her ſex) ſhe had ſome knowlege of the true religion in her huſbands life time, and endeavoured under-hand to inſtil it into her family, and in the end wrought ſo far with her huſband upon his death-bed, that after ſome ardent exhortations which ſhe uſed to him in his extremity; he ſignified to the by-ſtanders that he had no need of the Romiſh ſuperſtitious ceremonies, grounding his ſalvation upon the alone merits of Chriſt Jeſus his Saviour.

Their deſign was to have made this their ſon Philip a church-man; by reaſon that his uncle Bertin de Mornay, who poſſeſſed divers benefices, intended to reſign them all to him: but God's providence (which would not ſuffer him to be tempted with ſuch a bait) permitted not his uncle to think of it at his death. His firſt maſter was one Gabriel Preſtat, who together with humane learning, infuſed gently into him ſome principles of true doctrine, though he durſt not make any open mention of religion unto him, both becauſe he knew his tender age incapable of it, and likewiſe for fear of his father, who knew not that this Gabriel was a proteſtant. He was afterwards brought to Paris by his father, where he continued for two years, tho' in that time the courſe of his ſtudies was often interrupted by ſickneſs.

About the end of the year 1560. he was called from Paris to his father's funeral; a certain prieſt being ſent to fetch him, who perceived that his mother was no friend to the ſuperſtitions of the Roman church, and therefore he gave him this counſel upon the way; that he ſhould take heed of the Lutheran opinions, of which his mother was ſuſpected, and that he ſhould always perſiſt in that religion in the which he had been nouriſhed and taught. Mr du Pleſſis (a little aſtoniſhed by reaſon of his age) gave him this anſwer, That he was reſolved to continue firm in

he had learned of the ſervice of God; and that if he ſhould doubt of any point of it, he would diligently read the goſpels, and the Acts of the Apoſtles for his better information therein. Being arrived at his mother's, he was ſolicited by her, and his elder brother, to read the proteſtant catechiſm, which he refuſed; but withal demanded a New Teſtament in Latin and French; one of the Geneva impreſſion being offered unto him, he likewiſe refuſed it, but accepted of one printed at Lyons, which he greedily read, praying God to enlighten him in the knowlege of his truth; and withal carefully obſerving, that the chief doctrines and ſervices of the church of Rome were not to be found in ſcripture, ſuch as Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the ſacrifice of the Maſs, adoration of Images, &c. Each of theſe ſtill he found no mention of it in ſcripture, he blotted out of his mind, and began to ſuſpect the reſt: ſo he deſired to ſatisfy himſelf concerning tranſubſtantiation and juſtification, by reading ſome controverſies of that time, concerning thoſe ſubjects, which wrought ſo good effect in him, that about the end of the year 1561. he became reſolved to quit the ſervice of the church of Rome; his mother, though ſhe exceedingly rejoiced to ſee that he had embraced the truth, yet would not willingly have had him to profeſs it ſo ſoon, becauſe ſhe as yet adhered outwardly to the papiſts. But God having about the ſame time caſt her into a ſickneſs, almoſt unto death, ſhe interpreted it as an admonition to her, not to retain any longer the truth of God in unrighteouſneſs, making a vow in expreſs terms, in the preſence of her children, that if God would pleaſe of his mercy to raiſe her from that bed of ſickneſs, ſhe would make open profeſſion of the goſpel, which ſhe performed at the end of the ſame year, 1561.

About the beginning of the year 1562, he was again ſent to Paris by his mother, where he had ſcarce continued three months, before the troubles of religion brake forth, which forced him to leave the city; being returned home, he fell ſick of a pleuriſy, which with other infirmities, ſo far interrupted his ſtudies, that he forgot almoſt all which he had learned; whereupon his mother had an intention to make him page of the king's chamber. But peace being re-eſtabliſhed in the year, 1563. His importunities prevailed ſo far with her, as to return him once more to Paris, where in ſhort time he recovered what before he had loſt, ſo far as to out-go his maſter, who was wont to liſten to him, as if himſelf had been his ſcholar.

It is obſervable, that during this time of his continuance at Paris, he was never ſeen to play, or take other recreation then expounding before his maſter, Platos Timæus, or ſome ſuch like author. About this time his uncle the biſhop of Nantis ſtrove to win him back to the church of Rome, exhorting him to read diligently the ancient doctors of the church, and the better to allure him hereto, he promiſed to reſign unto him his biſhoprick, and to put him in preſent poſſeſſion of a priory: but he thanking him for his proffers, anſwered, that he would remit himſelf wholly unto God, from whom he was confident, he ſhould receive whatſoever was neceſſary for him. And afterwards did often by letters mark out unto his ſaid uncle ſuch paſſages of the fathers as confirmed the proteſtant religion, and confuted that of the papiſts. In the year, 1567. the ſecond troubles ariſing for religion, he prevailed with his mother, to permit him to put him into the army, with two of her brothers; but the eternal providence of God, which reſerved him to higher employments, brought it ſo to paſs, that his horſe falling upon him by the way, broke his leg, which forced him to return. This hurt was long in healing, and at length conſtrained him to undertake a voyage into foreign countries, the uſe of baths being requiſite to his full recovery: wherefore about the end of Auguſt, 1568. with much trouble and danger, he went Geneva, and from thence by Switzerland to Heidelberg in Germany; there he lived in the houſe of Emanuel Tremellius, and began alſo his ſtudies in the civil law, gaining immediately the affections of the moſt learned in that univerſity. September 1569, he went to Frankford, and from thence into Italy, remaining ſome time at Padova to continue his ſtudies in the law, not that he intended this for his chief end, but deſiring above all the knowlege of Chriſtian religion, he would not be ignorant of the reſt; his idle hours he paſſed in the phyſic garden, to learn the natures and names of the herbs and plants: in which he profited ſo far in a ſhort time, that Guillandinus (the rector of that garden) had him in ſingular admiration: beſides, at the ſame time he read over the greateſt part of the Bible, under Rabbi Menaken a Jew, the moſt learned of that age in the holy tongue.

At length the ſtate of Venice making a league with Spain, and the Pope, againſt the Turk, occaſioned a more ſtrict ſearch to be made by the biſhop of Padova after ſuch as profeſſed the proteſtant religion: of which profeſſion Mr du Pleſſis being known to be, retired himſelf to Venice to monſieur du Ferrier, then ambaſſador for the king of France there; and here likewiſe he was likely to have come into ſome danger for his religion; for a certain officer of the inquiſition, proffering him an oath upon ſome articles propoſed unto him, he anſwered in Italian, That his religion permitted him not to take it: the officer miſunderſtanding the word Religion (which in that language moſt commonly ſignifies ſome order of friars) aſked him if he were a religious perſon? Monſieur de Pleſſis (underſtanding the officers queſtion of a proteſtant, ſuch being in France called of the religion, anſwered, yes, whereupon the officer proceeded no further.

Divers like dangers he eſcaped by the providence of God in other parts of Italy. At Rome a provoſt came by night, and examined him concerning his country, his name, &c. He told him his name was Philip de Mornay, the provoſt not hearing du Pleſſis, by which name he was moſt ordinarily called, left him, ſuppoſing he was not the man he ſought for; from Venice (having firſt ſeen the reſt of Italy) he went to Vienna, and from thence by hungary, Bohemia, and Saxony, to Franckfort, and ſo to Cologn, in the end of the year, 1571. here he was familiar with Philip Ximenes a Spaniard, the great friend of Caſſander, with whom he had often conferred about religion, Ximenes confeſſed many errors in the viſible church, but would by no means allow of a ſeparation from it: du Pleſſis having obtained his arguments in writing, gave him an anſwer to them, which thoſe of Cologne, called *Tridinum ſcriptum*.

To which Ximenes promiſed, but never gave an anſwer. In the ſpring, *anno Chriſti* 1572. He paſſed into Flanders, and ſo into England, where he was favourably received by queen Elizabeth, who already had him in great eſteem. At that time Monſieur *de Mortmocacy*, and monſieur *de Foix*, were newly arrived in England, to ſwear the league betwixt the queen, and Charles king of France. Theſe intended to ſend du Pleſſis to the queen of Scots (then priſoner in England) to ſalute her in the name of their maſter. But when he perceived that he was to deliver ſome letters ſecretly unto her, which made a gainſt the league he refuſed that commiſſion, ſaying that he would not begin his imployment by ſo evil an action.

At the end of July, 1572. he returned into France, and went to wait upon the admiral at Paris; that fatal marriage being then ready to be ſolemnized between the king of Navarr and Margaret of France; his mother was then in the city upon her return home, and himſelf ready to accompany her; when news was brought that the admiral was hurt, whom preſently he ran to help, and to aid him to his lodging. He had always ſuſpected that marriage, but this wicked act confirmed his ſuſpicion. Wherefore deſiring his mother inſtantly to depart, he reſolved himſelf to ſtay and attend the iſſue of what he ſuſpected. Upon Bartholomew-day (the day of that horrid maſſacre) the meſſenger whom he had ſent to enquire of the admiral's health, returned affrighted, and told him, that the admiral's lodging was broke open by force; at which ſudden news, he leapt out of his bed, and putting on his cloths, felt an extraordinary motion in himſelf, which cauſed him to ſay, God will deliver me out of this danger, and I ſhall ſee it revenged; on the contrary, Ramini, his tutor, preſently anſwered, And I ſhall die in it. Both which came to paſs.

Whilſt he intended to haſten to the admiral's lodging, divers hinderances kept him within, till the murderers arrived at his houſe, ſo that he had ſcarce time to burn his papers, and ſave himſelf on the top of the houſe, till they were gone.

A day or two he lay hid in Paris, and on the third day of the maſſacre, he ſlipt out of the city (though not with-

out much trouble and danger) under the diſguiſe of a lawyer's clerk: arriving at his mother's, he found the family diſperſed, and herſelf concealed by a mean gentleman of the neighbourhood; having ſaluted her, he reſolved to venture for England: to which end, one proffering to procure for him the duke de Guiſe his paſs, he refuſed it, ſaying, 'That he would not owe his life to ſuch, for whoſe ſervice he ſhould be loath to employ it: That God had delivered him from the maſſacre, and therefore into his hands he would commit his paſſage.' And within two or three days, finding a boat at Deip, he paſſed in it ſafe to England; where he had been recommended to the queen by the Lord Walſingham, then ambaſſador in France.

Being there, he wrote ſome remonſtrances in Latin and French; by which he exorted the queen to the defence of the afflicted church; and confuted, by ſome apologies, the calumnies impoſed upon the proteſtants. He was likewiſe employed in the treaty of marriage betwixt the duke of Alencon (brother to the French king) and queen Elizabeth. This duke, by reaſon of ſome differences betwixt his brothers and himſelf, took up arms, and made uſe of the proteſtants as a diſcontented party, to aſſiſt him; to join with whom Monſieur du Pleſſis was much ſolicited, which occaſioned him at length to return into France: but withal he expreſſed his diſlike of joining the intereſts of religion with the duke's ambitious and diſcontented ends.

This war not ſucceeding, he retired himſelf to Jametz, till the death of king Charles IX. who died *anno* 1574; after which he came to Sedan, where he was deſired by the dutcheſs of Bouillon to undertake a journey to the duke of Cleve, who, with the elector Palatine, had been by her late huſband conſtituted executors of his will; which (though a buſineſs of much hazard) was undertaken by him, and performed, to the great contentment of the dutcheſs.

During his ſojourning at Sedan, he married Charlotte Arbaleſte, a widow, who, having likewiſe eſcaped the maſſacre at Paris, was fled thither for religion; at whoſe requeſt he compoſed his Treatiſe of Life and Death.

In the year 1576, he went to the king of Navarr, in Guienne, who immediately received him for one of his council; to whom he did much ſervice in the wars againſt the pretend holy league; in reference to which, he was by the ſaid king employed, *anno* 1577, with an ample commiſſion to the queen of England, to ſolicit her for aid againſt the leaguers. Being arrived in May at London, the queen (who was very prompt in ſuch kind of ſpeeches) told him, that ſhe had expected him as meſſenger from a duke, but now ſhe ſaw him as ambaſſador from a king. At his audience he obtained from her the ſum of 80,000 crowns, to levy men in Germany for that war; which, nevertheleſs, were not raiſed, by reaſon of the peace which followed in the ſame year. During his abode in England he compoſed his treatiſe of the church. Being reſolved to paſs into the low countries, in June, *anno* 1578, he took leave of the queen at Norwich, who, beſides an honourable preſent beſtowed upon him, would have a particular cypher for letters to paſs betwixt them.

In his paſſage he was robbed by pirates, where he loſt (beſides other things) his papers, amongſt which there were ſome books of the hiſtory of his time, in Latin, which he had begun *anno* 1570.

Arriving at Antwerp, he was preſent at the treaty of alliance betwixt queen Elizabeth, duke Caſimir, and the Eſtates; in the which he cauſed likewiſe to be included the king of Navarr his maſter. He was afterwards poiſoned by one Guerin, who had been hired to poiſon the prince of Orange, but his youth and good conſtitution overcame the force of the poiſon.

During his ſtay here, about the midſt of the year 1579, he began his work of the Truth of Chriſtian religion; of which, when he had finiſhed about four chapters, he fell into a grievous ſickneſs, which the phyſicians judged to be cauſed by the relics of the poiſon which he had taken. This continuing upon him, and the plague raging in Antwerp, he was invited by thoſe of Gant, for change of air, unto their city, where they provided and furniſhed a houſe for him. There he ſpent the reſt of that year, and began the next, viz. 1580; and no ſooner had recovered his health in part, but immediately he ſet himſelf to the continuance of his work. But he was that ſpring taken off by new employments.

The king of Navarr again took up arms, and commanded Monſieur du Pleſſis, (laying all other buſineſs aſide) to make another journey to England, to demand ſuccours; which he immediately undertook. The queen of England was then about to make peace with the king of France, ſo that this embaſſage was not very agreeable to her. Yet, after his return to Antwerp, ſhe wrote a letter with her own hand to Monſieur du Pleſſis, telling him, that he ſhould be welcome whenever he pleaſed to return into England; and that never any gentleman had treated with her, in whom ſhe took ſo much pleaſure as in himſelf. At Antwerp he finiſhed his book of Chriſtian religion, which the year after himſelf turned into Latin.

Anno 1582, he returned into France, where he publiſhed a treatiſe, containing the reaſons why the council of Trent could not be admitted in France: printed by command of Henry III.

In the year following (1583) he was ſent by the king of Navarr, to the national ſynod of Vitray in Bretaigne, where he was joyfully received by the whole company, with this preface, That had they met him occaſionally in the ſtreets, they ſhould have earneſtly importuned his preſence with them. He was likewiſe preſent in the general aſſembly of the proteſtants held at Montauban, by the king's permiſſion, in the year 1584, where he was deſired by the aſſembly to draw up the form of their complaints againſt the violation of the edict for peace, which he, together with the count de Laval, preſented afterwards to the king at Blois.

The league of the houſe of Guiſe breaking forth in the year the year 1585 which was formed firſt againſt the king, under pretence of the defence of the catholic religion, and afterwards declared againſt the king of Navarr, and the proteſtants. That famous declaration, in the name of the ſaid king, was penned by Monſieur du Pleſſis, wherein the king having anſwered the calumnies caſt upon him by that faction, propoſed (to avoid the calamities of a civil war) that the quarrel might be ended betwixt himſelf and the duke of Guiſe, notwithſtanding the inequality of their conditions, by a combate, either of one to one, two to two, or ten to ten, more or leſs, at the choice of the ſaid duke. To which declaration monſieur du Pleſſis would not ſet his hand, till the king of Navarr had promiſed that he ſhould be one of the combatants, if the conditions ſhould be excepted But this not being accepted by the duke, there followed the civil wars for religion, in which Monſieur du Pleſſis did many neceſſary and important ſervices for the king of Navarr, and the proteſtants, both with his ſword and pen; having anſwered a virulent book publiſhed by the league againſt the king of Navarr, called the Engliſh Catholic. Beſides his aſſiſtance in the general aſſembly of the Proteſtants at Rochel, and his remonſtrances to the general aſſembly of eſtates, held at the ſame time by the king at Blois, intended for the diſinheriting of the king of Navarr, next heir to the crown. At which aſſembly his writings ſo far prevailed, that the greateſt part of the deputies concluded a peace to be made with the king of Navarr, and much ado there was to make them at length change their language.

After the death of the duke of Guiſe at Blois, there followed a truce betwixt the kings, in the year 1589. Upon which Monſieur du Pleſſis was, by the king of France, made governour of Saumur. One memorable paſſage during theſe wars cannot well be omitted, which was, That the king of Navarr having abuſed the daughter of a gentleman in Rochel, by whom he had a ſon, the church had often remonſtrated his fault unto him, which he ingeniouſly confeſſed, but could not be perſuaded to take off the ſcandal by a public acknowledgment of it, till Monſieur du Pleſſis giving him counſel about a battel which was ready to be fought, took the opportunity to tell him how neceſſary it was to ſeek the favour of almighty God, the only giver of victory; and thereupon urged him to conſult with his conſcience, whither he ought not to give glory to God upon ſuch an occaſion, and what remorſe it would breed in him, if God for want of it ſhould bleſt his undertakings, to the ruin of ſo good a cauſe; which he nearly

nearly touched the king's heart, that he commanded him to conſult with a miniſter concerning what he had to do in that buſineſs; according to whoſe advice he made the next day a public acknowlegment of his fault in the church before all the nobility of his army. Which counſel being thought by ſome to be too rigorous, Monſieur du Pleſſis made this anſwer, 'That as a man could not be too courageous before men, ſo he could not be too humble in the preſence of God.'

After the murther of Henry III. (by a Jacobin at St. Cloud, in Auguſt 1587, Monſieur du Pleſſis was made counſellor of eſtate to the king of Navarr (now Henry IV. king of France), whom he ſerved in the recovery of his right, againſt the league of the houſe of Guiſe, though with much hazard to himſelf; ſome having been, by their own confeſſion, hired to murder him, for which they were executed at Tours.

Sixtus Quintus, then pope, being one of the king's chiefeſt enemies, an expedient was propounded of taking him off by ſome honourable embaſſage, and to that end the queſtion was put, whither the king might, with a ſafe conſcience, write to him? Monſieur du Pleſſis anſwered, That doubtleſs he might, it being ordinary in the ſame caſe for Chriſtian princes to write unto the Turk; ſo that the queſtion was not, If he ſhould write, but how? ſince the king could not call him holy father, or kiſs his feet, whom according to his profeſſion, he ought to think the enemy of Chriſt, and if he ſhould write otherwiſe it would to be no purpoſe. This expedient therefore was wholly laid aſide.

Afterwards the duke of Florence being willing to join intereſts with the king, fearing the too great potency of Spain, ſent a gentleman to him, who proffered to Monſieur du Pleſſis twenty thouſand crowns a year, if he would council the king to change his religion, to which he ſtoutly replied, 'That his maſter's conſcience was not to be ſold, no more than his own.

In the year 1590, he built a church for the proteſtants in Saumur, and obtained a grant from the king, for the inſtituting of an univerſity there, which was afterwards confirmed by a national ſynod held in the ſame place. The king beſieging Rouen, in the year 1591, and fearing the army of the prince of Parma, which was then entered France, intending to raiſe that ſiege, Monſieur du Pleſſis was again ſent into England, to demand aid from the queen, where he had conference with ſome Engliſh biſhops, concerning the differences betwixt them, and the Non-conformiſts, remonſtrating unto them, with what conſcience they could moleſt thoſe, who agreed in the ſame faith with them, only for ſome ſimple ceremonies, with whoſe infirmities they ought rather charitably to bear; which remonſtrance cauſed them for a while to be more gently dealt with, inſtead of the perſecution which was intended againſt them.

In the year 1593, he wrote a large letter to the king, who then had changed his religion, deſiring the continuance of his favour to the Proteſtants; and withal expoſtulating that ſudden change, aſſuring him nevertheleſs of their fidelity towards him, and reſolution to obey their lawful prince, of what religion ſoever, even to the hazard of their lives. Meeting him afterwards (according to command) at Chartres, the king ſomewhat troubled at the firſt interview, began to excuſe what he had done, by telling him that he had been neceſſited to ſacrifice himſelf for his proteſtant ſubjects, that he might with more eaſe procure a peace for them: to which Monſieur du Pleſſis anſwered, That there were better expedients for the working of that end, had his Majeſty been pleaſed to have made uſe of them; and that it would have been more agreeable to their minds to have ſacrificed their lives for him.

About this time he obtained of the king a revocation of ſuch edicts as had been made by the leaguers againſt the proteſtants, and a confirmation of others, by which the free exerciſe of their religion had been formerly granted unto them.

In the year 1595, he began his work of the Lord's Supper, which he finiſhed in leſs than a year: in which book his principal end was, to repreſent the belief and practice of antiquity in moſt part of the points controverted in religion; which deſign the king had heretofore approved, as a means to facilitate a reformation. This book was afterwards approved by the national ſynod at Saumur, though not printed until the year 1598. The publication of it ſtirred up many enemies againſt him, eſpecially of the clergy. The Jeſuites of Bourdeaux petitioned the parliament there, that it might be burned: the pope himſelf, by expreſs letters, complained of it to the king, that one of his privy council ſhould dare to call him Antichriſt.

The king nevertheleſs took no notice of it, only ſometimes he complained to his friends, that Monſieur du Pleſſis had by this means given him occaſion not to put him upon further employments; which likewiſe he deſired Monſieur de la Force to tell him; to whom du Pleſſis anſwered, That he had not done this act raſhly, but upon good conſideration; that the king knew well, that he was ever wont to diſtribute his ſervices firſt to God, next to his king, and then to his friends; which method he could not with a good conſcience change: that he was not ignorant how much this would hinder his preferments in the world, which he regarded not ſo much as to do the leaſt ſervice for his God: that however God was faithful, and would honour ſuch as honour him, and much more to the like effect.

But the pope ſtill underhand ſolicited the king to ruin him, whom, in all his letters he called his enemy, repreſenting that he had puniſhed one in Rome for having ſpit upon the king's effigies, how much more ought the king to puniſh him who had ſo irreverently uſed God's vicar.

And ſo far was the king led away by his frequent ſolicitations, that notwithſtanding the important ſervices of Monſieur du Pleſſis, he ſought all poſſible occaſions to caſt him off, which, though ordinarily not hard to find in one who had ſo high a charge in the adminiſtration of the common wealth, yet (by the grace of God aſſiſting him) calumny could not find on that ſide where to faſten. At laſt (having nothing elſe to accuſe him of, his book muſt be laid hold of for a pretence to ruin him, in which the biſhop of Eureux, du Perron, promiſed to ſhew five hundred falſe quotations. Du Pleſſis, on the contrary, offered to make good all the paſſages cited in his book, out of impreſſions approved by his adverſaries. Whereupon a conference was appointed at Fountainbleau. But the Sorboniſts fearing leſt the examination of particulars would prove to their diſadvantage, deſired the pope's Nuncio, and he the king, to hinder it.

The king deſired him not to trouble himſelf, ſince he would ſo manage the buſineſs, that the diſgrace ſhould remain upon the proteſtants; which he intended to bring to paſs, by ordaining, that at the conference the biſhops ſhould open the book, and name to the number of fifty paſſages, if the time would permit, to which du Pleſſis was to make anſwer *ex tempore*, otherwiſe he was reſolved to verify the biſhop's accuſation. This being told to du Pleſſis, he anſwered, that it was a hard condition for him to make an unpremeditated anſwer to ſuch quotations as the biſhop ſhould pick out of ten thouſand alledged in that book, to the retaining of all which, no human memory could ſuffice. Whereupon the conditions were a little (though very little) qualified, and thus propoſed; That the biſhop ſhould quote unto him ſixty paſſages over night, to which he was to anſwer at eight the next morning.

Monſieur du Pleſſis (after ardent prayers to God) accepted the condition. About one o'clock after midnight the ſixty paſſages were brought to him, quoted only thus, Scotus, p. 869. Durand, pag. 870, &c. Beſides this, the books which he borrowed of the biſhop, he having none there of his own, at two o'clock, were again ſent for by ſix: yet, in this ſpace of four hours (though weak ſighted) he had examined nineteen of the quoted paſſages. At eight of the clock he was called, though then put off till one in the afternoon, ſo that but nineteen of the quotations were examined: Upon his anſwer to the firſt, the moderators (being moſt part papiſts) were aſhamed, and pronounced in favour of Monſieur du Pleſſis; which they were about to have done likewiſe in the ſecond, had not the king interpoſed, which made them decide it againſt him. For the reſt, they were chiefly ſuch paſſages of fathers, as the biſhop pretended, that du Pleſſis had not entirely

tirely quoted; in which, though du Pleſſis made it appear, that the words pretended to be fraudulently left out, were all to the ſame effect; yet the moderators judged, that it were good they had been added: this was the ſum of that conference; concerning which du Pleſſis printed afterwards a relation to vindicate himſelf: but the biſhop every where cried up the victory which he pretended to have gotten there, even in the cathedral church, in a ſermon before the king and court at whitſontide: (about a fortnight after the conference) he was himſelf the trumpet to his own praiſes: but that week a flaſh of lightning broke into the church, ſhattered the pulpit where the biſhop had preached all the holy days, burnt ſome images, and at the ſame time fell likewiſe in the king's garden: alſo on the Thurſday following, the biſhop preached again in a church near the Lowre, upon which church, within two nights after, fell another flaſh of lightning, which uncovered part of the ſteeple, and beat down ſome images; and at the ſame inſtant falling again into the king's garden, burnt ſome orange trees there. In theſe prodigies, the very adverſaries of du Pleſſis acknowleged the finger of God; neither would they ſuffer the biſhop to preach any more in their churches; beſides, that himſelf made an oath to preach no more till winter. Monſieur du Pleſſis thus fallen into diſfavour with the king, began to lead a more private life, though he had ſtill a large influence upon public affairs: in the year 1602. A certain monk had hired two young men to kill him; who came in ſermon time into the church, at Saumur, the one of them drawing ſo near, as to lift up the carpet which lay before him, but had not the boldneſs to ſtrike: being taken upon ſuſpicion he confeſſed his intentions, and who ſet him on work; whereupon the monk was apprehended, and hanged. Afterwards the king began again by little and little to favour him, moved thereunto, not only out of his own inclinations, which had been always towards him, though thus clouded for a while, for fear of the pope; but likewiſe by a remonſtrance from queen Elizabeth, who had told his ambaſſador, that ſhe knew not how to truſt his maſter, who ſo far depended on the pope, as for his ſake to ſlight his beſt and moſt faithful ſervants.

In January, *anno* 1605. The only ſon of monſieur du Pleſſis was ſent for to the court by the king, who intended an employment for him, where he was well received: but the deſign upon which he had been ſent for, failing, he deſired leave to go into Holland, which was granted him, where he was the ſame year unhappily ſlain before Gueldres; which bred ſo great a grief in his mother, that ſhe lived not long after, departing this life in May, *anno* 1606. This was one of the remarkable epoches in the whole life of monſieur du Pleſſis, in the which two ſuch great and ſo contiguous loſſes had befallen him: after his ſon's death, he had both his own grief to combat with, and to comfort that of his wife: but after her death he was wont to ſay, 'That heretofore ſhe had been an aid to him in living well, and ſhould hereafter be ſo in teaching him to die well;' from thenceforth he took this for his motto, *Mihi hic ambelo ſuppreſſes.*

The ſame year he was again himſelf called to the court, and graciouſly received by the king, where he continued, till the year following, at which time he deſired leave of the king to retire himſelf, which the king unwillingly granted; withal, deſiring him to come ſometimes to court, and expreſſing his grief that he could not employ him according as he deſired, the reaſon whereof himſelf well knew, meaning the ſcandal which the pope would have taken at it: being returned to Saumur, he began his work of the myſtery of iniquity, *anno* 1607. which, tho' a work of infinite labour, yet he finiſhed it in nine months. In which it is remarkable, that to ſpare his ſight, he dictated it to others that wrote it from his mouth.

In the ſpring, *anno* 1608. He began to ſet upon thoſe great volumes of Baronius, to which he intended a confutation. About this time likewiſe were thoſe letters of his into Holland concerning the novelties introduced into the church by Arminius, to whom he adviſed the French church, to ſend one of their miniſters (naming monſieur du Moulin) to confer with him concerning the points by him maintained, and to adjure him in the name of God to forbear begetting of parties in the church: this advice was approved by the church, but fearing to offend the king, they durſt neither aſk his leave nor ſend without it. Du Perron, biſhop of Eureux, now made cardinal, and archbiſhop of Sens was much preſſed by the king to anſwer mon. du Pleſſis, to which he was likewiſe urged by his friends, who told him that the action at Fontainbleau was little to his credit, and that ſhould du Pleſſis die, it would be then too late to anſwer him, becauſe men would be ready to ſay, that he durſt not do it in his life time; wherefore he promiſed, and undertook the buſineſs: and going to Rome, ſequeſtred himſelf from other buſineſs for the ſpace of a year to perform it, promiſing the pope at his arrival in France to print his anſwer, which he ſaid was riſen to a great volume: upon his return, the king aſked him when he would print it? He told his majeſty that he ſtayed but for ſome manuſcripts from Rome; which anſwer, the king ſeeing his delays, uſed as a proverb to ſome undertakers, whoſe work went not forward, who making idle excuſes to him; yes (ſays the king) I ſee you ſtay for manuſcripts from Rome too; Cauſabon, who was about the cardinal, wrote to monſieur du Pleſſis concerning this anſwer, telling him that it was finiſhed, and that himſelf had ſeen it; whom du Pleſsis deſired, as the cardinal's friend, to give him from him the ſame counſel which Chriſt did to Judas in the goſpel; 'What thou doſt, do quickly.' But this volume of anſwer never appeared: the cardinal after the king's murder, thinking himſelf to be diſingaged from his promiſe, in October, *anno* 1609. mon. du Pleſsis had notice given him of a book in folio, ſeen in the houſe of one that was a confident of the Jeſuites, which was written to the half, containing divers oaths ſigned with blood; in which they obliged themſelves to obey the commands of the pope: of which he immediately gave a ſecret advice to the court; but by the evil conduct of him that was appointed to ſearch for it, the book miſſed of being found. This year he turned into Latin his book of the Myſtery of iniquity, which he dictated ſo faſt, that his Amanuenſis had ado to keep pace with him with his pen. The horrid murder of the king following in the year. 1610. he upon notice of it, took ſo good order, as to keep the people about his government in quiet, who upon that ſudden change were ready to take up arms: and as ſoon as he had received the edict for the regency of the queen mother, he adminiſtred the oath of fidelity to all the clergy and people within his juriſdiction; making a ſpeech unto them, in which he deſired them to forget the diſtinguiſhing names of papiſt and proteſtant, which having cauſed ſo many misfortunes, ought to be buried in this great one: profeſſing, that whoever would ſhew himſelf a good Frenchman, and a faithful ſubject, ſhould be of him reſpected as his brother.

In May, *anno* 1611. was held in Saumur the general aſſembly of the proteſtant churches; where chuſing a preſident, ſix of the ſixteen provinces were for the duke de Bouillon, the other ten for monſieur du Pleſsis; who being much troubled at it, deſired them to chuſe again, but was by the company commanded to take the place; at which the duke being diſconted, there followed a diſſention in that aſſembly, manifeſtly tending to a ſchiſm in the church, which du Pleſsis (though a party) much laboured to reconcile, and at laſt that was happily brought to paſs in the national ſynod held the year following at Privas.

Another diſſention afterwards happened betwixt monſieur du Moulin, miniſter of the church at Paris, and monſieur Tilenus, profeſſor at Sedan, about the effects of the union of the two natures in Chriſt: the making up of this difference was, by a national ſynod held at Tonneinx, referred to monſieur du Pleſsis, who proved the happy author of a full reconciliation betwixt them, in the year, 1614. Yet had this difference like to have broke forth again the year following, by the indiſcretion (or malice rather) of ſome particular perſons, had not monſieur du Pleſsis in time ſtopped its progreſs: in which he was aided by a ſeaſonable meſſage of king James; who at that time ſent to invite du Moulin into England, to confer with him about a method of uniting all the reformed churches of Chriſtendom, to which he had been often ſolicited by monſieur du Pleſſis. The iſſue of which voyage was, that the king reſolved to ſend letters to all proteſtant princes,

to invite them to union, and desired the French churches to frame a confession gathered out of all those of other reformed churches, in the which unnecessary points might be left out, as the means of begetting discord and dissention.

Some years following were spent by monsieur du Plessis in procuring the peace of the protestant churches, and endeavouring to keep a good correspondence between the king and them, which was continually ready to be interrupted; in which business he carried himself with so much prudence and fidelity in all occurrences between them, that he was admired, and praised by all, yea, even cardinal Perron himself (heretofore one of his greatest enemies) shewed him great respect in the assembly of estates held at Rouen, *anno* 1617. speaking of him in all companies with an excess of praises; and telling the king himself, that those men had done him wrong who had kept off monsieur du Plessis from having a greater power in the management of his affairs; and that his religion ought not to render him unprofitable in the exercise of those graces which God had given him; and that his majesty ought to keep him near his person so long as he should live. Which praises the said cardinal reiterated upon his death bed, in September, *anno*, 1618. charging his friends then about him, to send a solemn farewel from him to monsieur du Plessis, and to manifest his sorrow for not having made a straighter league of friendship with him, having so high an esteem of his conscience and integrity. His government of the town and castle of Saumur was continued unto him till the year, 1621. when the king falling into displeasure and suspicion of the protestants, by reason of their high deportment in the assembly at Rochel, displaced him at first but for three months, with a promise of restoring him so soon as affairs should be a little quieted. But these discontents growing to an open war, he could never procure a re-establishment, though it were continually solicited by him; wherefore retiring himself to his house in the forrest upon Dayure, he continued there till the day of his death, which followed in the year, 1623. there applying himself to holy meditations and exercises of patience.

He did by particular providence of God make his last will for the peace of his family, and the edification of those that should survive him; which having finished upon the third of November, in the forementioned year, he expressed himself to be now discharged of one of his greatest cares, and that nothing was now left for him to do, but to die well. The next day he was seized by a continual feaver, forcing him to keep his bed, which so continued and encreased upon him, that upon the ninth of the same month the physicians gave over all hopes of his recovery: nevertheless he lived for forty eight hours after, which he so well husbanded in the care of his salvation, that scarce one of those hours was employed in any other business. In all which time he gave both by word and action so many express and evident signs of his faith and assurance, that it may be truly said, that in this short time he confirmed by irrefragable proofs all that he had said or written of the truth of Christian religion. In all this time he felt little or no pain, so that when the minister asked him how he did, he still would answer, well, very well. His speech continued till the tenth day at midnight, which he continually imployed in prayers for himself and his enemies, and in comfortable speeches to the by-standers; sometimes in the middest of his prayers, being heard to say, 'I fly, I fly to heaven, the angels are carrying me into the bosom of my Saviour,' sometimes repeating those words of Job, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, I shall see him with mine eyes,' *bifce oculis*, repeating divers times these last words in Latin. Being asked if he felt not the Spirit within him sealing unto him the promises of God. he answered, 'Yes indeed, I am assured of it,' and again, 'I feel, I feel what I speak.' Two hours after, his speech and his hearing failed him, and his breath between six and seven in the morning of the eleventh day, which was the hour that he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God his Creator, finishing by a happy death, a life of above seventy four years continuance, exemplarily spent in the fear of God, and the profession of his gospel.

The last hours of Monsieur du Plessis.

Monsieur du Plessis by an instinct from God, had made, and dictated his testament, upon the twenty fourth day of Octob. 1623. In the which, for the peace of his family, and the edification of his survivors, he had set down his last will and pleasure. But by reason of some intervenient occasions, did not sign it till the third of November following, which having done, 'Now (said he) behold, I am discharged of one of my chiefest cares, and for the time to come have nothing else to look after but my death.' And indeed from the day following he kept his bed, for the most part, being seized by a continual feaver, which was since known to be of that sort, which is commonly called lyria. This sickness continuing, and increasing upon him, the physicians gave advertisement unto his friends, upon Thursday the ninth of that month, that his estate was such, as no human hope were left that he could ever recover it. After which time God continued him upon earth for the space of forty eight hours, which he so well employed in the thoughts of himself, and his salvation, that he scarcely spent any one entire hour of them upon any other business; giving both by his words and actions, such express and evident testimonies of his faith and assurance, that it may be truly said, that in that short time he confirmed by irrefragable proofs, all that ever he had said or written concerning the truth of Christian religion. The gospel of the Son of God was plainly seen to be ingraved upon his heart by the holy Spirit. He seemed in the midst of death to have obtained a firm possession of life, and to enjoy a full contentment in that, at which most men are ordinarily affrighted. And this lesson was so lively and efficatious, that even those who had the greatest share in the loss of him, reaped joy and consolation from the very subject of their grief: would to God that all men could have been present there! since it is impossible for any pen to imprint that force upon his expressions, which his own accent, and the condition wherein he was, gave unto them. His words we shall endeavour to express; though wanting that soul and life which they had in his mouth: and while we recount them as such, we shall intreat such as were then present to remember, with what voice and action they were accompanied; and those that ware absent to imagine what weight the spirit and tongue of such a personage could add unto them, sealing by a happy death, a life of seventy four years, spent (as is publicly known) exemplarily in the fear of God, and the profession of his gospel.

On Thursday, the ninth of November, madam de Villarnoul his eldest daughter, coming in the morning to his bed side, where after having enquired of his health, as she stood silent, he told her that he desired some one might come and hold some good discourse with him: upon which occasion they caused a minister, being his household chaplain, to come, that he might give him notice of the dangerous condition in which he was, and prepare him to undergo the will of God. And though the minister was much troubled to be the bearer of so sad a message, yet he used much liveliness in the delivery, without making use of the circumstances wherewith men commonly usher in such discourses; to whom monsieur du Plessis not any ways moved or astonished, but with a countenance and spirit full of assurance, answered. Yea, faith he, is it true? I am very well content it should be so; and do in the first place pardon from my heart all such as have done or procured evil unto me: further, beseeching God, that he would pardon and amend them. The minister praising God for that he was thus ready to forgive unto others their offences, which was an evident sign that God would forgive him his; prayed him, that as he had edified the church in his life time, so that now likewise he would do the same at his death, and since he still enjoyed the use of his tongue, that he would comfort and edify the by-standers by his speeches. To which he answered, that he had not his speech so free as they imagined; neither indeed could he speak without pain, nevertheless the desire which he had to give an outward testimony of the internal disposition of his heart, made him in some measure overcome this

this hinderance: only he abridged into as few words as he could all that he had to say. Then he began a confession of his faith, but not being able to finish it, he lifted up himself from the chair whereon he sat, and said to the minister, I have a great account to make, having received much, and profited little; it being answered, that he had by the grace of God faithfully and happily employed his talent, having served the church with much profit, and advanced the kingdom of Christ. Alas, (said he) what was there of mine in that work? Say not that it was I, but God by me, which saying he repeated three or four times afterwards upon like occasions, reciting at one time that passage of St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 10. *I have laboured, yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me:*' speaking these last words in Greek, as they are in the original *sun emo* giving thereby all the glory to God, without dividing it betwixt himself and his grace, as those which understand that tongue may easily perceive: afterwards, being laid upon his bed, there is nothing, (said he) more just and reasonable, then that the creature should obey his Creator: then lifting up his hands above his head, he thrice cried out, mercy, adding, that he did it to shew, that it was the alone mercy of God to which he had his recourse, and to which we ought to have ours also: that he had heretofore desired to live, in hope to see the deliverance of the church: but that finding no repentance in the world, he now found nothing that should invite him to continue in it: then composing his countenance, with a firm and grave voice, he gave his blessing, first unto his daughters, afterwards unto his sons in law, recommending peace unto them, to which (said he) I leave you, as also to their children, and whole posterity, as well present as absent, praying God to ratify this his blessing by his most holy benediction; he gave his blessing likewise to monsieur de Auberville his nephew, and his wife; after, to his family and household servants, and in particular, to the minister which then assisted him, beseeching the Lord to prosper the holy ministry of his word in his hands. He called likewise monsieur Dissandeau the physician, which had always faithfully served him in his sicknesses, particularly in this, and blessed him.

At the same time calling to mind monsieur Boucherean, minister of the church in Saumur, he prayed God to bless him, and, let it not trouble him (said he) to be patient; he hath to do with a troublesome people, I beseech God not to impute their sins unto them; there are some in the company which know what I mean. He understood by these words those horrible calumnies, with which he had been, especially in his later years, unworthily and outragiously charged at Saumur, more then any other place. After he gave his blessing to the church of Saumur, and to that of saint Jovin (which was the nearest to his house) taking notice that there were in it many good men, which bore affection to the word of God. At length he prayed to God for all the church in general, that he would deliver it, and relieve it from oppression, and restore it to a prosperous estate. After which he gave charge to the minister to write to madam de Noiers, daughter to his wife by her former husband, to tell her, that he gave his blessing to her, and all her household: remembring a while after madam de l'Isle daughter to monsieur and madam de Villarnoul, he expressed his sorrow for not seeing her, blessing her and her children: as also a while after he blessed particularly such of his grand-children, as did or had followed the studies of learning, saying, that he was assured they should be blessed with the blessings both of heaven above, and of the earth beneath. This being done, he protested that he had through his whole life made God's glory his end and aim; adding withal, that such as knew him, were not ignorant, that had he proposed any other end unto himself, it had been an easy matter for him to have come to great riches and honours. Thereupon (the minister questioning him upon that subject) he declared, that he persisted constantly in the faith wherein he had lived, which also by the grace of God he had defended by example, word, and writings; that were his life again to begin, he would walk in the same way and path, by which he had already steered his course, to wit, by persevering in the profession of the gospel, notwithstanding the many dis-favours which he had suffered for it; that this his faith was altogether founded upon the goodness and mercy of God in Christ Jesus, who by the Father had been made unto him, and unto all such as believe in him; 'Wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption;' and for your works, sir, (said the minister unto him) do you attribute no merit at all unto them? Away (answered he) away with all merit both of mine, and of any other man's whatsoever: I call for nothing but mercy, free mercy. Upon which the minister pronouncing unto him in the name of Jesus Christ, the remission of his sins, and the inheritance of eternal life, belonging unto all those that believe in the Son of God, saying, that he did it in the vertue and discharge of his duty, not that he at all doubted, but he in his heart fully felt the grace of God, and had full assurance of his mercy; I thank you (said he) for it, and take your saying for an earnest of the goodness of God towards me, and to shew, that what he had said was more then bare words. Monsieur de Villarnoul, praising God that he saw him enjoy so much comfort in his end, which he had always heard him to desire during his life, that he might be able to testify it from his heart, and not die without speaking it; I feel (said he unto him) my son, I feel what I speak. Afterwards the minister demanding if he desired that they should pray unto God to fortify him more and more, and likewise that he would restore him unto his health, that he might further serve him unto his glory. Pray unto God (said he) that he would dispose of me. It being answered, that all hope was not yet lost, that what had been told him concerning the danger of his present condition, was but for fear least some accident should take away the consolation of hearing him speak: but that God was almighty, able to raise up even those that were already in the grave; I am not (said he) an enemy unto life, but I already see one that is far better then this.

A while after, madam de Villarnoul saying unto him, that she hoped God would restore him at the instance of our prayers; my daughter (said he) let him do what he pleases, I depend upon his will. And indeed, though he always testified a great resolution and assurance to encounter with death, yet he never rejected such remedies, or nourishment as were proferred unto him, and namely, that day dined as he was accustomed: he retired himself from life, he fled it not.

After this they prayed by him, during which exercise he was extreamly attentive, his hands and eyes following, to their power, the motions of his heart: and as long as the least sense was left unto him, he constantly lent a like attention to all the prayers, which at divers times were presented unto God for him, during the space of those forty eight hours; so that about five hours before his death, when already motion and sense began to fail him, it was marked, that he endeavoured with one hand to lift the other from under the cloaths, that he might hold them joined and lifted up, during the prayer. Prayer being ended, he desired they would read unto him the lxxi. Psal. of which himself made choice; there was likewise read unto him the meditation which himself had before time made upon 2 Tim. iv. 7. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith*, &c. And moreover, by his command another, which he had likewise published upon those words of the Psalmist, *Cast thy burden upon the Lord.* Whilst these were reading, he was very attentive, giving us infinite testimonies of the pleasure which he took in it, and of the applications which he made from thence for his own consolation. All this during three good hours and above; after which we left him to his repose, as since we always observed the same, to give him sometime of rest after that we had heard him. All which spaces he employed in prayers and holy meditations by himself, as appeared by the motions, sighs, and words, which from time to time brake from him, of the assurance which he had in God, of the victory which by his grace he had obtained against the tempter, and the like. In the afternoon, upon a discourse which was made unto him, of the blessed immortality, the minister saying, That here below we have but the right and title, the possession being reserved for us in heaven, himself cited to this purpose the words of St John in his first Epistle, chapter the third: 'Beloved, now are we the children of God,

God, but what we ſhall be, doth not yet appear; now we know that when he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like unto him.' From whence an occaſion being given to diſcourſe unto him of the reſurrection, he thought good that they ſhould read unto him the fifteenth chapter of the firſt of the firſt Corinthians, and marked (ſo freſh and untroubled was his ſpirit) upon the forty ſeventh verſe, The firſt man being of the earth, is of duſt, (for ſo it ſounds in the French tranſlation) that it is in the text *Choikos*.

About the end of this lecture, arrived Madam de la Tabarriere, his daughter, ſent by her huſband to viſit him, and render the laſt offices of her duty to him: he expreſſed much contentment in ſeeing her, ſaying, that God had granted him that which he deſired; that ſhe made up a great part of his comfort, and had done him a great pleaſure in coming. He enquired likewiſe concerning ſome of her children, which ſhe had not brought with her; and gave her his bleſſing: afterwards exhorting all his children in general, to the union and brotherly love, that they might poſſeſs in peace the inheritance which he ſhould leave unto them, enjoining them in particular, not to go to law about it; which was promiſed unto him with great aſſeverations, by his ſons in law, and daughters, and particularly by Madam de Fontenay in the name of her huſband then abſent in Normandy; which being done, full of contentment, he ſaid, That he was arrived at the height of comfort, ſince he died with the aſſurance of leaving peace amongſt his children. And as all retired themſelves to leave him in repoſe; how ſhould I ſleep ſaid he, there being ſo many good people near me? His daughters then returning unto him, he took them by the hands, ſaying, That he would ſpeak unto them, and would have them to anſwer him; and then repeated unto them all the preceeding exhortations, tending to the fear of God, and to peace and mutual concord.

Sometime after the miniſter diſcourſing unto him, That of all his enemies he had now none left to fear, nor ſin, not death, not the devil, not the world, being already diſcomfited by the Lord Jeſus, and ſpeaking to each of theſe in particular, he ſeemed to take much delight in that diſcourſe; amongſt the reſt, as he ſpake unto him concerning ſin, he ſaid, That its power was the law, aboliſhed by Chriſt for ſuch as believe in him; for death, that it was indeed to be feared of thoſe that are out of Chriſt, *phobero taton belos*, ſaid he in Greek, alluding to a paſſage in Ariſtotle's Ethicks, where death is ſo called) but not to thoſe that die in the Lord, by whoſe croſs death was diſarmed: as touching the world, the miniſter telling him that he knew well by his own experience, how little its temptations can prevail againſt ſuch as the Lord fortifies, his grace and mercy having alweys conſtantly accompanied him in all his ways, even to the preſent hour, which was an aſſured ſign of the faithfulneſs of his eternal love towards him. He anſwered, lifting up his eyes on high, Thy gifts O God, and thy call are without repentance: and upon that it was ſaid That the world, to deceive the faithful, ſometimes threatens, and ſometimes flatters them. Theſe are, ſaid he the ſubtilties of Satan. The miniſter continuing the ſame diſcourſe, and ſhewing that from henceforth the calumnies of the devil can do nothing againſt the children of Chriſt, being juſtified, and ſanctified by faith in him, who is it, cried he out, that ſhall frame an accuſation againſt the elect of God? God is he that juſtifies; declaring further, that he was fully aſſured to have part in all his promiſes, ſo that neither life, nor death, things preſent, nor things to come, ſhould ever be able to ſeparate him from the love of his Saviour; which ſaying, he repeated divers times.

The evening of the ſame day, upon diſcourſe of the vanity of the world. Alas, ſaid he, what is the world? It being anſwered, The world is but a figure, he added, as it follows in St. Paul, which paſſeth away: and preſently uſed that expreſſion of Pindar in Greek. *Skias onar anthropos*. After leaving this diſcourſe, he infilled much upon confeſſion of his ſins, ſaying, That he was a grievous ſinner, even one of the greateſt that was upon the earth, that there was in him, as he acknowleged, the ſeeds of evil; but that in Jeſus Chriſt he ſhould obtain mercy; and thereupon required with much affection, that they would ſpeak unto him touching the death and paſſion of our Saviour; which being done, and followed by prayer, he heard all with great devotion, and at the end of the prayer, ſaid theſe words, Amen, by Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, in whom all the promiſes of God are, Yea, and Amen. Theſe were the greateſt part of thoſe things in meditation, wherewith he ſpent the whole Thurſday, and the night following.

Friday morning, as we approached to his bed ſide, praying him that he would continue to edify and comfort us, by the teſtimonies of his faith, and perſeverance: he began with a prayer, which he pronounced in Latin, 'Lord open thou my lips, and I will ſhew forth thy praiſe; Lord make me to know my ſins, to weep for them, to deteſt them, to have them in execration," which he repeated twice; upon this the miniſter took occaſion to ſpeak unto him concerning the remiſſion of his ſins, and the comfort which follows it, founded upon the hope of immortality, it being impoſſible that ſuch as are in Chriſt, though feeble, beaten down, and deſtitute, ſhould yet ever fall from life, the power of the Lord perfecting itſelf in the midſt of their infirmities, in ſuch manner, that the inward man was ſtill fortified, as the outward man grew weaker: citing unto him, and reading all along to this purpoſe the end of the fourth chapter of the ſecond to the Corinthians, from the fifteenth verſe, and the beginning of the fifth, to the two and twentieth verſe, laying a particular emphaſis upon theſe words, "We know that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle be diſſolved, we have a building of God, a houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' And aſking him if he believed not all theſe things; if in this faith he were not aſſured to be made partaker of that eternal weight of glory, ſpoken of by the apoſtle; he anſwered, That he was entirely perſuaded of it by the demonſtration of the holy ſpirit, more powerful, more clear, and more certain than all the demonſtrations of Euclide, and ſpeaking thoſe words, by the demonſtration of the holy ſpirit, taken out of the 1 Cor ii. 4. he repeated them in Greek, *apodeixei pneumatos*, as they are in the original; and a little after upon the ſame ſubject ſaid, That he had ſeen the ſalvation of God; the wonderful works of God, *ta megaleia tu theu* ſaid he, in the words as they are read, Acts ii. 11. Wherefore he might now ſay with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis ſervum tuum in pace*, upon which he repeated likewiſe two or three times that of the Pſalmiſt, 'I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken,' applying it as did St. Paul, 1 Cor iv. 13. to ſhew that all his confidence and aſſurance proceeded from his faith. Afternoon he was heard praying to himſelf, and ſaying in broken ſentences; 'I fly, I fly to heaven; the angels carry me into the boſom of my Saviour.' Then the miniſter approached, and to comfort and confirm him more and more, called to his mind the manifold favours which God had ſhewed unto him, preſerving him from ſo many dangers which he had run thro' fortifying him againſt ſo many aſſaults which he had ſuſtained, having always a particular care over him, and carrying him as the eagle carries her young ones; which conception he repeated in Latin, *ut Aquila pullitiem ſuam*: the miniſter continuing this diſcourſe, he cried out, 'Lord thou haſt been our refuge in all generations, before the mountains were brought forth, thou art God.' Whereupon it being added, that as the goodneſs of God, and his mercy towards us was from everlaſting, and ſo is it likewiſe firm and durable to all eternity; whence he might reſt for ever aſſured of it, nor ſhould the weakneſs of his fleſh make him any ways to doubt of it; to which he anſwered, 'I know my Redeemer liveth, I ſhall ſee him with theſe eyes;' *biſce oculis*, repeating theſe laſt words in Latin three or four times: and as for the infirmity of the body, which turns into duſt; it having been ſaid, that this ſhould not weaken our hope, becauſe that God into whoſe hands we reſign it is powerful and faithful to preſerve that truſt, that he ſuffered us to turn as it were into nothing, to raiſe us up again more glorioufly, taking pleaſure to magnify his power in our weakneſs; of which he had often made experience during his life, and that it was ſtill to be ſeen in his death, in which by the Lord's aſſiſtance he triumphed over all his enemies, though in the depth of weakneſs, according to the fleſh. We can do all things, anſwered he, in Chriſt that ſtrengthens us.

From that time he ſtill grew weaker, ſo that towards evening he could no longer pronounce entire periods, nor teſtify the motions of his heart, but by ſhort anſwers to what

what they demanded of him, conceived in two or three words. Being then asked if he felt not within his soul the force of the Holy Spirit sealing unto him the promises of God, and filling him with a lively consolation; he answered after a contented manner, which savoured of much cheerfulness, 'Yes indeed,' and another time, 'I am assured of it,' and a while after, with much ado, 'The love of God is in my heart:' always when the minister asked him how he found himself, he answered, 'Very well.' Thus in the midst of these blessed thoughts he entered into possession of the true life, leaving by little and little this other earthly life. His speech failed about midnight, his hearing two hours after, his breath betwixt six and seven in the morning, at which time he rendered his spirit unto God his Creator.

It is worth our notice, that during these forty eight hours, he felt little or no pain, having been often carefully asked concerning it, almost every hour, always constantly answering, that he suffered none. Morover, that he had his senses perfect, as may appear by the preceeding discourse, though a day before he had some raving fits, which ceased on an instant, without ever returning, so soon as they had given him warning to prepare for the life to come; at which the physicians much wondered, seeing fever and long waking (he having been many nights without sleep) in their oppinions should have caused a delirium. Lastly, it must not be forgotten, that in all this time, he entertained no other discourse than what tended to his salvation, having his judgment, spirits, and memory in so good estate that in the midst of his extremities, they could scarce alledge any passage of scripture, upon which he did not make some note, even upon the Hebrew, Greek and Latine words (whereof we have repeated some) using always the terms of scripture to express the dispositions of his heart, and accommodating to his present use, the best and richest passages which are there to be found.

Of all this, many persons of honour are witnesses, both of ours and the other religion, which were present there, both the one and the other declaring that they were extreamly edified and comforted by so fair a death: but none of them heard more than monsieur Moris, a physician of Bressure, making profession of the Roman religion, who according to his wonted candour, will (I doubt not) always render a faithful witness to the truth of that which we have here represented; God give them and us grace to make our profit of it, to his glory and our own salvation. Amen.

The Life of JOHN BRUEN, *of Bruen Stapleford, who died* anno Christi, 1625.

JOHN BRUEN, of Bruen-Stapleford, in the county palatine of Chester esq; was born, *anno Christi*, 1560. and was the son of a worthy gentleman, descended of worshipful ancestors, who brought him up civilly, and as those times were, religiously also: and the Lord preserved him in his childhood, and youth from the poison of popery, and the contagion of those common gross sins, which for want of the light, and life of the ministry of the gospel, reigned in those parts: when he was about seven years old, his father for some offence rebuked him sharply, and corrected him soundly, which he being much grieved at seeking relief, he took a prayer book which he had learned, and going into his father's chapel, read it; and prayed as well as he could, and it pleased the Lord to comfort him with unexpressible joys; the next day he went to the same place, and used the same means, but found not the like comfort: Afterwards his father sent him to his uncle's, Mr. Dutton of Dutton, where he was bred up at school, under one Mr. James Roe, for about three years space: anno 1577. his father sent him to Oxford, where he first received the love of the truth in any knowlege and understanding, being then about seventeen years old, he lived in Albans-Hall as a gentleman commoner, and being familiar with one John Breerwood, his countryman, an alderman's son of Chester: this Breerwood observing in him some popish practices, and opinions, set upon him by scripture arguments to convince and reform him, whereupon this young gentleman (through Gods mercy) was wrought upon, that as himself wrote it down in his book; 'I was, saith he, then inflamed with zeal against the profane beast of Rome, and all popery, both persons and things, with all their monuments, rites, and ceremonies, etc.

After a while his father sent for him home, that he might dispose of him in marriage, and provided for him the daughter of one Mr Hardware, [a worthy and wise gentleman] to whom he was married with the consent of parents, and in the fear of God, and lived very comfortably with her for seventeen years, seeing his sons, and daughters as olive plants round about his table: then being in the prime of his youth, he spent too much time in hawking, hunting, and such carnal delights.

But *anno Christi*, 1587. his father dying, he began to be much perplexed both in mind and estate; some sorrows and fears, thoughts and cares began to stir, and work in him, and the Lord hereby began to work for his more effectual calling, and conversion, and this he did both by the rebukes of his word, and checks of his spirit, convincing his judgment, and changing his heart from the love of base, to a delight in better things: whereupon he began to search his heart, and try his ways, and to call himself to an account for his former courses, and weighing them in the balance of the sanctuary, he found them to be but vanity, and vexation of spirit: and besides, he being charged by his father with the portions of twelve children, which he left behind him, he began to cut off occasions of wasteful and riotous expences; and whereas his father left him a park well furnished with deer, he disparked it, and drawing himself to as narrow a compass as he well could, he provided competently and comfortably for his own family, and faithfully paid his brethren and sisters all their portions, and disposed of them in marriage to their own content; then he was very careful to set up God's worship in his family, walking wisely in the midst of his house, setting his eyes, his favour upon the godly, and not suffering a wicked person to abide in his sight; and his principal care was to dwell with his wife as a man of knowlege, and to train up his children in the nurture and information of the Lord, and by his holy and prudent carriage his wife (though well affected to religion before) yet grew on to a higher pitch in knowlege, and grace, and became to him a faithful helper, and careful yoke fellow, to bear and draw in the yoke of Christ; they were both very careful in the education of their children, catechising of them in the principles of religion, and causing them to learn such sentences of scriptures as might make the easiest impression of grace upon their hearts; neither did he spare to use the rod of correction, as God's healing medicine to cure the corruptions of his children, yet if at any time his heart was overheated through his hatred of sin, and zeal for God's glory, that he spake unadvisedly with his lips, or dealt violently with his hands, he used to be much humbled for it, that going about to cure others, he had wounded himself; and amongst his men and maid servants, there was not one idle and unprofitable person; and for his choice of servants, he took notice of any thereabouts, that began to set their faces towards heaven, such he loved, and laboured to draw them into his service; so that in a short time he was furnished with godly and gracious servants, both men and maide; and then he looked upon them as his brethren and fellow servants in and under Christ; would sometimes use them familiarly, advise, consult, and resolve with them in matters of conscience, and other weighty occasions; sometimes he made them his comforters in afflictions and tentations, and received refreshing from them; amongst the rest, he had one old disciple, Robert Pasfield, a man utterly unlearned, being able neither to write nor read, yet thro' God's blessing upon his industry, having a good memory, became ripe in understanding, and mighty in the scriptures; yea, he was so well acquainted with the sum and substance of every book and chapter, that hardly could a man ask him for any sentence of scripture, but he would tell him in what book and chapter he might find it; he had a good gift in prayer, was very willing and able to confer of good things, whereby he became very useful both in the family, and to other good Christians abroad, as he had opportunity; for the help of his memory he invented and framed a girdle of leather, long and large, which went twice about him: this he divided into several parts, alloting every

book in the Bible in their order to ſome of theſe diviſions, then for the chapters, he affixed points or thongs of leather to the ſeveral diviſions and made knots by fives or tens, thereupon to diſtinguiſh the chapters of that book; and by other points he divided the chapters into their particular contents or verſes, as occaſion required: this he uſed inſtead of pen, and ink, in hearing ſermons, and made ſo good uſe of it, that coming home, he was able by it to repeat the ſermon, quote the texts of ſcripture, &c. to his own great comfort, and to the benefit of others; which girdle Mr Bruen kept after his death, hung it up in his ſtudy, and would merrily call it the Girdle of verity; this old Robert, though but a ſervant, yet, being rich in grace, his maſter uſed him very familiarly; when conveniently he could, he would have him near him, would often go to the hop-yard or barn, where his buſineſs lay, to talk and confer with him, and when he was ſo far from caſting him off, that he daily fed him with ſome of the beſt morſels from his own table, and ſetting him not far from him, that he might the better confer with him, which he continued to his dying day; ſuch other ſervants as he choſe to be ever about him at home, he made happy, by his taking opportunities to impart ſome wholeſome words of admonition and inſtruction to them, &c. He never thought his table better furniſhed, than when he had ſome godly perſons to ſit with him, or ſtand about him, nor his meat better ſeaſoned, than when it was pondered with the ſalt of wholeſome words; and for other of his ſervants employed in huſbandry, and ſuch out works, he never ſuffered them to want ſuch encouragements as might make them chearful in his, and God's ſervice: he would ſometimes go abroad to them, raiſe matter of ſpeech, and conference from their callings, works, wages, &c. for their inſtruction and edification: and there were few of them but exerciſed themſelves unto godlineſs, praying in their courſes every night in the kitchen, when their maſter was gone to bed ſuch of his ſervants as were inclined to marriage, he provided well for them.

The religious duties which he daily and duly performed in his family, morning and evening, were theſe; he roſe very early every morning before any in his family, betwixt three and four o'clock in the ſummer, and at five in the winter, and then ſpent an hour or two in private, before he rang the bell to awaken the reſt of his family; in his ſecret prayers, he uſed to make mention of every one in his family, and eſpecially as their occaſions and affections required, and gave thanks for ſuch mercies, as either he or they had received: then he meditated upon ſome part of God's word or works, wherewith he ſeaſoned his mind in the morning; then he wrote out fair, part of ſome ſermon that he had heard lately before: then his family being up, and met together, he, with his heart, and his hands lift up to heaven, ſpake in this manner,

"Bleſſed Lord God, and our moſt merciful Father in Chriſt Jeſus, we thy poor children do humbly beſeech thee graciouſly to aſſiſt us by thy holy Spirit in this our morning exerciſe, that we may faithfully perform the ſame to thy praiſe, and our comfort, and that for Chriſt his ſake, our only Saviour and Redeemer: Amen.

This ſet form of ſhort prayer he uſed morning and evening before his exerciſe, to convince their ignorance, which deny the lawfulneſs of them; then he with his family ſung a pſalm, with which exerciſe he was much delighted, and oftentimes ſo raviſhed therewith in his ſpirit, that his heart would even ſpring, and leap in his body; yea, he was ſo affected with praiſing of God; that he took the word Hallelujah for his motto, and uſually wrote it in the firſt page of all his books; then he read a chapter himſelf out of the Bible in order; then himſelf alſo prayed with them, and that with ſuch power, feeling, fervency, ſincerity, faith, and humility, that he was oft much admired of them that heard him; he ſo wreſtled with God by prayers and tears, that he would not let him go, till he had prevailed, inſomuch that they ſeldom met again to pray, but he had ſome new and freſh cauſe of thankſgiving for the returns of his prayers.

In the evening he called them together again to the like ſervice, which he performed very religiouſly after the ſame manner, ſaving that after the chapter he propounded ſome wholeſome inſtructions to them, as the portion of ſcripture gave occaſion, whether to convince any error, or to confirm the truth; to rebuke ſin, or to inſtruct in the way of righteouſneſs, &c.

And the better to juſtify this his practice againſt oppoſers, he made collections out of the ſacred ſcriptures, out of the expoſitions, teſtimonies, and examples of godly and good men, concerning this point of the Maſter's duty, in teaching and inſtructing his family in the fear of God and faith of Chriſt. And leſt any ſhould think that hereby he entrenched too much upon the miniſter's office, and went beyond his line; they muſt know, that whatſoever he ſpake in this kind, he borrowed it of good men, or obtained it by ſerious ſtudy and meditation; got it by reading the ſcriptures, and good expoſitors, or by reviewing his notes of ſuch ſermons as he had heard upon thoſe ſcriptures, uſing all good and holy means to fit and furniſh himſelf with ſpiritual proviſions for that ſervice. Neither was his zeal confined within his own walls; for finding in the church of Tarvin, and his own chappel that antiently belonged to him, many ſuperſtitious images in the windows, which by their painted coats darkened the light of the church, and obſcured the brightneſs of the goſpel, he cauſed all thoſe painted puppets to be pulled down in a peaceable manner, and at his own coſt glazed the windows again. And for his encouragement and juſtification he had not only the word of God, but the queen's injunctions authorizing and requiring the ſame. And his heart was ſo enlarged towards God, with zeal for his glory and his peoples good, that it was the joy of his ſoul to bring in godly and able miniſters amongſt them, almoſt every Lord's day, into the public aſſembly, and that of his own coſt and labour, which he did with a chearful heart, honouring God with his ſubſtance, by giving maintainance to ſuch as were the Lord's labourers in his harveſt: and though many ſlighted it, yet was it no diſcouragement to him, neither was he weary of well-doing, whoſe practice will ſhame ſuch, as being entruſted with the lands and livings of the church for the maintainance of the miniſtry, do turn their patronage into pillage, and their devotion into ſacrilege, robbing the miniſters of their means, and the people of their ſpiritual proviſion.

Anno 1590, having provided for his pariſh a worthy preacher, the people, though they admired his gifts, yet would not ſo much as thank him for his pains, which was a great diſcouragement to the miniſter. Hereupon Mr Bruen withdrew his preacher into his own chappel, to make the people more to prize the word by the want of it. Then reſorted many to him, ſome to the chappel to feed their ſouls, and many into the hall to feed their bellies, to his no ſmall coſt, and yet great comfort, becauſe religion increaſed thereby. But after a while, at the importunity of Chriſtian friends, he reſtored him to the public congregation, maintaining him, and other preachers after him, till by the death of the incumbent, God eſtabliſhed a faithful paſtor among them.

And whereas the people of Tarvin had a bad cuſtom of keeping wakes upon the Sabbath-day, at which times there was much prophaneneſs practiſed, to the diſhonour of God, by banqueting drinking, dancing, &c. This godly gentleman ſtudying to remedy this great evil, againſt that time, every year, provided three of the beſt affected miniſters in the country, who ſpent moſt part of three days in preaching and praying in the church, ſo that the pipers, fidlers, bearwards, players and gameſters had no time left them for their vanities, but went away with great fretting; yet multitudes of well affected people filled the town and the church, much rejoicing before God, and theſe he feaſted at his houſe alſo, ſo that at one of theſe times he ſpent in his houſe a fat beef and a half in the ſpace of three days, upon godly and well affected people. And this he did for divers years together, till by degrees he had wearied out thoſe profane wakes.

Hereupon he began to be admired for his fervency in the profeſſion of the goſpel, and practice of true religion, inſomuch that divers gentlemen of the beſt rank deſired to ſojourn in his houſe, for their better information in the way of God: one of which at his firſt coming would by no means endure to be reproved for his faults, but how it was afterwards with him, Mr Bruen thus left it upon record; "After a while, having the one hundred and forty-

firſt pſalm for our evening exerciſe, divers of my family did uſually give notes, being godly and well affected, and they all concluded together that every one of them ſhould ſpeak upon the fifth verſe, 'Let the righteous reprove me,' &c. And myſelf gave the laſt note, after which he never reſiſted any more.

And whereas, in thoſe days, the Lord was pleaſed, in compaſſion to his people, to raiſe up and eſtabliſh many holy exerciſes of religion in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, which were maintained monthly by the godly labours of the faithful miniſters of Chriſt in thoſe parts with much comfortable ſucceſs. Mr Bruen frequented theſe exerciſes, and with great care and conſcience he ſtored himſelf with their treaſures, and lighted his candle at their torches, whereby he was better enabled, and more furniſhed to ſet forwards religion in his family, and elſewhere, as occaſion was offered. In frequenting theſe exerciſes, he took much pains, riding early and late, in heat and cold, and through foul ways, ſometimes ten, twenty, yea thirty miles, to his great charges alſo. Theſe ſermons he wrote diligently, repeated them as he went home; and for about thirty ſix years together, at home, he wrote over again the ſubſtance of theſe exerciſes, whereby he left to the heirs of his family ſo many volumes of manuſcripts, ſet up orderly in his ſtudy, as is ſcarce credible, which he charged them to read over, if it were but once in their lives. He uſed the miniſters whereſoever he came marvellous kindly, commending their pains, rejoicing in their labours, and many times defraying their charges; always encouraging them with gracious and ſweet words. Yea, this kindneſs of his extended to all the profeſſors of religion, even to the weakeſt and pooreſt Chriſtian that he obſerved to frequent theſe exerciſes.

In the midſt of theſe ſweet comforts, the Lord was pleaſed to exerciſe him with a great affliction, by taking away with a ſtroke his dear wife and faithful yoke-fellow; yet did the Lord ſo ſanctify this affliction to him, that by the power of grace, and Chriſtian wiſdom, he moderated his affections, and ſubdued his paſſions, not mourning as a man without hope, but aſſuring himſelf that his loſs was her gain; after which, finding that he ſtood in need of marriage for the comfort of his life, and neceſſity of his family, he ſought by prayer a prudent wife from God; and the Lord was pleaſed to anſwer his prayers, by providing for him Mrs Ann Fox, deſcended of an antient and worſhipful family in Lancaſhire, a gentlewoman as beautiful by grace within, as amiable in face without, and one very well reported of in the church of God: her, therefore, with the joint conſent of herſelf and friends, he married; and the firſt year her mother would needs give them her table, during which time he was as careful to do good to that family, as if it had been his own houſe, and he quickened himſelf and them to prayer and praiſe, reading the ſcripture, ſinging of pſalms, holy conference, catechiſing, &c. concerning which himſelf thus writes: 'My mother-in-law tabling of us for a year, we ſet up the exerciſes of religion morning and evening; in which time, through God's grace, my mother in-law got ſaving grace, and my ſiſter-in law, now Mrs Hinde, and another half ſiſter of her's, and their brothers, Meſſ. William and Thomas Fox, a ſervant or two, and ſome neighbours; bleſſed be God for it, &c.

At the year's end, he brought home his beloved wife to Stapleford, where they lived in great peace and love; and being well ſettled, there were many of the greateſt gentlemen in the country that ſued to him, ſome for themſelves, ſome for their children, to be entertained into his family; and hereby his houſe became a nurſery for religion, a vineyard which the Lord bleſſed to bear trees of righteouſneſs, and fruits of holineſs. Towards theſe his manner was, when they came firſt into his family, to try their diſpoſitions and inclinations, and how tractable they were like to be to good duties and practices; for which end he carefully obſerved their ways, ſaw much and ſaid little, bore and forbore, as occaſion required; taking ſpecial notice of any good they ſaid or did, and paſſing over many leſſer faults, till he had fitter opportunity to reclaim them. Amongſt others, one young gentleman could not well away with the ſtrict obſervation of the Sabbath; 'Whereupon (ſaith he) we did all conſpire to do him good, ten of my family ſpeaking one after another, and myſelf laſt, for the ſanctifying the Lord's day; after which he did very cheerfully yield himſelf, bleſſed be God.'

At another time (ſaith he) coming into his chamber, I found over the mantletree a pair of new cards, and no body being by, I took out the four knaves, and ſo laid them there again: but for want of ſuch knaves his game was marred, and he never played in my houſe after. And in like manner (ſaith he) twenty years before, being in one of my ſtudies, and ſeeing a pair of tables under my feet, I took them, with the men, dice, and all the cards I found, and put them into an oven that was then in heating; and hereby he rid them out of his houſe. And to juſtify his deteſtation of theſe games, he ſet down in writing theſe collections.

1. All games depending upon hazard or chance are to be eſchewed.

2. The prince of devils firſt invented them, and the place was hell.

3. Such gameſters were held and accounted for infamous perſons, uncapable of any office, and unworthy any benefit of law.

4. Dicers, harlots, and thieves, be of one hall and corporation; and the more cunning in this art, the more wicked in their lives and manners.

5. All gain by gaming is, *turpe lucrum*, plain thievery, worſe than uſury.

6. All play at dice is plain lottery, which to uſe idly or triflingly, is a ſin againſt the third and ninth commandment.

7. There is no recreation of body or mind in theſe games, unleſs it be in deſire and hope of gain, by another man's loſs, which is unlawful.

8. Cards ſeem leſs evil than tables; but there is never a barrel better herring, there is ſo much craft in packing, &c.

9. There are mix'd games, conſiſting partly of lottery, partly of wit, and are oftentimes maintained with tricks of couſenage and knavery.

10. The coat-cards were in times paſt the images of their idols.

11. We ſhould abſtain from ſuch games; 1. Becauſe they never were nor are of any good report in the church. 2. There is a great appearance of evil in them. 3. The command of the magiſtrate forbids them, by the name of unlawful games. 4. They tend not to God's glory. 5. They are cauſes of much hurt to our neighbours, and occaſions of many ſins and ſorrows to the gameſters and their families, &c.

And therefore, for the preventing of theſe miſchiefs, and to exerciſe the heads and hearts of his family and of ſuch as came occaſionally to his houſe, he bought two goodly fair bibles, and ſet them upon two deſks, one in his hall, the other in his parlour.

About this time there being a defect in the public miniſtry, he procured a faithful miniſter of Chriſt to be a preacher at Tarvin, whoſe miniſtry being very powerful and profitable, he ſo much delighted in him, that he maintained him and his family very bountifully, and entertained him kindly.

About this time the fame of Mr Bruen coming to Mr Perkins, who hearing of his excellent parts, and pains in the profeſſion of religion, and exerciſes in his family, and of his government in his houſe, and the religion of his ſervants; being raviſhed with heavenly joy, and ſtricken with an holy admiration at the hearing of it, he brake out into theſe ſpeeches; 'Certainly this is no other than the houſe of God, and for the practice and power of religion, the very top-ſail of England.

His fame ſpreading ſtill more and more, many gentlemen ſought to him, to ſojourn with him; and, at the requeſts of his friends, he entertained divers families, and perſonages of great place; many of which, during their abode with him, were truly converted, others convinced, and all much reformed in their lives.

But in the midſt of theſe ſweet comforts, the Lord again ſent a tempeſt of grief and ſorrow, by taking away his gracious yoke-fellow, which not long after cauſed a diſſolving of his family, and a diſperſing of that whole company,

company, to their no ſmall grief; concerning which himſelf thus writes:

'When it pleaſed God to take away my wife from me, then all mourned for her loſs; as alſo, becauſe all my tablers muſt now part, being about the number of one and twenty: But we did ſtill ſo well accord, and ſo loath were we to part aſunder, that I requeſted them to ſtay with me that quarter more, which was very thankfully accepted: In which time we had much comfort but mourned often to think of the quarter's end; and the laſt day, ſitting at dinner together, all were ſo full of heavineſs, that there was no meat eaten, ſo that I was forced to hide myſelf, and could not take leave of them,' &c.

'Then (ſaith he) I lived a ſingle life five years and an half; and being in debt, and having four daughters, and divers ſons to diſpoſe of, by advice of friends, I gave over houſe, and went to live at Cheſter for a ſeaſon: Mr Biſield, a godly and powerful preacher, being miniſter there at that time; and there I lived three years, having the company of Mr Biſield, and his wife, every Wedneſday and Friday at dinner with me, which were his lecture days, with ſome other good company beſides. In which time God ſtirred up the hearts of many of my neighbours to come to prayers with us; which meetings were at firſt traduced by ſome: yet, after a while, being well known what they were, no fault was found.

In this time it pleaſed the Lord Almighty to give a great bleſſing, all praiſe to his holy name; many converted, many confirmed, and many convinced. In theſe three years God alſo gave me a great bleſſing in my outward eſtate: I paid all my debt: I married two of my daughters, and paid their portions: I preferred a ſon or two: I maintained the poor in my own pariſh in the country, allowing them all the profit of my two mills: I maintained the poor in Cheſter, both at my gates, and otherwiſe weekly, as I was rated. All humble and hearty thanks be given unto God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, for evermore. Amen.

The three years being expired, he returned home to Stapleford, and encouraging himſelf in the ways of God, he daily performed theſe four duties: Firſt, Meditation for the increaſe of knowlege, and good affections towards God and good things: and for his help herein, he carried about with him ſome part of the Bible, or notes of ſermons when he went into the fields. Within doors he read much in the ſcriptures, and made collections of the promiſes, precepts, comforts, prohibitions, &c. and theſe he made the ſubject of his meditations: for this end alſo he read oft the works of divers learned men, and drew into heads and common places what was moſt worthy obſervation in them; and he found much benefit by theſe meditations, as the killing of noiſome luſts, the diſlodging of many worldly cares; it wrought in him a godly care over his thoughts, words, and actions; a gracious aptneſs to, and chearfulneſs in holy duties; it miniſtered to him counſel and ſtrength for ſpiritual combats; it brought him to an heaven upon earth, and made him go about earthly affairs with an heavenly mind; it kept his heart in poſſeſſion of his integrity, whereby he kept faith and a good conſcience in every thing; it wrought his ſoul to a gracious tenderneſs, lowlineſs, and meekneſs; it enabled him whereſoever he came, to leave a ſweet ſavour of his graces and virtues behind him; and it was as a ſovereign preſervative againſt all inticements and allurements to ſin.

In the next place, he was very careful to obſerve God's works, both of mercy and judgment; for which end he obſerved and recorded many of them: Hear him ſpeaking in his own words:

Some few years before my brother Hardware died, he had a man ſervant (as many thought) bewitched, and grew daily weaker and weaker, ſo that my brother ſent to me and my family to ſpend a day with him in faſting and prayer: at that time I had good Mr Watts the preacher with me. We went to the houſe, where we found the man very ſick and weak, and like an anatomy, having nothing but ſkin and bones, not like to live a day longer. He was brought and laid in a bed in the chamber where we prayed, and the ſame evening he began to amend; the next morning he walked abroad, and the third day was ſo ſtrong that he fell to his work and labour: All laud and praiſe to God for it.

Anno 1601, my ſervant going with his cart laden, fell down, and the wheels, being iron-bound, went over his leg, yet hurt him not at all. *Laus Deo*, Praiſed be God.

Anno 1602, my ſon John going into the field, took up a ſythe to ſee how he could mow, the ſythe entered into his ſtocking to the ſhin-bone, ſhaving the hair, and came out at the backſide of his leg, and touched no fleſh nor ſkin. *Laus Deo*, Praiſed be God.

Anno 1603, one that dwelt in my farm in Wimble Stafford, ſeeing two godly perſons going in the way, ſaid to one with him, 'I will dance, and ſwagger, and ſwear, to anger yonder two puritans;' and ſo he did to their great grief. But preſently the revenging hand of God was upon him, ſo that immediately he fell ſick, was carried home in a cart; and within three days died moſt fearfully. All glory to God.

But he took the greateſt pains in recording the paſſages about a boy about twelve years old at Norwich, who was ſo ſtrangely and wonderfully afflicted and tormented, that many held him to be really poſſeſſed with the devil; about this he wrote much: ſome of the paſſages were theſe;

'By his torments he was brought ſo low, weak, and feeble, that he was almoſt nothing but ſkin and bones, yet for the ſpace of four and twenty hours every day (having one half hour reſpite, which they called his awaking time, and wherein they gave him a little food); he was of that extraordinary ſtrength, that if he folded his hands together, no man could pull them aſunder; if he rolled his head, or toſſed his whole body, (as uſually he did) no man could ſtay or reſtrain him. He would, to the great aſtoniſhment of the hearers, howl like a dog, mew like a cat, roar like a bear, froth like a boar. When any prayed with him, his paſſions were ſtrongeſt, and his rage and violence greateſt, ready to fly in their faces, and to drown their voices by his yellings and outcries. If one came near him with a Bible, though under his cloak, and never ſo ſecret, he would run upon him, and uſe great violence to get it from him, and when he could get away any, he rent them in pieces; ſometimes he would lie along, as if he had been ſtark dead, his colour gone, and mouth ſo wide open, that he would on a ſudden thruſt both his hands into it; and, notwithſtanding his great weakneſs, he would leap and ſkip from his bed to the window, from the window to the table, and ſo to bed again; and that with ſuch agility as no tumbler could do the like. And yet all this while his legs were grown up cloſe to his buttocks, ſo that he could not uſe them. Sometimes we ſaw his chin drawn up to his noſe, that his mouth could ſcarce be ſeen: ſometimes his chin and forehead drawn almoſt together like a bended bow; his countenance fearful by yawning, mewing, &c.

'The biſhop hearing of the ſtrange torments of this poor child, ſent for him; his parents brought him, and once the biſhop prayed with him, but the boy was ſo outragious that he flew out of his bed, and ſo frighted the biſhop's men, that one of them fell into a ſwoon, and the biſhop was glad to lay hold on the boy, who ramped at the window to have gotten out: Hereupon this biſhop granted a licence for a private faſt in the child's father's houſe, for his help and releaſe; which accordingly was performed by two godly miniſters, and by Mr Bruen with divers others; yet God gave not deliverance at that time.

When he was in his fits, without underſtanding and knowlege of what he did or ſaid, he would often ſay;

Jeſus ſaith, (for ſo he began all his ſpeeches) the devil when he comes takes away my hearing, ſeeing, underſtanding, hands, legs, that I ſhould have no ſenſes nor limbs to glorify God withal.

Jeſus ſaith, If they would have caſt out the evil ſpirit, they ſhould have come better provided.

Jeſus ſaith, I have but three devils; it's like one of the ſpirits will go out of me, and take counſel of a great number of foul ſpirits, and come again and trouble me worſe.

God pulls back the devil with a ring in his noſe, yet the devil ſhakes my faith as if it would go out of me.

Well, theſe drunkards and whoremaſters do not think upon their ſins: well, how then? There is no drunkard that doth drink one ſpoonful, or drop of drink more than will ſuffice nature, but the devil doth pen it down in his book;

book; well, it is a great book, and he doth keep it close till the day of judgment, and then he will lay it to their faces, at which time the hills will tremble and quake, and the devil will quake, yea, he doth quake for fear already.

Well, some would think it a great while to be bound with the devil a year or two, as I am; but it is better to be so, than to wallow in drunkenness, swearing and whoring: for the devil works in their souls.

Jesus saith, They say he shall not out of me: but when God comes he will strike home.

Many other of these strange speeches did he utter, which for brevity's sake are here omitted, though recorded by Mr Bruen.

Mr Bruen, besides his family duties mentioned before, used private prayer very often, yet not confining himself to any place within, or without doors for it, but taking his fittest opportunity, as time and place best accorded; about his own house he had divers places which interchangeably he used for this purpose, not frequenting one, lest he should be suspected of hypocrisy, or vain-glory; and as he made choice of the place, so of the time also, which he constantly set apart every day for private prayer; seven times a day did he practise this duty; first, in the morning before any of his family rose, next after family prayer, before his breakfast; then immediately before dinner; then a little while after dinner; then a little before supper; then not long after supper; lastly, a little before he went to bed; and as he was frequent, so was he, thro' God's grace, powerful in these his prayers: and hereunto, upon extraordinary occasions, he added fasting, which he observed with so great austerity, that he much weakened his body thereby: and as it is recorded of St. James the apostle, so was it true of this gentleman, that his knees were grown very senseless and hard with much and frequent kneeling: in these his private prayers his principal aim was to search his heart, examine his life, confess and bewail his special sins and infirmities, craving pardon for them, and power against them; as also for sins or afflictions in his family; he mourned for the sins of Sion, and for the afflictions of Joseph, and desolations of Jerusalem: he afflicted his heart for the barrenness and backsliding of professors, for their embracing the world, forsaking their first love; to which he added praise and thanksgiving for mercies; he daily laboured to be more and more renewed in the spirit of his mind, in knowlege, righteousness and holiness, according to the image of him that created him; whilst his commoration was on earth, his conversation was in heaven; he had an holy resolution, so to use the world, as neither abusing of it, nor being abused by it, but to keep himself unspotted from it; he had a full purpose to keep his heart always in God's presence, knowing and believing that he heard all his words, and beheld all his works; he used a constant and conscionable striving against all sin, especially the sins of the times and places wherein he lived: he had a godly desire in all companies either to do good to others, or to receive good from others; a full purpose to deal justly and uprightly with all men, doing no other to them, than he would have them do to him; a charitable disposition to take doubtful things in the best sense, so far as he might, without wounding his own conscience, or offending others; he was slow to speak, swift to hear; he utterly renounced the vain conformities of the world, neither following the fashions, nor serving the humours of vain or vile persons, nor staying in their company longer than needs must; his care was to cut off all occasions of variance, and strife, with all speed that might be.

He laboured for an holy contentedness of mind, by entertaining all crosses with patience, and turning them to their best use, and imbracing all comforts with thanksgiving, bringing forth the right and proper fruits of them: he would not be easily provoked by indignities, and injuries, he had rather forgive twenty wrongs, than revenge one: he was willing to purchase his peace, sometimes with his own loss, if otherwise he could not procure it: he used to shut his ears against tale-bearers, the seedsmen of strife, and firebrands of contention; ordinarily he recompenced evil with good, frowardness with kindness, and passion with moderation and good affection: a neighbour gentleman conceiving a great displeasure against him upon a very small occasion, in a great ruff sent his man to him to inhibit him from coming upon his land, either himself, or any of his family, upon their peril; to whom Mr Bruen presently answered; tell your master from me, that if he or any of his family will come upon any part of my ground at their pleasures, they shall be welcome, and if he will come to my house, he shall be much more welcome; which gracious and kind answer did so melt the heart of his adversary, that he presently brake forth into tears, reconciled himself to him, and became his true and faithful friend ever after; he was also very careful to prevent or remove all occasions of variance, and strife amongst neighbours, and friends, both near and far from home.

Naturally he was passionate, and hasty, but having his sin pardoned in the blood of Christ, and having gotten power over it, his nature was healed, his passions subdued, and his frowardness was changed into mildness: he was of an ingenuous facility, either to be perswaded to any thing that was good, or to be disswaded from any thing that was evil: an honourable judge in open court having a complaint made to him against Mr Bruen, of some wrong that he did, by a water course to his mills: out of that good opinion he held of him, said: I cannot think but that you wrong Mr Bruen, I will undertake for him, make him but sensible of any wrong that he hath done, and he shall willingly acknowlege it, and make you double amends for it.

Also there was forty shillings given to the parish of Tarvin, which being lent abroad, through neglect, was lost, whereupon the church wardens, and some neighbours requested him by himself and his friends to make it up again, to which he presently answered, that he would not press upon any mans purse for that matter, and so he gave them the money himself, which though not much, yet more than most gentlemen would have done in such a case: he saw none that were without the means of grace, but the bowels of compassion yerned in him, pitying the misery that was upon them: he saw none occasionally at their heathenish sports, and sinful pastimes, but he looked angrily upon them, and spake roughly to them, yet withall, inwardly mourning for the hardness of their hearts: if occasionally he met with mockers, contemners of God, and despisers of good things, he would not cast pearls before swine, but turn away his face, and not so much as salute them: if any poor soul erred from the right way, and yet desired a guide; how careful was he of their good? how joyful to do them good: yea, to encourage and draw on such, he would give them money, corn, Bibles, catechisms and other good books, which he had always by him for such purposes: if a professor of religion fell into decay, he would relieve him by his own, and other good means: sometimes he would take off a good suit of apparel from his own back, and bestow it upon a godly poor man that wanted it, and withal give him a good sum of money out of his purse to accommodate him in his calling: he was much given to hospitality, and to entertain strangers; his house was the common inn of God's children that came near him: none so welcome to eat of his morsels as such strangers, as were no strangers in Israel: many that passed betwixt Ireland and England, and that came upon business to Chester, horsemen and others, would take up his house for their lodging place, that they might comfort and rejoice their hearts in seeing his face, hearing his voice, and conferring and advising with him: his ordinary table was bountiful, and plentiful, not to excess, but to a very competent sufficiency, and for the furtherance of it, he had a great flight of pigeons, a warren of connies, delicate fish ponds, besides other ordinary provision about his house: yet would he not suffer any wilful waste or abuse of God's good creatures; his cellar was open and free to any, as far as they kept themselves within the bounds of moderation; he did usually fill the bellies of great multitudes, which out of his own and other parishes resorted to him for that end; and in the dear years he made provision for them almost every day in the week, and would sometimes serve them himself; both to keep them in good order, and equally to distribute according to their necessities; his purse was ever open to give, or lend freely to such as would borrow: his admonition was, 'Remember your promise, and pay again if you will borrow again;' and if any that

borrowed were willing, but not able to pay, he would rather forgive the debt than exact it.

In the time of a great dearth, fearing that divers of his poor neighbours were in want, taking the opportunity when moſt of his family were gone abroad to a religious exerciſe, he ſent for his neighbours, and diſtributed fourteen buſhels of corn amongſt them: yea, the loyns of the poor did bleſs him, being warmed with the fleece of his flock, or clothed by the coſt of his purſe; every year againſt Winter, he beſtowed four or five pound in making proviſion to clothe the poor; yea he was a protector to the poor, to deliver him out of the hands of thoſe that were too ſtrong for them; he was a counſellor to defend their righteous cauſe, and to plead for them.

He held always a gracious harmony in judgment with all ſuch divines and profeſſors of religion as were moſt ſound in the truth; he religiouſly ſympathized with the church in all her afflictions.

When he heard evil tidings out of Bohemia, Hungary, Germany, the Palatinate, &c. he ſat down as Nehemiah, and wept, and mourned certain days, and faſted and prayed before the God of heaven; he was frequent in viſiting the ſick, and ſuch families as had the extraordinary hand of God upon them; if any were troubled in conſcience, moleſted by Satan, terrified by God's judgments, happy was he that could get Mr Bruen to come to him, his very preſence was ſome eaſe and refreſhing to them: and as his gifts in prayer, and pains were great, ſo was the iſſue and ſucceſs thereof (through God's bleſſing) many times very effectual, either for full releaſe, or ſome relief at leaſt; he himſelf recorded divers mercies obtained of God by his prayers, the glory whereof he doth ever in great humility aſcribe to the Lord, giving him hearty thanks for manifeſting his grace and power to ſo weak creatures, by ſo weak means; being on a time at the ſheriff's table, there was a health begun to the prince, and there were great lords preſent, but when it came to Mr Bruen, he ſaid, You may drink to his health, and I will pray for his health, but drink for mine own health, and ſo I wiſh you may do for yours, and ſo he paſſed it over, not yielding to any of the ſolemn ceremonies in that act: he was a great enemy to the profane cuſtoms and corruptions uſed in great houſes, and would not ſpare to admoniſh his friends by word or writing to reform the ſame.

He was very merciful in his dealing with his tenants, not grinding the faces of the poor by great fines, nor cruſhing their bones by heavy rents and racks, nor break their backs with cruel ſervices, nor did he uſe their beaſts without hire, nor their labour without wages; but it was the joy of his heart to ſee his tenants proſper; his whole life was a meditation of death, and a continual preparation for it; and in his declining days, when he ſaw that he was drawing on towards his journey's end, his faith was exceedingly increaſed, his hope and rejoicing in God much enlarged, his love and zeal wonderfully inflamed, his affections towards God and his people more holy and heavenly, and his motions towards heaven more quick and lively than before: the day before his laſt ſickneſs, he roſe very early in the morning, went into his ſtudy to his private prayer, then came forth and prayed with his family, then returned into his ſtudy till dinner time; and after dinner went into his ſtudy again, where it pleaſed God after two hours to viſit him, as it were, with an ague, whereupon he laid himſelf down upon a bed; his wife ſaid to him, Sir, I fear you have done yourſelf hurt with riſing ſo early; to whom he replied, If you had ſeen, wife, ſuch glorious things as I ſaw this morning, being in private prayer with God, you would not have ſaid ſo, for they were ſo wonderful and unſpeakable, that whether I was in the body or out of the body with Paul, I cannot tell, thus it hath pleaſed God, leſt I ſhould be too much exalted by this glorious ſight, to give me a buffet in the fleſh: the like raviſhing in ſpirit, and ſuch glorious ſights, he ſaw not long before (as he acquainted ſome private friends) after he had been one day in private prayer with God in his grove; whence he had a ſtrong perſuaſion, that he ſhould not live long, before he made a glorious change of this life, with a better; and for this end he cleared up his evidences for heaven, and confirmed his aſſurance of his right thereunto: this his confidence was his comfort in all his ſickneſs, which drew from him many ſuch heavenly ſpeeches.

"O how great is thy goodneſs, O Lord, which thou haſt laid up for them that fear thee, which thou haſt wrought for them that truſt in thee, before the ſons of men.

"O how precious are thy thoughts to me, O God! O how great is the ſum of them! if I ſhall count them, they are more in number than the ſand; when I awake I am ever with thee.

"Thou ſhalt guide me with thy counſel, and afterwards receive me to glory; whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none on earth that I deſire beſides thee; my fleſh and my heart faileth, but God is the ſtrength of my heart, and my portion for ever; I know whom I have believed, and I am perſwaded that he is able to keep that which I have commited to him againſt that day; O love the Lord all ye his ſaints, for the Lord preſerveth the faithful, &c. as the heart panteth after the water brooks, ſo panteth my heart after thee O God; my ſoul thirſteth for God for the living God: O when ſhall I come and appear before God; O let him kiſs me with the kiſſes of his mouth, for thy love is better than wine, &c."

Theſe, and many hundred more of theſe divine ſpeeches did he utter in the time of his ſickneſs; and though his bodily infirmity grew upon him, yet would he by no means be kept from the houſe of God, ſo long as he could either go or ride: and when he went to church, beſides his family, he uſed to call his tenants, and neighbours that dwelt in his way, to go along with him, and then calling them about him, they uſed with one heart and voice to ſing Pſalms, eſpecially the 84. Pſal. and he with his train came to church conſtantly before prayers, and divine ſervice began that he might the more comfortably join with the congregation in the confeſſion of ſin, in prayer, praiſe, reading, ſinging, hearing, receiving of the ſacraments, all which he performed with moſt reverend attention, and gracious affection: after the morning ſermon he uſually ſtayed in the church amongſt other good people, and ſpent the time in repeating the ſermon, ſinging of Pſalms, and holy conference: after evening ſermon he returned home, attended with his company with much joy, and endeavouring as they went to encreaſe their knowlege, faith, obedience, &c.

In his family he was ſo full of life and zeal, that many that lived near him, came to hear him repeat the ſermons, and pour out his prayers unto God; and the joy and comfort that he found in theſe duties were ſuch, that he would often ſay, O that every day were a Sabbath, or a Faſt day, for then I ſhould be well: the week days were more tedious to him, his bodily infirmity encreaſing, and his ſtrength decaying; yet would he quicken his ſoul, and raiſe up his heart by faith and hope, often ſaying; the time is not long, I muſt ſhortly lay down this my tabernacle, and then I ſhall get the ſtart of you all, and ſhall celebrate an everlaſting Sabbath before the Lord, with his holy Angels, and bleſſed ſaints, in the higheſt heavens: he grew daily more and more weary of the world; he ſet his houſe in order, and then wholly ſet himſelf to think and ſpeak of ſpiritual and heavenly things: when any came to viſit him he would often ſay, 'Alas good ſouls, what are you come to ſee, a poor wretch, a worm, and no man, or a poor dying man, &c.' and when any told him of hopes of recovery, he would ſay, 'My taſk is ended, the Lord hath no more work for me to do, my warfare is accompliſhed, my race is run out, I now only hope and wait for that crown of righteouſneſs which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and God hath promiſed to me:' to his Chriſtian friends he would give theſe admonitions, to hold on, and to hold out, to be ſtedfaſt in their profeſſions, not to be weary of well-doing, to grow in grace, &c. And for their greater encouragement, he would tell them, that when he firſt began to profeſs religion, there were almoſt none in the whole ſhire that were acquainted with the power and practiſe of it, &c. 'I was, ſaid he, a wonder of the world, and a monſter of men, and many did bend their tongues like bows for lies, and did ſhoot their arrows, even bitter words againſt me, and yet for all this that came upon me, I did not forget the name of my God, &c. But, bleſſed be God, the number of believers in this county is much

enlarged,

enlarged, every quarter and corner of it being filled with the ſweet favour of the goſpel, &c. Therefore, my dearly beloved, ſtand faſt in the faith, quit you like men, be ſtrong, be ſtedfaſt and unmoveable, &c.

Alſo, though his affliction and ſickneſs encreaſed, yet were not his conſolations diminiſhed, though he was feeble in the fleſh, yet ſtrong in the ſpirit. No pains of his body, nor pangs of approaching death, did half ſo much trouble him, as the inward refreſhings of God's holy ſpirit did make his conſolations to abound. Afterwards his weakneſs encreaſed, by reaſon of a ſtopping in his breaſt and throat, ſo that he could not take down any liquid thing, but he was ready to faint away.

About this time a worthy knight coming to viſit him, could not refrain from many tears; which he obſerving, ſaid to him, 'Good Sir, weep not for me; for there is no cauſe of weeping, but of much rejoicing in my behalf; turn your tears into prayers, and let me enjoy that fruit of your love, &c. You are in your way, I am at my journey's end; walk on, as hitherto you have done, and the Lord will be with you; he will never fail you, nor forſake you.

To his eldeſt ſon he gave many wholeſome inſtructions, and gracious exhortations, praying for him, and bleſſing his children, encouraging them to be conſtant in religion, commanding them to uphold the worſhip and ſervice of God, both in the public aſſembly and private family.

A little before his death, there came two godly miniſters to him, of his ſpecial acquaintance, whoſe preſence much cheered him, to whom he ſaid: I am here, you ſee, the Lord's priſoner, caſt upon the bed of my ſickneſs, and in great affliction, yet waiting upon the mercies of my God, for a comfortable releaſe in due ſeaſon: and being aſked by them, whether his conſolations did not abound in the midſt of all his afflictions; he anſwered, yes, I thank God they do, and do far exceed them: yea, and that which is more remarkable, the Lord of his mercy hath given me ſuch ſtrong evidence of his favour and love in Chriſt, that I am not troubled in mind or conſcience with any doubts or fears, or any other ſatanical moleſtations or tentations, but reſt and wait in patience for the accompliſhing his mercies upon me, according to his good pleaſure towards me: then he deſired them to pray with him, and raiſing up himſelf in his bed, with his heart and hands lift up to God in the heavens, he did, as it were, reach after the petitions that were made for him, often with a cheerful conſent, ſaying, amen, amen. He continued in great pain of body, but in great peace of mind, increaſing ſtill in conſolations, and bearing his ſickneſs and pains with admirable patience, not ſhewing the leaſt diſcontent in word or deed: when they took their leave of him, they mingled their ſorrows, tears, and prayers together, and ſo parted: he was never quiet, unleſs he were either meditating, or praying himſelf, or had ſome godly man, or ſome good miniſter praying with him: the morning before his death, divers of his friends took their leave of him, deſiring at their parting a bleſſing from him, which he did willingly expreſs, by lifting up his hands and heart unto heaven for them: and not long after, hearing ſome making motion of blacks, he ſaid: 'I will have no blacks, I love no proud nor pompous funeral, neither is there any cauſe of mourning, but of rejoicing rather in my particular:' immediately before his death, lifting up his hands, he ſaid: 'The Lord is my portion, my help, and my truſt: his bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt is my Saviour and Redeemer, amen, even ſo ſaith the Spirit unto my ſpirit: therefore come Lord Jeſus, and kiſs me with the kiſſes of thy mouth, and embrace me with the arms of thy love: into thy hands do I commend my ſpirit, O come now, and take me to thine own ſelf: O come Lord Jeſus, come quickly, O come, O come:' and ſo his ſpirit fainting, and ſpeech failing, he meekly and graciouſly yielded up his precious ſoul into the hands of God his Father, *anno Chriſti* 1625. and of his age ſixty five.

Not long before his laſt ſickneſs, myſelf being with him; amongſt other diſcourſe, he told me, that when he firſt procured the ſetting up of an exerciſe at Tarvin, he was exceeding ſolicitous to procure all the eminenteſt miniſters in thoſe parts of the kingdom to ſupply it, which coming many miles, they were divers times hindered by foul weather, floods, or ſome ſudden accident or other, ſo that at a very ſhort warning, he was forced many times to get ſome honeſt neighbour miniſters to ſupply their places, and uſually he, and moſt of the congregation found more edification, and comfort by the labours of thoſe honeſt plain preachers, than they did by the ſermons of ſuch as were far more eminent for parts: 'Whereupon, ſaid he, to me, I reſolved to give over my former courſe, and to content myſelf, with godly neighbouring miniſters, ſeeing God had ſhewed me, that it was not the greatneſs of mens parts, who were much admired every where, but the efficacy of the Spirit, which makes the word effectual and profitable.'

[*Collected out of that learned and elaborate work, written of his life and death, by Mr William Hind: wherein, beſides the hiſtory of Mr Bruen's Life, many theological points are occaſionally diſcuſſed.*]

The Life of JOHN FOX, *who died,* Anno Chriſti, 1587.

JOHN FOX was born at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, *anno Chriſti* 1517. his father died when he was young, and his mother married again; yet his father in law and mother ſeeing his towardlineſs and aptneſs to learning, brought him up at ſchool, and afterwards ſent him to Braſen-Noſe college in Oxford, where he was chamber fellow with doctor Nowell, and being of a ſharp wit, and very induſtrious withal, he profited ſo much, that in a ſhort time he gat the admiration of all, and the love of many, whereupon he was choſen fellow of Magdalen college.

He much affected poetry, and wrote ſome Latin comedies of the hiſtories of the Bible in a copious and graceful ſtile in his youth: but afterwards betook himſelf more ſeriouſly to the ſtudy of divinity, and diſcovered himſelf to favour the reformation then in hand, when king Henry the VIII. aboliſhed the pope's ſupremacy. The firſt thing that cauſed him to queſtion the popiſh religion, was the contradictions in it, divers things, in their own natures moſt repugnant, being thruſt upon men at one time, both of them to be believed: hereupon he ſet himſelf to ſtudy the ancient and modern hiſtory of the church, which he performed with ſuch diligence, that before he was thirty years old, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin fathers had written of it: as alſo the ſchoolmens diſputations, the councils acts, and the conſiſtories decrees, and acquired no mean ſkill in the Hebrew tongue: beſides his day's ſtudy, he beſtowed all, or a great part of the night in theſe labours, and many times in the dead of the night he choſe a ſolitary grove near the college to walk in for his meditations; and in them he ſuffered many combats and wreſtlings, yea many heavy ſighs, with tears, and prayers he poured out to almighty God in them: but hereupon grew ſuſpicion of him that he began to diſlike the popiſh religion, and ſnares were laid for him; and at laſt being examined, he was by the college convicted, condemned for an heretic, and expelled the houſe. His father-in-law alſo took this occaſion to manifeſt his diſlikes againſt him, that he might the better cheat him of his eſtate which of right belonged to him from his own father. Being thus left deſtitute of all human help and comfort, God took care for him, he being ſent for into Warwickſhire by ſir Thomas Lucie to live in his houſe, and teach his children: where alſo he married a wife, and continued till the fear of the popiſh inquiſitors drove him thence. His caſe was now more hard again, having a wife to provide for, and whither to go he knew not: at laſt he reſolved to go to her father, who was a citizen of Coventrie, and in the mean time by letters to try whether his father-in-law, that married his mother, would receive him, or not: whoſe anſwer was, 'That if he would alter his opinion (being condemned for a capital offence) he ſhould be welcome, otherwiſe it would be dangerous for him to entertain him long:' but his mother under-hand wrote to him to come; and ſo it pleaſed God that he found better entertainment and ſecurity in both places than he expected; for being ſometimes with his wife's father, and ſometimes with his father in law, he deceiv'd their diligence

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who enquired after him, and neither of his fathers grew weary of his company.

Afterwards he went to London towards the end of king Henry the VIII's reign; but having quickly spent there what his friends had bestowed on him, and what he had acquired by his own diligence, he began to be in want again. But behold God's providence. As he one day sat in Paul's church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and his eyes hallow, after the gastful manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came one to him whom he had never seen before, and thrust an untold sum of money into his hand bidding him be of good chear, and to accept that small gift in good part from his country man which common courtesy had enforced him to offer; and that he should go and make much of himself; for that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Mr Fox could never learn who this was, but three days after the dutchess of Richmond sent for him to live in her house, and to be tutor to the earl of Surrey's children, now under her care; and the two young lords profited so much under him, that afterwards the elder (Thomas) seemed to deserve more than the kingdom could give him; and the younger (Henry) was able to measure his fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own satiety: and the young lady Jane profited so much in Greek and Latin, that she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that age. In that family he continued the remainder of king Henry's reign, and all king Edward's, till the beginning of queen Mary's: when a storm of persecution arising, Mr Fox was sheltered from it by the duke his scholar. But when he saw all sorts of men troubled for religion's sake, so that there was nothing but flight, slaughter, and gibbets, and the Gardiner bishop of Winchester was his enemy, he began to think of some speedy way for his departure thence; which so soon as the duke knew, he disuaded him from it, affirming that it was neither agreeable to honour, nor modesty for him to suffer his tutor, so well deserving at his hands, to be taken from him. He told him that in flying, no kind of misery would be wanting; banishment, poverty, contempt, &c. and that though these were less evils then death, yet was it not come to such extremity, neither would he suffer that it should, saying, 'That he had yet wealth, and favour, and friends, and the fortune of his house; and if the mischance prevailed further, that himself would partake of the danger, and make the destruction common: that he remembred with what instructions he had fortified his younger years, neither had he with more attention hearkened thereto, than he would with constancy put them in practice:' Yet when the duke afterward perceived that he could no longer shelter him from the malice of Winchester, he provided all things necessary for his departure, sending to Ipswich to hire a bark, and whilst all things were making ready, he sent him to a farm house of one of his servants, with his wife, the companion of his travels, then great with child, who yet would not be perswaded to stay behind him.

He had in this bark scarce weighed anchor, when suddenly a rough wind troubled the sea with so great violence, that the stoutest mariners began to tremble; then followed a dark night, with such hail and rain, that hindred the seamens work, and took away all possibility of steering any longer by the compass: yet the next day towards evening with much difficulty they arrived again in the same haven from whence they set forth. In the mean time a pursivant with a warrant from the bishop of Winchester, had searched the farm, and pursued him to Ipswitch, but finding the bark already gone, was returned towards London. This Mr Fox being informed of as soon as he came to shoar, he presently took horse as if he would have left the town, but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship with the first wind to set sail again, and the pilot loosed in the night's silence, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea was rough, and the winds blustring, and two days after (through the mercy of God) landed him safely at Newport haven, and after some few days refreshing himself at Newport, and those that were with him, they went to Antwerp, and from thence to Basil, which was a common refuge to many English in those times, most of which maintained themselves by over seeing the press, and correcting faults therein. To these Mr Fox joined himself, and having in his youth been accustomed to hardship, he was able to suffer want, sit up late, and to fare hardly: and during his abode there, notwithstanding he was so full of employment, yet he began his history of the acts and monuments of the church, which afterward he compleated in his own country: first he wrote it in Latin, and sent it to Basil to be printed, where it was much esteemed; and afterwards wrote it in English, to gratify the unlearned. Not long after queen Mary died, about which time Mr Fox preaching to comfort the English exiles, did with confidence tell them, that now was the time come for their return into England; and that he brought that news by command from God; for which words the graver divines did sharply reprove him for the present; but afterwards excused him by the event, when it appeared that queen Mary died but the day before he so spake to them.

Mr Fox, understanding happy news in England, that queen Elizabeth reigned, religion was altered, and so like to continue in the end of that year he returned into England with his wife, and two children which were born there; and instead of seeking preferment by his great friends, and own deserts, he lived retiredly in his study, prosecuting his work begun at Basil of writing the acts and monuments. The papists foreseeing how much this work would tend to their disparagement, and disadvantage, charged the author with falshood, and feigned some crimes against him, to lessen his credit and authority: which he, by heaping together testimonies for the confirmation of what he had writ, endeavoured to take away. This elaborate work, with infinite pains, he finished in eleven years, never using the help of any other man, but wrote and searched all the records himself.

But, by these excessive pains, leaving no time free from study nor affording to himself, seasonably, what nature required, he was brought to that pass, that his natural vigour being spent, neither his friends nor kindred could by sight remember or know him. Yea, it caused in him withered leanness of body, yet would he by no means be perswaded to lessen his accustomed labours.

From this time he was much spoken of for a good historian; but shortly after his other excellent endowments began to appear. He was very charitable, and had an excellent ability in comforting afflicted consciences, so that they resorted to him noblemen, strangers, citizens, and others also, seeking salves to their wounded consciences. He preached often abroad, and went to visit such as could not come to him; and what spare time he had he bestowed in prayer and study; and for his vehement prayers mingled with groans he made use of the night's silence, for the greater secrecy.

There was in him a deliberate and resolved contempt of all earthly things, especially of pleasures; and for this end he declined the friendship of illustrious and noble persons. The money which rich men some times offered him, he accepted, but returned it back to the poor. Many things did he foretel, by occasion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying those that were stubborn. The lady Ann Henage, lying sick of a violent fever, and the physicians deeming it mortal, Mr Fox was sent for to be present at her ending; and after, by prayer and instruction, he had prepared her for death, he told her, that she had done well in fitting herself for death, but that yet she should not die of that sickness.

A knight, her son in law, being by, told him in private, that he had not done well to disquiet her mind with hopes of life, when the physicians had given her up for dead; to whom he answered, 'That he said no more than was commanded him, for it seemed good to God that she should recover:' which also came to pass.

Also, Mrs Honiwood, who had lain sick of a consumption almost twenty years, through melancholy, to whom many excellent physicians, and grave divines, had refused to cure her body, and comfort her mind, but all in vain. At last Mr Fox being sent for, when he came into her chamber, found a most sad house all about her, sitting like statues of mourning in human likeness. But after he had prayed with her, and therein endeavoured both to comfort

comfort her, and theſe about her, that ſhe ſhould not only recover of her diſeaſe, but alſo live to an exceeding great age: at which words, earneſtly beholding him, ſhe ſaid, 'You might as well have ſaid, that if I ſhould throw this glaſs againſt the wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces.' And having a glaſs in her hand, ſhe threw it forth, the glaſs falling firſt on a cheſt, and then on the ground, yet neither brake nor crack'd; and the event fell out accordingly: for the gentlewoman being then fifty years of age, lived in much felicity till ſhe was above ninety years old, and could reckon above 360 of her children, and childrens children.

Alſo, one day going to ſee the earl of Arundel, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, at his houſe in the Strand, when he was going away from him, the earl walked with him to the end of his garden, where he was to take boat; but the river being very boiſterous, the earl counſelled him not to truſt himſelf in ſo great a tempeſt; to whom Mr Fox anſwered, 'So (my Lord) let theſe waters deal with me, as I have in truth and ſincerity delivered unto you all that I have ſpoken:' and there withal entering into the boat, before they could put off from the bridge, the wind ceaſed, and the river ran with a ſmooth ſtream.

He had many great friends to whom he was very dear, and of whoſe bounty he taſted liberally, whereby he was enabled to be ſo bountiful to the poor. He had much familiarity with many learned and godly men.

At length, having in ſuch actions and ſuch behaviours ſpent his time, being now full of years, he foreſaw his own end, and would not ſuffer his ſons to be preſent at his death, though he entirely loved them; but ſending them from home, 'ere their return, he quietly reſigned up his ſpirit to God, *anno* 1587, and of his age 70

He never denied to give to any one that aſked for Jeſus ſake; and one aſking him, whether he knew a certain poor man whom he uſed to relieve? 'Yea (ſaid he) I remember him well; and I tell you, I forget lords and ladies to remember ſuch.

As he was going along London ſtreets a woman of his acquaintance met him, and as they diſcourſed together, ſhe pulled out a bible, telling him ſhe was going to hear a ſermon; whereupon he ſaid to her, 'If you will be adviſed by me go home again.' But (ſaid ſhe) when ſhall I then go to church? to whom he anſwered, 'When you tell no body of it.

One of his ſons had a great mind to travel beyond ſea, which his father could by no means diſwade him from. After ſome years travel he returned back in outlandiſh habit; and coming to his father, the old man aſked him who he was? to whom he anſwered, 'Sir, I am your ſon Samuel.' Whereupon he replied, 'Oh! my ſon; who hath taught thee to make thyſelf ſo ridiculous, by coming home in ſo ſtrange and uncouth an habit?

The Life of Mrs KATHARINE BRETTERG, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1601.

KATHARINE BRETTERG was born in Cheſhire, the daughter of Mr John Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford: her education, before her marriage, was ſuch as became the profeſſion of the goſpel, in godlineſs and purity of life and religion: She was ſtudious of the holy ſcriptures from a child, and by reading thereof gained ſuch knowlege, that ſhe was able to make good uſe of them as occaſion was offered. She uſed the things of this world moderately and ſoberly, not affecting the vain pleaſures and faſhions that others too much delight in. She uſed not to gad abroad with wandering Dinah; but rather, with Hannah, ſhe delighted to tread upon the duſt of the ſanctuary, and to walk in the way of Zion, &c.

The Sabbath day was always dear and welcome to her; and, though many times ſhe went far for it, yet ſhe would not be without the miniſtry of the word: and her heart was ſo tender and full of compaſſion, that oftentimes ſhe was perceived to hear ſermons, read, pray, and meditate, with tears.

She made conſcience of all, even of the leaſt ſin, and ſuch as many accounted no ſins. She never uſed to ſwear an oath, great or ſmall; neither at any time brake forth into unſeemly ſpeeches, lying in jeſt, immodeſt words, &c. She uſed not the name, or titles of God, at any time, without great reverence: her private diſcourſes were always well ſeaſoned, and proceeded from ſuch a ſanctified heart, that they miniſtered grace to the hearers. Her daily exerciſe was to converſe with God in reading, praying, ſinging, and meditating: all her delight was in the ſaints, and in thoſe that were moſt excellent. The Lord's precepts were precious to her, for from her childhood ſhe feared God, and walked before him with an upright heart.

She was not like many women, that are unable to render a reaſon of the faith and hope that is in them, but grew in grace, and in the knowlege of our Lord Jeſus.

When ſhe was about twenty years old, by her parents conſent, ſhe was married to Mr William Bretterg, of Bretterg-hold in Lancaſhire, near Liverpool, who was a young gentleman that embraced religion ſincerely, and ſuffered much for it at the hands of papiſts. This gracious couple lived two years together in ſuch mutual joy and comfort as well beſeemed the children of God, in which time ſhe had one daughter by him.

Their habitation was in the midſt of ignorant and bruiſh papiſts, who were always doing ſome wrong or injury to them; yet her knowlege, patience, mildneſs, and conſtancy for the truth, much edified and built up her huſband in his moſt holy faith, and incouraged him with more patience to bear all the wrongs and indignities that were daily offered to him. He had his horſes and cattle divers times killed in the night, in his grounds, by ſuch malicious papiſts as hated him for his religion's ſake, which exceedingly conduced to his loſs and hinderance, being moſt of the ſtock that he had: yet did ſhe not only bear this great affliction with admirable patience, but even rejoiced and praiſed God, ſubmitting to his holy and wiſe providence. She would often ſay, It is good that ſuch things ſhould be, but wo be to them that do them. It is good in God thereby to chaſten his children, and prevent ſome ſin that he ſaw us like to fall into. It's good, in reſpect of God's church, that the weak may be confirmed in the truth; and that popery may be diſgraced, when the world ſhall ſee ſuch wickedneſs flow from it. It's good in God, that ſo the wicked may be without excuſe in the day of judgment, when their conſcience tells them, that though God ſuffers them to do ſuch villainy, for ſome juſt cauſe known to himſelf, yet they commit it only of malice and revenge. And in the midſt of ſuch vexatious practices, ſhe would often ſay, The mercies of God are infinite, who doth not only by his word, but by his juſtice alſo, make us fit for the kingdom. Little do our enemies know what good by theſe things they do unto us, and what ruin they bring to their own kingdom, whilſt they thus ſet forth the wickedneſs thereof.

She uſed often to pray, that God would forgive them who had thus wronged them, and ſend them repentance for it. She uſed to call upon her huſband to do the like, and to bleſs them that curſed him: and, leſt her huſband ſhould fail in this duty, ſhe daily prayed to God to ſanctify her huſband's thoughts, and direct his heart aright, only to ſeek God's glory, without ſeeking revenge, or ſatisfying his own affections. So careful ſhe was to prevent ſin, both in herſelf and others; her meekneſs, humility, and unſpotted carriage was ſuch, that ſhe forced ſome that were adverſaries to her religion yet to ſpeak well of her. She had a good report of all that knew her, for her holy and ſincere life.

She was very pitiful and bountiful to the poor, neglected no opportunity of doing good where ſhe could She conſtantly kept her times of praying, reading, and meditating. She would by no means be abſent from family duties. She uſed private duties, not only in her cloſet, but abroad in her garden, orchard, &c. She taſked herſelf to the reading of eight chapters a day at leaſt, out of the ſacred ſcriptures; and ſuch time as ſhe ſaw idly or evilly ſpent, ſhe uſed to call, the time of temptation. She ſpent much time alſo in reading good books, judicious expoſitors, and the book of martyrs; and was many times ſo affected in reading of the torments which Chriſtians were put to, &c. that ſhe would weep very bitterly for the ſame. She was ſo zealous for God's glory, and loved the truth ſo

entirely, that she would often argue against popery, but never open her mouth to plead for Baal. Sin was so hateful to her, that she would grieve for it both in herself and others

Once as she was riding to church with her husband, he was angry with his man, whereupon she said to him, Alas! husband, I fear your heart is not right towards God, that can be thus angry for a trifle. And weeping, she said further, You must pray against your passions, and always be sure your anger be for God; else how dare you appear this day before his minister, and offer up your prayers in the public congregation before God?

And another time, a tenant of her husband's being behind with his rent, she desired him to bear with him a quarter of a year longer; and then when he brought it, with tears she said to her husband, I fear you do not well to take it of him, though it be your right, for I doubt he is not well able to pay it, and then you oppress the poor. She was so blameless in her whole course, that the common enemies of religion, the papists, had nothing to say against her; and amongst all the godly that knew her, she was highly prized for her modest, holy, and humble carriage.

Thus she continued with her husband about two years, and then it pleased God that she fell sick of a fever, which was so violent, that it made her sometimes to talk idly; and by Satan's subtility, that watches his opportunity, she began to fall into an heavy conflict of spirit: first she began to find some little infirmity and weakness of faith, more than ordinary; but, through God's mercy, she soon overcame it. But shortly after Satan assaulted her in a more violent manner, but after a day or two God delivered her, sending her peace and comfort of conscience, which encreased more and more in her to her death.

In the beginning of her conflict the severity of God's justice, and the greatness of her sins came into her mind, which much afflicted her, whereof she often complained: then she accused herself of pride, that she had delighted in herself and her beauty too much. Then she thought that she had no faith, but was an hypocrite, and one that had not embraced religion so sincerely, nor glorified God so carefully, especially with her tongue, nor loved him so fervently as she should have done.

Sometimes she would cast her Bible from her, and say, it was indeed the book of life, but she had read the same unprofitably, and therefore feared it was become to her the book of death.

Sometimes she complained that her sins made her a prey to Satan, a spectacle to the world, a disgrace to religion, and a shame to her husband, kindred, and all true Christians; and then she would weep bitterly.

Sometimes she was troubled for the original corruption of her nature, the sins of her parents; yea, and of our first parents, as if it had made her unworthy of God, &c.

Sometimes she accused herself of impatience; bewailed her want of feeling God's spirit; doubted of her election, &c. She wished that she had never been born or that she had been made any other creature, rather than a woman. Oft times she cried out, 'Wo, wo, wo, a weak, a woful, a wretched, a forsaken woman,' &c. with tears continually trickling from her eyes.

She complained of grievous thirst, such as all the water in the sea could not quench, and yet refused, or drank very little. Sweat burst out upon her exceedingly; at other times her body burned extremely.

Sometimes she was very dull in prayer, and once, as she should have said, 'Lead us not into temptation,' she stopped, saying, 'I may not pray, I may not pray, being thus interrupted by Satan.' Yet her friends left her not, till she could both pray, and make confession of her faith, with special application to herself.

These fits, though grievous to herself, and discomfortable to her friends, yet they were neither long, nor continual; but in the midst of them she would give good evidences of her faith, striving and fighting against her temptations; and by prayer, begging strength of God against them.

Oft she would, with a cheerful countenance, intreat her friends not to faint, nor to give her over, but constantly to pray, and to help her against the tempter. One of them once demanding, whether she believed the promises? and whether she could pray? she answered, 'O that I could, I would willingly, but he will not let me: Lord, I believe, help my unbelief.' And when he told her that her desires and endeavours were accepted for performance in Christ; she was much comforted at it.

Once, after a great conflict with Satan, she said, 'Satan, reason not with me, I am but a weak woman; if thou hast any thing to say, say it to my Christ; he is my Advocate, my Strength, and my Redeemer, and he shall plead for me.

Sometimes being afflicted with the sight of her sins, and want of comfort, with many a pitiful sob, and much weeping, she would say, 'Pray to the Lord Jesus Christ to help and comfort me, a poor, woful, distressed woman.' A godly Christian friend took much pains with her, minding her of God's mercies, Christ's merits, the many gracious promises contained in the word, &c. which, through God's blessing greatly refreshed her, and gave her occasion many times to call upon God, for increase of grace, and deliverance from those grievous temptations; wherein the Lord shortly after answered her desires, so that she began to find herself in a very good measure delivered from her former fears and afflictions.

But the day before her death she was wholly relieved, and filled with abundance of inward consolations; and from the beginning that her comforts appeared, she would very cheerfully join with the company in prayer and singing of psalms.

One day her brother, holy Mr John Bruen, coming to visit her, he said, 'Sister, be not dismaid at your trouble, remember what the apostle saith, "that judgment must begin at the house of God:" to whom she answered, 'True it is; and if it begin at us, and the righteous shall scarcely be saved, where will the sinners and ungodly appear?'

During this time she often prayed, and would rehearse many comfortable texts of scripture, especially the eighth to the Romans, closing up all with prayer, and most comfortable application thereof to herself, with much joy. When food was brought her, she would pray God, not only to sanctify those creatures for her bodily sustenance, but also to fill her soul with the waters of life, often repeating, 'To him that thirsteth will I give of the water of life freely.'

Once she took her Bible in her hand, and joyfully kissing of it, she said, 'O Lord, it is good for me to be afflicted, that I may learn thy statutes. The law of thy mouth is better to me than thousands of gold and silver. At another time, calling her husband to her, she said, 'O husband, beware of popery, keep yourself holy before the Lord; yield not to the abominations of the wicked, lest they rejoice, and so you dishonour God, and destroy your own soul. Let my little child be brought up in the true fear of God, &c. so shall I meet her in heaven, when I must now leave behind me on earth.'

She often repeated, 'We have not received the spirit of bondage to fear again, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father,' which last words she often doubled over. She often also repeated,

I will give thanks unto the Lord,
And praises to him sing,
Because he hath heard my request,
And granted my wishing.

The day before her death, the Lord discovered himself more plentifully to her; from which time, to her death, she was freed from Satan's temptations. She hid all worldly thoughts of the world, husband, child, or any thing else. She lay with a cheerful countenance, as one ravished in her spirit: her tongue overflowed with the praises of God.

Her husband reading some portions of scripture to her, when he came to that, John xvii. 4. 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do, and now glorify me,' she desired him to pause, and then said, Blessed be thy name, O blessed Saviour: perfect the work, I humbly beseech thee, that thou hast begun in me. When he read ver. 9. 'I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine,' she said, O Lord Jesus, dost thou pray for me! O blessed and sweet Savi-

ever, how wonderful! how wonderful! how wonderful are thy mercies! Read on; the bleſſedeſt reading that ever I heard, the comfort whereof doth ſweeten my ſoul. When he read ver. 22. 'The glory that thou gaveſt me, I have given them, that they may be one, as we are one,' with marvellous joy ſhe ſaid, I confeſs before the Lord his loving kindneſs, and his wonderful works before the ſons of men, for he hath ſatisfied my ſoul, and filled my hungry ſoul with goodneſs. When he read ver. 24. 'Father, I will that they which thou haſt given me be with me, even where I am, that they may behold my glory,' &c. Stay, ſaid ſhe, let me meditate on the goodneſs of the Lord, for this is the ſweeteſt ſaying that ever came to my ſoul: for now I perceive and feel, that the countenance of Chriſt my Redeemer is turned towards me, and the bright ſhining beams of his mercy are ſpread over me. O happy am I that ever I was born to ſee this bleſſed day. Praiſe, praiſe, O praiſe the Lord for his mercies, &c. O my ſweet Saviour, ſhall I be one with thee, as thou art one with the Father? Wilt thou glorify me with that glory which thou hadſt with the Father before the world was? And doſt thou ſo love me, duſt and aſhes, to make me partaker of glory with Chriſt? What am I, poor wretch, that thou art ſo mindful of me? O! how wonderful! how wonderful! how wonderful is thy love! O! thy love is unſpeakable! O! I feel thy mercies! And O that my tongue and heart were able to ſound forth thy praiſes as I ought, and willingly would! O! help me to praiſe the God of all conſolations!

And thus ſhe continued for five hours ſpace, praiſing the Lord with a cheerful and heavenly countenance, teſtifying ſuch inward joy, from a comfortable feeling of God's mercies in her ſoul, uſing ſuch ſweet ſentences and ſugared phraſes of divine eloquence, as was moſt admirable; ſome part whereof was thus; 'O my Lord God, bleſſed be thy name for evermore; thou haſt ſhewed me the path of life. Thou diddeſt, O Lord, for a little ſeaſon, hide thy face from me; but with everlaſting mercy thou haſt had compaſſion on me, &c. Thou art come with fulneſs of joy, and abundance of conſolations, &c. Help me, O help me to praiſe the Lord.

Then ſhe ſang, with as ſweet a voice as ever ſhe did in her life, the third pſalm, concluding thus;

The Lord, the God of Iſrael,
Be bleſt for evermore:
Let all the people ſay, Amen:
Praiſe ye the Lord therefore.

Then ſhe ſaid, 'O praiſe the Lord, for he hath filled me with joy and gladneſs of heart. My line is fallen unto me in a pleaſant place: I have a goodly heritage, for the Lord is the portion of mine inheritance. O how pleaſant is the ſweet perfume of the place where I lie? It is ſweeter than Aaron's compoſed perfume of principal ſpices. How comfortable is the ſweetneſs I feel? It is like that odour that proceeds from the golden cenſer, that delights my ſoul: the taſte is precious, do you not feel it? Sweeter it is than myrrh, the honey, or the honey comb.' Then ſhe ſang pſalm xix. ver. 7. &c. then ſhe prayed to, and praiſed God again: then ſhe ſang pſalm cxxxvi.

A Chriſtian friend ſeeing her exceeding joys, prayed for the continuance of them to the end; whereupon ſhe ſaid, O the joys! the joys! the joys that I feel in my ſoul! O! they be wonderful! they be wonderful! they be wonderful!

After a while ſhe fell into a ſhort ſlumber, and then awaking, ſhe ſaid, 'O come kiſs me with the kiſſes of thy mouth, for thy love is better than wine. O how ſweet the kiſſes of my Saviour be? Mine eyes are opened (bleſſed be God) I do feel and ſee the everlaſting mercies of my Chriſt, &c. O how merciful and marvellous, gracious art thou unto me? I feel thy mercy, I am aſſured of thy love, and ſo certain am I thereof, as thou art the God of truth. Even ſo ſure do I know myſelf to be thine, O Lord my God, and this my ſoul knoweth right well; and this my ſoul knoweth right well. Then ſhe ſang the fourth pſalm; and afterwards ſaid, 'I am ſure that my Redeemer liveth, and that I ſhall ſee him at the laſt day,' &c.

Then a godly miniſter coming to her, ſhe ſaid to him, 'My ſoul hath been compaſſed about with terrors of death, &c. A roaring wilderneſs of wo was within me; but bleſſed, bleſſed, bleſſed be the Lord my God, who hath not left me comfortleſs; but, like a good ſhepherd, hath brought me to a place of reſt, even to the ſweet running waters of life, &c. O bleſſed, bleſſed be the Lord, that hath thus comforted me, and hath brought me to a place ſweeter than the garden of Eden. O the joy! the joy! the delightſome joy that I feel! O! how wonderful! how wonderful! how wonderful is this joy! O praiſe the Lord for his mercy, and for this joy that my ſoul feeleth full well.

And thus ſhe continued, divers praying with her at ſundry times; and immediately before one began his prayer, ſhe ſaid to herſelf, 'Hear, O Lord, and have mercy upon me: Lord, be thou my helper; thou haſt looſed my ſack, and girded me with gladneſs; therefore will I praiſe thee, O Lord my God; I will give thanks to thee for evermore.

On the Sabbath evening, her ſtrength and ſpeech beginning to fail her, ſhe ſaid, 'My warfare is accompliſhed, and mine iniquities are pardoned. Lord, whom have I in heaven but thee? and I have none on earth but thee. My fleſh faileth, and my heart alſo, but God is the ſtrength of my heart, and my portion for ever. He that preſerveth Jacob, and defendeth his Iſrael, he is my God, and will guide me unto death,' &c. And with that ſhe preſently fell aſleep in the Lord, paſſing away in peace, without any motion of body at all, May ult. *anno* 1601, and of her age 22.

The Life of William Perkins, *who died* anno Chriſti 1602.

William Perkins was born at Marſton in Warwickſhire, *anno* 1558, and brought up at ſchool; from which he went to Chriſt's college in Cambridge, where he profited ſo much in his ſtudies, that having got the grounds of all the liberal arts, he was choſen fellow of that college in the 24th year of Queen Elizabeth.

He was very wild in his youth; but the Lord in mercy was pleaſed to reclaim him, that he might be an eminent inſtrument of good in his church.

When he firſt entered into the miniſtry, being moved with pity towards their ſouls, he prevailed with the jaylor to bring the priſoners (fettered as they were) to the ſhire-houſe, hard by the priſon, where he preached every Lord's day to them; and it pleaſed God ſo to proſper and ſucceed his labours amongſt them, that he was the happy inſtrument of converting many of them unto God; freeing them thereby from the captivity of ſin, which was their worſt bondage.

This his practice being once known, many reſorted to that place, out of the neighbour pariſhes, to hear him; ſo that from thence he was choſen to St Andrew's pariſh in Cambridge, where he preached all his life after. His ſermons were not ſo plain, but the pioully learned did admire them; nor ſo learned, but the plain did underſtand them

He brought the ſchools into the pulpit, and unſhelling their controverſies out of their hard ſchool terms, made thereof plain and wholeſome meat for his people. He was an excellent chirurgeon at the jointing of a broken ſoul, and at ſtating of a doubtful conſcience, ſo that the afflicted in ſpirit came far and near to him, and received much ſatisfaction and comfort by him.

In his ſermons he uſed to pronounce the word damn with ſuch an emphaſis, as left a doleful echo in his auditors ears a good while after. And when he was catechiſt in Chriſt's college, in expounding the commandments, he applied them ſo home to the conſcience, as was able to make his hearers hearts fall down, and their hairs almoſt to ſtand upright. But in his old age he was more mild, often profeſſing, that to preach mercy was the proper office of the miniſters of the goſpel.

In his life he was ſo pious and ſo ſpotleſs, that malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which ſhe knew that her teeth could not enter. He had a rare felicity in reading of books, and as it were but turning them over, would

give

give an exact account of all that was considerable therein. he perused books so speedily that one would think he read nothing, and yet so accurately, that one would think he read all. He was of a chearful nature and pleasant disposition; somewhat reserved to strangers, but when once acquainted, very familiar

Besides his frequent preaching, he wrote many excellent books, both treatises and commentaries, which for their worth were many of them translated into Latin, and sent beyond sea, where to this day they are highly prized, and much set by, yea some of them are translated into French, High Dutch and Low Dutch; and his reformed catholic was translated into Spanish also, yet no Spaniard ever since durst ever take up the gauntlet of defiance cast down by this champion; he died in the forty fourth year of his age of a violent fit of the stone, *anno Christi* 1602, being born the first, and dying the last year of queen Elizabeth.

He was of a ruddy complexion, fat, and corpulent; lame of his right hand, yet this Ehud with a left handed pen did stab the Romish cause; as one saith,

Dextere quantumvis fuerat tibi manca, docendi
Pollebas mira dexteritate tamen.

Though nature thee of thy right hand bereft,
Right well thou writest with thy hand that's left.

He was buried with great solemnity at the sole charges of Christ's college, the university and town striving which should express more sorrow at his funeral; Dr Montague preached his funeral sermon upon that text, 'Moses my servant is dead.'

Mr Perkins his manner was to go with the prisoners to the place of execution when they were condemned, and what success his labours were crowned with, may appear by this example.

A young lusty fellow going up the ladder discovered an extraordinary lumpishness and dejection of spirit, and when he turned himself at the upper round to speak to the people, he looked with a rueful and heavy countenance, as if he had been half dead already; whereupon Mr Perkins laboured to chear up his spirits, and finding him still in an agony and distress of mind, he said unto him, 'What man? what is the matter with thee? art thou afraid of death? Ah no (said the prisoner, shaking his head) but of a worser thing; fayest thou so? (said Mr Perkins) come down again man, and thou shalt see what God's grace will do to strengthen thee; whereupon the prisoner coming down, Mr Perkins took him by the hand, and made him kneel down with himself at the ladder foot hand in hand, when that blessed man of God made such an effectual prayer in confession of sins, and aggravating thereof in all circumstances with the horrible and eternal punishment due to the same by God's justice, as made the poor prisoner burst out into abundance of tears; and Mr Perkins finding that he had brought him low enough, even to hell-gates, he proceeded to the second part of his prayer, and therein to shew him the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of all penitent and believing sinners, stretching forth his blessed hand of mercy and power to save him in that distressed estate, and to deliver him from all the powers of darkness; which he did so sweetly press with such heavenly art and powerful words of grace upon the soul of the poor prisoner, as chearred him up again to look beyond death with the eyes of faith, to see how the black lines of all his sins were crossed, and cancelled with the red lines of his crucified Saviour's precious blood; so graciously applying it to his wounded conscience, as made him break out into new showers of tears for joy of the inward consolation which he found, and gave such expression of it to the beholders, as made them lift up their hands and praise God to see such a blessed change in him; who (the prayer being ended) rose from his knees chearfully, and went up the ladder again so comforted, and took his death with such patience and alacrity, as if he actually saw himself delivered from the hell which he feared before, and heaven opened for the receiving of his soul, to the great rejoicing of the beholders.

His works are printed in three volumes.

Mr Perkin's, when he lay in his last and killing torments of the stone, hearing his friend pray for a mitigation of his pains said, 'Pray not for an ease of my torments, but for an increase of my patience.'

The Life of THEODORE BEZA, *who died*, anno Christi 1605.

THEODORE BEZA was born at Veselia, *anno Christi* 1519. His father was Peter Beza, praefect of that town, his mother was Mary Burdolet, both of them noble born. As soon as he was weaned; he was sent for by his uncle Nicholas Beza to Paris, who was a counsellor in the parliament, and by him was tenderly and carefully educated, and at five years old he placed him with Wolmarus, a famous schoolmaster at Orleance, with whom he lived seven years, and in that time learned Latine, Greek, and all the liberal arts, so that there was no worthy author either in Greek or Latin, which he had turned over: yea Wolmarus had also read law to him. But that which was principal, he instructed him in the true religion, drawn out of the fountain of Gods word.

Afterwards, when Wolmarus was returned into his native country of Germany, by the advice of his friends, Beza was placed in Orleance to the study the civil law, but disliking their barbarous language, he left those, and betook himself to more polite studies. He also affected poetry very much, and made all his poems before he was twenty years old; and imitating Catullus and Ovid therein, he writ more wantonly than afterwards he approved of; and indeed endeavoured to have suppressed his poems, but the Papists hating him for his religion, often printed them, seeking thereby his disgrace all that possibly they could.

Anno Christi 1539 he went to Paris, where he was entertain'd by his kindred and friends with all the expressions of love and respect that might be, but above all he was most welcome to another of his uncles (for the former was now dead) who was Abbot of Frigidmont, and who designed him for his successor, the profits of which place were worth above five thousand crowns *per annum*. besides two benefices belonging to the same, worth seven hundred crowns more. Beza by this uncles means, abounding with ease, money, and all things, but good counsel, began to find himself compassed about with infinite snares of Satan: for though he hated those vices which discovered open impiety, and were disgraceful; yet he squandered away precious hours in pastimes, and began to be puffed up with that applause which he got by his forementioned poems, and by his hopes of the great preferments which his uncle reserved for him.

Yet it pleased God that those seeds of piety that were sown in him in his childhood, began to appear afresh, in that discerning his danger, and the snares of Satan, he made a vow to renounce the errors of popery, and lest he should be overcome by fleshly lusts, he privately married a wife, having only two of his fast friends present at his marriage; yet at the same time he faithfully promised that within a certain space of time, breaking through all impediments, he would have her to the true church of God, and there publicly confirm the marriage, and that in the mean time he would take none of the popish orders: both which he religiously performed afterwards.

And yet the would heaping more honours and profit upon him by the death of his elder brother, and the abbot his uncle giving him all his goods, he was long in resolving what to do, and slower in performing his vow than he should have been: but whilst he thus delayed, the Lord struck him with a sore disease that he almost despaired of life; and it continuing long upon him, he was at last humbled by it, and abhorred himself for his delays, and with many tears begged pardon of God for the same, saying, Lord bring my soul out of prison that I may praise thy name; and the Lord heard and restored him.

And as soon as ever he had recovered his health, according to his former engagements, he took his wife, and leaving friends, honours, riches, and country, he went to Geneva *anno Christi* 1548, where according to his former vow, he publicly solemnized his marriage. About the same

ſame time alſo there came to Geneva one John Criſpin, an antient and intimate friend of Beza's, and ſo both of them conſulted together what courſe of life to betake themſelves to, purpoſing to ſet upon the art of printing, which their excellent learning and induſtry did much fit them for. But God had appointed Beza to another imployment; for before they could bring their purpoſe to maturity, Beza would needs take a journey to Tubing, where his old maſter Wolmarus lived, being now a counſellor to the prince of Wirtemberg; and as ſoon as he was returned to Geneva, dreaming of no ſuch matter, he was called to be the Greek profeſſor in the univerſity of Lauſanna, and by the ſenate of Bern, admitting that election, was brought into that ſociety.

Beza therefore looking upon it as a call from God, embraced it, and went to Lauſanna. In which place he found many excellent men, as Peter Viret the paſtor, John Ribbit the divinity profeſſor, John Raimund Merlin the Hebrew profeſſor, &c. by all whom he was kindly entertained, and ſo dearly beloved, that each ſeemed to live in the other.

At his firſt coming to that univerſity, that he might the better arm himſelf againſt thoſe manifold perturbations which all men, eſpecially the godly are moleſted withall, he often, and ſeriouſly meditated upon the hiſtory of Abraham. And as often as he had any leiſure, he went to Geneva to converſe with Calvin, by whom he was much quickned to improve his parts for God's glory and the churches good. And upon this he undertook that truly golden work, begun by Marot, but finiſhed by him, of turning the Pſalms into French metre, which he finiſhed *anno Chriſti* 1561, and which were often printed in ſundry parts of France.

About this time many godly men and women flocked out of France to Lauſanna, which occaſion Beza taking as ſent from God, expounded to them the epiſtle to the Romans, and afterwards the two epiſtles to Peter, which were the foundation of that excellent work which afterwards he compleated, of turning the New Teſtament into Latine, with annotations upon the ſame.

About that time the plague waxing hot in Lauſanna, Beza fell ſick of it, but Chriſt (who intended him as an inſtrument of his glory in his churches good) reſtored him to health again. Shortly after which he wrote a book *de hæreticis a magiſtratu puniendis*, occaſioned by the aſperſions raiſed by Lælius Socinus againſt Calvin, and the magiſtrates of Geneva for burning Servetus for his hereſy and blaſphemy.

He alſo wrote an explication of chriſtianity out of the doctrine of eternal predeſtination. He alſo anſwered Joachim Weſtphalus about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; and afterwards publiſhed two learned dialogues upon the ſame argument. He anſwered Sebaſtian Caſtalio, who fought to overthrow eternal election.

Anno Chriſti 1557, When the Sorboniſts in Paris had raiſed that perſecution againſt the church of Chriſt, wherein four hundred of them being met together in the night to hear the word, and receive the Lord's ſupper, ſeven of them were afterwards burnt in the fire and the reſt caſt into chains and priſons. The beſt means thought on to procure their releaſe was, by obtaining the proteſtant German princes to become interceſſors for them to Henry II. of France And thereupon Beza with ſome others went to the German princes to engage them herein, which alſo he obtained from them, though it proved to little purpoſe, in regard of the implacable malice of the French courtiers againſt the ſervants of Chriſt. In that journey he grew acquainted with Melancton, and they took much delight in the ſociety of each other.

Having ſpent ten years at Lauſanna, as the Greek profeſſor, with the good leave of the ſenate of Bern, he went to Geneva *anno Chriſti* 1559, and lived with Calvin, from whoſe ſide he ſeldom parted, and was his great aſſiſtant both in matters of doctrine and diſcipline; and that in the mean time he might not be wanting to the ſchools, he publickly interpreted Demoſthenes's orations, a part of Ariſtotle to the young ſtudents.

And not long after upon the death of Claudius Pontanus, he was choſen paſtor into his room. He was alſo choſen the firſt rector of the ſchool in Geneva, at which time he made an excellent and eloquent oration in commendation of learning, in the preſence of many grave and learned men, both to encourage youths to the love of it, and the ſenators of Geneva to make a further progreſs in the advancement of it. For whereas the city of Geneva did at this time conflict with innumerable difficulties both at home and abroad, which did almoſt ſwallow it up, yet by the perſuaſion of that great Calvin, it took ſo much courage, that in that very juncture of time, the ſenate founded, and endowed that public ſchool which was a great ornament to the city, and out of which iſſued abundance of godly and learned men, to the great benefit of the churches of God.

Shorly after, at the requeſt of certain noblemen of France, Beza was invited to viſit Anthony king of Navar, who at this time was at Nerac in Aquitane, to confer with him about ſome weighty matters, but eſpecially, if it were poſſible, through God's mercy, to confirm his mind in the true religion; for it was hoped that if that king, who was the principal man of the royal blood, and like to govern the affairs of ſtate in the minority of king Francis II. could be confirmed in the truth, it would much conduce to the peace of the churches, and to the preſervation of the lives of many who were cruelly burned by the papiſts in ſundry parts of the kingdom. Neither did this deſign want effect; for *anno Chriſti* 1561, the king of France dying at Orleans, the king of Navar joining with the prince of Conde, the admiral Coligni, d' Andelot, and other noblemen, cauſed the popiſh party to give over the butcheries and executions which they had formerly done upon of Chriſt's faithful ſervants.

Charles IX. coming to the crown, there were various actings about religion, whilſt the pontificans would advance their own, and root out the reformed; and on the contrary they of the reformed religion contended with all their might to promote their own; and therefore leſt theſe ſeveral parties ſhould cauſe commotions, there were edicts publiſhed in the king's name, requiring all upon ſevere penalties to abſtain from arms, and to keep the peace, till certain ſelect perſons of each party at a certain time, and place nominated, ſhould meet together to conſider of the fitteſt way and means to preſerve the public peace; many not only of the common people, but of the nobility inclining to the reformed religion.

Hereupon the king of Navar ſent letters and meſſengers to the ſenate of Geneva, requeſting that Beza might be ſent to that great meeting where ſuch weighty matters ſhould be tranſacted. The prince of Conde alſo requeſted the ſame. Beza upon this, ſet forward, and came to Paris, Auguſt the twentieth. And the queen mother wrote alſo to the ſame purpoſe to the ſenate of Zurick to ſend Peter Martyr to her, which accordingly they did, and Martyr came to Paris.

The chief of the pontificans alſo repaired to this meeting, though they had declared that ſuch as had been long ago condemned for hereſy, ought not to be conferred withal. There came alſo many miniſters of the reformed churches in France, as Nih. Gallaſius, Auguſt. Marlorat, Jo. Raimund Merlin, Francis Sampaulius, Francis Morellus, Jo. Malotius, Jo. Spinæus, Claudius Boſſierus, Nich. Folius, Mat. Virellus, John Tornæus, and N. Barbaſtus; for they had the public faith given them for their ſafe coming, ſtay, and return at their pleaſures.

Auguſt 23d, they met together at St. Germans, where the proteſtants debating who ſhould ſpeak for them, they unanimouſly choſe Beza, as a man every way fitted for that employment; and in the evening he was had into the king of Navar's chamber, where were preſent the queen mother, the prince of Conde, the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorrain, with many of the nobility.

Beza briefly declared the cauſe of his coming (though it was not unknown unto them) and the queen cheerfully anſwered, that ſhe much deſired that the public peace might be principally promoted; and the cardinal of Lorrain exhorted him to ſtudy the ways of peace and concord; for, ſaith he, in your abſence you have been the author of many ſtirs, and tumults, therefore it beſeems you by your preſence to endeavour to compoſe them, which is that which we all deſire.

To this Beza replied, that he was too mean and obſcure a perſon to raiſe commotions in ſo large and potent a king-

dom; that he was always an enemy to tumults, and that his ſtudies and endeavours ſhould always be bent to promote the glory of God, and the happineſs of his king and country.

Then did the queen aſk him if he had ever publiſhed any thing in French? Nothing, ſaid he, beſides the Pſalms, and a ſhort writing oppoſed to the confeſſion of the duke of Somerſet. Upon this occaſion Lorrain ſaid, that he had read in a book publiſhed in Beza's name. That Chriſt was in the ſame manner to be ſought in his ſupper, as he was before he was born of the bleſſed Virgin: and that Chriſt was in his ſupper as he is in the dung. To this Beza anſwered, That this latter ſpeech was blaſphemy, and that he thought that no Chriſtian had ever ſpoken or written any ſuch thing. As for the former ſpeech, ſaith he, if it be taken in a good ſenſe, it is true; for the church hath always been congregated by one Mediator, Chriſt, God-man, therefore the communion of the faithful with Chriſt, is not to be confined to the time of his incarnation for the force and efficacy thereof was always preſent to the eye of faith: for Abraham ſaw his day, and rejoiced: the fathers did eat of the ſame ſpiritual meat, and drank of the ſame ſpiritual rock, viz. Chriſt; and that he was the Lamb ſlain from the foundation of the world. To which the cardinal aſſented.

Then was there another queſtion ſtarted about the ſenſe of thoſe words, 'This is my body.' Whereupon Beza anſwered learnedly and briefly, laying down the reformed opinion, and againſt tranſubſtantiation. Whereunto the cardinal anſwered, that for his part he would not contend about tranſubſtantiation, being of Beza's mind; and withal told the queen that Beza had given him great ſatisfaction in that point, and that he hoped their conference would come to a good iſſue if things were handled peaceably, and with right reaſon.

When the company was departed, the cardinal ſpake very lovingly to Beza, ſaying 'Now that I have heard you ſpeak, I rejoice, and invite you to the conference by the immortal God, hoping that weighing the reaſons on both ſides, ſome way may be found out for the ſettling of a firm peace.' Beza returned him hearty thanks, entreating him to perſevere in the ſtudy and endeavour of procuring public concord; profeſſing for his own part, that according to the abilities God had given him, he would promote it.

September 4th, they met together in the large hall of the monaſtery at Poſſy, where were preſent, the king, the queen mother, the duke of Orleans the king's brother, Margaret the king's ſiſter, the king and queen of Navar, the prince of Conde, and the reſt of the nobility, and ſtates of France. On the popiſh party were the cardinals, archbiſhops, and biſhops to the number of fifty, accompanied with many doctors of Sorbon, and canoniſts. For the reformed churches were the miniſters before named.

After the king had in a few words opened the cauſes why he had called them together, and Michael Hoſpitalius, the great chancellor of France, had opened them more largely, Beza in the name of all the proteſtants made an excellent oration, which he pronounced with ſuch a grace, as drew the attention, and cauſed admiration in all that were preſent. In it he compriſed the ſum of the pure religion, which was profeſſed in the reformed churches of France; only this is to be noted by the way, that when Beza in his ſpeech ſaid, That Chriſt was as far from the ſacrament as the higheſt heavens are from the earth; the popiſh doctors made a great murmur, which at laſt being over, he went on to the end of his ſpeech. Then Turnovius, dean of the college, being in a great paſſion againſt the miniſters, whom he called new profeſſors, made ſome objections, and exhorted the king that he would not ſuffer himſelf by any perſuaſions to be withdrawn from his old religion, and that he would ſuſpend his aſſent till he had heard anſwers which the prelates would give to that which had been ſpoken; for then he ſhould be able to diſcern a difference between the truth and lies. Then did Beza humbly preſent a Confeſſion of Faith in the name and with the conſent of all the reformed churches, which had been drawn up in the year 1555.

But when the miniſters perceived that the minds of the pontificans were exaſperated, they reſolved that Beza ſhould write his private letters to the queen, wherein he ſhould explain things more fully than he was ſuffered to do the day before, which accordingly he did.

September 16th, the conference began again in the preſence of the ſaid great perſonages. And the cardinal of Lorrain made a tedious ſpeech, wherein he defended the popiſh religion, perſuading that nothing ſhould be altered in the ſame. And when he had done, Beza humbly intreated the king, that he might have liberty to anſwer *ex tempore*: for the proteſtants feared that after this day they ſhould be ſuffered to meet no more: for there was a conſtant report that the pontificans after that day would have no more to do with the proteſtants, but would preſently excommunicate them; Beſides, there was ſome fear that the crafty prelates would evade any further diſputation by ſetting the French and Dutch churches together by the ears about the matter of the ſacrament: but he could obtain nothing that day, the conference being adjourned to another, and procraſtinated by many delicacies.

Yet at laſt, upon an humble ſupplication to the king from the proteſtants, they obtained that the conference ſhould go on. And accordingly, September 24th, it was again begun in the ſame audience, and Lorrain profeſſed that this meeting was appointed, that ſo the proteſtants, if they had a mind to it, might freely anſwer to what had formerly been ſpoken by him. Then did Beza diſcourſe excellently and clearly about the church and the ſupper of the Lord, which two heads were principally inſiſted upon by Lorrain. Then Eſpenæus, a Sorboniſt, being appointed by the cardinal, took up Beza, beginning about the vocation of miniſters both ordinary and extraordinary, and ſo proceeding to traditions, and the Lord's ſupper. Beza was about to anſwer him, but another Sorboniſt (Sanctæſius) riſing up, and repeating ſowerly what Eſpenæus had ſaid, interrupted him. He inſiſted principally upon traditions, which he affirmed to be certainer than the holy ſcriptures, quoting ſomething out of Tertullian; but Beza ſhewed that this froward ſpeech of the Sorboniſt made little towards ſettling the peace of the church, and therefore entreated the queen that ſuch unreaſonable clamours might hereafter be reſtrained. After which he anſwered Eſpenæus about the calling of miniſters, and traditions; whereupon Sanctæſius beginning again his clamours, would have thruſt in divers other queſtions; but Lorrain fearing that the queen would be offended at it, put an end to that queſtion and propounded a new one about the ſupper of the Lord, which unleſs it were determined, he proteſted for himſelf, and his aſſociates, that he would not change another word with the miniſters; and thereupon he aſked them if they were all ready to ſubſcribe the Auguſtane Confeſſion? Beza replied And are you all ready to join with us therein? But the cardinal inſtead of an anſwer, produced a writing of the opinions of ſome German divines, which he ſaid was lately ſent to him, importunately urging the miniſters that they alſo would ſet down their opinions.

This was craftily done of him, that if the miniſters ſhould refuſe to do it, he might ſet them and the Germans at variance; and if they ſhould do it, he might inſult over them as a conqueror. Beza therefore to ſhun this rock ſaid, that he and his colleagues were come thither to defend the confeſſion of faith publiſhed by their churches, and that they had nothing elſe in command; and that the diſputation was to be continued about the points contained therein, as the likelieſt way to come to an happy iſſue: and that the beſt method was to begin with ſuch things as were moſt eaſy; and that ſince the ſacraments depended upon the doctrine, that it was fitteſt to begin with the doctrine.

But when the cardinal would by no means alter his former reſolution, the miniſters ſuſpecting that if they wholly reſiſted him, he would thence take occaſion to diſſolve the conference, and to tranſfer the fault upon them, they deſired that the writing might be produced, and that they might have time to conſider of it, which being granted, the meeting was diſſolved for that day.

September 26th, the conference began again, and Beza again diſcourſed of the calling of the paſtors of the church, and then of the Lord's ſupper; but Lorrain being nettled about ſome expreſſions which Beza uſed about the vicious calling

calling of their eccleſiaſtics, cried out, 'That the majeſty of the king was violated.' Then Beza replied, That he had ſaid nothing that might be juſtly blamed, for that kings had therefore drawn the choice of eccleſiaſtics into their own power, becauſe it had been ſo long abuſed. Lorrain, paſſing by that ſubject, aſked why they refuſed to ſubſcribe the Auguſtane Confeſſion? To which it was anſwered, that if the pontificans would alſo admit it, there were hopes that ere long they might agree: 'But, ſaith Beza, if you refuſe to aſſent to this confeſſion, it is unequal that we ſhould be preſſed every way to approve of it.' Then the ſpeech of the Lord's ſupper being again renewed, Eſpenſæus quoted a ſpeech of Calvin, 'That we receive the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body: to which was anſwered, That by ſubſtance we are not to underſtand the fleſhly eating of Chriſt, but it ſignifies the ſpiritual, and true feeding upon him, as oppoſed to the imaginary and phantaſtical; upon which occaſion Peter Martyr, becauſe he could not ſpeak French, produced many things in Italian. Though Lorrain often interrupted him, ſaying that he would not diſpute with men of a ſtrange language. Yet had Peter Martyr for this ſpeech the teſtimony of Eſpenſæus, That of all the divines of that age, none had handled that queſtion about the Lord's ſupper ſo fully and clearly as he.

Whilſt the miniſters were preparing to anſwer Eſpenſæus, a certain Spaniard that was general of the Jeſuits, ſtanding up, for an hour together declaimed in Italian, calling the miniſters diſſemblers, apes, foxes, &c. ſaying that they were not to be heard there, but to be commanded to the council of Trent; and ſo proceeding to the queſtion about the Lord's ſupper; he ſaid that Chriſt was preſent as a prince, who having gotten a victory, will have the memory of it to be continued by ſome anniverſary plays, which himſelf would be over; and ſo by an unuſual impudence he laboured to ſtir up the queen againſt the miniſters, till he provoked ſome to laughter, others to indignation.

But Beza told him to keep his reproaches to himſelf. Told him that the queen had no need of the counſel of a friar, who would wiſely govern affairs according to the cuſtom of the kingdom; and that he ſpoke of the Lord's ſupper as if it were a ſtage-play, wherein Chriſt ſhould act the firſt part; and ſo leaving him, he turned to Eſpenſæus ſaying, as it is ſaid, This is my body, ſo it is ſaid, This is the cup of the New Teſtament, which cannot be underſtood without a figure: For ſacraments ſhould not be ſacraments, if they ſhould not reſemble thoſe things whereof they are ſacraments, and ſigns, as St Auguſtine teacheth.

But, ſaid Eſpenſæus, if our ſacraments ſhould be ſigns, they would not much differ from the Jewiſh ſacraments, and they would be ſigns of ſigns, which is abſurd. But Beza ſhewed that there was no abſurdity when the apoſtle compared circumciſion with baptiſm, &c.

Then ſaid a Sorboniſt; In this propoſition, This is my body, what doth This ſignify? Beza anſwered, It ſignifies both the bread and Chriſt's body. The Sorboniſt replied, That it was againſt the rules of Grammar, that *hoc*, *this*, ſhould be applied to the bread; but that it was *individuum vagum*. Beza took away this anſwer, and told him that his *individuum vagum* was unknown to all learned antiquity. Then one of the Sorbon doctors holding up his finger to Beza, in a threatening manner ſaid, 'Oh, if we could once catch thee within the walls of Sorbon, thou ſhouldſt not get out again.' Thus the day being ſpent, the conference was diſſolved. And ſeeing nothing could be effected this way, ſome thought of another, which was, that John Monluc, biſhop of Valentia, and Eſpenſæus, who were counted middle and moderate men, ſhould tranſact theſe buſineſſes privately with Beza, and Galaſius; which being aſſented to, they met September 17th, at St Germain's in a private houſe, being commanded by the queen, that if it were poſſible they ſhould agree upon ſome form about the Lord's ſupper; which might give content to both parts, which after much debate they did, and the form was this.

Confitemur Jeſum Chriſtum in cœna nobis offerre, dare, & vere exhibere ſubſtantiam ſui corporis, & ſanguinis operante ſpiritu ſancto: noſque recipere, & edere ſpiritualiter, & per fidem. verum illud corpus quod pro nobis mortuum eſt, ut ſimus oſſa de oſſibus ejus, & caro de carne ejus: ut eo vivificemur, & ea quæ ad ſalutem noſtram neceſſaria ſunt, percipiamus. Et quoniam fides innixa verbo Dei, res perceptas facit præſentes: per illam, verum & naturale corpus, & ſanguinem Jeſu Chriſti per virtutem ſpiritus ſancti comedi, & bibi fatemur, eoque reſpectu præſentiam corporis, & ſanguinis Chriſti. In S Cœna agnoſcimus.

Both parties had agreed that not a word of this writing ſhould be divulged till it was communicated to the great perſonages at Poſſie: but contrary thereto, divers copies were immediately diſperſed through the court, and were received with much applauſe, as if now both parties were agreed in the chiefeſt point of the controverſy. And the queen ſending for Beza, thanked him, and told him that what they had agreed on was very grateful to her. She alſo with joy ſhewed it to the cardinal of Lorrain, who when he had read it, ſaid, that he never believed otherwiſe; and that he hoped all the reſt of the great ones at Poſſie would readily embrace the ſame.

But it fell out far otherwiſe; for when on the fourth of October it was exhibited to them, they rejected, and damned it, reproaching Eſpenſæus for conſenting to it, and Lorrain for not oppoſing it. And thereupon preſently drew up another form, which if Beza and his aſſociates ſhould defer to ſubſcrib, they declared that it was a great wickedneſs to treat with them any further, and that as incorrigible, they were to be excommunicated, and puniſhed by the king.

This was the iſſue of that great conference at Poſſie, ſo famous all over Europe, which yet anſwered not mens expectations; and ſo every one returned to his own place: only the queen ſtayed Beza, ſaying, ſince you are a Frenchman, France deſires your help to ſtop future troubles as much as may be. But Beza though he foreſaw the ſeeds of thoſe factions which ſhortly after brake out, and his ſingular love to Geneva continually put him upon a deſire of return, where alſo he was earneſtly deſired, and much longed for, yet was he neceſſitated to ſtay there whether he would or no.

From that day forward there was a wonderful increaſe of the goſpellers in France, and ſermons began to be preached publicly every where, yea in ſome places they took away the churches from the papiſts, till by the king's command, and their miniſters entreaty, they reſtored them again.

Beza in the mean time preached often, ſometimes in the queen of Navar's houſe, ſometimes in the prince of Conde's, and other ſometimes in the ſuburbs of Paris. And in January following there was an edict procured, that the proteſtants might freely meet together for the ſervice of God in the ſuburbs of all cities. This provoked the Guiſian faction, who by all means ſought the hinderance of it; but the firſt thing they attempted, was to draw the king of Navar to their party; which Beza ſuſpecting, and finding him wavering, endeavoured by all means to confirm and keep him in the true religion; to whom the king anſwered, *Quod pelago ſe non ita commiſſurus eſſet, quin quando liberet, pedem referre poſſit*, That he would not launch ſo far into the ſea, but that when he pleaſed he might return ſafe to the ſhore again. And accordingly he fell off from the proteſtants, and Beza went to him no more.

Another diſputation was appointed by the queen mother about images, the reſult of which was, that the popiſh doctors condemned the making of the images of the trinity, or of the Father, or Holy Ghoſt; and agreed that all images ſhould be removed out of the churches but that of the croſs; and that no images ſhould be worſhipped. But preſently after the civil war began to break forth, which was occaſioned by this means.

Whereas many proteſtants were met together at Vaſſi to hear the word preached, the duke of Guiſe with a party of ſoldiers, ſet upon them, ſlew forty five of them, and wounded many more. Hereof Beza made complaint, but without any redreſs; whereupon both parties betook themſelves to arms, and the prince of Conde by his importunity prevailed with Beza to ſtay with him in thoſe dangerous times. Beza's earneſt longings to be with his people at Geneva, diſſuaded him; but the importunate deſires of ſo godly a prince prevailed, ſo that he ſtayed with him all

thoſe

thoſe firſt civil wars; at which time Orleance was the chiefeſt place of the proteſtants refuge; and for the better regulating of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline in thoſe troubleſome times, a ſynod was called in that city, at which Beza was preſent. Shortly after the peſtilence waxed hot in Orleance whereof many died, and amongſt the reſt Conrade Badius, a paſtor in Orleance, who from his very childhood had been moſt dear to Beza; yet did not Beza intermit his public preaching, nor private viſiting of the ſick.

A few months after fell out that memorable battle in Druiden fields where Beza was preſent, and by his prayers and exhortations did much encourage the ſoldiers, yet they loſt the day, and the prince of Conde was taken priſoner, whom Beza by his letters much comforted, and exhorted the reſt not to give way to deſpondency, but to perſevere in the defence of the cauſe, and to commit the ſucceſs of it unto God.

Not long after peace enſuing, Beza got leave to go back to Geneva from which he had been abſent 22 months, in which time he had gone through many troubles, and dangers both of body and mind.

At his return to Geneva he fell upon his former employment in the ſchools and church: Calvin undergoing the burden one week, and he the other, and they continued in thoſe mutual labours, till Calvin's death, and then he had Nicolas Collodonius for his colleague, and after him Lambertus Danæus, and after him Anthony Faius.

Preſently after his return in the firſt ſermon that he preached to the people he filled the minds of the hearers with incredible ſorrow and grief, by relating to them the miſerable condition of the churches of France, whereof himſelf had been an eye-witneſs, and which therefore he painted out to the life, which he did for this end, to ſtir up all to commiſerate, and heartily to pray for their brethren that ſuffered ſuch great afflictions.

Shortly after he wrote an anſwer to Sebaſtian Caſtallio, who had inveighed againſt his tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Latin. He alſo publiſhed an anſwer to the railings of Francis Balduinus, who followed the ſteps of Ecbolius, both of them teaching 'that men might change their religion as the ſtate changed.' Then did he confute the errors of Brentius, and James Andreas, who held the omnipreſence of the body of Chriſt: after this he publiſhed an excellent catechiſm.

Anno Chriſti 1567, the civil wars breaking out again in France, he was much affected with it, and by writing, admoniſhing, and exhorting both at home and abroad, endeavoured to aſſiſt with his counſel whom he could not by his preſence. Alſo *anno Chriſti* 1568, that war waxing hot, many out of ſundry parts of France fled to Geneva as to a ſafe harbour, amongſt whom was Nicolas Beza, præfect of Vezelia, brother to Beza by the father's ſide, who living a while in Beza's houſe, ſhortly after died of the plague. And not long after Beza's wife fell ſick of it, yet it pleaſed God to reſtore her to health again. The ſame year, in the midſt of many troubles, he wrote his books of Polygamie, and Divorces, againſt Bernard Ochin, who a little before had publiſhed his dialogues upon theſe ſubjects, ſtuffed with errors. He wrote alſo againſt Flacius Illiricus.

Anno Chriſti 1571, peace being ſetled, he was ſent for by the queen of Navar, the admiral, and the general vote of the churches of France to Rochell to a ſynod, where he was made the moderator, and at which, the confeſſion of faith of the French churches was confirmed, and ſubſcribed by the queen of Navar, her ſon (afterwards king Henry the IV.) and the prince of Conde. And the year after he was ſent for to Nemures to another ſynod, where the book of the French church diſcipline was eſtabliſhed.

Anno Chriſti 1572, after that bloody maſſacre at Paris, many of the godly that eſcaped fled to Geneva, amongſt whom were the paſtors of fifty churches that were wholly diſperſed. Theſe being ſtript of all, and in great want, Beza, by his letters into Germany and England, procured ſuch relief for them, that for three years ſpace in which they lived there, they were plentifully and comfortably provided for. In that maſſacre God was pleaſed wonderfully to preſerve Hen. of Burbon, ſon to the great Lodwick prince of Conde, who thereupon retired into Germany to ſhelter, and ſtaying a while at Stratborough, he ſent for Beza, and employed him to prince Caſſimire, the adminiſtrator of the Palatinate. And afterwards as this prince returned into France, he went by Geneva, where he conferred with Beza about many weighty matters.

Beza went on indefatigably in his public employment, reviſed his tranſlation and annotations upon the New Teſtament, and enlarged them; wrote againſt Pappus about the hypoſtatical union; againſt the railings of Holderus; againſt the calumnies of Andreas: made his harmony of the law out of the Books of Moſes. He wrote alſo of the notes, and authority of the catholic church, &c.

Shortly after the plague breaking forth in Geneva, Beza was much afflicted for the ſad condition of the commonwealth, yet he cheared up himſelf much with the hearty and ſincere love, and ſociety which he had with all the paſtors thereof, whoſe unity and unanimity was a great means under God to preſerve the happineſs of Geneva. About the ſame time five anabaptiſts (mechanics) began privately to ſow the ſeed of their errors in Geneva, whereupon Beza, John Pinaldus, Charles Perrot, and Anthony Faius, were choſen to confer with them and after confutation of their errors, they recanted, and reformed; only one of them left the city, and was heard of no more.

Anno Chriſti 1586 there was a diſputation appointed at Mombelgard between the German and Helvetian divines about the difference betwixt them in ſome points, unto which Beza was ſent for, and the whole diſpute was betwixt Dr Andreas and him; but in concluſion nothing was effected by it; yet they parted lovingly without bitterneſs. This was after publiſhed by Beza.

The year after his wife died, with whom he had lived with much comfort forty years, which was a great grief to him; yet afterwards by the advice of his friends he married another, one Katherine Plania, a godly matron, who was a great comfort to him all his life after. About the ſame time he was called to a ſynod held at Bern, wherein divers controverſies were debated, and the errors of Alberius, who ſaid, that we are juſtified at God's tribunal by inherent righteouſneſs; alſo of Huberus, about predeſtination, and eternal election, were condemned. Shortly after he wrote about the ſacraments againſt Hoſman; publiſhed in French his ſermons about the paſſion of Chriſt; alſo on the Canticles, which he turned into lyric verſe; anſwered Genebrard's calumnies, and reviſed his tranſlation of the New Teſtament.

Anno Chriſti 1589. France being full of broils, Geneva alſo was moleſted by the ſame; whereupon public prayers were appointed twice a week extraordinary, which burden Beza willingly took upon himſelf; whereupon the other paſtors freed him from his daily ſermons which he uſed to preach before; only he preached once on Sabbath mornings betwixt eight and nine o'clock.

Not long after he began to be troubled with a dizziness in his head, inſomuch as being to preach on Whitſunday *anno Chriſti* 1597 before the ſacrament, as ſoon as he had made confeſſion of ſins after their uſual manner, he was fain to give over, and come out of the pulpit, whoſe place Faius preſently ſupplied.

The like happened to him the week following alſo, whereupon he gave over public preaching, only now, and then praying publicly, yet would he not be idle, but went on teaching daily in the ſchools; yet at laſt becauſe of his dulneſs of hearing, he abſtained from the public diſputations, and conſiſtorial meetings.

And to ſatisfy ſome noblemen, Germans, Bohemians, and Polonians, who would needs hear him read ſome lectures; he began a brief analyſis upon the Epiſtle to the Romans, but after he had done it twice, he was fain to leave off. Yet did he not wholly deſiſt from preaching till the year 1600, when he preached his laſt ſermon in January, being eighty one years old, upon the third petition of the Lord's prayer, 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' He had often in his mouth that ſaying of Veſpaſian, *Imperatorem decet ſtantem mori.*

Not long after being preſent at a conſiſtory, he invited all his brethren to ſupper, but they at firſt refuſed, becauſe there was to be a public faſt that week, and the magiſtrate had forbidden all feaſting; but he told them, that he would

would get leave of the magiſtrates, and that he intended not a feaſt, but a frugal ſupper, rather to feaſt their minds with their mutual love and ſociety, than their bodies with dainties: then they all aſſented, and were entertained by him with all the expreſſions of brotherly love that could be.

Many noblemen and others that came from other countries to ſtudy at Geneva, would always deſire to ſojourn with him, that they might enjoy his ſociety.

That year there was a rumor ſpread abroad all over Europe by the Jeſuits, that Beza was dead, and that he turned papiſt before his death; which lie the paſtors of Geneva, and himſelf alſo by public writings confuted: and diſcourſing with his friends of it, he ſaid, 'That the Jeſuits, and he had both one deſire, but not for the ſame end; the Jeſuits (ſaid he) wiſh my end but for an evil end: I wiſh for it alſo, but that by death I may paſs to eternal life, purchaſed for me by the merits of Chriſt.'

Anno 1599 the king of France and the king of Navar lying in ſiege before the caſtle of ſaint Katharine's in Savoy near to Geneva. Beza went to viſit them, and was entertain'd with abundance of courteſy by them, and being aſked by the king of France if he had any requeſt to make to him, he anſwered, That he had nothing, but to command his ſacred majeſty to the bleſſing of the great God, and to pray that his majeſty might govern his people in peace. Only he requeſted, that ſeeing the church at Lions had not yet enjoyed the benefit of his majeſty's edict, that he would be pleaſed to think of them, which the king promiſed, and upon their petition, granted their deſire.

About the time of his return, he began to be much troubled with want of ſleep, but lying awake in the nights, he deceived the time with holy meditations. And ſpeaking to his friends of it, he uſed that ſpeech Pſal. xvi. ver. 7, 8. 'My reins alſo inſtruct me in the night ſeaſon. I have ſet the Lord always before me, in whoſe favour is life. And that of Pſal. lxiii. My ſoul is filled as with marrow and fatneſs, when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches.' Many came out of the king's camp to Geneva to ſee the city which was now ſo famous, but eſpecially to ſee Beza; all whom he courteouſly entertained with holy and ſavoury diſcourſes, and ſo diſmiſſed them well pleaſed.

Anno Chriſti 1602 Maurice the lantgrave of Heſſe came to Geneva to ſee him, but diſguiſed, for which Beza was very ſorry after that he had not known him. Finding himſelf to draw near to his end, he reviſed his will, and ſo caſing his mind of all worldly thoughts, he wholly betook himſelf to expect the time of his departure, which he much longed for.

He often uſed that ſaying of the apoſtle, 'We are his workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus to good works.' And that of St Auguſtine, *Diu vixi, diu peccavi. ſit nomen Domini benedictum*: I have lived long, I have ſinned long, bleſſed be the name of the Lord. And that alſo, *Domine, quod cœpiſti, perfice, ne in portu naufragium accidat*, Lord perfect that which thou haſt begun, that I ſuffer not ſhipwreck in the haven; and that of Bernard, *Domine, ſequemur te, per te, ad te: te, quia veritas: per te, quia via: ad te, quia vita*: Lord, we follow thee, by thee, to thee: thee, becauſe thou art the truth: by thee, becauſe thou art the way: to thee, becauſe thou art the life.

Anno 1605 there came ſome noble, and learned men from Boruſſia to ſee him, with whoſe ſociety he was much pleaſed. But diſeaſes encreaſing upon him, the paſtors of Geneva agreed amongſt themſelves, that every day two of them ſhould viſit him by turns, and ſometimes all of them came together, and prayed moſt fervently with him.

Octob. 13, being the Sabbath-day, he roſe in the morning, and prayed with his family, and then deſiring to go to bed again, he ſat him down on the ſide of his bed, and aſked if all things were quiet in the city: they anſwered him yea; but perceiving that he was near to his end, they ſan for a miniſter, who immediately coming, whilſt he was praying with him, without the leaſt pain or groaning, he quietly yielded up his ſpirit unto God, *anno Chriſti* 1605, and of his age 86, and of his miniſtry 46.

James Lectius made this epigram of him.

Vezelii genuere, piæ tenuere Gebennæ:
Aſtra tenent: vixi non mihi, ſed populis.
Aliud.
Si quæ fides famæ, proles mihi defuit omnis:
At varia, & vera prole beatus ego.
Me Populi, & Myſtæ, & Reges dixere parentem:
Multa virum genui millia, Chriſte, tibi.
Quin Populi, & Myſtæ. Reges naſcentur & ex me
Chriſte tibi, & toto dum legar orbe frequens.

He was a thick ſet man, and of a ſtrong conſtitution, inſomuch that he uſed to ſay, that he never knew what it was to have his head ake: he was of an excellent wit, an accurate judgment, a firm memory, very eloquent, affable, and courteous; ſo that he was called the Phœnix of his time.

In his teſtament he gave thanks.

1. That God at ſixteen years old had called him to the knowlege of the truth, though for a while he walked not anſwerable to it, till the Lord in mercy brought him home, and carried him to Geneva, where under that great Calvin he learned Chriſt more fully.
2. That being infected with the plague at Lauſanna, and aſperſed with grievous calumnies, the Lord had delivered him from them both.
3. That coming back to Geneva, he was there choſen paſtor, when as he deſerved not to have been one of the ſheep.
4. That not long after he was made colleague to that excellent man John Calvin in reading divinity.
5. That being called into France in the firſt civil war, and toſſed there up and down for twenty two months, God had preſerved him from ſix hundred dangers, &c.

A papiſt objecting to him his youthly poems; 'This man (ſaith he) vexeth himſelf becauſe Chriſt hath vouchſafed to me his grace.'

Though there was ſo great worth in this man, and his labours were extraordinary; yet he had but 1500 florins per annum for his ſtipend, which amount but to ſeven or eight and fifty pounds ſterling by the year, beſides 20 coups of corn, and his houſe.

His works were theſe. *N. Teſtamenti nova verſio. cum Annotationibus. Confeſſio Chriſtianæ fidei. De Hæreticis & civili Magiſtratu puniendis. Summa totius Chriſtianiſmi. De Cœna Domini. De Hypoſtatica duarum in Chriſto naturarum unione. De unitate eſſentiæ Divinæ & tribus ſubſiſtentibus perſonis. Tractatio de Polygamia, & Divortio. Epiſtolæ Theologicæ.* With many others ſet down particularly by Verheiden; and mentioned in this narrative of his life.

At the conference in the monaſtery of Poſſie (before mentioned) when a Spaniſh Jeſuit called the proteſtant divines, *Aſinos, Vulpes, Simias*, &c. Beza anſwered, *Nos non magis credimus quam tranſubſtantiationem*: We believe it no more than we do your doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

The Life of Dr COLLET *Dean of Paul's, who died* Anno Chriſti 1519.

JOHN Collet was born of worſhipful parents in London; his father (Henry Collet) having been twice lord mayor of London, by whom he was carefully trained up in learning. In his younger days he travelled into France and Italy, whereby he much improved his learning. At his return into England he went to Oxford, commenced doctor of divinity, and began to read publicly upon Paul's Epiſtles inſtead of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, which before were only in requeſt in that univerſity.

When he came to London he preached often, and had a very great auditory both of courtiers and citizens. His diet was very frugal; his life upright and unblameable: in diſcipline he was very ſevere, in ſo much as being made dean of Paul's, his canons complained that they were held in too much by him. He always preferred the honeſt and honourable eſtate of matrimony before the unchaſte ſingle life of prieſts. At dinner time he uſed to have ſome por-

tion of ſcripture read to him, either out of Paul's Epiſtles or Solomon's Proverbs. He uſed no ſupper at all.

He was no friend to the irreligious orders of monks, and fryars. He was an enemy to the divinity of the ſchool doctors, as of Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas, inſomuch as when Eraſmus highly commended Aquinas for his learning and acuteneſs, Dr Collet anſwered; what tell you me of the learning of that man, who unleſs he had been of an arrogant and preſumptuous ſpirit, durſt never have taken upon him to diſcuſs and define all things ſo boldly and ſo raſhly as he did? And except he had rather been worldly minded than heavenly, he would never ſo have polluted Chriſt's wholeſome doctrine with man's profane doctrine as he hath done.

The biſhop of London at this time was Fitz James, who of a long time bore a great grudge to Dr Collet, and therefore joining with two other biſhops they entred an action of complaint againſt him before Dr Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury. The articles exhibited againſt him were three. Firſt, for preaching againſt the worſhipping of images. Secondly, About hoſpitality, for that the preaching upon thoſe words in the goſpel Feed, feed feed; having expounded the two firſt for feeding by doctrine and example, the third expounded for feeding by hoſpitality: yet not ſo much for feeding the body as the people by good counſel and conference. The third was for ſpeaking againſt ſuch as preached boſom ſermons, declaring nothing to the people but what they bring in their papers with them: this the biſhop of London uſed to do, and therefore took it as ſpoken againſt himſelf, which much irritated him againſt Dr Collet. But the archbiſhop more wiſely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with the worth of Collet, ſo took his part againſt his accuſers, that at that time he freed him out of trouble.

Another deſign of Fitz James was to make him an heretic for tranſlating the Pater noſter into Engliſh, but the archbiſhop help him out of that alſo.

Yet the biſhop's malice was reſtleſs; for when he could not prevail againſt doctor Collet before the archbiſhop, he laid a train to accuſe him to the king, and the occaſion thereof was this: about this time king Henry the VIII. was preparing war againſt France, and the biſhop with his complices took advantages againſt Dr Collet, for that in one of his ſermons he had ſeemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, though never ſo juſt. For this they inveighed againſt him in their ſermons, and traduced him alſo before the king; yet on good Friday after, Dr Collet preached before the king, at which time he treated upon the victory of Chriſt, exhorting all Chriſtians to fight under Chriſt's ſtandard againſt the devil; adding moreover what an hard thing it was ſo to do. He ſhewed alſo that all they who upon private hatred or ambition took weapons againſt their adverſaries, one Chriſtian to deſtroy another, they did not fight under Chriſt's banner but under Satan's. He exhorted therefore all Chriſtians in their wars, rather to make Chriſt their prince and captain in fighting againſt their enemies, than to imitate Julius Cæſar, Alexander, &c.

The king hearing this, and fearing leſt the hearts of his ſoldiers ſhould by theſe words be withdrawn from the wars, took him aſide into his garden after ſermon, and had much private conference with him. Biſhop Fitz James and his aſſociates ſeeing this, were now confident that they ſhould ſee Collet preſently ſent priſoner to the tower, and therefore they waited for his return out of the garden; but contrary to their expectation the king uſed him very courteouſly, bade him put on his cap, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life, and agreed with him in all points that he had taught; only he deſired him, leſt the rude ſoldiers ſhould miſinterpret that which he had ſaid, that in his next ſermon he would explain himſelf more fully to them, which afterwards he did accordingly: and ſo after long communication, and great promiſes of favour, the king gently diſmiſſed him with theſe words, 'Let every man have his doctor as himſelf beſt liketh, this ſhall be my doctor.' His adverſaries ſeeing and hearing this, durſt never after that time moleſt him any further.

He did many excellent works of piety and charity, and amongſt the reſt he erected that famous foundation of Paul's ſchool, London, where one hundred and fifty-three poor men's ſons ſhould be taught freely; and for this end he built a very convenient dwelling houſe for the ſchool-maſter. He aſſigned alſo a large annual ſtipend both for the head maſter and uſher, whom he wiſhed rather to be choſen out of the number of married men, than of ſingle prieſts, with their ſuſpected chaſtity. He left ſundry rents and houſes for the payment of thoſe ſtipends, which he committed to the overſight of the worſhipful company of mercers in London.

He cauſed to be engraven upon the ſchool in Latin, *Schola catechiſationis puerorum in Chriſti opt. max. fide et bonis literis*, anno Chriſti M. D X.

The firſt moderator of this ſchool was Mr William Lilly, a man no leſs eminent for his learning, than Dr Collet was for this foundation: he made the Latin Grammar, which ever ſince, by authority, has been uſed in all ſchools.

Dr Collet was very expert in the ſcriptures, eſpecially in Paul's epiſtles, which he hath illuſtrated by his commentaries. He held juſtification freely by the merits of Chriſt, and not by our own works. He was an enemy to the idle and unchaſte life of the popiſh clergy. He abhorred thoſe that perſecuted the profeſſors of the truth. He died *anno Chriſti* 1519, and was buried in Paul's church, upon whoſe tomb Mr Lilly engraved this motto;

Diſce mori mundo, vivere diſce Deo.

The Life of Dr SANDS, *Archbiſhop of York, who died* anno Chriſti 1588.

EDWIN SANDS was born of an antient and worthy family, about the year 1528; and being trained up in learning, he ſo profited therein, both in the country and univerſity, that he was choſen maſter of Katharine hall in Cambridge; and having commenced Dr. he was made vice chancellor of that univerſity; at which time that bleſſed king Edward VI. dying, and the lady Jane Gray being proclaimed queen as we have heard before, the duke of Northumberland was ſent with an army to apprehend the lady Mary. And when he came to Cambridge, he ſent for Dr Sands, the then vice chancellor, and ſome other doctors, to ſup with him; and at ſupper required Dr Sands to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an occaſion and auditory, yet he refuſed it not, but went home, and ſo to bed. The next morning he roſe at three o'clock, and, having prayed a good while, roſe up, and took his bible in his hand, and cloſing his eyes, earneſtly pray'd to God that it might fall open at a fit text for the preſent occaſion, and accordingly it opened, and the firſt text that he caſt his eye upon was Joſhua I. 16. 17. 18. 'And they anſwered Joſhua ſaying, All that thou commandeſt us we will do, and whitherſoever thou ſendeſt us we will go: according as we hearkened to Moſes in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moſes. Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandment, and will not hearken to thy words in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death; only be ſtrong and of a good courage.'

This text he proſecuted with ſuch prudence and affection, as drew many tears from the eyes of his auditors. After ſermon, the duke and other nobles deſired him to print his ſermon, and he only required a day and an half's time for the writing of it, at the end whereof he delivered it to Mr Leaver, who was preſently to carry it to London to the preſs: but juſt at that inſtant came one of the beadles to him weeping, and bad him ſhift for himſelf; for, ſaid he the duke is retired, and Queen Mary is proclaimed. Dr Sands was nothing troubled herewith, but delivered his ſermon to Mr Leaver, and ſo went to dinner to Mr Moore's, one of the beadles his great friend: at dinner, being of an undaunted courage, and cheerful diſpoſition, he was very merry. Mrs Moore drinking to him, ſaid, 'Mr Vice chancellor, I drink to you; this being the laſt time that ever I ſhall ſee you;' which accordingly proved true.

That night the duke ſent for him, to join with him in proclaiming

proclaiming Queen Mary; and then told him that the queen was merciful, and that he hoped for a general pardon; to which Dr Sands answered, My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that troubleth my conscience; for what I spake of the state, I have instructions signed by sixteen counsellors to warrant me therein; neither can speeches be treason: nor yet have I spoken any thing but what the word of God and the laws of the land will bear me out in; therefore the will of the Lord be done. But be you assured, my lord, that you shall never escape death; for if the queen should spare you, they that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the duke was apprehended, and some were as busy about Dr Sands; but Sir John Gates, that lay in the doctor's house, drave them away. The next day Dr Sands walked into the fields, when the university, in an irregular manner meeting together, ordered Dr Mouse and Dr Hatchet to go to Dr Sands, his house, to fetch away the university statutes, the keys, and such other things as were in his custody, which accordingly they did; and Dr Mouse, who the day before was an earnest protestant, was turned now a zealous papist, and a great enemy to Dr Sands, from whom he had received great courtesies.

That afternoon a congregation was appointed by them, and the bell rang to it; when Dr Sands, coming out of the fields, sent for the beadles, asking what the matter meant, requiring them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty, which they did, and Dr Sands took the chair.

Mr Mitch, and a rabble of unlearned papists, seeing this, withdrew, and conspired among themselves to pull him out of the chair. In the mean time Dr Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university about their dealings, and charging them with great ingratitude towards him, affirming that he had said nothing in his sermon but what he was ready to justify; and that if he were faulty, they were as deeply guilty in concealing, and consenting to that which he had spoken. In the midst of his speech in came Mitch, with his associates, some laid hands on him to pull him out of the chair, telling him it was not his place; others called him traitor, &c. Dr Sands seeing that they used violence, being of a great courage, felt for his dagger, to have dispatched some of them as God's enemies; but Dr Bell and Dr Blyth prayed him for God's sake to hold his hands, and patiently to bear that great wrong; to which he assented: and so the tumult ending, he went on, and finished his oration; and having some money of the university's in his hand, he delivered it up, together with all other things belonging to the university, and then resigned his office, praying to God to substitute a better in his room, and to give them better and more thankful hearts; and so he repaired to his own college.

On the morrow came to him Mr Germingham and Mr Thomas Mildmay; Mr Germingham told him it was the queen's pleasure that by two of the guard he should be conveyed to the tower, together with the duke: Mr Mildmay told him, that he wondered that so learned a man as he, should speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince. Dr Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds; but if I could do as Mr Mildmay can, I need not to fear them; for you came down in arms against the queen, and now you are in arms for her; I cannot thus blow hot and cold with one mouth.

Presently Dr Sands, his stable, was robbed of four excellent geldings, and an inventory was taken of all his goods, and he was set upon a lame jade that halted to the ground; whereupon a friend of his desired that he might lend him a nag to ride upon. As he went out at the end of the town some papists assembled to jeer, and some of his friends to mourn for him.

He was carried through London in scorn, and as he entered in at Bishopsgate a base woman threw a stone at him, and hit him so full on the breast that he was near falling from his horse; to whom he mildly said, 'Woman, I pray God forgive thee.' As he went through Tower-street, a woman in her door said to him, 'Fye on thee, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic:' at this he smiled, whereupon she said, Look, the desperate heretic laughs at it.

Another woman, on the other side of the street, said, Fie, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing thus upon this gentleman, whom thou knowest not, nor yet the cause why he is thus used; and, turning to the doctor, she said, 'Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the death.' And thus he was carried prisoner to the tower, where the yeoman of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and whatsoever else he had: and whereas his man brought some linen after him, that was also taken from him.

The first three weeks he was in a very bad prison, at the end whereof he was removed to another, where was put to him Mr John Bradford.

On the day of the queen's coronation his prison door was left open, and there came to him one Mr Mitchell, a special friend of his, and said, Dr Sands, there is such a stir in the tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked after this day; therefore take my cloak, hat, and rapier, and get you gone, save yourself, and let me do as I may. The Dr refused this offer, saying, I know no just cause of my imprisonment, and if I should do this I should make myself guilty, I will expect God's good will; yet am I much bound to you for your love. Mr Mitchell not prevailing departed.

Dr Sands and Mr Bradford continued in prison twenty-nine weeks, one Bowler, a perverse papist, being their keeper; yet by their affable and loving carriage and converse, he began to mislike popery, and to favour the gospel; yea, he was so far at last wrought upon, that on a Sabbath, when others went to mass, he carried up to them a service book, a manchet, and some wine; at which time Dr Sands administered the sacrament to Mr Bradford and him, and so Bowler became their son begotten in their bonds.

When Wyat was up in arms, that room might be made for him and his in the tower, Dr Cranmer, Dr Ridley, and Mr Bradford, were put into one prison; and Dr Sands, with nine other godly ministers, were removed to the Marshalsey.

As they went, the people every where prayed to God to comfort them, and to strengthen them in his truth: whereupon the keeper of the Marshalsey said to Dr Sands, I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire, but I hope you will not prefer your own knowlege before the judgment of so many learned and worthy prelates; if so, you shall find me as strait a keeper as one that utterly mislikes your religion. Dr Sands answered, 'I know myself young, and my learning small, its enough to know Christ crucified; and he hath learned nothing that sees not the great blasphemy that it is in popery. I have read in scripture of some godly and courteous keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me.' The keeper replied, Do you then mind to stand to your religion? 'Yea, (said the Dr) by God's grace I do.' Truly, said the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but try you before; and what favour I can shew you, you shall be sure of it; and I shall think myself happy if I may die at the stake with you: and ever after he shewed the Dr much favour, suffering him to walk into the fields alone, where sometimes he met with Mr Bradford, who being removed to the king's bench, found the like favour with his keeper. He also lodged him in the best chamber, and would not suffer irons to be put on him, as other prisoners had; and suffered his wife, a beautiful gentlewoman both in body and soul, to resort to him. He lodged also Mr Sanders with him.

To these two holy men there was much resort, and much money was proffered to them, but they would receive none. Three or four times they celebrated the sacrament, and had many communicants; at which times Dr Sands gave such exhortations as drew many tears from his auditors, and wrought in them an utter abhorrency of the mass and all popery.

When Sir Thomas Wyat, with his army, came into Southwark, he sent to Dr Sands in prison, desiring his company and advice, telling him that the prison doors should be set open for him and the other prisoners. Dr Sands bad the messengers tell him, that if his rising were

of

of God he ſhould ſtand, otherwiſe he would fall: and that for his own part he was committed by order; and that he would never depart thence except he were diſcharged by the like order. The like anſwer made Mr Sanders, and the other godly miniſters that were priſoners there.

Dr Sands having thus lain there nine weeks, at laſt, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcraft, then knight marſhal, he was ſet at liberty. The manner of it was thus; Sir Thomas Holcraft made great ſuit to the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the behalf of Dr Sands, yet could get no grant from him except he would turn to their religion; which if he would do, he ſhould have great preferment. Yet at laſt, by importunity, he extorted from him, that if the queen would grant him his liberty he would not oppoſe it. Then did Sir Thomas, by two ladies of honour, prevail with the queen, that he ſhould have his liberty, if Wincheſter liked of it. Sir Thomas having this grant, watched the biſhop's next going to the queen, and then again moved the buſineſs. He at laſt prevailed with them, and got a warrant ſigned by them for his deliverance: yet Wincheſter afterwards commanded him not to releaſe him, till two gentlemen ſhould give a thouſand pound bond for him not to depart the kingdom without licence. Sir Thomas ſeeing this, procured two gentlemen to be willing thus to be bound with him; and then ſending for Dr Sands, he imparted all the buſineſs to him; to whom Dr Sands ſaid, 'I give God thanks who hath moved your hearts to be ſo careful of me; I think myſelf much bound to you for your love, which God will requite, and I will never prove ungrateful: but as I came a free man into priſon, ſo I will not go out a bondman; for as I cannot benefit my friends, ſo neither will I hurt them: and if I be ſet at liberty I will not ſtay ſix days in the realm, if I can get out. Therefore, if I may not go free, ſend me back to priſon, where you ſhall be ſure of me. Sir Thomas Holcraft was much troubled at this anſwer; yet, ſeeing the Dr immoveable in his reſolution, he ſaid to him, Since I cannot change you, I will change my own mind, and am reſolved to ſet you at liberty, come of it whatever will come; therefore get you gone quickly over ſea and never write any thing back hither, for ſo you may undo me. And ſo, friendly kiſſing him, he bade him farewel; and commanded his keeper to take no fees of him.

Dr Sands returned to the Marſhalſey, tarried all night, and on the morrow gave his priſon-fellows a dinner, bad his bed fellow, and ſworn ſtake fellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God [Mr Sanders] farewel, they kiſſing each other with many tears.

Then went he to the king's bench to Mr Bradford and Mr Ferrar, comforting them, and they praiſing God for his happy deliverance; and ſo he went into London to a private friend; and the next night changed his lodging, hearing that ſearch was made after him. For Dr Watſon and Chriſtopherſon went to the biſhop of Winchester, and told him that he had ſet at liberty the greateſt heretic in England and one who had moſt corrupted the univerſity: whereupon the biſhop ſent for all the conſtables in London, commanding them to make diligent ſearch for him, and promiſing five pound to him that could apprehend him.

Dr Sands ſuſpecting the matter, ſhifted from place to place; and appointed his man to provide him two geldings, purpoſing to go into Eſſex to his father-in law Mr Sands, with whom his wife was: but that night having a pair of hoſe too long for him, which were made without meaſure, whilſt he was priſoner in the tower, he then lodging in Cornhill, requeſted the good wife of the houſe to ſend them to the next taylor to be cut ſhorter: and it ſo fell out, by God's providence, that the next taylor was a proteſtant, and the man that made them: he knowing the hoſe, went at midnight to the doctor's lodging, and being admitted into his chamber, wiſhed him not to be troubled at their unſeaſonable coming in: to which he anſwered, 'Nothing can be amiſs; what God will, that ſhall come to paſs' Then the taylor told him of the biſhop's ſending for the conſtables, whereof he was one, and of their hopes to find him; 'for, ſaith he, it is known that you have provided geldings, and that to-morrow you are to go through Algate, where you will certainly be taken; therefore let your man walk, booted and ſpurred, to morrow near where your horſes ſtand; and, in the meantime, they ſhall be conveyed privately to Bednal-green, and, at a fit ſeaſon, I will come and convey you thither alſo: as you go along the ſtreets look wildly; and if you meet your brother in the mouth, know him not &c.

Accordingly Dr Sands, attired like a gentleman, and looking wildly, went with the taylor the next day, who conveyed him through back lanes to Moore gate, and from thence to Bednal-green; where, having his horſes ready, he kiſſed the honeſt taylor, and would have given him the greateſt part of that little which he had, which yet he would not receive; and ſo with tears they parted: yet afterwards Dr Sands requited him thankfully. That night he rode to his father in law; and within two hours after his coming, his father was informed that that night two of the guard would ſeek to apprehend him there; whereupon he was preſently conveyed to an honeſt farmer's houſe, near the ſea ſide, where he was locked up two days and two nights in a chamber all alone, and then removed to one Mower, a maſter of a ſhip's houſe, at Milton ſhore, attending a wind for his departure: and while he was there, Mower brought forty or fifty mariners to him, to whom he gave ſuch an exhortation, that they being taken with it, reſolved all of them to die rather than he ſhould be apprehended.

May 6. the wind ſerved, and he took his leave of his hoſt and hoſteſs, who had been married eight years, and had no child; and when he took his leave of the woman, he thanked her kindly for his entertainment, and gave her his handkerchief, with an oval royal of gold in it, ſaying, 'Ere a year be paſt, be of good comfort, God will give you a ſon:' and accordingly it came to paſs; for when there lacked but one day of a twelvemonth ſhe was brought to bed of a fair ſon.

Dr Sands and Dr Coxe were both in the ſame ſhip, and 'ere it was out of kan, two of the guard were upon the the ſhore to have apprehended Dr Sands; but God gave them a good paſſage; ſo that they arrived ſafely at Anwerp, and were invited to dinner to Mr Lock's houſe; and as they were at dinner, Mr George Gilpin, ſecretary to the Engliſh houſe, came to them, and whiſpering to Dr Sands, ſaid, King Philip hath ſent to make ſearch for you, and to apprehend you: Hereupon he immediately roſe from dinner, and though it rained very faſt, yet he went out at the gate that leads towards Cleveland, where, meeting with a waggon, he haſted away, and came ſafely to Auſburg in Cleveland, where he tarried fourteen days, and then travelled to Straſburgh; and when he had continued there one year his wife came to him. There he fell ſick of a great flux, which held him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child alſo that fell ſick of the plague, and died. His godly and virtuous wife alſo fell ſick of a conſumption, and died in his arms.

Whilſt he remained there he was chiefly maintained by one Mr Iſaac, an Engliſh gentleman of Kent, and one that ſuffered exile for the cauſe of Chriſt: he ſo entirely loved him, that he was always more ready to give, than Dr Sands was ready to receive; ſo that he gave him above a hundred merks, which Dr Sands afterwards thankfully repaid again.

After the death of his wife he travelled to Zurich in Switzerland, and there ſojourned in the houſe of Peter Martyr for five weeks ſpace, at the end whereof, as they ſat at dinner, news was brought them of queen Mary's death, and Dr Sands, by his friends, was ſent for back to Straſburgh. This news occaſioned joy to all but Dr Sands, who was ſtricken to the heart to think that he was called back to new ſorrows.

Mr Bullinger, and the other miniſters, feaſted him before his departure from Zurick; and ſo he returned back to Straſburgh, where he preached; and in the company of Mr Grindal, he came for England, arriving at London upon the coronation day of queen Elizabeth.

By her, for his ſingular piety and learning, he was advanced to the biſhopric of Worceſter, *anno* 1559. and afterwards he was removed to the biſhopric of London, *anno* 1570; and laſtly, he ſucceeded Dr Grindal in the archbiſhopric of York, *anno* 1576. In all which places he governed the church with ſingular prudence and modeſty; and having finiſhed his courſe on earth, he went to receive his crown in heaven, Auguſt 8. *anno* 1588, being above

about the age of ſixty, and lies buried in the collegiate church of Southwell in Nottinghamſhire.

He was a man of whom it is hard to ſay, whether he were more famous for his admirable virtues or great learning, as his ſermons yet extant in print do manifeſt. He left many children, of which three were knights, excellently qualified both in mind and body, eſpecially Sir Edwin Sands, who deſerved ſo well of his country.

The life of Mr RICHARD GREENHAM, *who died about the Year* 1591.

I Can yet learn nothing concerning the country, parentage, or firſt education of Mr Richard Greenham. The firſt place where I find him was in Pembroke hall in Cambridge, where he followed his ſtudies ſo hard, and was ſo eminent for his proficiency in learning, that he was choſen fellow in that ſociety; and after a while he was called to a paſtoral charge at Dry Drayton, not far from Cambridge, and, like a faithful miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, he ſpared no pains amongſt his people, whereby he might advance the good of their ſouls.

His conſtant courſe was to preach twice on the Lord's day, and before the evening ſermon to catechiſe the young people of the pariſh. His manner alſo was to preach on Mondays, Tueſdays, and Wedneſdays, and on Thurſdays to catechize the youth, and again on Fridays to preach to his people; and that on theſe week days the people might have the better opportunity to attend upon his miniſtry, his courſe was to be in the pulpit in the morning ſo ſoon as he could well ſee.

He was ſo earneſt, and took ſuch extraordinary pains in his preaching, that his ſhirt would uſually be as wet with ſweating, as if it had been drenched in water, ſo that he was forced, ſo ſoon as he came out of the pulpit to ſhift himſelf, and this wonderful and exceſſive pains he took all his time. Twice a day he prayed in his family; and after ſermon he uſed to call his ſervants together, and examined them of what they heard, and what they remembered. And beſides all theſe his public labours, he ſtudied very hard, riſing every day, both winter and ſummer, at four o'clock in the morning.

He was very eminent for his charity to the poor, whereof we have this notable example: In a time of ſcarcity, when barley was at ten groats the buſhel, (which in thoſe days was an extraordinary price) he by his prudence brought it to paſs, that the poor had it ſold to them for four groats the buſhel, of every huſband man in the town; and thus he effected it:

There were about twenty plough-holders in the town, all which he, by his holy perſuaſions drew to an agreement amongſt themſelves, to hire a common granary, and therein to lay up corn for the poor, ſome more, ſome leſs, every man according to his ability; ſo that ſome laid up one coom, ſome a quarter, ſome three cooms, and Mr Greenham himſelf hid in five cooms, all which was delivered out to the poor at a groat a-peck. There was one day in the week appointed for all the poor to come and be ſerved, at which time every one received according to their charge: where there were but two in a family, they received one peck a week, and ſo more according to that proportion; only no one family had above three pecks a week.

He kept but two beaſts himſelf, that the poor might have his ſtraw; and when other men ſold their ſtraw for two ſhillings the day's threſh, he ſold his for ten pence: ſo that in that dear time all the poor in the pariſh had been well nigh famiſhed, had it not been for his prudence and liberality; which he alſo continued till the price of corn abated, which was ſuddenly and extraordinarily; for that corn which was ſold for a noble the buſhel, was within one month after ſold for fourteenpence the buſhel.

But during the fore-mentioned dearth, by public order, the buſhels were cut and made leſs; this Mr Greenham preached much againſt, and publicly reproved whereſoever he came, and withall gave his man a charge, that if the clerk of the market ſent for his buſhel to cut it, he ſhould not carry it in, which was done accordingly, for which he came into ſome trouble, but the Lord delivered him out of the ſame. Alſo at this time though his buſhel was bigger then other mens, yet he would often charge his man not to ſtrike off all the corn. He uſed not to trouble himſelf with reckonings and accounts, but would ſometimes aſk his man when he came from the market, how he ſold corn? and if it was dear, he would ſay, I pray God bring down the the price of it; and if it was cheap, he would heartily bleſs God for it. Yea, his charity was not only extended to the poor of his own pariſh, but to others alſo; for if at any time he had ſeen a poor body at a diſtance from him as he rode abroad, he would ſend his man with money to him; and when at any time he rode by the caſtle at Cambridge, the priſoners would never aſk him for any thing, nor any one that was with him, for if he had any money in his purſe, they were ſure to have part of it. By reaſon of his great liberality, though his living was worth a hundred pound *per annum*, yet he uſually wanted money to get in his harveſt, ſo that his wife (formerly Dr Bound's widow) was forced to borrow money to ſupply that want; yet was he ſo well content with his preſent condition, that though he had proffers of livings worth three of that which he had, yet would he by no means be perſwaded to accept of them.

He was a great friend to, and promoter of peace and concord amongſt his neighbours and acquaintance, inſomuch that if any had come to him who were at variance, he would either have made them friends himſelf, or if he could not prevail, he would have made uſe of other friends to reconcile them together, thereby to prevent their going to law.

When Martin Mar Prelate came firſt out, Mr Greenham being to preach at St Maries in cambridge, ſpake freely againſt that book, manifeſting his diſlike of the ſame: for (ſaid he) the tendency of this book is to make ſin ridiculous, whereas it ought to be made odious.

On a time the biſhop of Ely ſent for him, to appear about his nonconformity: at which time the biſhop told him that there was a great ſchiſm in the church, aſking him where the blame was to be laid, whether upon the conformiſts, or non-conformiſts? To which he readily anſwered, that it might lie on either ſide; or, on neither ſide: for (ſaid he) if they loved one another as they ought, and would do all good offices each for other, thereby maintaining love and concord, it lay on neither ſide: otherwiſe, which party ſoever makes the rent, the ſchiſm lies upon their ſcore. The biſhop was ſo pleaſed with this anſwer, that he diſmiſſed him in peace.

He was much troubled with a bad concoction, whereby he had frequent ſick nights, which kept him much waking, but then his manner was (as much as poſſibly he could) to ſpend the time in meditation and prayer.

We have before heard of his great charity to mens bodies: his charity to ſouls was not leſs examplary. For having great experience, and an excellent faculty to relieve and comfort diſtreſſed conſciences, he was ſought to, far and near, by ſuch as groaned under ſpiritual afflictions and temptations: all whom he entertained friendly and familiarly, without reſpecting the perſon of the rich more than of the poor.

Yea the fame of this ſpiritual phyſician ſo ſpread abroad, that he was ſent for to very many, and the Lord was pleaſed ſo far to bleſs his labours, that by his knowlege and experience many were reſtored to joy and comfort, out of unſpeakable and inſupportable terrors and torments of conſcience. If the Lord had not ſo ſoon tranſlated him out of this ſinful and miſerable world, there was none more fit, nor willing to have preſcribed rules, and a method to be obſerved in this ſo little a known art. Of his good will herein, let his own words teſtify the forward deſirer of his heart: for upon a ſpecial occaſion he thus ſpeaketh of himſelf; I have had (ſaith he) for a long time a ſettled reſolution, (which I hope is from God) to ſtudy the caſes of conſcience, that thereby I may be the better able to ſuccour the tempted and perplexed in ſpirit.

He was filled with bowels of compaſſion towards the afflicted, ſympathizing, as if he had been afflicted with them.

Many godly and learned friends of his, perceiving his abilities and inclinations thereto, did labour much to excite and encourage him in thoſe ſtudies, upon theſe and the like grounds. Firſt, That he might hereby the better train up

ſome young men in the like ſtudies, communicating his knowlege and experiences to them therein. ſecondly, that he might leave to poſterity a commentary of ſuch particular maladies as God had made him inſtrumental in the cure of, together with the means by him uſed for effecting of the ſame. And becauſe precepts are wanting, rules of direction might be framed, partly by his own obſervation, partly by conferrence with other learned and experienced perſons, whereby in that, and the age following, that art might be brought into ſome form and method, to the public good and benefit of many, not only for the fruitful curing, but alſo for the healthful preventing of manifold miſchief.

To ſuch as complained to him that they were troubled with blaſphemous thoughts, his counſel was, that they ſhould not fear them, but abhor them. And when ſome poor chriſtians were miſerably afflicted with fears, that they had commited that unpardonable ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, he uſed to tell them, that if they would not have committed it, it was certain that they had not fallen into it.

The graces of God's ſpirit did all abundantly ſhine forth in this man of God: all tempered, as with unfeigned love to Chriſt, ſo with bowels of love and compaſſion towards men; and he again was greatly beloved of all men.

In the whole courſe of his miniſtry, he was very careful ever to avoid (as much as was poſſible) all occaſions of offence, deſiring in all things to approve himſelf as a miniſter of Chriſt, and work man that needed not to be aſhamed.

He much rejoiced in, and praiſed God for the happy government of queen Elizabeth, and for the bleſſed calm and peace which the church and people of God enjoyed under the ſame, ſpeaking often of it both publickly and privately, as he had occaſion, endeavouring to ſtir up the hearts of all men (as much as in him lay) to praiſe God with him for it, and to pray alſo for the continuance thereof. Yea this matter ſo affected him, that the day before his departure out of this world, his thoughts were much troubled, for that moſt men were ſo unthankful for thoſe wonderful and happy deliverances, which the Lord of his mercy vouchſafed to that glorious queen, from the conſpiracies and dangerous practices of her popiſh adverſaries.

He was a ſpecial inſtrument and means under God to encourage, and train up many godly and learned young men in the holy ſervice of Chriſt, in the work of the miniſtry; and to reſtrain, and reduce not a few from errors and ſchiſm; ſtriving by all means to retain them in obedience to the laws of the land, and to provoke them highly to prize, and preciouſly to eſteem the peace of the church, and people of God.

Having continued at Dry-Drayton about the ſpace of twenty or one and twenty years, he left it, and went from thence to London about the year 1588 or 89. Yet was very careful before his remove, to get an honeſt and able man to ſucceed him in that place.

The cauſes of his removal were partly the untractableneſs and unteachableneſs of that people amongſt whom he had taken ſuch exceeding great pains. For beſides his public preaching and catechiſing, his manner was to walk out into the fields, and to confer with his neighbours as they were at plough; and partly he did it upon ſuppoſal that he might do far more good in a more public place by comforting afflicted conſciences, wherein the Lord had given him ſuch an admirable dexterity.

He wholly ſpent himſelf in the ſervice of God and his church, and therefore often made uſe of that ſaying of the prophet David: 'The zeal of thy houſe hath eaten me up.'

He was a little man of ſtature, and uſually indifferent well in health; but when at any time he was ſick, he would ſuffer no body to ſit up and watch with him, that ſo he might more freely converſe with God.

He continued not in London above the ſpace of two years, but being quite worn out, he comfortably and quietly reſigned up his ſpirit unto God, *anno Chriſti* 1591, and about the ſixtieth year of his age.

He hath a volume of ſermons, and treatiſes of divinity in print.

The Life of THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, *who died, Anno* Chriſti, 1603.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT was born in Hertfordſhire, about the 1535. And being by his parents kept at ſchool till he was fit for the univerſity, he went to Cambridge and was admitted into St John's colledge, anno 1550. He there followed his ſtudies exceeding hard, and being a man of excellent natural parts, he profited in learning more than ordinary; he never uſed to ſleep above five hours in a night, which cuſtom he continued to his dying day.

Three years after at the death of Edward VI. he left the univerſity, and betook himſelf to the ſervice of a counſellor, yet followed his ſtudies very hard, as taking more pleaſures therein, than in the ſtudy of the law; thus he continued till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, at which time his maſter meeting with Dr Pilkinton, maſter of St John's college in Cambridge, he told him of his mans learning and ſtudious diſpoſition; the doctor deſired to ſpeak with him and thereby perceiving his great abilities and hopefulneſs, with his maſter's conſent he took him again to St John's college, where his proficiency and progreſs both in the arts and tongues, was ſo eminent, that anno 1560, he was choſen fellow in that college, and about three years after he was removed to a fellowſhip in Trinity college, where for his worth, he was ere long made one of the eight ſenior fellows.

Anno 1564. Queen Elizabeth coming to Cambridge, great preparation was made for her entertainment, and four of the eminenteſt men in the univerſity being choſen to keep a philoſophy act before her, he was one of them, who performed it with extraordinary abilities, to the great content and ſatisfaction both of the queen and his other ſtuditors. *Anno* 1567. he commenced batchelor of divinity, and three years after he was choſen to be the lady Margaret's divinity reader. He read upon the firſt and ſecond chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, and performed it with ſuch acuteneſs of wit, and ſolidity of judgment, as cauſed admiration in his hearers; and even at that time he was ſo famous for his miniſtry, that when his turn came to preach at St Mary's, the ſexton was fain to take down the windows, by reaſon of the multitudes that came to hear him.

In his lectures he was occaſioned to diſcover his judgment about church-diſcipline, which the doctors and heads in the univerſity took very haingouſly, as being dangerous and deſtructive to the preſent hierarchy, whereupon he was convented before the vice chancellor, Dr May, and other doctors, and being examined upon ſundry articles, or propoſitions of doctrine delivered by him publicly in his lectures, and elſewhere, which they affirmed to be contrary to the religion received, and allowed by public authority in this realm, and thereupon they demanded whether he would ſtand to, or revoke the ſaid opinions and doctrines delivered by him.

Mr Cartwright upon deliberation, deſired that he might have leave to ſet down in writing what his judgment in thoſe things was, and what he would ſtand to; which being granted, he drew up in ſix propoſitions what his judgment was; and ſetting his hand to it, delivered it to the vice chancellor, who thereupon admoniſhed him to revoke the ſame, and upon his refuſal, puniſhed him by the ſubtraction of his ſtipend, and ſo he continued in his lecture that year.

But the year after, Dr Whitgift being choſen vice chancellor, he again convented him before him, requiring his abſolute anſwer whether he did mind to teach his auditors otherwiſe, revoking that he had before taught; or whether he would abide in the maintainance of the ſame? Unto this Mr Cartwright anſwered, that for the propoſitions delivered by him under his hand to Dr May, and now ſhewed to him, they were his own hand-writing, ſuch as he had openly taught, and ſtill continued fully determined to maintain and defend as truths. Hereupon after Mr Cartwright had a while withdrawn, and the vice chancellor had conferred with the other doctors, Mr Cartwright was again called for, and this definitive ſentence was pronounced

nounced againſt him by the vice chancellor, Dr Whitgift, that perceiving that no admonition would help, but that he ſtill perſiſted in the ſame mind, he did therefore pronounce him, the ſaid Mr Cartwright, to be removed from his ſaid lecture, and by his final decree of ſentence, did then and there remove him, and declare the ſaid lecture to be void; and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the election of a new reader. And further he did then and there by virtue of his office, inhibit the ſaid Mr Cartwright from preaching within the univerſity and the juriſdiction of the ſame.

Now that the reader may be better ſatisfied what the articles were which Mr Cartwright drew up, and ſigned with his hand, and for which this ſentence was paſſed upon him, I ſhall here ſet them down in his own words, as I have them tranſcribed out of the original, ſtanding upon record in the regiſtry of the univerſity of Cambridge.

1 *Archiepiſcoporum, & archidiaconorum nomina ſimul cum muneribus, et officiis ſunt abolenda.*

2 *Legitimorum in Eccleſia Miniſtrorum nomina, qualia ſunt Epiſcoporum, et Diaconorum ſeparata a ſuis muneribus in verbo Dei deſcriptis, ſimpliciter ſunt improbanda, et ad inſtitutionem Apoſtolicam revocanda: ut Epiſcopus in verbo et precibus, Diaconus in pauperibus curandis verſetur.*

3 *Epiſcoporum Cancellariis, aut Archidiaconorum Officialibus, &c. regimen Eccleſiæ non eſt committendum, ſed ad idoneum miniſtrum, et Preſbyterum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ deferendum.*

4 *Non oportet miniſtrum eſſe vagum, et liberum, ſed quiſque debet certo cuidam gregi addici.*

5 *Nemo debet miniſterium tanquam candidatus petere.*

6 *Epiſcoporum tantum autoritate, & poteſtate, miniſtri non ſunt creandi: multo minus in Muſæo, aut loco quopiam clanculario: ſed ab eccleſia electio fieri debet.*

Hiſce reformandis, quiſque pro ſua vocatione ſtudere debet (vocationem autem intelligo) ut magiſtratus authoritate, miniſter verbo, omnes precibus promoveant.

Per me Thomam Cartwright.

Mr Cartwright being thus driven from the univerſity, not long after, finding the way for the exerciſe of his miniſtry in England obſtructed, he went beyond the ſeas to viſit other reformed churches, where he grew acquainted with the famouſeſt men for piety and learning in Chriſtendom, with whom he kept correſpondence all his life after. He was alſo highly prized by them, inſomuch as Beza writing about that time into England to a friend of his, hath this expreſſion; *Eſt quidam anglus nobiſcum, nomine Thomas Cartwright*, &c. Here is now with us your country-man, Thomas Cartwright, than whom I think the ſun doth not ſee a more learned man, &c.

He was alſo choſen preacher to the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleborough, where he did very much good by his miniſtry, the Lord bleſſing his labours exceedingly in thoſe parts; and when he underſtood that the merchants, by whom he was maintained, through their great loſſes decayed in their eſtates, he returned his ſallary to them again.

Not long after he came over into England, being earneſtly ſolicited thereunto by letters from Mr Dearing, Mr Fulk, Mr Wiburn, Mr Leaver, and Mr Fox; about which time the Non-Conformiſts having drawn up an admonition to the parliament for reformation of the church, doctor Whitgift, who was then preferred to the arch-biſhopric of Canterbury, anſwered the ſame in print; whereupon the miniſters which wrote the admonition, conſulting but not agreeing upon the choice of one to reply to Dr Whitgift, Mr Cartwright was at laſt choſen by lot to undertake it, and performed it ſo well, that his very adverſaries were heard to advance and commend him for it.

Yet was he with divers other of the Non-Conformiſts brought into the high commiſſion court, where, for refuſal of the oath, *ex officio*, they were clapt up in priſon, and afterwards proceeded againſt in the Star-chamber; but it pleaſed God ſo to order it, by his providence, that thoſe very witneſſes which were brought to accuſe them, did ſo clear them, that they were diſmiſſed, and ſent home much more honoured and beloved than they were before.

Whilſt Mr Cartwright was priſoner in the Fleet, he had thirty pounds ſent him from a noble friend, of which he took but ten ſhillings, returning the reſt, with many thanks, to the donor; and when the earl of Leiceſter offered him the provoſtſhip of Eaton college, ſaying, That it was a hundred pounds a-year more than enough, beſides the conveniency of the place. Mr Cartwright anſwered, That the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him.

About the year 1580, his fame was ſo ſpread through the reformed churches, that king James, then king of Scotland, ſent for him, proffering to make him profeſſor in the univerſity of St Andrews; whereof, twenty years after, upon king James's coming into England, Mr Cartwright makes mention in his epiſtle before his commentary upon Eccleſiaſtes, which he dedicated to king James, returning him humble thanks for that royal favour. The arch biſhop of Dublin alſo ſent for him into Ireland, proffering him preferment in that kingdom.

He was ſent to from divers eminent divines beyond ſeas, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their ſtudies; as alſo in the behalf of the churches in general, for his counſel in regulating their proceedings in the weighteſt affairs.

Alſo, about the ſame time, the Earl of Leiceſter preferred him to be maſter of his hoſpital at Warwick, which place was worth to him about one hundred pounds *per annum*. His employment was to pray with the poor men twice a day, to catechiſe twice a-week, and to preach once on the Lord's day at the pariſh church. This place he willingly and thankfully accepted of, becauſe he was therein exempted from the juriſdiction of the prelates.

His carriage and deportment was ſuch, that there was not a nobleman or gentleman of quality in all the country that looked heaven ward, or was of any account for religion and learning, but they ſought to enjoy his company, and found much pleaſure and content therein; for his converſation was ſuch, that ſcarce a word came from his mouth that was not of ſome good uſe and concernment.

He was of a very laborious and indefatigable ſpirit; it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father; ſo that beſides all his pains in writing, and in the hoſpital, he preached every Sabbath-day in the morning, about ſeven o'clock, in the lower pariſh of Warwick, and, when he could be ſuffered, in the upper pariſh in the afternoon: beſides which he preached a lecture on Saturdays, in the afternoon, in the upper church, in which he went over a great part of the Proverbs and Eccleſiaſtes, with ſingular judgment and profit; and this he did of his own free will, without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains.

And whereas he was ſometimes ſuſpended by the biſhops from preaching in the churches, his manner was at thoſe times to preach in the hoſpital, whither many reſorted to hear him, though they were ſure to be brought into the biſhops courts for the ſame.

Preſently after his coming to Warwick, the Engliſh ſeminary at Rhemes publiſhed their verſion of the New Teſtament, and annotations upon it in Engliſh, which, coming over into England, it was looked upon by all as a book of dangerous concernment, and therefore fit to be anſwered by the ableſt pen that could be found; hereupon (as I have heard) queen Elizabeth ſent to Beza to requeſt him to undertake the anſwer; but he modeſtly excuſed it, and returned anſwer, that ſhe had one in her kingdom far abler than himſelf to undertake ſuch a taſk; and, upon further enquiry, declared that it was Mr Thomas Cartwright.

Then Sir Francis Walſingham, a man of eminent place and power, who herein, as in other affairs, was accounted the mouth and hand of the queen and ſtate, wrote to Mr Cartwright, earneſtly requeſting him to undertake the work, aſſuring him alſo of ſuch aid as ſhould further him in the finiſhing thereof; for which end he ſent him one hundred pounds towards the charges of buying books, and procuring writers which were to be employed by him therein; this was *anno* 1583.

The ſame year alſo he was earneſtly ſolicited by the moſt learned men of the univerſity of Cambridge, by a ſolemn epiſtle, with joint conſent written to him, to undertake the anſwer, wherein, amongſt other paſſages, they have theſe expreſſions; 'With you we are earneſt (moſt Rev.

Cartwright)

Cartwright) that you would ſet yourſelf againſt the unhallowed endeavours of theſe miſchievous men, either by refuſing the whole book, or at leaſt ſome part thereof. It is not for every man work-man-like to frame God's tabernacle, but for Bazaleel and Aholiab; neither is every one raſhly to be thruſt forth into the Lord's battles; but ſuch captains are to be choſen from amongſt David's worthies; of which, as we acknowlege you to be one, by the former battles undergone for the walls of our city, [church diſcipline], we doubt not, if you will enter this war (which truly you ought to do, according to the zeal and piety you bear to your country and religion), but that you, fighting for conſcience and country, yea even to the very inmoſt holy place of the temple, will be able to tread under foot the forces of the Jebuſites, which ſet themſelves to aſſault the tower of David. Moreover, (which may marvellouſly ſharpen the edge of your courage) you are not now to fight with a brother, or fellow of the ſame religion, which maketh the conflict more faint) but with the moſt inveterate enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, &c. Then they thus conclude; 'You ſee to what an honourable fight we invite you; Chriſt's buſineſs ſhall be undertaken againſt Satan's champions. We ſtir you up to fight the battles of our Lord, where the victory is certain, which the triumph and applauſe of the angels will enſue. Our prayers ſhall never be wanting unto you. Chriſt, without doubt, whoſe cauſe is defended, will be preſent with you. The Lord Jeſus much encreaſe your courage and ſtrength, and keep you very long in ſafety, for his church's good. Farewel.'

This was ſubſcribed by Roger Goad, William Whittaker, Thomas Crook, John Ireton, William Fulk, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Sicutler, Richard Gardener, William Clerk, &c.

But beſides theſe, the reverend miniſters of London and Suffolk, did, by their ſeveral letters, earneſtly exhort him to this work: and Mr Cartwright was at laſt, by theſe importunities, drawn to undertake it, and neither diligence nor conſtancy was wanting in him to have carried it on to perfection; but he met with ſuch great diſcouragements and hinderances from potent adverſaries, that he was forced often to lay his pen aſide: yea, archbiſhop Whitgift ſent him a poſitive command, that he ſhould deal no further in it; yet afterwards, by an earl and privy counſellor of great note, and ſome other noble perſonages he was at laſt drawn to take pen in hand again; but receiving new diſcouragements, and having ſuch continual employment in the miniſtry, he lived not to perfect that work.

Whilſt he was at Warwick, being ſilenced by the biſhops, he was requeſted by Lord Zouch, governor of Guerſney, to go with him into that iſland, with whom he continued ſometime, and, in the mean ſpace, he ſubſtituted one Mr Lord, a godly and holy miniſter, then living at Woolſtone, in his room at the hoſpital in Warwick, allowing him the greateſt part of the profits of the place during his abode there, and the reſt he cauſed to be diſtributed amongſt the poor.

He was far from ſeeking after great places or great things in the world; and for riches he ſought them not: yea, he rejected many opportunities whereby he might have enriched himſelf. His uſual manner was, when he had good ſums of gold ſent him, to take only one piece, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſlight his friend's kindneſs, and to ſend back the reſt, with a thankful acknowledgment of their love, and his acceptance of it, profeſſing, that for that condition wherein God had ſet him, he was as well furniſhed as they, for their high and great places.

His manner was not to keep any more money in his purſe, but what might ſerve for charitable uſes; he was very bountiful to poor ſcholars: he diſtributed money every Sabbath day amongſt the poor of the town of Warwick, beſides what he gave to the priſoners, and upon other occaſions both at home and abroad.

For his houſhhold affairs he never troubled himſelf with them, but wholly left them to be ordered and managed by the prudence of his wife.

He was very careful to regulate and order the buſineſſes of the hoſpital for the beſt advantage of the poor brethren: he continued his diligence and aſſiduity in his ſtudies even in his old age; and his uſual manner was to riſe at two, three, and four o'clock in the morning at the lateſt, both ſummer and winter, notwithſtanding that his bodily infirmities were ſuch, that he was forced to ſtudy continually kneeling upon his knees.

He was of a very meek and quiet ſpirit, as appears in thoſe conflicts which he had with Dr Whitgift and Dr Sutcliffe, wherein he uſed ſore words and hard arguments: he could not endure, ſo much as in private, to hear his adverſaries reproached; and if any in his preſence uſed diſgraceful ſpeeches of them, he would ſharply reprove them for it, ſaying, That it is a Chriſtian's duty to pray for, and not to reproach his adverſaries: and when Martin Mar Prelate's book came forth, he ſhewed much diſlike of the ſkyrical and tart language uſed therein.

He was alſo very humble, not enduring to hear any thing ſpoken in his own commendation, or any titles given him, which in the leaſt meaſure favoured of ambition: he affected not popularity, but avoided it as much as poſſibly he could.

Indeed all his ambition was to advance the kingdom and cauſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to promote God's glory.

It was the great joy and rejoicing of his heart to hear of the welfare and proſperity of the churches at home and abroad; for this he earneſtly and daily prayed; and when he heard any ill tidings, with Nehemiah, he ſat down and mourned, and faſted, and prayed, before the God of heaven; ſo that all that converſed with him might eaſily diſcern, that nothing did affect him, in any degree, like the good and ill tidings of the church's ſtate.

He was frequent in prayer every day, and in his younger years hath riſen many times in the night to ſeek out private places to pray in.

And as his labours was very great in the work of the miniſtry, ſo it pleaſed the Lord to make them very ſucceſsful for the converſion and confirmation of many, and for terror and reſtraint unto others.

There was a woolen draper, in Warwick, who made a profeſſion of religion, but many times brake out into ſcandalous practices; Mr Cartwright, on a time, walking with him in his garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miſcarriages, and ſhewing him the diſhonour that he brought to God, and the goſpel thereby; this ſo wrought upon him, that he preſently ſunk down, and being carried home, died in a few hours after.

In his old age he was much troubled with the ſtone and gout, which much impaired his ſtrength; yet would he not intermit his labours, but continued preaching, when, many times, he could ſcarce creep into the pulpit. The Sabbath before his death, which was the laſt ſermon that he made, December 25 he preached upon Eccleſ. xii 17. 'Then ſhall the duſt return to the earth, and the ſpirit ſhall return to God who gave it'

The morning before his death, which was the Tueſday following, he was two hours on his knees in private prayer; in which (as he told his wife) he found wonderful and unutterable joy and comfort, God giving him a glimple of heaven before he came to it; and within a few hours after, he quietly reſigned up his ſpirit unto God, December the 27 *anno Chriſti* 1603, and of his age 68. Mr Dod preached his funeral ſermon.

During his abode in the univerſity, he was of great power and credit in the regent houſe, ſo that the doctors feared leſt the preciſians (as they were then called) ſhould chuſe him vice chancellor, whereupon they procured the alteration of the ſtatute, whereby the choice was formerly in the regent houſe, and confined the election of the vice-chancellor to one of thoſe two whom the heads ſhould prick.

After long diſcontinuance, Mr Cartwright coming to Cambridge, was importuned to preach on a week day at St Maries, where there was a great confluence of all ſorts to hear him; grave men ran, like boys in the ſtreets to get places in the church. After ſermon he dined at Mr Chadderton's, and many went to the houſe to ſee and hear him ſpeak.

The

The Life and Death of Mr WILLIAM BRADSHAW, *who died,* anno Christi 1618.

IT hath from time to time been the lot of divers persons of singular worth and eminent parts, that they have lived in obscurity, and in a low condition, and past their time without that due respect and regard which their excellent endowments might justly have claimed; partly through the shortness of outward supplies; (for, they get not up easily, though never so well deserving, that are seated in that kind); partly, by reason of an outward bashfulness, and overawing modesty, accompanied with an undervaluing repute of themselves, and their own abilities; and partly through the iniquity of the times wherein they have lived, and the disaffection of those who have swayed most in the state and government under which they have resided.

Such was the condition of that worthy and faithful servant of the Lord Mr William Bradshaw, though a man richly endowed, as well with such spiritual graces, as in truth are of highest esteem, being peculiar to God's favourites, that have interest in his Christ, as with such gifts and parts also as might and did render him useful and instrumental for the public good of God's people; yet never enjoying any plentiful condition; howsoever, never prone to complain of want; nor forward at any time, or in any place, to put himself forth, as having a very low and mean conceit of his own parts, and admiring in others what his own eye could not descry, or would not take notice of (howsoever to others conspicuous enough) in himself; and being never suffered to continue long quiet in any settled place of more public employment, through the envy and malice of some that had a jealous eye on him, and the disturbances of him in the work of his ministry, set on foot by others ill affected towards him, but accrewing from the same, pursued by some of those who were of greater power and authority in ecclesiastical affairs, and could not brook any that did not in all particulars comply with them and their courses, as they conceived him not to do.

He was born at Bosworth, a market town in Leicestershire, famous for the battle fought near to it, wherein that bloody usurper, Richard III. lost his crown, (attained by the unnatural murder of his two nephews in their nonage), together with his life.

His father was Nicholas Bradshaw, though descended from an antient family of the Bradshaws in Lancashire, with the crest of whose coat therefore (being a buck browzing) this our brother used to seal; yet living but in a mean condition, and being not so well able therefore to train this his son up in learning as he desired, an uncle that he had at Worcester undertook the education of him; whether being master of the free school there, as some have supposed, or of some other profession, as some others conjecture: for that he had been heard to report that Mr William May, (who was some time by the Turkey merchants employed at Alleppo, and afterwards lived and ended his days in or about London, a man of more than ordinary skill in the learned languages, and in exposition of scripture very accurate and exact) was teacher in a public school at Worcester, while he lived there; relating withal, what a neat man he then was, howsoever in his afterdays he grew cynically sordid, and by his uncouth deportment, and jealous disposition, made himself nothing so useful to others, as otherwise he might have been. But, howsoever, it was for his uncle's profession, under him, (who, by some relation of his, may not improbably be deemed to have been a scrivener or public notary); he was brought up and kept at school, until it pleased God to bereave him of this support by his death. After whose decease, returning home to his father at Bosworth, he was enforced, though very much against his mind and desire, to intermit the prosecution of his studies in literature for some space of time.

His father now designing him to some other course of life, out of despair of maintaining him in a way so chargeable, as his means, being not large, would not reach unto; especially having other children, three sons and two daughters to provide for, besides him. But while the disposal of him hang thus in suspense, it pleased the Lord (who is wont to have a more special providence over those, whom, in his secret purpose, he hath fore-designed unto the work of his ministry, to have them fitted for the same) to stir up the spirit of one Mr Ainsworth, a man of much worth, then school-master at Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, to divert his parents purpose of disposing him to any other employment. For by his favour (having taken notice of his capacity, industry, eager desire of farther progress in good literature, fitness of disposition to be wrought upon to that purpose, and by some buds sprouting out from such seeds thereof as had already been sown in him, conceiving good hopes of such future fruits, as did accordingly ensue) he was taken into the free school there; where he so profited, and made so successful a progress, that after a year's continuance, being then about eighteen year's of age, he was deemed sufficiently fitted and furnished for the university; and in the year 1589 was, together with that worthy man of great renown, Joseph Hall, afterwards bishop of Exeter, then of Norwich, and Hugh Cholmeley, (who had been both trained up in the same school with him, and did continue also afterward a kind affection to him, and friendly correspondence with him) he was admitted in Emmanuel college in Cambridge; where with them also he followed his studies under the tuition of that rev. divine Mr Gilbie, then fellow of that college; being there maintained, partly by the allowance of some gentlemen, his fellow pupils under the same tutor; and partly by some supplies afforded him from two noble knights of the honourable house of the Hastings, Sir Edward and Sir Francis, (on the latter of whom his father also had some dependence) upon the recommendation, and at the motion of that worthy servant of God, now with God, Mr Arthur Hildersham, who was himself also allied to that family.

In the college, with these supports, he continued husbanding his time to the best advantage, with an abundant blessing of God upon his sedulous endeavours, to a clear evidence of large improvement, manifesting itself in such schollary exercises, as his time and place there required, (in the performance whereof special notice was taken of him, as an acute and eager disputant) until he had taken both degrees, first that of batchelor, and after that of Master of Arts.

But then, being not capable of a fellowship in that college, for that the statutes of the house admitted not above one of the same shire, and of that one for Leicestershire Mr Joseph Hall, before mentioned, being of the same time and standing with him, was already possessed; and having refused a vicarage, endowed with some competent yearly revenue, by that noble knight Sir Edward Hastings, one of his patrons tendered him, not daring yet to adventure on a work of that nature; Mr Laurence Chaderton, then master of the college, and the first from the very foundation of it, bearing a singular affection to Mr Bradshaw, as well for his parts of learning, as for his pious deportment, but being unable, for that cause above mentioned, to bring him in there, cast about with himself how to procure a place, and get some employment for him elsewhere.

Some years before, that right honourable and thrice noble lady Frances Sidney, countess of Sussex, had, by her last will and testament, given order for the erecting and endowing of a college in Cambridge, to be furnished with a certain number of fellows and scholars under one master or head.

The college was now in building, by the provision of the right honourable the earl of Kent, and Sir John Harrington, instructed by her for the performance of that work; and Mr James Montague, son to Sir Edward Montague, then living as fellow-commoner, but student in divinity, among the fellows of Christ's college, was designed for master. With him dealt Mr Chadderton in Mr Bradshaw's behalf, to have him set down for a fellow's place there; which through his mediation was, from those noble trustees, with difficulty obtained. But because some space of time would run out, 'ere the building of the college would be consummated and made fit for receipt; it was thought good, in the interim, to dispose of Mr Bradshaw

Bradſhaw for ſome employment elſewhere, until he might be ſettled there. It fell out (God ſo diſpoſing it) that Sir Thomas Leighton governor of Guernſey, wanting one to be employed about the inſtruction and education of his children, and having requeſted that worthy ſervant of Chriſt Mr Cartwright, abiding then at Cornet-caſtle with him, to write unto Mr Chaderton, to furniſh them with one fit for ſuch a charge; this letter of Mr Cartwright's arrived with Mr Chaderton in that juncture of time, wherein he and Mr Montague had this buſineſs in agitation about Mr Bradſhaw: and the matter being by them broken to him, who referred himſelf wholly to what they ſhould advite; it was jointly agreed, that Mr Bradſhaw ſhould be ſent, or lent rather, unto them, to undertake that charge, and continue in the diſcharge of it, until the college building were compleated, wherein upon return thence he was then to reſide.

Thither therefore without delay, being furniſhed with letters of recommendation from thoſe here to them there, he addreſſed himſelf; and, through God's goodneſs, arriving ſafe there, he was with all kind and courteous entertainment by them received. By this occaſion he became throughly known to, and inwardly acquainted with Mr Cartwright, who highly eſteemed of him, and renewed, or purſued rather his acquaintance with him, after both Mr Bradſhaw's and his own return alſo into England, (as may appear by intercourſe of letters yet to be ſeen, written by him to Mr Bradſhaw, while he ſtayed behind him in Guernſey, and from Warwick alſo after his departure from thence) and to his dying day continued expreſſions of entire affection to him, and due reſpect of him, as alſo both before and after his deceaſe, his children, both ſons and daughters, and thoſe that they were matched unto, and his widow alſo, did.

And indeed ſuch was his demeanure, whereſoever he came, that he left behind him a grateful memory of him, in the hearts and minds of all well affected, that had occaſion to take notice of it; not unlike therein to muſk or civet, that leave a ſweet ſcent behind them, even for a long time after they be gone, in the boxes wherein they were formerly kept; the which continued after his departure thence, not among the French miniſters alone in that iſland, but among ſuch alſo of the old garriſon ſoldiers, on whom Mr Cartwright's miniſtry had ſome efficacious and gracious work who; as Sir Peter Oſburn, who, had afterward the goverment of that place, hath been heard to relate, would be oft talking of one Mr Bradſhaw, that had lived ſometime there, and ſpeak with much affection of him.

But for his conſtant carriage during his abode there, his piety, induſtry, integrity, fidelity in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, and charge committed to him, together with his courſe of life and converſation otherwiſe unreproveable; as alſo the love and affection to him, earneſt deſire, if it might have been, of his continuance with them and loathneſs to leave him, with theſe, who were, after ſometime ſpent among them there, then, to part with him; all theſe things will by no means better appear, then by the letters of Mr Thomas Cartwright, and the relations concerning him therein contained, being written and directed to divers in theſe parts, either near upon, or at Mr Bradſhaw's departure from thence.

Among others, in one to 'Sir Francis Haſtings of September the fifth 1598 wherein he aſſures him of his diligence in following his ſtudies, and of his ſharp and ready capacity, likely through God's bleſſing to bring forth ſuch fruit of learning, as he might have good cauſe to rejoice over any coſt that he had been at with him, or ſhould farther beſtow that way on him; as alſo, of his love to the beſt things, and his converſation in the family without reproach, for ought he could learn, having had an eye conſtantly on him.' In another to Mr Chaderton of December the fifth, (the time, it ſeems of his departure thence) wherein 'he thankfully acknowiegeth the great benefit they had received by Mr Bradſhaw, procured by him to take ſo long and painful a journey to them, and his wiſe and loving care in ſo good proviſion for them; returning thanks alſo to him, from Sir Thomas Leyghton the governor, and his honourable lady for him; and withal requeſting him, that they may once again taſte of his accuſtomed love and care in that kind.'

And in another yet more fully of the ſame date to Mr Montague in theſe words; 'The law commandeth, that of things borrowed great care ſhould be had for the well uſage and due reſtoring of them. Both which we have endeavoured in Mr Bradſhaw: but the full performance muſt reſt rather in yours and his acceptation, than in pay. For as touching the former of them, his deſert of care to profit thoſe committed to his charge, and his behaviour otherwiſe in the houſe, hath been more than every one is able to eſteem, and therefore in all reſpects not ſo fit to reward. For the other, (unleſs unwilling parting with him on all hands be againſt duty) you ſhall (we hope in the Lord) have him duly reſtored; out of all doubt with all thankfulneſs to your worſhip, by whoſe kindneſs, both we have enjoyed him ſome good time, ſince you of right might have taken him away, and he hath received a reply of recompence for that we are not able to make good unto him. And ſo with hearty thanks and commendations from the governor and his honourable lady, and my humble thanks for your love; and this fruit I have received thereof by Mr Bradſhaw, I commend you to the gracious keeping and bleſſing of God in Jeſus Chriſt.' Unto this letter Mr Montague now maſter of the college, upon Mr Bradſhaw's acceſs thither, returneth anſwer, both thanking him, for the remitting of him to them; (ſo that on no ſide thanks for him were wanting, ſo well was he eſteemed of on either part) and withall adverting him of a very great danger, and no leſs deliverance, that near unto his journey's end had befided him.

Whereunto Mr Cartwright in a letter of March 7. the ſame year thus replieth; 'Sir, It cometh from the abundance of your love, to thank me for that which duty itſelf required at my hands towards Mr Bradſhaw, and therefore the thanks are returned unto you, who eſteem ſo highly of duty, as to let it go in the account of a benefit or good turn. My hope is the ſame with yours that the Lord, who by deliverance of him from ſo great a death, bindeth him to a ſtraighter obedience, hath ſet ſuch an impreſſion of it in his mind, as will be inſtead of a watch to waken him every morning to all cheerful ſervice, which his place will require. And indeed the letter he wrote of that matter, carrieth that ſound, and even undertakes ſo much in his behalf.' And in one to Mr Bradſhaw himſelf, after receipt of that from him, touched upon in the cloſe foregoing; 'That the Lord our moſt merciful Father delivered you from ſo great a death, it pledges unto you deliverances hereafter, eſpecially if they be inferior to this. So much the rather, as the ſwimmer ſunk like a piece of lead, and he that could no more ſwim than the iron head of the ſcholars hatchet, was graciouſly born up: and therefore by how much the proverbs is true *Potamos out ari plus ten axinen*, by ſo much we, have cauſe to praiſe God, that by the angel of the waters ſaved you: and withal you may help to encourage others againſt the exceſſive fear of drowning in paſſing the ſeas: ſeeing it was more ſafe to you to paſs the winter ſeas, even when they rage moſt, than the ſmall brook of Hawſton-mills. I remembred you to Sir Thomas and my lady; who told me, that if any entertainment would have holden you, they would not have ſuffered you to have gone from them; and rejoiced much at your gracious eſcape. Subſcribed, your aſſured loving brother and friend, Thomas Cartwright'

The eſcape in thoſe letters mentioned was this: Mr Bradſhaw being to leave Guernſey, ſhipped himſelf for England. Nor was his paſſage by ſea wholly free from hazard, for with ſo violent a ſtorm were they ſurprized at ſea, that the paſſengers moſt of them expected nothing but wreck, and a gentlewoman among them, with another, whom ſhe much affected attending upon her, did in a cord, by the waſte, faſten themſelves either to other, that they might periſh together, and draw their laſt breath, or breathe it out rather, in the mutual embraces either of other. But that ſtorm being allayed, and the danger of it over, and the ſhip with her paſſengers now arrived in ſafety, Mr Bradſhaw having attained London, did there hire a hackney, ſuch as are commonly uſed on that road, to convey him to Cambridge, there to enter upon the fellow-

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ſhip prepared for him, and aſſigned unto him; by help of which beaſt, he got ſo far on his way in ſafety, that he was now within three miles of his journey's end. 'But danger oft lieth in wait for us, where we leaſt of all either expect or ſuſpect it; and then many times overtakes, and ſurprizeth us unawares, when we deem ourſelves wholly paſt danger, and are near approaching our intended much deſired, and now fully expected port, and have always need therefore both of an eye of providence conſtantly on us, and of an hand of protection continually over us.'

For being there to paſs a ſmall brook croſſing the road near to a village called Hawſton, and the water mills ſeated on it, thence Hawſton-mills; he that had eſcaped ſo eminent that apparent danger at ſea, lighten'd on, and fell into that unexpectedly, and proved much more hazardous on land, where no appearance was of ought in that kind: for being unacquainted with the courſe of the ſtream, otherwiſe paſſed ordinarily, and that daily without danger, and having not fetched a compaſs far enough, as he ought to have done, the beaſt that bare him plunged ſuddenly into the mill pond, or pit; and being not able to recover itſelf, therein periſhed, and there left him floating in a ſtrong vertiginous current, unſkilful in ſwimming, (nor had any ſuch ſkill in likelihood been available in ſuch a caſe to have ſaved him) and altogether unable to ſhift for himſelf; where he muſt of neceſſity have gone the ſame way with the beaſt, had not either ſome one occaſionally looking out of the mill, or ſome paſſenger on the way, eſpying one floating in that manner, and at the very pitch of periſhing, called haſtily on the miller, or theſe next at hand to let ſlip down the flood-gates; by means whereof the ſtiff current of the water courſe was ſtayed, and this ſervant of God, though not without much difficulty, reſcued out of the water, and delivered unexpectedly out of that his, in a manner, even deſperate diſtreſs.

And it may indeed juſtly be deemed a wonder of wonders, (in regard whereof that venerable miniſter of Chriſt before mentioned, ſeems to have apprehended the miniſtry of an angel uſed in it) that he was not ſuddenly in an inſtant, either ſwallowed up in that whirling gulf, or hurried away with the violent courſe of the current, and that he ſhould bear up and keep above water, ſo long in a place of that nature for he had been heard to relate, that while he continued thus floating and ſtruggling with that wheeling ſurface, it troubled him not a little, that he could not addreſs himſelf as he deſired to prepare for his departure, though having nothing but death in his eye, while his ear was taken up with the voice of ſome talking in the mill, from whom he ſuppoſed yet ſome help might come, though neither was he able to call unto them, nor they to hear him.

Thus even God's children themſelves find a defect oft in themſelves, that they cannot with ſuch an exact compoſure of ſpirit, in times of diſtreſs addreſs themſelves unto God, until he have pulled away all outward proſperity, as well hopes, as helps from them.' But being by a ſpecial providence of God thus recovered: and as another Moſes drawn out of the water, and brought into the miller's houſe, he was there ſhifted, and put into ſuch dry apparrel, as the miller himſelf uſed to wear; in which garb when ſome of his acquaintance found him, who upon tidings of this occurent, came poſting over to him from Cambridge, they could not forbear ſmiling to ſee him ſitting in that habit, though not a little affected with the caſuality occaſioning it, and no leſs heartily gladened for the gracious iſſue that God hath pleaſed to afford it, and expreſſing much thankfulneſs for his mercy and goodneſs therein manifeſted. The Lord it may ſeem would hereby fit this his ſervant reſerved to other hot and hazardous ſervices, unto a farther and firmer dependance in and under them upon him.

But thus his horſe loſt, (which to the carrier its owner, as by his default miſcarrying, requiring it, was made good) being after his eſcape and recovery ſomewhat revived and refreſhed, and fitted again with a wonted ſuit, he was with ſome of thoſe his acquaintance accompanied to Cambridge, and repaired to the college; where having preſented himſelf to the maſter, he was entertained in the chamber of one of the fellows, that aſſigned him, being not yet fit to receive him, (as indeed they came all to very raw chambers at firſt) and the uſe of that offered him, until his own could be fitted and furniſhed for him: which being his firſt entertainment there, albeit but a ſorry courteſy to ſpeak of, yet did ſo affect him, as upon occaſion, to ſome of his familiar friends he afterward profeſſed, (of ſo ingenuous and grateful a diſpoſition he was, and ſo prone with thankfulneſs to acknowlege, and to ſet an high rate on the leaſt kindneſs ſhewed him, or meaneſt office done for him) that it laid the ground-work, or firſt ſtone thereof at leaſt with him, for ſuch an union of inward and entire affection, and well faſtned knot of unreſerved familiarity and ſtricteſt friendſhip, as did afterward enſue between them two, and ſo continued, not only while they abode in the college together, by a mutual communication of their ſtudies, counſel, courſes, and purpoſes either to other; but even after alſo, when through diſtance of abode they were ſevered the one from the other, by a conſtant courſe of viciſſitudinary writing, therein adviſing either with other, and diſcuſing mutually ſuch queſtions and doubts, wherewith either of them were occaſionally encountred; by means whereof they received much help and light either from other; and albeit in ſome particulars either not ſo clear, or not ſo cleared to their joint apprehenſions, their judgment might, and did ſometime differ, (having on occaſion profeſſed to a friend, deſiring to know their joint judgment in a caſe then queſtioned, and ſeming to marvel that they two ſhould be of divers minds in ought, he made anſwer, 'that it was no wonder at all, it might rather be wondred, conſidering man's condition in intellectuals, ſo impaired and clouded, that any two ſeriouſly ſet upon the ſearch of truth, ſhould not in many particular caſes diſſent; yea that if in every particularity they ſhould wholly concur, it might ſeem to favour rather of a cunningly contrived compact or conſpiracy, than a real and rational conſent)' yet where by force of argument they ſeemed convict, or any miſtake manifeſted, they were ready to yield, and did indeed in not a few things, come home either to other, unto their mutual much advantage; nor did their remaining differences ever produce any breach, or abatement of affection between them, but that the knot once knit, from the firſt to the laſt, continued firm and inviolate, never looſed nor ſlackned, ſo long as God was pleaſed to lengthen out the line of his life.

In the college he ſo demeaned himſelf, that though the fellows were not all of one mind, or one way, and there were among them (as uſually in ſocieties of that nature) men of divers diſpoſitions, and ſub diviſions conſequently of companies, conſiſting of ſuch as more familiarly conſorted, and more inwardly converſed with ſome few, whom, ſelected from the reſt, they moſt affected; yet ſo loving and lowly, yielding to all, and complying with all, was his carriage, that notwithſtanding he were by ſome deemed over ſtrict, and would freely as occaſion was, ſpeak his mind, and deliver his judgment, yet he retained ever the profeſſed, at leaſt, good liking, and external kind uſage from them all: where it will not be amiſs to relate a ſpeech of one of them, (a man by occaſion of ſome diſcontents ſtrongly and ſtrangely poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of jealouſy and ſuſpiciouſneſs of every one, even his inwardeſt and entireſt friends, which in the end proved his overthrow) who having entertained a conceit, that ſomething ſpoken by Mr Bradſhaw in a diſpute ſhould have a glance cloſely at ſomewhat that concerned him, and having diſcovered that his ſuſpicion to a common boſom friend of them both, (by whom alſo upon diſcloſe of that groundleſs conceit, he was evidently convinced of his error therein) he uſed theſe words of him, 'Although I am ſure, he had a gird at me, yet the man is of ſo kind and loving a diſpoſition, that I could not be angry with him, though he had broken my head.' But I cannot let paſs one remarkable inſtance that may evidently manifeſt in him a due temper (which is not over-frequently found) of freedom of ſpirit, and diſcreet demeanure, wiſely mixed, and well conſiſtent the one with the other.

During his abode in Guernſey, a queſtion was on foot, among divines, of ſpecial note, on either ſide yet in debate, concerning the lawfulneſs of ſome pecuniary contracts, wherein Mr Cartwright having by writing declared his mind, in way of anſwer to ſome arguments objected againſt it: Mr Bradſhaw being required by him freely to diſcover his judgment therein, and ſeriouſly to conſider of that his

anſwer,

anſwer, albeit of himſelf he would not have adventured to undertake ſuch a taſk; yet being ſo put upon it, he did it freely and largely, with as much ſtrength of wit and argument, (it may not without ground be deemed) as any have done, that have hither to dealt on that ſubject; and yet ſo diſcreetly and reſpectively managing the buſineſs, that though being then of a contrary judgment, he uſed his beſt forces, and ſtrongeſt endeavours to ſhake and ſhatter Mr Cartwright's grounds, yet did it not breed any breach, between them, nor did it (that could be diſcerned) leſſen Mr Cartwright's affection to him, or eſteem of him, which from time to time, as occaſion was, and as in part hath already been ſhewed, he was ever ready to expreſs. Howbeit it muſt withal for a truth be acknowleged, that Mr Bradſhaw, howſoever in the college performing a divinity problem, as they term it, did ſtill ſtiffly maintain that his former tenet; yet upon farther conſideration in his latter days, he is known to have altered his judgment therein.

While he ſtayed in the college, that he might with more freedom employ that talent that the Lord had committed unto him, he entred into the miniſtry; the rather adviſed (as ſome others alſo were) ſo to do, while admiſſion was yet more eaſy, and the way of entrance leſs obſtructed, in regard of ſome things, which out of diverſity of judgment, and tenderneſs of conſcience he ſtuck at; then was by prudent men, obſerving how ſtate buſineſs began to be carried, deemed like to laſt long. And at the motion of one Mr Pigot, a religious gentleman reſiding at Abingtoa about eight miles from Cambridge, he rode weekly over thither, there to preach every Lord's day for ſome good ſpace of time; joining alſo in a weekly lecture, as he had opportunity, with ſome other neighbour miniſters, at a greater town called Baſingborn not far thence diſtant. Afterward he was drawn over to Steeple Morden in the ſame ſhire, by one Mr Martin, an ingenuous gentleman, who enjoying the appropriation, entertained him as a lecturer, in regard of the infirmity of the party that was poſſeſſed of the Vicarage.

But while he was thus taken up with employments abroad, there aroſe a ſtorm againſt him at home, and that upon this occaſion. About that time two Leiceſterſhire miniſters of his acquaintance, Mr Darrel and Mr Moor, being queſtioned about the diſpoſſeſſion of William Somers and Thomas Darling, (beſides ſome others) ſuppoſed to be by evil ſpirits poſſeſſed; the one of them, to wit, Darling ſtood ſtiffly in avowing the truth of the thing and refuſed to acknowlege any deceit or colluſion therein; yea though many ſlights were uſed to enduce him there unto, and the letters forged and tendered to him in Mr Darrel's name, as beginning to grow ſomewhat ſuſpicious of the buſineſs, yet nothing could prevail with him; but the other, to wit, Somers, being in like manner dealt with, and enticed by large promiſes of ſuch proviſion to be made for him, that he ſhould be ſure not to want, nor ſhould need to go down into his country again, was perſuaded to accuſe Mr Darrel to have ſet him on work, and taught him how to act ſundry ſtrange feats and geſtures, whereby he might be deemed to be a demoniak.

Whereupon ſome of the biſhops, London eſpecially, in whoſe houſe the boys had been kept apart, eagerly purſuing the buſineſs, the two miniſters were cited into the high commiſſion court, and there being charged with impoſture, were ſuſpended and impriſoned until further cognizance, and Mr Hafnet (London's chaplain) mean while ſet on work to pen and publiſh a virulent pamphlet againſt Mr Darrel, traducing him therein as a grand impoſture and jugler and the whole action about the poſſeſſion and diſpoſſeſſion of William Somers, as a meer puppet-play. Hence Mr Darrel thus traduced, was enforced to write and publiſh ſomething for the defence of himſelf, and clearing of his guiltineſs herein; and ſo did firſt in a briefer Narrative concerning the manner of their procedings with him, entitled his Trial; and afterward in a larger anſwer to Hafnet, in way of farther apology for himſelf. Of theſe books ſome copies being ſent down to Cambridge, were directed to Mr Bradſhaw, and a parcel of them by him delivered to one Underwood a taylor, who diſperſed of them as well in the college as in the town. Intimation hereof being given to biſhop Bancraft at London, that ſuch books were in divers hands at Cambridge, he writes to the vice chancellor to make diligent enquiry after the diſperſers of them. He lights on Underwood, whom, upon examination, confeſſing that he had received a certain number of them from Mr Bradſhaw, he binds him in a bond to appear upon warning before the High Commiſſion, and chargeth them withal not to give notice of ought to Mr Bradſhaw.

The next morning by ſeven of the clock letters came from the vice chancellor to the maſter of the college, requiring him at eight of the clock to repair unto him, and to bring Mr Bradſhaw with him. About the ſame time that theſe letters came to the maſter, an unknown friend repairing to Mr Bradſhaw's chamber, telleth him, that Underwood was in trouble, and he ſhould do well to look to himſelf. Mr Bradſhaw upon theſe tidings thus brought him, went preſently to Mr Wright the ſenior fellow of the houſe, to aſk advice of him what to do in this caſe: he wiſhed him to withdraw himſelf, and withal, directed him to Granſden, a town about nine miles diſtant from Cambridge, as fit place of retire, where one Mr Caſe, a gentleman well affected, and Mr Wright's brother-in-law, he well knew, would be right willing to receive him. But Mr Bradſhaw reſolved firſt to have an eſſay made by ſome other, whereby it might be diſcovered, what the maſter's mind herein was. Hereupon Mr Ward was ſent for, who being requeſted to break the matter to the maſter, was right willing and ready to undertake that office. The maſter mean while upon receipt of the vice chancellor's letter, had ſent his man preſently to enquire for Mr Bradſhaw at Mr Gataker's chamber, which in his abſence then diſcontinuing, he had the charge of, and kept moſt in, being more convenient than his own; he not finding him there, was returned back juſt as Mr Ward came in to the maſter: who upon his repair to him, having but named Mr Bradſhaw, the maſter, before he could deliver any part of his errand, demandeth of him where Mr Bradſhaw was, and ſaith he muſt ſpeak with him. Mr Ward told him, it was not ſafe for Mr Bradſhaw to come to him, becauſe he was in danger of the vice-chancellor, the maſter replied, that thefore he muſt come; for that he had letters from the vice-chancellor to bring him preſently to him. Which letters while he ſtept into his cloſet to fetch, that he might ſhew them to him, Mr Ward, a faſt and true hearted friend, more careful of Mr Bradſhaw's ſafety, than fearful of the maſter's diſpleaſure, and his own danger, ſtayed not the maſter's return, but ſlipt away with all ſpeed to acquaint Mr Bradſhaw how things ſtood. The maſter at his return miſſing Mr Ward, was exceedingly enraged againſt him, and threatned to puniſh him, by ſeting a deep fine for example upon him. But the hour being now elapſed, which the vice-chancellor had ſet, the maſter wrote back to him, that Mr Bradſhaw could not as yet be found. Mr Bradſhaw hereof advertiſed, albeit that all his friends there, were earneſt with him to withdraw, yet for the preſent refuſed, and requeſted Mr Wright to repair to the maſter, that by him he might underſtand from him, what his reſolute will was, which he purpoſed not to withſtand.

Mr Wright, according to his requeſt, repairing to the maſter, found him in much heat: no nay he would have, but Mr Bradſhaw muſt needs go, it would elſe endanger him, and endanger the college, &c. Mr Bradſhaw informed hereof by Mr Wright, not at all fearing to ſuffer in a good and juſt cauſe, as he deemed it to be, and no whit loath to have any other endamaged, or endangered for him, (notwithſtanding that his friends were all utterly againſt it) without farther diſpute or delay, went preſently to the maſter, and preſented himſelf to him; who entertaining him with hot and high terms, the good man anſwered him in a calm and meek manner, that he had no cauſe to be ſo much offended with him, or ſo incenſed againſt him; he knew not of any ſuch commiſſion that he had, when he ſent at firſt to him; but ſent only to him for counſel in that caſe: deeming it better for him to do by ſome other rather than by himſelf; and being loth to come into trouble in thoſe turbulent times: (for the earl of Eſſex his buſineſs was then on foot) and that ſo ſoon as he underſtood his pleaſure, he readily condeſcended thereunto. The maſter thereupon charged him by the authority of his place, to bring him all Mr Darrel's books, that he had in his hands, and to go preſently with him unto the vice-chan-

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cellor; which without farther reply he yielded unto. But while he was gone to fetch the books, the vice chancellor ſent his ſervant to the maſter, deſiring him to come to himſelf; and the maſter, his man to Mr Bradſhaw, charging him to ſtay within until he returned.

At his return Mr Bradſhaw of his own accord repaired to him; who then charged him, at twelve of the clock to repair to his chamber, that he might take his anſwer, and a bond for his forth coming. But Dr Barwell, maſter of Chriſt's college, in the mean ſpace coming to him, (whether about that buſineſs or upon ſome other occaſion is uncertain) by his advice (it ſeems) the maſter altered his mind; and in likelihood the rather, after much mutual conſultation, and better conſideration paſt between them, becauſe both the maſters had themſelves bought of the books: for he ſends for Mr Wright, and now tells him, that it would be the beſt courſe for Mr Bradſhaw to go out of the way: which accordingly he did. The biſhop of London not long after wrote again to the vice chancellor to impriſon Underwood, and to make farther inquiry after Mr Bradſhaw, concerning whom, the maſter being by the vice chancellor demanded; made anſwer, that he was not in the college: whereunto he replied, that it was beſt ſo for him, not willing (as may be deemed) to be uſed as an inſtrument to moleſting him, if it might be avoided. The carriage of this buſineſs, together with the ſeveral overtures and circumſtances of it, is out of a narrative of his own, the more particularly related, to ſhew both the diſcreet and modeſt, and yet ingenuous and courageous diſpoſition of this ſervant of God; and the remarkable paſſages of God's providence in a concurrence of occurents ſo unexpectedly managed, that he ſhould thereby be kept out of the churches of thoſe that were ſo exceedingly thirſty to ſeize on him, and ſo fiercely bent againſt him.

Mr Bradſhaw being informed thereof by ſome friends, and conſidering how the biſhops perſiſted in enquiry after him, conceieved that Cambridge (for the preſent) could be no ſafe or quiet place for him: and having therefore withdrawn himſelf, though retaining his place ſtill there, he ſpent his time, for the ſpace of ſome months, partly with Mr Pigot at Abington, and partly at Morden with Mr Martin; in which places he had formerly exerciſed his miniſtry; and, as occaſion required, ſo ſtill did.

Thus there hovering, in a letter to a ſpecial friend, whoſe good opinion of him he much valued, he thus writes;

'I fear it will be ſomewhat offenſive unto you, and that you will condemn me for being too raſh and indiſcreet in this matter: but I truſt you will conſider that the thing I have done was to pleaſure moſt good and Chriſtian friends; that the cauſe it is the cauſe of God, and the glory of God hath been much encreaſed by it, by reaſon of the truth of God ſhining therein, unto which I could not perform a leſs duty; there being nothing in the books (as I am perſuaded) againſt the ſtate: howſoever, there are many hot words that might have been ſpared, though none that have not been deſerved. I wiſh they had paſt my poor cenſure before the coming forth of them, they ſhould not then have given ſo much advantage to the enemies of the truth. I will (God willing) fly the danger as much as I can, eſpecially in theſe troubleſome and tragical times, which ſeem of purpoſe to be choſen, that they might do the more injury, and the ſpeech may be the leſs.'

And in another to the ſame party, 'My danger for Mr Darrel troubleth me not a whit, I thank God; neither do I repent of any thing that I have therein done, ſo long as you think never the worſe of me, other matters trouble my mind more; yet ſuch is the goodneſs of God, that though they diſtract my mind from other ſtudies, needful for me to wade into; yet, when I come to exerciſe my poor miniſtry, and to ſtudy for my ſermons, my mind is free enough. Thus is the Lord wont, in a more ſpecial manner, to ſupport the ſpirits of his ſervants, for ſuch particular employments as he hath more eſpecially aſſigned them unto.

The matter that more troubled him, was concerning his entrance into any ſettled place for the exerciſe of his miniſtry, which he ſuppoſed would be, and upon ſome trial indeed found, every way ſo obſtructed, that, albeit places of imployment enough were offered, and his imploy-

ment in them much deſired, yet he could not conceive how it might be cleared in regard of the tenderneſs of his conſcience, and ſcruple of ſome things that he ſtuck at, which were like to be tendred unto him, and preſſed upon him, before admiſſion thereunto; and that the rather in probality in regard of the prejudice now had of him for the buſineſs concerning thoſe books: for he had been offered the rectory of Abington by Mr Pigot the patron, who would have compounded with the preſent incumbent for the bringing him in: and Mr Wendy likewiſe, a religious gentlemen in thoſe parts, had, together with ſome others, been endeavouring to bring him in at Baſinghorn; but neither of them took effect.

He was invited alſo to Newcaſtle in Staffordſhire, where alſo he repaired, but found not matters to his liking there; and after unto Yarmouth, to be lecturer with them, with aſſurance of a liberal maintainance from them, for they very much affected him. But that their deſign was croſſed by the biſhop of the dioceſe, having a jealous eye as well on them as on him, and being deſirous to prefer and place a chaplain of his own there.

To the college he returned again, after ſome time ſpent abroad, the ſtorm ſeeming now to be overblown, and howſoever there he met with no renewed moleſtation about the fore mentioned buſineſs, yet had he no heart at all there to continue; partly in regard of the departure thence of a ſpecial friend, whom he entirely affected, of whoſe return thither, being now elſewhere ſettled, he was wholly out of hope; and partly becauſe he perceived that the maſter did not then ſo affect him, as formerly he had done.

Amidſt theſe diſtractions, a preacher's place falling vacant at Chatham in Kent, where a great part of the navy-royal, and officers of the ſame attending, did uſually reſide; the buſineſs of ſupplying them with an able and faithful teacher was by general conſent referred to God, Mr Chaderton, being at that time in Kent not far from thence, thither drawn over from Cambridge, about the conſummating of a marriage between that reverend man of Mr Joſias Nichols, who had paſſed many ſharp bickerings and brunts in thoſe times, and the relict of that famous worthy Dr Whitaker deceaſed. He commended Dr Bradſhaw to them, concerning whom, the pionſly affected party, after diligent inquiry, received ſuch ample teſtimony, that (whereas divers others made firſt for the place, and by their labouring with ſome friends had wrought a ſiding among them, to prevent ſuch obſtructions as thence might ariſe) they ſent an expreſs to Cambridge on purpoſe, with inſtructions, in the firſt place to Mr Chaderton, to entreat him that he would not in any wiſe give conſent to have any other deſigned to the place, but him only whom he had already propounded; for that they reſted in his choice, and longed much to ſee and hear him. And in the next place to Mr Bradſhaw, to requeſt him, that he would make no doubt or delay of coming to them; wherein he would not be ſlack, if he knew how earneſtly they longed to ſee and enjoy him: and withal to ſignify to him, what had been delivered to Mr Chaderton from them; that they deſired only the ſincere milk of God's word, and a paſtor bearing a ſincere affection and tender heart to his people: that they had wrought great means to obtain him, that if he refuſed to come to them, he did not know what he did; and if he came, and found them not worthy of him, yet his labours and charge ſhould be fully made good. Thus being importuned, (as by his own letter to a friend of July the eighth, 1601, appeared) though by ſome ſtill preſſed for Abington, with hopes ſuggeſted of clearing the way there for him, he came to London; and after advice had with ſome friends in the city, from thence went down to Chatham.

And though it go for a common by-word, oft verified, that perſonal preſence abateth much of foreign reports; and great expectations preconceived, are wont ſeldom to receive full ſatisfaction. And if it be true that Mr Bradſhaw was not a man of much outſide, nor forward to put out himſelf, of a very baſhful and demiſs, but not fawning deportment; inſomuch that his bodily and perſonal preſence might (as the apoſtle's ſome time) ſeem weak, and not to promiſe much, with ſuch eſpecially as look no further than the face: yet when he came and was heard, and his meek and diſcreet carriage by the generality obſer-

ved, and by the wiser sort well weighed, he was by joint consent agreed upon; and a solemn letter of invitation appointed to be drawn up by Mr John Cook, sometime fellow of Trinity-college, then injoining an office under Sir Faulk Grivel, treasurer to the navy, and afterward secretary of state to king James, subscribed by the officers there belonging to the navy, and the most of any note and repute in the place; intimating their election of him by joint consent to the place, professing a willingness to submit themselves to his ministry, and promising to afford him all due support and assistance in the same.

Upon the receipt hereof he fully now resolved, without farther delay, to entertain the call, and accept of the place; and having signified so much unto them, was very lovingly received by them, and quietly, for some good space of time, (to wit, from July 1601, unto April 1602) laboured in the word and doctrine among them, (together with Mr John Philips, who, enjoying the vicarage, did, as pastor of the place, therein join with him) with good success and much comfort; and to the great contentment and gladsomeness of some people well affected in those parts. Being thus settled there, with good hope of continuance, motion was made to him, by some of his friends there, (supposing that might be some means of further engagement of him for to stay with them, of a match with a widow, and housewifely woman; and one that had lived always in good repute with them; which, not foreseeing in likelihood what would after ensue, he did, not unwillingly, so far hearken unto them, as to entertain some good liking of the woman; howsoever, in regard of the ensuing change of things, the business was no farther proceeded in; but, by mutual agreement between them, laid aside and delayed, until God should see good to make way, by some means, for their more convenient coming together, and comfortable cohabitation of either with other.

For those halcyon seasons lasted not long; the common adversary of God and man, who, out of his inveterate envy and enmity, can in no wise brook the propagation of the gospel, and dilatation of Christ's curtains, began, at first more covertly, and underhand, to contrive some course whereby to cast a rub in his way, and to procure a restraint of his farther proceeding in a course so successful and advantageous for the glory of God, and the good of his people.

For, about the time above mentioned, some neighbour ministers, envying the recourse of people to his teaching, began secretly to plot against him, though they would not be seen in it, by suggesting to the bishop of the diocese, that he was a man not conformed to the rites of the church, nor well affected to the present government. This how far it prevailed with the bishop that then sat there doth not appear; but the business being smelt out, and by some means discovered, to prevent trouble from him, and settle Mr Bradshaw, as they supposed, more surely in the place, it was, by divers of his people and friends there, deemed most expedient, (though therein peradventure much mistaken) to have some means used to obtain a confirmation of him therein from the archbishop of Canterbury, unto whom Rochester was a suffragan; and no man being deemed fitter to deal in this business with the archbishop, than that noble and religious knight Sir Francis Hastings, he was, by a letter from Mr Bradshaw, requested to make some trial of his interest in, and power with archbishop Whitgift, to that purpose, in his behalf. He, upon the receipt of Mr Bradshaw's letter, returned him this most kind, Christian, and affectionate answer:

'My love to yourself you know, and shall ever know it in any thing wherein I can make it known: my duty, your duty, and all our duties to God's church, you know better than myself. And my duty to further a good people to a good minister, a longing people to hear, to a labouring speaking minister to teach them, is a bond of duty that I may never forget, and a work of duty that I must ever be ready to perform. Assure yourself therefore my will shall not be slack; and if my posse can prevail, I shall be glad. I will say no more, but pray to my God to encrease his graces in you, to teach profitably; to increase grace in your people, to hear diligently; and to multiply his graces both in speaker and hearer, that they may speak and hear fruitfully,' &c. Subscribed, 'Your true Christian friend, Francis Hastings.'

Nor was he more ready to promise, than forward to perform; for within three days after, viz. April 25, he wrote to the archbishop this modest, pious, and zealous letter;

'May it please your grace to pardon me, that I do not personally attend you, but presume to write. I make bold to become suitor to your grace, for your favour to a young man, being one that I hold myself interested in, and to whom I owe my best help, to further him to some place of employment and maintainance, which causeth me now become an humble suitor for him to you; not without a special regard to that people, who so Christianly thirst after knowlege and instruction. The man for whom I sue is one Mr Bradshaw a master of arts of Sidney college in Cambridge. The matter I sue for, your grace's favour and allowance that he may preach: the place where his labours are desired is at Chatham.

'And I most humbly beseech your grace, that however you may find or hear, that he is fearful to do some things that may be urged on him; yet seeing he is well qualified with gifts, and of an honest carriage fitting for his calling, let not his fearfulness prejudice him with your lordship, but vouchsafe him liberty to bestow his talent; and I will undertake to your grace for him, that he shall not offer any disturbance to the peace of our church, either in word or action; but shall painfully bestow himself in that place, to preach Christ crucified; and to arm his people with some measure of knowlege, to stand Christianly and courageously for the truth of Christ, and to resist all errors broached against that holy doctrine.

'And the rather I make bold to render this suit to your grace for him, because I find plenty of practising by seminaries and Jesuits, to corrupt and pervert the people's hearts both in knowlege and obedience; and that through penury of preaching in some places it may prove dangerous.

'I never heard the young man preach myself, but I hear his gifts greatly commended; and I know him to be learned and painful also, and careful in that he taketh in hand. And though I know the tenderness of his conscience many ways, yet I dare engage my credit again (as before) to your grace for him, that he shall walk dutifully, wisely, and discreetly, in the whole course of his preaching, without all offer of disturbance to the peace of the church. And so longing to hear that my suit may find its desired success with your grace, I commend my humble duty to you, and commit your grace, and all your godly proceedings, to the protection and direction of the Lord Almighty.'

Subscribed, 'Your Grace's most bounden, and ready to be commanded. Francis Hastings.'

What answer the noble knight had from the archbishop, or what effect this letter had with him, we cannot certainly say; but by what followed it may well be deemed, that of the archbishop it was not very well relished; who in cases of this kind was seldom wont to do ought without the advice of bishop Bancroft, in whose stomach the memory of Mr Darrel's business stuck still, and of Mr Bradshaw's act about his books. For not without some intention in likelihood from above, those Mr Bradshaw's back-friends, who had before dealt in the dark, did shortly after begin to disclose themselves, and to manifest their malice, which had formerly lain hid, as embers raked up in the ashes.

The first of them that openly appeared in the business was one Mr Bearblock, minister at Strowd, a town or village adjoining to Rochester, a man of very mean parts for learning, and of a very scandalous life: but one of those whom the prophet Jeremiah speaketh of, that had a singular faculty of flicking and smoothing his tongue, to sooth men up in their sins. This man (among others) vexed at the concourse of people that repaired, from the places adjacent, to Mr Bradshaw's teaching, (although Mr Bradshaw, desirous to comply so far forth as without offence he might, with him) used to frequent his week-day's lecture, stuck not both in private meetings to rail at Mr Bradshaw for delivering heretical doctrine, and publickly also in a sermon on the Lord's day so to charge him therewith, that the auditory, though he named him not, might well know whom he meant.

Now,

Now, albeit the man himself was of no esteem, and his censure consequently little to be regarded, yet Mr Bradshaw deemed, that a public charge, of that nature, should not be let pass with silence. Howbeit, not willing, nor esteeming it meet to pester the pulpit with apologies, he chose rather to deal with his opponent and traducer by a letter, which it will not be amiss here to insert.

'Mr Bearblock, I was informed, by some of your Christian auditors at Strowd, that, in your forenoon's exercise, you took occasion, in the repetition of your former sermon, to add thereto something, in bitter terms, against some heretical doctrine lately broached in some neighbour church; which divers of your most charitable, and most of your judicious hearers, conceived to be directed against me. At the first, I had no cause easily to entertain the report, because I was no way guilty to myself, so much as of the least shew of any occasion given unto you to break out in that manner against me; and did presume you had better learned the laws of charity, than in such an open manner to traduce a fellow minister of the gospel, before you were better possessed of the cause. Besides, I thought that reproachful reports have been bruited against yourself, should have taught you, if you be innocent, that a minister of the gospel may be much abused and misreported of, both for life and doctrine; and, therefore, that you would not teach, by your own practice, me or any other thus, in open manner, to make the reports of men a sufficient text to preach against your life, as you have made them to preach against my doctrine. But since that time I am given to understand, that you have given it out at one Mr Moreland's table, that I was the man; that you then, before God and his holy angels, endicted and arraigned me, and that of no less a crime than gross heresy; and that some of your congregation were purposed to proceed in law against me for it.

'You know there was a law, (and it were well if it were now in force, to bridle distempered tongues) that if one were accused of a crime, which could not be proved, the accuser should suffer the punishment due to that crime: and then, Mr Bearblock, if heresy deserve a punishment, if you should but accuse me of that, which methinks you have already condemned me of, your back should bear the punishment of two heresies: for,

'1. It is most untrue that I have taught any such doctrine: And secondly, If you could not prove that doctrine, as I know you cannot, this you here so tax to be heresy, your doctrine that calleth it heresy, deserves no less, *lege talionis*, than heresy, which I speak not so much in regard of your weakness, as in grace, of the strength of the cause; wherein, though with the dim eye of mine own judgment, I could see nothing, yet I have cause to be confident, in regard of their judgment whose shadows it would become you and me to give room unto, yea, and to run away from.

'And I am verily persuaded, that though some of your spirit may be found to judge it an error to hold, That a bare reading minister is not a lawful minister before God; yet that none that deserves the name of a man of judgment, will push with such horns against it as you do, that it is an heresy, and that a gross and abominable one. I would I might be worthy to know, upon your better consideration of the point, whether that heart of your's, that set your tongue on fire against this poor heresy, would serve to set fire to the pretended heretic. But blessed be God, that supreme authority keepeth the fire-brands from the hands of such furies; else there were some cause to fear, lest the saints of God (I give them no other title than your own conscience gives them, nay than your own mouth hath given them) should find your hands as hot as they now feel your tongue; for methinks in your divinity, to make but a question of any thing in religion established by law, is no less than treason and heresy. There must be some mystery in it, that every poor man must not presume to look into; that one that is so full of charity towards adulterers, drunkards, blasphemers, and other sinners that swarm in the church, should be so fiery against these new heretics of your own making. What? Are they of all other past hope of repentance? or, do not the mercies of God, wherewith your mouth is so oft sugared, of all other belong to them? Myself, on the week day, am one of your auditors, and, I hope, none of the worst minded, and then you seem (as oft as ever I heard you) as if your soul did overflow with charity towards us all. You cannot be ignorant of the words that so often were in your lips; That none that hear you but they are God's faithful children; that though they be foul, grievous sinners, yet they are repentant, and God's mercy belongs unto them; that no man is without sin, but the best and holiest are unclean. This hath been your tenor for this half year; the sermon is yet to come, that ever with the least zeal you spake against lewdness of life: and yet now how full of zeal are you against errors in doctrine, of this sort especially? whereas, considering the slanders that run of you, (for I call them so, as I desire, for the gospel's sake, they may prove) you could take no better course, than to be most zealous in doctrine against those sins, that fame hath gone about to brand you withal; and to condemn such with your own mouth to hell, rather than to set open heaven's gates so wide unto them as you use to do; as though yourself were out of hope of heaven, except the lewdest of your congregation go to heaven. I may be bold, being the injured party, and knowing you better than you me, to take this leave to tell you thus much of yourself, who have so freely given leave to yourself to speak to others worse things of me; that if the Lord's judgments should pursue me so fast, that mine inward corruptions should break out into notorious crimes, and yet should dare, for all that, to exercise an holy ministry; that then, of all methods of teaching that ever I heard, I would surely follow your's,

'To keep you from advantage, I acknowlege the doctrine that you have taught in my hearing to be very sound and true: but this is it that I affirm, and you may keep it to yourself if it please you, that in dealing against sin, in all the sermons I have ever heard you, you have said no more in substance, than what you shall have always running in the wickedest mouths; That all men are sinners; that the godliest do fall seven times a day; that men must not despair of God's mercy; that they are sorry for it when they have done; that it is their corruption of nature, &c. which are all very excellent and comfortable doctrine to a broken heart, but very poison to an impenitent: so that if a minister should preach them to the stews, he should have as many applauses and Amens there to them, as any where else. If therefore a foul life be as abominable in the sight of God and man as false doctrine; if this zeal of your's against false doctrine were of God, you would blow as strong a blast against the other as you do against it, and a stronger too; considering, that the other having borrowed the wings of fame, is flying continually in your own face: this, if you could have let me alone, would never have bitten you.

'But to draw to an end, if my bare denial, and the voices of them that with best understanding heard me, and are best able to repeat the heads of that sermon, can persuade you, that there was no such doctrine then delivered; I hope you will satisfy that congregation, whose ears you have abused with that report, and especially the gentleman to whom you related the particulars. If you cannot be moved to this, yet be contented, sith you say the law must proceed upon me, to stay the proceeding of your tongue against me, till you have tried me guilty or not. If you cannot yield to this, but have a purpose to pursue the matter, let religion over-rule you thus far, to deal with me in the points by private writing; but if you have resolved to go on in this indirect course, openly thus to injure me, do it I pray you in your weekly exercise, that I may not trust to the report of others, but may be a witness to myself of mine own abuses, and then I shall know the better how to satisfy you.

'It is the humour of most of your stamp, under pretence of a zeal to her majesty's proceedings in matters of religion, to take your liberty of speech against some, that are persuaded some things might, and should be reformed, if the state had leisure to look into them: and you know it full well, that such as you are shall find ears enough to receive your accusations against such; else, upon equal ground, you would not be so confident, thus hand-over-head, to condemn as good subjects (without any disgrace)

as yourself, of no less than heresy and treason. As for myself, I thank God, I have had that care, both of mine outward conversation and doctrine, that none of any civility, I trust, shall find a face to reproach me for the one, nor any, of any judgment, will accuse me of the other. And as for those reports, that are given out against me, out of your's and others mouths, your shame shall send them home again, and I will wear them about my neck as chains and garlands.

In particular, for yourself, (though I desire the love, acquaintance, and favour of any well gifted minister) it will be no great disgrace to me to sit at home without your countenance, except yourself were in greater countenance with them that truly fear the Lord.

'Thus leaving you at this time to a better spirit than that which set you so greedily on work against me, I commit you to the grace, mercy, and pardon of God; and myself to his wise direction, hereafter to take heed how I give mouths so readily open to reproach to my ministry, any just and direct occasion.

'Chatham, the last of April 1602. Your fellow labourer and minister in the Lord's work, desirous of peace, and, if it were possible, of love also. William Bradshaw.'

This letter, though somewhat large, it seemed not amiss at full to relate; because it representeth to the life, both the character of many such teachers as were forwardest to oppose God's faithful messengers in those times, and the manner of their teachings, which the most of our Antinonian party, that give out themselves as the only gospel preachers, come so near unto now a days, and the most unequal and unchristian courses also that were by such then commonly practised, to work them into disgrace with the people, and to procure trouble to them from the state. But the malice of the man stayed not here, which, of itself, for ought he was able to do, was not much to be regarded; for being nettled by this letter, upon consultation had with some of his accomplices, a knight of note in that country, a man of some parts of learning and wit, but of loose life, utterly averse from, and adverse to the profession and practice of piety, was by them procured to come down from Rochester, where he then was, to Chatham, on a Lord's day, to hear Mr Bradshaw, and that for no other end, but to pick somewhat (if it might be) out of his teaching, for which, upon his information against him, (a practice most unworthy a man of his rank) his mouth might be stopped, or he inhibited at least from farther employment in that place.

And according indeed to their wicked design and ungodly desire the plot proceeded; for, whereas Mr Bradshaw being then entered upon the handling of the story of Christ's temptations, (related by two evangelists, on which his sermons, much desired by many that heard part of them, and though not fully perfected by him, yet by some small supplies being made up, may peradventure hereafter see light) had observed, that this was the main scope of Satan in his first encounter, to bear our Saviour in hand, that howsoever he had been put in some hope by a voice, as from heaven, that he was 'the beloved Son of God; yet God, by his present neglect of him, and leaving him in such difficulties, destitute of all necessaries, did thereby manifest that he did not respect or regard him at all. Hereupon he took occasion to admonish all true Christians, to arm themselves diligently against this temptation, and to strengthen their faith in the assurance of God's favour towards them, care of them, and undoubted truth of his promises made to them; using this as an argument to excite them unto the greater care in this kind; for that (said he) 'If this temptation do once fasten upon us, that we shall come, by Satan's slights, to be persuaded that there is no such matter, that God hath no such respect or regard unto us, it cannot but cool our love unto God.' Which words of his, very wholesome and good, the knight perverting and misreporting, informed, underhand, against him, that he should deliver, 'That a man was not bound to love God unless he were sure that God loved him.' Hereupon Mr Bradshaw was shortly after, by a short note under Dr Buckeridge's hand, bearing date May 26. 1602, and directed unto him at Chatham, made acquainted, that it was the pleasure of his lord's grace of Canterbury, and his lordship of London (the main prosecutor of the business against him), that he should the next day, by nine of the clock, appear personally before them at Shorn, a town situate between Rochester and Gravesend: whither accordingly he repaired; and thereupon appearing, after some questions moved, and answers thereunto returned, the bishop of London began to charge him with teaching of false and ungodly doctrine, such as had been suggested by the knight before mentioned; whereunto when he answered negatively, relating withal truly and sincerely what he had delivered, and offering to produce not a few of good credit who could and would testify what then he taught, that would not be admitted: London affirming, that what had been informed, was averred by such as were able to conceive, being learned, and to understand aright what it was that he delivered, and recieved it not by report from others, but had been ear witnesses of it themselves. However, at last, to strike all dead sure, subscription was tendered to him, whereat they knew he would stick; which because he professed that he could not condescend unto, they inhibited him to preach any more at Chatham; and having bound him to appear when he should be further called upon, for the present so dismissed him.

The next Lord's day was one suborned, in the habit of a traveller, to repair early in the morning to Mr Bradshaw's lodging at Chatham, who asking to speak with him, pretended that he came on purpose out of his way to hear him, and demanded of him whether he preached that day or no? whereunto he answering, that he did not, being by authority inhibited, he made show of such sorrow, as being frustrated of his expectation; but he was descried to be no other than a spy, sent to sound Mr Bradshaw what he intended to do, so greedy were they to have further ensnared him, if by any means they might. The same day Mr Bearblock was observed at Strood, as triumphing after a victory atchieved by some great adversary, to have appointed to be sung before his forenoon sermon the former part of the 27th psalm.

Those of Chatham, much affected with the inhibition of their faithful teacher, and grieved in their souls for the restraint of that precious food which they had formerly received from him, were not backward to use what means they might for the taking off the inhibition and removal of the restraint. To this purpose a supplication was framed in the name of the parishioners of Chatham unto the bishop of Rochester, their immediate diocesan, in these words;

'Right rev. father, and our very good Lord, if we were not by manifold trial, and long experience, assured of the love that you bear, and the care that you have over that flock which the Lord hath committed unto your charge, we could not with so good hope and comfort as now we do, become petitioners unto your Lordship in the behalf of our too much wronged preacher Mr Bradshaw, unto whom, in sincerity of a good conscience, we do voluntarily yield this testimony, that he is a man so far in every respect from desert of those misreports wherewith his causeless adversaries have endeavoured to incense your good lordship against him, as his accusers have been, from the remembrance of that duty which they ought to bear to your lordship, whom they have abused with sinister and unjust informations; his doctrine always holy, wholesome, true, and learned, utterly void of faction and contention; his life so thoroughly garnished with unblemished virtues and graces, as malice itself cannot reprove or suspect him; directing all his labours only to the beating down of sin and wickedness, the comfort of the faithful, and the instruction of the ignorant, without intermeddling at any time with the needless and conceited controversies of this factious age.

'May it therefore please your good lordship, with favour, according to your wonted goodness, so to tender this your little poor flock of Chatham, as to restore unto us our virtuous and faithful teacher, lest otherwise we be as sheep without a shepherd; which being obtained, we, your humble supplicants, will account it so great a blessing of God from the hands of your rev. father hood, as that we shall hold ourselves bound faithfully to pray unto the Almighty for your lordship's endless prosperity.'

This

This their petition, after their own frame conceived, is the rather here inſerted to ſhew their reverend eſtimation of Mr Bradſhaw, and their earneſt deſire to have retained him ſtill with them. But the buſineſs was in higher hands, London was the man that muſt do it, if ought were done, with whom Chaderton (going up to London upon occaſion of ſome college affairs) promiſed to deal in Mr Bradſhaw's behalf; and in likelihood did; but, as appeared, without ſucceſs.

Thus was this bleſſed ſervant of God toſſed to and fro and could not be ſuffered to abide long in a place; though a man of peaceable carriage, a moſt meek and humble ſpirit, and a kind and loving diſpoſition. But God's pious providence over his, and gracious proviſion for them never faileth. He is oft working for them when they leaſt ſee it, and where or whence they leaſt look for it. He was then preparing a retiring and reſting place for him, when he ſeemed to be now utterly out of hope of any. For being now driven from Chatham, he came up to London whence, after ſome ſhort ſtay with a friend, having at preſent no employment, he thought good to look down into Leiceſterſhire, to viſit his friends there; and he intended the journey only as a viſit: howſoever, the Lord, in his ſudden diſpoſal, unknown unto him had a further aim in it than he was then aware of, as by the event appeared which he afterwards took notice of, and did thankfully acknowledge.

For upon his coming down into thoſe parts, by the good hand of God, uſing that his worthy ſervant of bleſſed memory Mr Arthur Hilderſham (as formerly ſometime, ſo now again) as an inſtrument therein, he was brought into ſome notice with, and commended unto one Mr Alexander Redich, a religious gentleman, then reſiding at New-hall, an houſe of note, ſituate near to Burton upon Trent, in the confines of Darbyſhire, Leiceſterſhire, and Staffordſhire. He not only received him into his houſe, but obtained alſo for him, from the then biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, being a moderate man, a licence to preach in any part of his dioceſe: which favour and liberty Mr Bradſhaw, without any interruption, enjoyed in thoſe parts during that biſhop's life; yea, and after too, without any trouble, a light and ſhort ſtorm only excepted, and that ſoon again laid, the year before his deceaſe whereof ſomewhat hereafter, unto the time of his releaſement.

For his entertainment there, though the means allowed him were very ſmall in regard that the gentleman's eſtate was much encumbered, and he, by reaſon thereof diſabled to do what he otherwiſe deſired; the Lady Ferrers, his wife's mother yet ſurviving who had an eſtate for life in that part of the land which was to come to his wife, whereon he then reſided; not in regard of religion (for a ſtrong and zealous papiſt ſhe was) ſo well affected towards them, being forward another way: and ſome other part of it, by concealment of ſome evidences, being wrongfully detained from him, as in proceſs of time, upon diſcovery thereof, did evidently appear: yet the ſmall pittance that was allowed him, together with their kind carriage towards him, and the loving affection to him that he found generally in the family, did give him very good content. For in a letter to an inward friend he profeſſeth, that he found both the gentleman and his wife very tender hearted, and ſincerely religious, ſo kind unto him as his heart could not deſire more, and that in gifts they were otherwiſe beneficial unto him; and the truth is, (ſaith he, for you have his own words) it is impoſſible to find more love in a place than I do find more and more both of great and ſmall in the houſe; ſo that the Lord, I ſee, hath not clean forſaken me. And in another to the ſame party; Never let your mind be troubled about the ſmallneſs of my maintenance, it is more than he from whom it cometh can well ſpare, yet as much as my labours upon them deſerve; and more than many of my betters have. To add hereunto ſome farther matter of encouragement and contentment, he withal ſignifieth, that the Lord had bleſt him there with a moſt kind neighbour, abiding in a houſe not far from thence with the Lord Paget, a young man of Oxford, and a Londoner by birth, one Mr Haſſal, a man of very rare parts for all kind of learning, of moſt prompt and ready ſpeech, and of a very courteous and affable diſpoſition. With him he entertained familiarly, and maintained a good correſpondence, while they abode ſo near together: for he was not nice to embrace acquaintance with any moderate man, of endowments eſpecially; and very forward to take notice of the good parts of others, and to ſet them out, as occaſion was offered, to the utmoſt; ſo far was he from that malevolent humour ſo rife with too many in thoſe times, of extenuating or blurring the endowments and abilities of others; ſuch eſpecially as do not in every particular conceit, though but groundleſſly oft fancied, comply with themſelves: as alſo, together, with his ingenious compoſure of ſpirit, his pious diſpoſition may herein be obſerved, in taking notice of, and acknowledging a paſſage of divine providence, in every accommodation, that might any way, or in any meaſure, improve the comfort of his preſent condition

But that the great moderation of mind in one of ſuch worth, as was this ſervant of Chriſt, may the better appear, we ſhall compare the means of maintainance afforded him and his employments, whereof he profeſſed before not to deſerve ſo much as ſo ſmall a pittance amounted unto, the one with the other. That the allowance was very ſmall, may very juſtly be deemed. when his friends were ſo much troubled and grieved, to think that one of his endowments ſhould be driven to accept ſo low and ſlender conditions; and the truth is, as by his own relation appears the allowance at firſt agreed upon was but ten pounds by the year, his diet, fire, candle, and all kind of attendance, as himſelf draws it out at length, to make the moſt of it.

That which is here ſpecified not in any wiſe to aſperſe the gentleman, whoſe preſent condition would not then well afford better terms; and yet ſhewed his good will by free addition to what he ſtood engaged for, even in his firſt year of abode with him, and afterward alſo, as charge grew upon Mr Bradſhaw; though means were not much amended with him, yet ſtrained himſelf unto a farther enlargement, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed; but to manifeſt the exceeding and almoſt unparalleled modeſty of the man, eſteeming his labours beneath ſo poor an allowance For his employments that himſelf ſo much undervalued, what were they? Beſides his private exercites, at ſet times, performed in the family, he preached at firſt conſtantly twice every Lord's day, in a chapel, of ſome capacity, belonging to the gentleman's houſe, and ſituate within the park where the houſe ſtood; afterward, when the reſort from other parts, more remote, grew ſo great, that the place could not well contain them. that the more might enjoy the fruit of his miniſtry, and with the more eaſe to them, though the leſs to him and the houſhold, he was eaſily induced (the governors of the family, out of their religious diſpoſition, well approving thereof, and condeſcending thereunto), to beſtow his labours, as he had before done in the chapel, in a more public place, at a pariſh church, where a reading vicar only was, at a village called Stapenhill or Stapenhall, about a mile diſtant from the place of his abode.

And this he did conſtantly for above twelve years at leaſt, at ſuch times as the gentleman abode with his family at Newhall, which was the principal place of his ſettled abode; receiving for ſuch his pains among them no conſideration at all from the people of the place. the moſt of them deeming him more beholden to them. for coming and ſtaying to hear him, than themſelves to him for coming to preach to them; ſave that on the Lord's day, for his better eaſe and refreſhment, between his forenoon and afternoon's employment, he was uſually entertained at the houſe of one Mr Alexander Buckley, who had ſometime belonged, as a bailiff or ſteward, to Mr Redich's family, and whoſe wife, Mrs Ann Buckley, a very ſweet natured, humble, and godly woman, was both a Mary and Martha to him, no leſs diligent to attend his teaching with the one, than ſedulous to make fitting proviſion for him with the other; and that ſome of the better affected ſort among thoſe that heard him would now and then gratify him with ſome kind of country courteſies, when he kept houſe by himſelf

Having thus ſpent above a twelve-month or more with Mr Redich, his thoughts began to be more ſolicitouſly renewed concerning that buſineſs of marriage propounded to him

him at Chatham, and ſo far forth, as hath been formerly ſhewn, embraced then by him; which in regard alſo of ſome other emergent occaſions had hung hitherto in ſuſpence. This to proceed in and conſummate he much deſired, not ſo much in regard of himſelf, as in regard of the other party, who had been held in expectation thereof ſo long already, and might deem it ſome wrong, if it ſhould be ſtill ſo delayed. But how this might conſiſt with his continuance in Mr Redich's family he was not able well to conceive; and how very loath he was to part with a family, where he had found ſo much love. Howſoever he reſolved to break the matter unto them, before he would proceed any farther therein, that if no fit means of compliance there could be contrived, he might with their good leave look out for ſome other place of employment, and they have ſome convenient ſpace of time for fitting and furniſhing of themſelves with ſome other to ſucceed with them in his room. Upon relation hereof, according to ſuch his reſolution, (having taken a fit time for it) made unto them, informing them truly and freely in all circumſtances, how the caſe ſtood with him, and how he ſtood affected towards them, 'it was ſtrange to ſee (it is in his own words related) how great affection they ſhewed to bear unto him, expreſſed even with tears; that on no condition he muſt depart from them; ſuch courſe ſhould be taken, as that, when he ſhould in that kind change his condition, he might ſtill conveniently and comfortably abide with them.' Whereunto he ſubjoineth: 'And this indeed is the firſt hour of my ſolid comfort, that the Lord hath vouchſafed me a ſtanding place, where I may ſettle myſelf. And indeed God was pleaſed to work ſome particulars ſomewhat ſtrangely and unexpectedly, beyond what he was then able to foreſee or forecaſt, toward the farther accompliſhment of his deſire in this kind; as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

Mean while Mr Redich by occaſion of buſineſs drawn up to London, and having taken ſome lodgings for himſelf and his retinue near unto Chriſt-church, with purpoſe to make ſtay ſome good ſpace of time in the city, Mr Bradſhaw abiding there with him, was requeſted to preach ſometime at Chriſt church; which accordingly he did, and that with ſuch approbation and good liking of the well affected in the pariſh, that the afternoon's lecture there becoming vacant, albeit Dr Milward, a man of ſome note in thoſe times, ſtood for it, yet by the greater number of votes, in a veſtry purpoſely for that end aſſembled, Mr Bradſhaw was choſen to be their lecturer; though not having ſought it himſelf, but having been without his privity propounded by ſome ſuch of them as had been much taken with his former ſermons. But the will of God (it ſeems) was, that he ſhould ſtill adhere to that family, which he was fallen into, and where he had found ſo much affection; that which to his dying day alſo he did. For though by ſome of thoſe, who earneſtly deſired him, great means were made to the biſhop, yet would he in no wiſe condeſcend to give way thereunto.

During his ſtay in thoſe parts, looking down to Chatham, he there conſummated that buſineſs, which hitherto had been delayed. And in regard that Mr Redich with his wife and retinue were by reaſon of his urgent affairs in divers kinds likely to continue for a longer ſpace of time in the city than at firſt was expected; Mr Bradſhaw having brought up his wife with him from Chatham, did for a while board her with a ſiſter of hers, before married, and ſeated in the city, and afterward took part of a tenement for himſelf and her, who being a woman that affected employment, for their better ſupport, taught there a few ſcholars. Much about this time, by occaſion of that formal conference acted and tranſacted at Hampton-court, wherein ſome of our chief prelates endeavoured to poſſeſs the king's majeſty with a prejudice againſt thoſe that made ſuit for a reformation of things amiſs in church-affairs (his diſaffection to whom, he had himſelf alſo in ſome writing of his, partly diſcovered already) and to perſuade him, that for eccleſiaſtical affairs all things were ſo well ſettled, that no reformation needed, but ſome ſtrict injunction only of a preciſe conformity unto, and conſtant obſervation of things already eſtabliſhed; which began thereupon in many places with much vigour to be preſſed; it came to paſs that many books came abroad, being privately printed, wherein divers godly miniſters, who were of a contrary judgment, declared their grievances, laid down their exceptions, ſet forth their grounds of diſſent, and returned anſwer to the arguments produced and urged againſt them to induce them to conformity.

For books of this nature, ſearch was made in the city; for one, more eſpecially among the reſt, that had (it ſeems) given our great clergy maſters moſt offence, and Mr Bradſhaw being known to abide then in the city, a man in much ſuſpicion with them, two purſuivants, accompanied with Mr Norton the king's printer, were ſent with commiſſion to ſearch his houſe both for it and him. Whither accordingly repairing, but not finding him at home, they enforced his wife to open his cloſet or ſtudy, the cheſts, trunks, boxes, and preſſes, to make ſearch for ſuch books, but found nothing. For the truth is, (and there was a great providence in it) after that Mr Bradſhaw was that morning gone out, not above half an hour before that this buſineſs fell out, his wife looking into his ſtudy, and ſeeing ſome of thoſe books there, to prevent future danger, (which yet ſhe then little deemed or dreamed to be ſo near at hand as it proved to be afterward) had taken them out from thence, and caſt them into a hole between two chimnies, where being covered over with old beſoms, they remained undiſcovered. But however they could meet with nothing of that which they looked for, yet on his wife they ſeized, who would rather have had him; her they took and led unto Doctors Commons, where having preſented her before Dr Stanhop, Dr White, and a third party, whom ſhe knew not, a number ſufficient to make up a compleat High Commiſſion Court; they examined her, yet without oath; firſt, 'Where her huſband was?' whereunto ſhe anſwered, ſhe knew not; then, 'What means of maintainance ſhe had, and from whom?' To which ſhe made anſwer, that ſhe gat her living by her work, and teaching of a few young children; after that 'What children ſhe had?' ſhe told them, none yet; but one ſhe hoped in her belly, being then great with child; which was her firſt born ſon, now a miniſter of the goſpel, afterwards born in that houſe they then dwelt in, in Threed needle ſtreet, and baptized in the church near thereto adjoining, where the miniſter of the place, ſomewhat thick of hearing, by a miſtake, inſtead of Jonathan, named him John, which name therefore he bare afterward, and doth to this day. But after divers ſuch queſtions to little purpoſe propounded and anſwered, in concluſion they told her, that they knew well enough that the book they then ſearched for, was none of her huſband's making, tho' he might have a hand in venting it; and withal, that if they had been diſpoſed, they could have had him, for all his keeping in a Lancaſhire gentleman's houſe. So they termed Mr Redich, becauſe his own lands of inheritance lay in thoſe parts. Thus having parlied with her, they diſmiſſed her, not ſuffering thoſe greedy harpies the purſuivants, who were eager upon her for their fees, to exact ought from her only binding her at a day's warning to appear again before them.

Thus through God's goodneſs and watchful eye over his ſervant, too regardleſs in ſome ſort of his own ſafety, having eſcaped the ſnare that was ſet for him, he returned after ſome ſpace of time, Mr Redich's main buſineſs being now diſpatched, together with him and his, unto their former place of abode at New Hall, taking his wife and little one together alſo along with him.

Being there arrived, the gentleman both enlarged his maintainance, and aſſigned him and his wife certain chambers in his houſe conveniently furniſhed; as alſo having in the park for a certain number of kine, and of ſwine, and ſome poultry, together with a convenient room for a dairy, wherein ſhe might exerciſe her houſewifery; which ſhe very well could do, and accordingly did.

Now while they thus lived together in Mr Redich's houſe, Mr Bradſhaw went on cheerfully in his wonted courſe, both of private exerciſes for the inſtruction of the family, and of public employment on the Lord's day for the benefit of others alſo abroad. But the old lady Ferrer, Mrs Redich's mother, a woman of a great ſpirit, and a reſolute papiſt, though not an abſolute profeſſed recuſant, could by no means brook Mr Bradſhaw, and the leſs now becauſe married, and for that he had brought his wife alſo to

her

ſee with him in houſe with them: yea ſhe had conceived ſuch an extream hatred againſt him, profeſſing to hate him above any man in the world; that ſhe had made a vow, that ſhe would never ſet her feet in the houſe where he was, and it was therefore feared, not without ſome juſt ground of ſuſpicion, that the family might from her, fare the worſe for him. But the hearts of all men, and women alſo, are in God's hand, and he can wind and turn them which way he will: and when a man's ways do pleaſe the Lord, he can, if he ſee it good, yea, doth oft, when he ſeeth it will be for the good of his, make of his utter foes, his friends. And even ſo fell it out here. For the lady not withſtanding this her extream diſaffection, ſo deeply rooted, and ſo vehemently expreſſed, yet in proceſs of time being enduced by ſome that were in credit and repute with her, to viſit her ſon in law and daughter, and make a ſtay for ſome time (which they much deſired) in houſe with them; and being withal informed and aſſured by them of Mr Bradſhaw's mild and moderate demeanure, and his meek, kind, and lowly carriage, ſhe was over wrought by them, contrary to that her former unnatural and irreligious engagment, to repair thither, and take up her lodging with them: where it pleaſed God, withal not long after her acceſs thither, (being now an eye witneſs herſelf of what ſhe had formerly heard by report of him from others) ſo to alter, that her former diſaffection to Mr Bradſhaw, and to caſt it into a clean contrary mould that all that beheld and obſerved her carriage on all occaſions towards him wondered exceedingly at it, to ſee ſo ſtrange an alteration, and ſuch not unexpected only, but unuſual carriages in her. For, albeit ſhe were otherwiſe a gentlewoman as of very proper and perſonable preſence and in that regard much admired by the Scottiſh queen that ſuffered here, whom ſhe alſo much affected ſo of herſelf no leſs forward to take and keep ſtate; yet ſhe uſed Mr Bradſhaw with very much courteſy and compliment at table drinking to him, and carving for him; reſorting twice a day conſtantly to prayer with him and the family, and ſpeaking reverently of him; yea whereas formerly ſhe could not be induced to hear any of our miniſters preach; howſoever for faſhion ſake, and to eſcape penalty of law ſhe might ſometime repair to hear the Liturgy read; yet was ſhe content to hear Mr Bradſhaw, and commended his ſermons. Which the better to work upon her, he wiſely framed to ſuch ſubjects as he deem'd would beſt ſerve, to take off ſuch falſe imputations, as are wont by the adverſe party to be caſt upon our profeſſion and preaching as if we were utter enemies to mortification and good works. For firſt out of Matth v. 16. he took occaſion to ſpeak of the neceſſity and nature of good works; the ground from whence they ſpring, and the end that muſt be aimed at in them; and after that out of Pſal. 51. of repentance and mortification, with both which diſcourſes ſhe ſeemed to be very much affected. What farther work theſe things had upon her after her departure thence, we are not able to ſay; but certain it is, that while ſhe abode there ſhe ſeemed to be much better diſpoſed not towards Mr Bradſhaw only; but (contrary to what was formerly feared, and ſtrongly ſuſpected) toward her ſon in law and daughter alſo For before ſhe went thence, ſhe ſealed them a leaſe for three years, of the land they held from her, with abatement of an hundred pounds by the year of the rent formerly paid, and a remiſſion of thirty pounds a year beſides, otherwiſe accruing to her, (God might bleſs the houſe, for his Joſeph's ſake) and her continued good opinion of and affection to Mr Bradſhaw ſhe farther manifeſted, by her free conſent, to have an houſe built for him and his wife to live in, on a parcel of land that ſhe had intereſt in; which was accordingly with as much ſpeed as might be not long after effected. Than which (ſaith he, ſo modeſt and moderate were his affections for the things of this life) I deſire no more worldly things, than that I may be ſettled in that little houſe, and reſt there in quiet, which theſe times give ſmall hope of.

This he conceived the leſs hope of, becauſe the biſhop under whom he had hitherto lived quietly, about this time, was deemed not like long to continue, and indeed ſhortly after deceaſing, it was given out that biſhop Neal, tranſlated from Rocheſter, was to ſucceed (that which he much dreading, in divers of his letters had oft ſaid, Lord keep us from Rocheſter) and ſo he did indeed, though not immediately; yet not long after. For Dr Abbots Dean of Wincheſter, who came in between them, ſat not long there, but before many months expired ſlept from Litchfield to London. But biſhop Neal was the man, whom all the pious, as well private men as miniſters, in theſe parts miſdoubted would do the moſt miſchief. And it was reported, that the biſhop was minded to reſide from the ſpace of time at Darkelow, a place not far from Newhall; whoſe neighbourhood was like to prove no more beneficial to Mr Bradſhaw, than the braſs pots company in the fable to the earthen pitcher. But, as dangers oft befal us, where we leaſt miſdoubt or ſuſpect ought much leſs expect any; ſo (the Lord on that wiſe diſpoſing things for the ſafety of his ſervants, and the enuring of them to a conſtant dependence on his providence) it falleth out ſometime on the other ſide, that we prove leaſt aſſailed or annoyed from thence, whence we have been moſt affrighted with the greateſt expectation of much damage, or ſore diſtreſs. So it fell out with Mr Bradſhaw here. For, howſoever in one of his letters he manifeſteth his fears to that purpoſe, that in regard of the conſiderations before mentioned, he much doubted that Zone would be too hot for him, yet in another afterward he ſignifieth that he had not as yet heard ought from him, or of any complaints that had been made to him againſt him. Nor indeed doth it appear that he was at any time after moleſted, or diſturbed in the exerciſe of his miniſtry by either of them, by what means ſoever the Lord was pleaſed to either repreſs or divert, as well the malice of the one, as the might of the other, that neither of them ſhould fall on to any purpoſe upon him, until the year before he died.

About this time Mr Redich beſtowed his eldeſt daughter, Mrs Grace Redich in marriage with Sir Robert Darcie, ſon and heir to Sir Edward Darcie, a Kentiſh knight, a very religious gentleman in great favour and repute with that illuſtrious prince Henry of rare parts, and great hopes, of whom this land was not worthy, and one that highly eſteemed Mr Bradſhaw, as he juſtly deſerved. He, making his abode at New-hall until his father's deceaſe, (where his lady a very gracious gentlewoman according to her name, not inferior to her huſband, either in piety, or in ſincerity of affection to Mr Bradſhaw, was the ſecond time delivered of twins, and became mother of four children, within the compaſs of a year) Mr Bradſhaw by his company there received much comfort and encouragement in the work of his miniſtry, and furtherance alſo in his ſtudies. For Sir Robert being a ſcholar and ſtudious, had a library furniſhed with many of the beſt writers, as well in divinity, as in other kinds of literature, whereof Mr Bradſhaw had the free uſe; and he brought alſo upon his motion, divers others on purpoſe, that might be uſeful for him. And this his affectionate and courteous carriage to Mr Bradſhaw, toward whom he ever demeaned himſelf with much reverence and due reſpect, was continued by him until his diſeaſe, which did not many weeks precede Mr Bradſhaw's.

In the year 1613 it pleaſed God to take from him that worthy gentleman Mr Redich, his patron, who in a very holy and Chriſtian manner at New hall departed this life. His frequent removals from New-hall to Longford another houſe that had befallen him in thoſe parts not long before his deceaſe, was occaſion of much diſtraction to Mr Bradſhaw, now ſettled with his family at Santon Ward near to New-hall, but his deceaſe much more: concerning which he thus writes, among other things in a letter to a friend, Mr Redich's deceaſe hath made an heavy alteration in this family; and for mine own eſtate: Mrs Redich giving over houſe, as ſhe intendeth to do, and to live ſomewhere hereabout, as privately as ſhe may, for the better diſcharging of her huſband's debts, it will be leſs comfortable, and more chargeable to me than it hath been. But I am willing for her good to undergo any thing. Mr Redich on his death-bed was willing to have aſſured me of ſomething during my life. But the force of his diſeaſe did ſo grow upon him that he could do nothing. If God lend Mrs Redich life, till the debts be diſcharged, or a ſure courſe taken for them, I hope ſhe will, if it lye in her power; for ſhe hath promiſed ſo to do; and I aſſure me, ſhe will do her uttermoſt to effect it. But whatſoever fall out, I truſt I ſhall be content, having been hitherto at the Lord's

Lord's finding; who hath shewed himself at all times a loving father to me his unworthy child; and our time here, though it be full of wants, is but short.' Thus it pleased the Lord to inure this his servant to a dependance from day to day for provisions upon his providence; and as a grave man of God sometime said, 'Whereas many others have, and eat their bread stale; to receive his bread, and eat it daily new from his hand;' that which he also you see, was very well content to do. Mean while the good gentlewoman's incumbred and unsettled estate she was left in, being to take course for the payment of her husband's debts, and to compound for the wardship of her younger daughter, who was afterward matched to one of the lord chief justice Cook's sons, could not but exceedingly distract Mr Bradshaw, as well as herself; and drew him up to London together with her, oftner than he had any mind of himself, or desire thereunto. But from that family the main means of his maintenance accrued; and to it therefore he constantly addicted himself, as in duty he deemed himself obliged to do.

At Stanton Ward, not far from Newhall, as was before intimated, his family still abode in the little house there built for him: where, while Mrs Redich abode in those parts, or when he had any liberty to get down from these parts, while she was longer than usually detained in or about the city; he went on constantly in his wonted course, teaching freely at Stapenhill every Lord's day, as formerly he had done. Only in the year 1617. coming down from London, (upon what occasion, or through whose instigation, is uncertain) he was welcomed home by the bishop's chancellor, with an inhibition to preach there, till he heard further from him. But by the mediation of a couple of good angels, the one from himself, (so willing and forward was he to redeem his liberty, for the benefit of others, without advantage to himself) and the other from a friend, the chancellor was soon pacified, and the restraint removed; whereby it appeared that the prohibition proceeded principally from his own avarice, rather than from misinformation from any thereabout, or injunction from above.

Amidst this his restless and distracted condition; and constant pursuit of his religious employments, the Lord was preparing a place of settled rest for him, and royal reward in the highest heavens, for his faithful service here upon earth, drawing on apace now to its utmost period. For in the year 1618. being come up from Stanton, to attend Mrs Redich, while he lodged with her at Chelsey, not far from the city, visiting a friend at Rederith whose house he usually frequented when he was in these parts, he complained of some malady that by his present distemper he misdoubted might be grown upon him, and though by his friend he was earnestly urged to take some speedy course, by the physician's advice, for preventing the further growth of it; yet being too regardless of himself, while he neglected so to do, he was suddenly surprized with a violent and (as the physician affirms) malignant fever, which so fiercely set upon him, that in its very first apparent encounter it cast him down upon his couch. And notwithstanding all the means used, that either were desired, or could be procured; no care being omitted, or cost spared, by that worthy gentlewoman, who most tenderly and intirely affected him, for advice of physicians who constantly repaired to him, assistance of apothecary, according to direction with all requisite necessaries supplying him, and diligent attendance, as well of those in the family, as of some others also for that end procured from abroad, without intermission successively about him; even the gentlewoman herself (though advised to forbear, in regard of some malignity deemed to be in the disease) frequently resorting to him, sitting by him, and with her own hands offering, for his better ease, to be helpful unto him, which yet he was very loath to admit; in all which from the first to the last she expressed a very great measure of cordial affection unto him, and no less an earnest desire, both of his present relief, and future recovery also, if God should see it good; yet the time being now come wherein the Lord had determined to put an end to his faithful servant's laborious employments, continued distractions, and restless condition and to translate him hence to a place of endless rest, and peace never to be interrupted again; the force of the disease within the space of a few days fretted asunder those bands that kept soul and body together, and leaving the one behind to be laid up in the bowels of that element whence it had its first original, let the other at full liberty to return unto him, from whom alone it immediately received its existence at first.

During the short time of his sickness, wherein yet, through God's goodness, he continued free from any notable sense of pain, and was accompanied with much freedom of mind and memory, he had his heart and tongue in meditation set wholly upon God, 'acknowleging his special favour and goodness unto him, who had so far forth vouchsafed to cast a gracious eye upon him so vile and loathsome a creature, while he yet continued in his native condition, as to give him an interest by faith in his Christ; yea so far farther to grace so unworthy a wretch, as to call him to be a minister of his word, and publisher of his will, and to make his weak endeavours and worthless labours, at any time in any measure efficacious to any of his people, (as he hoped in some sort with some at last they had been) either for the conversion and bringing of them home unto him, or for the establishing and building of them up in the saving knowlege and belief of his truth, and in the graces and comforts of his Spirit. Withal seriously professing this to be his comfort, the testimony of his conscience in the sight of God bearing witness in his behalf, that in sincerity of heart, though with much weakness and amidst many failings, through the whole course of his ministry, his main end and scope in all his labours and endeavours had been both in public and private, to seek the glory of God, the delivery of his truth, the peace of his church, the spiritual good of his people; in all things to approve himself to him, and continue faithful with him, who hath been pleased to take him into his service; and desiring now nothing more, than that he might be so enabled through the support of his good Spirit, that by his Christian and comfortable carriage under his fatherly hand, in this close of his day's work, he might confirm and seal up to others the truth of those things that he had formerly professed and taught, withal earnestly exhorting all that came about him; to learn now to die before they came to it, to be sure to lay a good foundation in time of life and health, for matter of firm support and sound comfort in time of sickness, and at the hour of death; and to make as much provision and strong preparations against that time as they could, assuring themselves, that they should find all their utmost endeavours and careful addresses to be little enough, when they came once to that work.'

Amidst these and the like religious meditations and pious employments, perceiving his desired end now to approach, and having requested prayer to be conceived in his behalf by a special friend, who had accompanied him most part of his sickness, not long after that office performed by him, he quietly and peaceably resigned his soul into the hands of his blessed Saviour, no less ready (doubtless) to receive it from him, than himself was desirous and forward to recommend it unto him.

His funeral rites were performed at Chelsey, where he drew his last breath; most of the ministers of better note about the city, either constantly residing, or occasionally detained there, besides a very great multitude of private persons well affected, repairing thereunto. Who were all there, after the usual manner in such cases and on such occasions, entertained at the charge and by the bounty of that gentlewoman of singular piety, in whose house he deceased. From which place his corpse being conveyed on the shoulders of six of his reverend brethren of the ministry, who of their own accord offered themselves unto that office, to the place of public assembly, where it was to be interred: Mr Thomas Gattaker his ancient and inward friend, though full of grief for the loss of one, who so entirely affected him, and whom as well for the high esteem he had of him and his worth, as for that entire affection which he constantly bare to him, was most deservedly exceedingly dear to him, and in regard thereof not so fresh fit for performance of that office, yet enforced himself to preach at his funeral, and to give, though very briefly, such testimony of him, as was generally approved of by his reverend brethren there present. And he was indeed a man of eminent parts, for sharpness of wit, clearness of apprehension,

apprehenſion, ſoundneſs of judgment, exactneſs of method, and powerfulneſs of delivery, and ſingular dexterity in beating out perplexed and intricate debates, deſcrying and diſcovering where the knots lay, ſtating of controverſies aright, and diſſolving of difficult caſes of conſcience; to which purpoſe not only many even from remote parts reſorted unto him, either of their own accord, or directed and recommended unto him by other his brethren of the miniſtry, as one moſt likely of any to give them ſatisfaction in their doubts; but divers of them alſo, of good note, (as by their letters to him may appear) deemed it no diſparagement to ſeek reſolution from him in queſtions of that nature themſelves. Neither was he one that kept his talent wrapt up in a napkin; though he were cooped up moſtly in an obſcure corner, through the harſh courſes of thoſe, that would not ſuffer his light to ſhine forth in any eminent place; yet was he exceeding laborious in thoſe parts wherein he lived, both in private employments at conſtant ſet times in the family, and in public alſo, where he might be permitted, though without benefit to himſelf: that which may appear by abundance of papers and note-books yet extant, though by many caſualties a multitude of them have miſcarried. Beſides his conſtant courſe of preaching at Stapenhill, for the moſt of his time from his firſt admiſſion into that family, ſave only by interruption, through occaſion of removals, which neither uſually laſted over-long, nor, though it diſtracted him in his ſtudies, did any whit lightly leſſen his labours; he was frequently drawn forth to join with other his reverend brethren in their meetings and exerciſes, at Aſhbie de la Zouch in Leiceſter-ſhire, at Repton in Darby ſhire, and at Burton upon Trent; at ſome of which meetings the manner being, that ſome one of them preached his hour on the ſcripture propounded the meeting before, and the reſt or a certain number of them ſpent afterward, each one in his half hour or thereabout on ſome other portion of ſcripture, one being appointed to moderate, by minding each that ſpake, if occaſion were, of the time, and to cloſe up all with ſome ſuccinct rehearſal of what had been delivered, together with an additament, if it ſeemed good, of ſomewhat of his own. It hath been reported by ſome of thoſe miniſters, who frequented theſe exerciſes, that when they could get this our brother, into that number, or into the chair, which latter he could hardly be drawn into, he was obſerved to have a reach ſtill beyond the reſt; and in regard of his depth of judgment, and dexterity in due ballancing of points controverted, and differences in opinion concerning the ſame, he was commonly ſtiled among them the weighing divine, as hath been atteſted by that worthy ſervant of Chriſt now at reſt with him, Mr Oliver Bowles, from the mouths of ſome of them, who in his hearing related it.

For his ordinary manner of teaching, it was in ſome kind ſomewhat different from the uſual method of moſt teachers in thoſe times. For he ſeldom made any excurſion into the handling of common places, or drew his ſubject matter out at length by any prolixly continued diſcourſe; but the main frame both of his public ſermons and private exerciſes, for the moſt part, if not wholly, conſiſted, after ſome brief and genuine reſolution of the context, and explication of the terms, where need required, of notes and obſervations, with much variety and great dexterity drawn immediately from the text, and naturally, without conſtraint, iſſuing and flowing either from the main body, or from the ſeveral limbs of it, with ſome uſeful application annexed thereunto: which though neither of them long inſiſted upon, yet were wont with great vivacity to be propounded and preſſed by him, as well might, and oft did, pierce deep into the hearts of his hearers, and not only rectify and clear their judgments, but have a powerful work alſo upon their affections. Nor was it his manner to quote many ſcriptures, finding it troubleſome to his memory, and ſuppoſing it would be ſo to his auditors alſo: (that which was the practice and opinion alſo of Dr Chaderton, as they well know, that heard him on Matth. xxi. 13.) beſides deeming it the leſs needful, in regard that his obſervations being grounded immediately on the ſcripture he handled; and by neceſſary conſequence thence deduced, ſeemed to receive proof ſufficient from it. A conſtant form of prayer he uſed, as in the family, ſo in his public miniſtry; only varying or adding upon ſome ſpecial occaſions, as occurrences interveening required; the reaſon he gave thereof, was this, becauſe heſitation, (which he ſaid he was much ſubject unto) was in prayer more offenſive, than in other diſcourſe; unto profane ones eſpecially, whereof in mixt multitudes, and meetings ſome lightly, too many uſually, were; that which he affirmed alſo to have been Mr Cartwright's practice, with whom ſometime he converſed.

In ſuch manner of teaching he went over divers portions of ſcripture: among others, the fifty firſt and the hundred and nineteen Pſalms: the ſtory of Hanna, 1 Sam. i. and of Naaman the Syrian, 2 Kings 5. part of Chriſt's ſermon on the mount, Matth. xiii. and of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi. the relation of Chriſt's temptations, recorded by two of the evangeliſts; the whole hiſtory of Chriſt's apprehenſion. Arraignment and execution; together with Judas his end; the four firſt chapters of the Epiſtle to the Romans, the three laſt chapters of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, beſide many other more particular parcels of ſcripture.

Of this ſort was by himſelf publiſhed in his life-time, a preparation to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; at firſt written out at the requeſt of that right religious lady Darcy for her private uſe, and by importunity afterwards, more public for the farther benefit of others. Therewith many have been much taken, (by means whereof it hath oft been reprinted) and among others one Thomas Foſter, a mercer by trade, living at Shefford in Bedfordſhire, a very honeſt, humble-minded, and ſincere hearted Chriſtian, hath been heard to profeſs, that that book, and that part of it more ſpecially wherein are laid down certain marks and ſigns of faith and repentance, was ſo far (as he was able to deem) the only outward inſtrumental means of his converſion, through the gracious co-operation of God's Spirit working powerfully and efficaciouſly upon his heart in the reading thereof. And ſince his death have been publiſhed, a nuptial ſermon, entitled, a marriage feaſt, on John ii. 1.—12. A Meditation of man's mortality, on Pſal. xc. His ſermons on the ſecond Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. A Treatiſe of Chriſtian Reproof, on Mat. xviii. 15. 17. And another of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, on Matth. xii. 22.—32. which in his life-time he had been, by that worthy knight Sir Robert Darcy, who died not long before him, much preſſed to publiſh; but could not prevail with him, being very backward in that kind, much undervaluing his own works, and very rarely, if ever, ſatisfying himſelf in ought that he undertook. For the uſe of the family wherein he lived, he drew up a twofold Catechiſm as they term it; the one ſomewhat large, the other more brief, for young beginners extracted out of the former; which latter, to ſave labour of tranſcribing, he permitted to be printed.

What ſpare time he had from his conſtant employments, either private or public, when not taken off by occaſional occurrences, he ſpent moſt of it principally three ways.

Firſt, In labouring to clear ſome points about the doctrine of faith and juſtification; concerning the latter whereof, after many debates (firſt occaſioned by ſome lectures of Dr Grey, ſometime fellow of Trinity college in London) that paſſed to and fro by reciprocal letters between him and a ſpecial friend of his, he began to ſet upon an exact treatiſe of that argument: which being upon the firſt draught of it communicated to that friend of his, upon ſome advertiſements from him, he in divers particulars farther cleared, and being afterwards imparted to divers of prime note in either univerſity, he was by them not much encouraged only, but earneſtly incited to divulge it; that, which though by much difficulty drawn unto, yet at length he did. And howſoever that accurate piece was but courſely entertained by one of his brethren in the miniſtry, then living in the city, traducing it publicly in a lecture at Paul's, quarreling with him who had licenſed it for the preſs, and framing a bitter invective againſt it; which upon peruſal was found ſo virulent, that he could not get it permitted to the preſs; yet was the work ſo well approved by many learned and judicious in both our univerſities, that divers of them have profeſſed to have received more light thence in that point, than they had ever before from the writings of any that had dealt in that argument. Hence it was that having occaſion to be ſometime

on the act-day at Oxford, one of those that had seen it, and deeming not undeservedly of the work-man by the work, seeing him pass along in a plain russet cloak, is reported by some that were then in company with him, to have said to them, 'Do you see the man that goeth yonder, in that plain habit, and in that self neglecting garb and posture? He hath more sound learning in his head, than twenty of us have.' And that famous professor Dr Prideaux, after his decease, in some company hearing his son yet surviving then present there named, demanded of him whether that Mr Bradshaw, that wrote the Treatise of Justification were his father? And being informed that he was, he professed himself heartily 'glad to see the son of that man, for the old acquaintance he had, not with his father himself, but that work of his;' For those were the doctor's own words. Hereunto may be added the verdict of the great and grave counsellor of state, so much esteemed for his judgment in law cases, the lord Cook, who visited the gentlewoman (by the marriage of her daughter to his son, now nearly linked to him) at her house where Mr Bradshaw then lay sick, and finding the book lying accidentally in a window, after the perusal of some good part of it, professed, that he had seldom read a thing more pithily and pregnantly written.'

Nor was this work of his in such esteem at home only, but with other learned men abroad. Among whom Mr Lewis Chappel, a man of special note for variety of learning, and professor of divinity at Salmure in France, having received the book sent him from London by Mr Aaron Chappel his kinsman, then minister of the French church there returneth him many thanks for it; requesting him withal, to enquire after the author's place of abode, and convey from him unto him the letter enclosed; in the superscription whereof he stileth him, *Doctissimum, ornatissimum clarissimumque virum*; and in the superscription, out of respect to him, and estimation, yea admiration of him, in regard of that piece alone, thus writes of himself, *Tui non studiosus modo, sed cultor & admirator.* In the body of the letter, after signification, how upon some occasion being to part with the book, he had taken pains, before he would let it go out of his hands, to translate it out of English into French, he passeth this censure of it, 'a little book, small for bulk, but for learning, wit, and acuteness a grand one.---To speak ingeniously, I never hitherto read ought in any human writing of doctrinal divinity, that so exceedingly liked me; so learnedly, acutely, soundly, pithily, plainly, and yet with admirable brevity is this argument so fully comprised, and throughly handled therein, I want words wherewith to commend and extol it according to its due desert; I have oft read it over, and yet never have enough of it; but the oftener I return to it, and read it over again, the more eagerly is mine appetite stirred up unto it, so much light and brightness of learning, wit and art shineth forth in it.' And whereas treading then precisely in Piscator's steps, he propounded his doubts withal, concerning some particulars, wherein Mr Bradshaw seemed to swerve from Piscator; Mr Bradshaw to give him farther satisfaction therein, and yet save much writing at large to and fro, reviewed his own work, and endeavoured to clear those things somewhat better; wherein also he was farthered by some exceptions from Mr Wootten imparted unto himself, unto which he had returned an answer; and having turned it so revised into Latin, he sent a copy of it in writing unto Mr Chappel, who upon receipt thereof, wrote back at first briefly, but not long after more fully, in these words; 'Right worthy Sir, I wrote before to you, that I had received your truly golden book, enlarged by you and turned into Latin, and that presently I read it over, but in haste; so eager an aperite had I unto it, by reading the other edition of it in English before. Since that I have read it over again, not once, but often, and taking leisure thereunto. Which the oftener I read it over, the more it pleaseth me, and is approved of by me, so accurately and exactly is it composed by you. I hope this birth and issue of your mind will find approbation with peaceable and moderate dispositions, on whether side soever, albeit you condescend not unto them in all things that they require. You so space in the middle between either opinion, that neither of them ought to be displeased with you, if they truly love peace and concord.''

Thus that learned man word for word translated out of his letters in Latin, which in the same language have been represented also, and published elsewhere. Whereby may appear, what entertainment, approbation, and estimation this Treatise (which yet the author speaks so meanly of himself in private letters to his friends) found with the learned in foreign parts, and he himself also, where otherwise wholly unknown, for it And whosoever shall with a regardful eye read over the generally well approved, and deservedly much esteemed writings of those worthy servants of God, now with the Lord, Mr William Perkins and Mr Samuel Torshel, concerning this subject, collated with this of Mr Bradshaw, which came forth some good space before either of them had writ ought; he shall easily discern, on whose foundation they built, in whose steps they trod, with whose heifer they ploughed, at what torch they lighted their tapers, and from whence they received much of their light in that argument. For it may with good ground of truth be averred, that amids the extream opposition of divines in this point dissenting, this our brother did herein hew out such a middle tract between them, as appears not to have been formerly discovered by any, wherein these two men of special note coming after him for the main matter of their principles, have kept close to his footsteps, in the path by him cut out and cleared to their hands.

Of this letter in Latin, a copy being sent over by him to Dr Ames not long before his decease, was by him not long after it printed. Unto this his purpose was to have added a Treatise of justifying Faith, the proper nature, peculiar act, and office of it in that work, and great pity it was that such an head as this one piece shews him to have had, was not set apart for such like employment. How many points of much difficulty might haply been clear, if one of his parts received encouragement, and means of support, to apply himself and his main studies unto so useful an employment? Surely what he saith of another, might be well said of him, 'That if such as he was, had the handling of controversies, questions would not be so intricate oft as they are; and being aright stated, some that now fight most eagerly one against another, would be found to agree, being brought at length aright to understand each other.'

A second business whereunto he applied himself, about which he took much pains, was in the discussion of the matters then in controversy, for which he so much suffered, about subscription, the ceremonies then pressed, the civil power, and the prelatical, in affairs of that nature. Of this kind, discourses penned by him were underhand printed, and published as they could be secretly got out and dispersed, these following: a protestation of supremacy: the English puritanism: a treatise of true and false worship: twelve arguments against the ceremonies, and conformity thereunto: of the nature of things indifferent. Of which argument also he wrote in Latin answer to Mr Gabriel Powel, which yet was not published. And it is well known to some yet surviving, that the greatest part of that which was done in that grand controversy with Dr Downham concerning episcopacy, for the main matter of it came forth of his forge; (howsoever of his labour and pains therein taken, another bare the name, and received the reward of the work) the tart and bitter language only, wherewith it was rather pickled than seasoned, proceeding from another pen somewhat too much steeped in vinegar and gall, that which he complaineth of as much misliking, in a letter to a friend: for he was a man of a very mild and meek spirit, and of a moderate disposition: and how far forth in his judgment and practice he could have acknowleged, submitted unto, and complied with some kind of superintendency, or episcopacy, as it is commonly stiled, may appear by his demands propounded to Mr Francis Johnson in his answer to his reasons for separation, of which more anon.

Divers other subjects he had set upon, and made entrance into, but afterward laid aside; whether for want of time and opportunity, or for what other cause, uncertain, among others; of the former sort was a refutation in Latin, of Dutch Thomson's *Distribe, de amissione & intercissione justificationis et gratie*, which upon notice given

given him of Dr Abbot's undertaking of that task, he forceased; of this latter sort, in English, An answer to Mr Hooker's ecclesiastical polity, a work so much cried up and admired by the most; and it were greatly to be wished, that he had had life and leisure (had the Lord seen it good) to have gone through with it; but the Lord had otherwise disposed.

In the third and last place, Amidst these his labours about, and suffering for those controverted matters, he bent his forces as much also another way; to wit, against sectaries and separatists. To this purpose he had divers bickerings with them, and with some of the chief leaders among them, both by conferences with them and by writings against them, and the courses taken by them, whereby many were stayed from going those ways, and some also reclaimed and brought back again.

Among others, at the request of a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, (for the stay of some that were staggering and warping that way, that one Mr Clifton had gone before them, seduced by Mr Smith, sometime fellow of Christ's college, who had thrice been baptized) having imparted to him a relation in writing, of what had past between Smith and Clifton, who by their mutual collation pretended, as upon good and just grounds, being convict in conscience to have past over to him; he wrote a large discourse, wherein he discovered a great deal of weakness, as well in the arguments of the one, as in the answers of the other; thereby making it manifestly to appear, by what slight and ill wrought twine, rather than twist, that might have easily been snapt asunder, Mr Clifton had been drawn away, and induced to leave his former station, and abandon his wonted profession; nor was his labour therein without its desired success with those for whom it was undertaken.

As also thereby he took occasion to write a defence of the baptism of infants, against the same parties; against Mr Francis Johnson's reasons of separation, he wrote a book entitled, The unreasonableness for separation, and that upon this occasion, one that was deemed to be a man of an ingenious disposition, was earnestly solicited, by some with whom he conversed, to withdraw from our congregations; and seeming to be much perplexed with Mr Johnson's arguments, was yet persuaded, by some of his discreet friends, to do nothing inconsiderately, in a business of that concernment and consequence, but to consider seriously first of it, and have conference with some grave and godly ministers, such as he deemed as well judicious as conscientious, whereby it might be descried, whether the grounds that he was in this course intending to go upon, were such as would endure trial or no: this advice of theirs was hearkened unto, and choice made by himself of Mr Bradshaw and another, whom he conceived to be both understanding and moderate men. The place for conference was agreed upon to be in a common friend's house, and the meeting intended to be very private, not above two or three of that party, besides himself, the two ministers, and those of the house; but such of them, whose presence alone he desired, having acquainted divers others of their accomplices therewith, a multitude of them intruded themselves. Now, in regard of such an unexpected company, it was deemed meet to proceed the more warily: and the party in the conference principally concerned, being put to his choice, whether he would argue or answer; was willing rather to argue, and to make use of Mr Johnson's arguments, than to frame others of his own; that which very well pleased those of the separating side, as deeming Mr Johnson's arguments unanswerable. To prevent mis-reports, it was mutually agreed, that two persons, one of either side, should write down each argument, as it was propounded, and each answer as it was returned thereunto; and should read audibly what had passed in the prosecution of any argument at the close of it, before entry upon a new, which was accordingly done; and so many of Mr Johnson's reasons discussed as the straits of time would permit; in pursuit whereof was so evidently shewed how grossly Mr Johnson had abused divers passages of scripture, quoted for proof of those propositions, whereunto he had affixed them, that the whole company of them were exceedingly puzz'ed with it; and some of them, to save their champion's credit, would fain have fastened some fault upon the printers, but could not well find how to do it.

The evening coming on, the debate ceased for that day; and copies on either side taken, being read, collated and interchangeably delivered, the conference was adjourned till afternoon the next day, what time the other arguments were to be scanned. But the party, whom the business concerned, being persuaded by the rest of them, (as it seemed) to desist, did the next morning make known his unwillingness for some pretended causes to go on, and so it brake off. Howbeit Mr Bradshaw having waded so far in examination of Mr Johnson's reasons, was much importuned to proceed on therein, and to go through with the rest, considering how needful a work it was, and how useful it might prove. Which being at length drawn unto, and that the rather because Mr Johnson had fetcht some arguments from grounds laid by him in that treatise against conformity, which it stood Mr Bradshaw upon therefore to consider of, and give satisfaction unto; that which was drawn up by him, after perusal and approbation of some, on whose judgment he much relied, was by their advice sent over to Mr Ames, who with an epistle of his own prefixed, caused it to be printed in those parts, where he then abode. Neither was there any reply ever returned unto it, in defence of Mr Johnson either by himself, while he lived, or by any other in his behalf, so long as Mr Bradshaw survived; only many years after Mr Bradshaw's decease, an attempt was made against it by one Mr Can of Amsterdam, which was not long after returned back upon its author by a friend of the deceased.

And indeed to separation he was ever very averse, and to withdrawing from the public places of assembly, or from any part of God's worship there used. To which purpose shall be related out of his papers in his own words the ensuing passages; delivered by him in a sermon at Longford on Matth. v. 1. 'It is the great mercy of God towards us, that we have no cause to seek the word in deserts and wildernesses, in woods and caves and desolate mountains; but such worthy edifices as these to assemble in, dedicated only to this use. And where God's people have by public authority such places as these appointed and allowed ordinarily to assemble and meet in, we are fully at least to suspect those assemblies, and the worship done therein, which forsake those places, and fly into woods and deserts. It is true, that among the Jews at this time there was the temple, and besides sundry synagogues, answering to these churches of ours; and which is more, the doors of the pulpits were generally open to Christ himself; and yet our Saviour often taught in other places, but this was upon extraordinary occasions, such as seldom or never fall out with us; and so carried by our Saviour, that there was no schism or separation made by him, or any of his special disciples or followers, from the assemblies then established.' And after concerning the places of assembling themselves: 'It is indeed an honour, that those which are in authority and ability, should do to the worship of God, to see that comely and seemly places be dedicated and separated from other common uses thereunto; and it is a disgrace and contempt to God's worship, when men that may remedy it, care not how base and contemptible the place of God's worship is. When men have not that care of the place where the holy assembly of God meets, as they have of their barns and stable.' As also concerning some circumstances of gesture used in them; 'From Christ sitting to teach, we learn, in such external behaviour, to follow our Saviour's example: that is, in matters not doubtful and controversial, at least to conform ourselves to such outward fashions as are generally used in those times, and that church wherein we live. For example in the like case; It is the general custom in our church, that the ministers preach standing in a seat higher than the people, and bare headed; and this gesture is no peculiar gesture, but borrowed from the common practice of orators, and such persons as make speeches in solemn assemblies. It is meet therefore, in such cases, that we should not be singular and odd, but conform to the received fashion of the church. So that if we should sit and preach as Christ did, we should not conform to Christ; because we should cross that which was the ground why Christ sat.' Lastly, concerning repair to all parts of God's service, from these words,

words, 'And his disciples came to him,' &c. 'This also is a matter of order, that, as much as may be, divine worship should begin when the congregation is assembled and come together: therefore, the members of an assembly should make more conscience than usually they do, of coming together sooner. I urge this the rather, because it is a general fault in our assemblies, not committed only by them that care not which end of religion goeth forward, but generally of most, that so they come to some part of God's worship, it is well enough; especially if they can come time enough to the beginning of the sermon. Hence many times the minister with the clerk are fain to perform a great part of the worship of God alone, or with one or two at the most; and the rest of the church come dropping in, one after another, at their own leisure; as though the public prayers of the church, and reading the scriptures, were a worship that concerned the minister and clerk only, and not the whole church.'

This is the rather related, and here inserted, because not published, to manifest the moderation of the man, notwithstanding so much harder measures as he sustained from the hands of those, who so grievously abused the power they had in those times.

Thus we have a rude and crude delineation of this blessed and faithful servant of God's course and race, whose life was indeed as a continual peregrination here upon earth; extracted, partly from letters written to him by others, communicated for the better making up of this model, by Mr Samuel Hildersham, pastor of the church at West Felton in Shropshire, son to that famous man of pious memory Mr Arthur Hildersham, and Mr John Bradshaw, at present minister of the word at Echingam in Sussex, son to this worthy champion of Christ Jesus, both genuine heirs of their parents best parts; and partly from relations of his own, and others of good credit, his letters especially to a bosom friend, whom he was wont, from time to time, thereby to acquaint with the most occurrents of note that befel him, or did any way concern him, while they lived at a distance. It might have been more exactly and entirely performed, had not some letters of his been lost, and a bundle of others to him miscarried, torn by rats in his absence from the place where they lay, the loss whereof in a letter he much laments, and wishes that as many of his books, to save them, had undergone the like ill-usage.

His death was much lamented by all that knew his parts, and how useful he might farther have been to God's church, had the Lord been pleased to lengthen out the line of his life; so more especially by the well affected of that family whereunto he had adhered; but in a degree far above the rest by the head thereof, Mrs Katharine Redich, the relict of Mr Alexander Redich, deprived now of a second stay, and principal support, for spiritual helps especially, since her husband's decease; a very tender hearted gentlewoman, much addicted to hospitality, and of very remarkable devotion and piety; reported by those who were inwardly acquainted with her more retired courses, to have been wont constantly to spend privately, twice a day, an hour at least, in meditation and prayer, mixed oft with many tears. She, good soul, was so affected with his departure, and so feelingly apprehensive of her own loss thence ensuing, that albeit she survived him about, if not above twelve years, yet was it observed by those that conversed with her, that to her dying day she could very seldom, with dry eyes, either speak of him, or hear him spoken of by others; which made divers forbear speaking of him, that well might, in her presence, for the renewing of her grief. Nor was her hearty affection to him, and due esteem of him, manifested in such kind of expressions alone, (wherein, even counterfeits, though not so constantly, yet at sometimes exceed) but it was made to appear, in beneficence to her ability, and in careful provision to her power for those he left behind him; for what by her husband was intended, though she met with many obstructions in the pursuit of it, the estate was so entangled, she at length got made good, and settled according to his desire. And for his eldest son, (for he left three, whereof two yet survive, and a daughter), being set apart for a scholar, she maintained him at the grammar school until he was fitted for the university, and at the university in part also, so long as she lived.

With those in general among whom he lived, and that knew him not but at a distance, he left behind him the estimation of one very studious, humble, plain, honest, free, liberal, and compassionate. Very studious they deemed him, because they seldom saw him walking about without a book in his hand; and reading usually, if alone, in it, as he walked, though he walked commonly somewhat fast, being therein farthered through the quickness of his eye, and the steadiness of his hand. And for his humility, it so readily offered itself to the eye in his whole deportment, that they could not but take notice of it, reading it as written in text letters therein, that saw ought at all in him.

A plain man he was, as Jacob, without welt or gard; and a plain dealing man, as Nathaniel, without craft or guile; free from all courtship, either for counterfeit or compliment.

Among the meaner sort he was the more beloved, because, though his means were but mean and scant, yet they perceived him to be of a free and liberal disposition; and were willing therefore to work with him ordinarily before any other, because he used to give them somewhat above their hire or agreement, which few others did. His charitable mind and tender heartedness many ways manifested itself: it hath been known that he hath borrowed money, when he had none about him, or by him, to relieve some that hath been in want, and to have been as careful to repay it, as forward to part with it.

While he was at Chatham, some gallies that had some time been built for service, and lay a long time after them idle, being found unuseful for our seas; yet being then on foot, and some put into them, he walked down one day, with some company, to see the manner of them; which when he had viewed, it seemed to him so direful a sight, to see men, Christian men, put to such kind of servitude, that he could not endure to behold it without tears; and having given them a little money, so left them, returning back in a very sad and pensive mood. Yea, he was one of those whom Solomon speaks of, whose commiseration reacheth even to the very brute beasts, which he could not endure to see unmercifully used; and would often say, he was persuaded that men took too much liberty to themselves in killing and misusing some, even contemptible creatures, without cause. Riding homewards one time with his son behind him, whom he had taken out with him, the ways being bad and deep, and the beast that bare them travelling heavily and wearisomely, he took occasion thereby to enter into a discourse to the lad behind him, what hardship the poor unreasonable creature was put to, to be serviceable to us; what misery such sustained for man's sin: and so affectionately he spake of it, that to his son, whom he spake to, he seemed to weep with it.

He may be thought to have had some presage of his end approaching, before his last access to the city; for it is reported by his son now in the ministry, and treading in his father's steps, that being very earnest in soliciting of him, that he might then go up to London with him, which, since he sucked, it seems he had never seen, he willed him not to be so desirous to see London; for whensoever he saw London, he should see it to his cost. And so his great grief indeed he did, coming up with his mother a heavy widow, not long after his father's departure hence, and funeral rites here performed.

We shall close all with that free and ingenious character which that illustrious late bishop of Norwich, his old, true, and loving friend, (he is pleased so to stile himself in some letters to him) truly giveth of him; 'He was (saith he) of a strong brain, and a free spirit; not suffering himself for small differences of judgment to be alienated from his friends, to whom, notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in his conversation, being full of witty and harmless urbanity. He was very strong, and eager in arguing; hearty in his friendship, regardless of the world; a despiser of compliment; a lover of reality; full of digested learning and excellent notions; a painful labourer in God's work; and now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded.

The

The Life of Mr RICHARD ROTHWEL, *who died anno Chriſti* 1627.

RICHARD ROTHWEL was born in Lancaſhire, at, or near Bolton in the moors, about the year of our Lord 1563. After he took the miniſtry upon him, and God gave him another heart, he diſpoſed his temporal eſtate amongſt his friends, and 'he lived of the goſpel,' 1 Cor. ix. 11. 14.

His education was in the ſchools, and afterward in Cambridge; in the one he attained to an exact knowlege of the tongues, (eſpecially Greek and Hebrew, wherein he was a critic), and in the other of the arts; ſo that he became a skilful linguiſt, ſubtle diſputant, copious orator, and of a deep inſight into any kind of knowlege, human or divine.

In this firſt courſe of his ſtudies appeared preſently to his obſervers, the buds and bloſſoms of that fame which after he attained unto; for he had a prompt wit, a quick apprehenſion, a clear underſtanding, a ſound judgment, a ready ſpeech, and a ſtrong memory. All theſe ſeldom meet in one man but did in him very eminently, and were improved by diligent ſtudy, which (out of a deſire of learning and knowlege) he continued to his laſt without wearineſs.

His conſtitution of body, and moral endowments of mind, were great props and ſupporters to his intellectual habits, *Gratior eſt virtus veniens e corpore pulchro.* This is not the ordinary lot of ſcholars; he was tall, well ſet, of great ſtrength of body and activity, of a ſtern countenance, of invincible courage, of approved valour, and of a very goodly and majeſtic preſence. Grief, nor any miſery, could never break him, but joy would preſently melt him into tears.

He was of a generous ſpirit and deportment, yet withal very humble and courteous: his language was ſententious and proverbial. I have heard many others ſay, what I muſt needs myſelf, *Nunquam illi accedo quin doctior evadam*, I never came to him but I went the learneder from him. He had a great dexterity in communicating his mind to another, and ſpeaking to his underſtanding: God gave him a great inlet into the hearts of men.

After many years ſpent in the univerſity, he betook himſelf to the miniſtry, and was ordained preſbyter by Dr Whitgift, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, who forbad him meddling with interpretation of Moſes' types, the book of Canticles, Daniel, and the Revelations; which then he thought himſelf, as the biſhop did, were not ſo uſeful for him to ſtudy as ſome other ſcriptures.

But, alas! all theſe natural diſpoſitions, intellectual habits, perſonal deportments, were but as ſo many weapons in the hands of a madman: judge how able he was by them to reſiſt the truth; for he remained ſome years without any change of heart, or ſenſible work of grace upon his ſoul; but preached learnedly, as they called it, and lived vainly, abhorring debauchery, and debauched companions, through the height of his ſpirit, but gave himſelf to hunting, bowling, and ſhooting, more than became a miniſter of the goſpel; and ſometimes he would ſwear faith and troth, and, in his paſſion, greater blaſphemies.

I have heard him tell that there were two knights in Lancaſhire fallen out, and a great feud betwixt them: That the one had a very good park with ſtore of deer; that the other had excellent good fiſh ponds, and ſtore of fiſh: he robbed the park of the one, and preſented what he got to the other; and the fiſh-ponds of the other, and preſented the fiſh to his adverſary; thus he pleaſed himſelf in the days of his vanity, with ſuch kind of follies. In doing this one night the keeper met with him, his dog having killed a buck; at the fall of the buck, the keeper came in with his faulchion and ſtaff, and met Mr Rothwel, who had a ſtaff alſo: they fell from words to blows; he got the keeper down, bound him by the thumbs, and drew him up to his full height, that he could but touch the ground with his toes, and ſo left him tied to a tree till next morning, where others found him and looſed him. At length 'God pleaſed, who ſeparated him from his mother's womb, as he did Paul, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him.' Which becauſe it was famous, and he himſelf afterwards proved the means of the converſion of ſo many, I ſhall ſet it down, as I remember, I have heard him ſpeak it.

He was playing at bowls amongſt ſome papiſts and vain gentlemen, upon a Saturday, ſomewhere about Rachdale, in Lancaſhire; there comes into the green to him one Mr Midgley, a grave and godly miniſter of Rachdale, whoſe praiſe is great in the goſpel, though far inferior to Mr Rothwel in parts and learning; he took him aſide and fell into a large commendation of him, at length told him what pity it was, that ſuch a man as he ſhould be a companion for papiſts, and that upon a Saturday, when he ſhould be preparing for the Sabbath-day. Mr Rothwel ſlighted his words, and checked him for his meddling.

The good old man left him, went home and prayed privately for him; Mr Rothwel when he was retired from that company, could not reſt. Mr Midgley's words ſtruck ſo deep in his thoughts; the next day he went to Rachdale church to hear Mr Midgley, where it pleaſed God to bleſs that ordinance ſo, Mr Rothwel was by that ſermon brought home to Chriſt. He came after ſermon to Mr Midgley, thanked him for his reproof, and beſought his direction and prayers, for he was in a miſerable condition of nature; and under the ſpirit of bondage he lay for a time, till afterwards, and by Mr Midgley's hands alſo he received the ſpirit of adoption, wherewith he was ſo ſealed, that he never loſt his aſſurance to his dying. Though he was a man ſubject to many temptations, the devil aſſaulting him very much, yet God was mightily with him, that out of his own experience he was able to comfort many.

He eſteemed and counted Mr Midgley ever afterward for his ſpiritual father. This makes me think upon Auguſtine's ſpeech to God, when he came to hear Ambroſe preach; *Non ut ad doctorem veni* (but upon another account) *ad eum per te ducebar neſcius, ut ad te per eum ſciens ducerer.* So did the Lord, by Mr Midgley's plain kind of teaching, put forth the evidence of his ſpirit upon this mighty and learned Rabbi.

Whether it was before or after this his converſion that he went a ſoldier, and chaplain to a regiment under the earl of Eſſex, into Ireland, I know not; but there he was, and did very great things. And certainly wiſdom and courage were ſo eminent in him, that there were few of his calling his equals, I think none at all his ſuperiors.

He now becomes another man, forſakes all his wonted courſes and companions, preacheth in another manner than formerly, opens the depths of Satan, and deceitfulneſs of the heart, ſo as he was called the Rough Hewer. He had the power of God that went with his miniſtry, when he preached the law, to make men tremble; yea, ſometimes to cry out in the church: and when he preached the goſpel, he was another Barnabas, and had great ſkill in comforting afflicted conſciences.

He ſtudied now the point of non-conformity, which was as the joints in Ahab's armour, through which the prelates hit, and deprived ſo many godly and able miniſters in thoſe times. In theſe controverſies he was ſo well verſed, that he ſatisfied many, and ſilenced any that diſputed with him. He was ſo fixed in his judgment, that he would never either marry, (expecting daily perſecution; and the word he uſed in all his books, was *perſecutio pignus futuræ felicitatis*,) nor take any benefice, (though divers great livings were proffered him) becauſe he would ſtill ſay, 'My head is too big to get into a church door.' But he betook himſelf firſt to a chapel in Lancaſhire as a lecturer, and afterward (to decline the ſtorm of the prelates) to be a domeſtic chaplain to the Earl of Devonſhire, and at that time I firſt knew him, and came (I bleſs God) acquainted with him.

There now ran nothing more in his mind but why the biſhop ſhould forbid him preaching upon thoſe ſcriptures before mentioned; and he began to conceive that there was ſure ſomething there, could he find it, which would mightily batter down their hierarchy; he prayed therefore much to God, (wherein he was mighty) and ſtudied them; and God opened thoſe myſterious paſſages of his book to him

him more than to other men; that he seldom preached abroad out of any other scriptures; and did write an exact commentary upon Moses' Types, which he unveiled, with very much profit and delight to the reader; but that book is lost, to the great loss of God's church thereby.

Learned and godly Mr Cotton enquired of me, whether that or any thing else might not be found amongst his papers after his death; I told him there was little found but what was in characters. He prayed me to send him what I could gather to Boston, where men were that were expert in characters. I did so, but I believe they could make nothing of them. That, and some other of his learned and judicious labours he hath lent out, I suppose, and I fear they will not be recovered. Learned men, that have seen them, judge them a rare treasure. He had some contests with the prelates, especially with bishop Neal then of Litchfield, afterwards of Durham.

At length he came to spend most part of his time in the bishopric of Durham, by means of an honourable and elect lady, the lady Bowes, afterwards the lady Darcy in the north; of whom it was truly preached at her funeral, (alas! that it was her funeral) 'Whersoever this gospel shall be preached, in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.' She gave about 1000l. *per annum*, to maintain preachers where there were none, nor any means for them, and all her preachers were silenced men, by reason of nonconformity; Such as Mr Baynes, Mr Dike, &c. She would lay out all her interest to get them their liberty, and then she would dispose of them where there needed in the north, or in the peak in Darbyshire, or other places, and allow them pensions: O! that God would raise out of this phœnix some more such mothers in Israel. Sir William Bowes, her husband dying, his funerals were kept at Bernard's castle, where he had some honour. Mr Dike (father of the writers of that name) was then her household chaplain, and went into the north to that funeral. At his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a minister to my lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so furly a people, but commended Mr Rothwel to her. She sent to him, then at the earl of Devonshire's house, and proferred him this employment; his answer was, he would go thither, and if the people called him, he would then accept of her motion.

At his first day's labour they all desired him; he returned to the lady, and told her he would go; she replied, though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him; understanding that they were of a fierce disposition, and having never heard the gospel, might deal unkindly with him; he answered, 'Madam, If I thought I should never meet the devil there, I would never come there; and he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there.

He desired to have me with him, and with much ado prevailed; and so, I bless God, he not only fitted me for the university, but was a means to bring me to the first saving knowlege of Christ: I remember, and shall do ever, the first sermon and point which God blessed to my soul for that purpose. I was about eight years his bed fellow, and eye witness of the great success he had in his ministry there, and over all the country, where h was worthily called, The apostle of the north. The lady allowed him 40 l. *per annum*; and such as God wrought upon by his ministry contributed to him, but he would not have a penny from any other.

There was once, in his absence, collected 30 l. by Sir Talbot Bowes, that lived there, from the people; but when he returned, and knew it, he caused it to be restored to the parties that gave it, and told them, he sought them, not theirs.

At his first entrance he had great opposition, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life; but he overcame all that with his patience and courage, and at length his greatest enemies were afraid of him; and few sermons, but it was believed he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his studies, and the afternoon in going through his parish, and conferring with his people; in which, as he excelled, so he gained much upon them; and within four years had so many judicious and experimental Christians, that they came from London, York, Richmond, Newcastle, and many other places, to see the order of his congregation. And many lewd gentlemen came oft, ten or twelve miles to hear him, to carp and get somewhat to accuse him; many of which God took hold on, and they returned, some convinced, and some converted.

Not long after (saith mine author) I went to the university, and after eight years continuance there, came over into England upon some opportunities, and stayed about half a year, ere I returned. When I came to Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, I found him there this minister, and sick unto the death; at my coming he revived, and, in the strength of that joy so far recovered, that within a week he went about the town with me to divers places; but relapsed, and engaged me to preach for him once the next Sabbath following, and in the afternoon at Mansfield Wood house, within half a mile of Mansfield.

On Friday we looked for no life from him, he was almost past his understanding; there came a vicar of Mansfield, one Mr Brittaine, to see him, and desired him now, that he was not like to live, to tell him what he thought of the ceremonies; he knew he was learned, and therefore would be glad to be informed by him. Mr Rothwel either understood not, or minded not what he said, but answered sometimes, Yea, sometimes, No, as he apprehended. Mr Brittaine went away, telling him he was satisfied, and reported, that Mr Rothwel recanted his judgment of non-conformity.

The next day [Saturday] he had some lightning, and sat up in his chair, and discoursed freely, cheerfully, and heavenly, all that and the next day: some sent to enquire on the Sabbath how he did, he answered, 'I am well, and shall be well shortly;' and whispering with me, said, 'Do you know my meaning? I shall be with Christ ere long, but do not tell them so.' He caused me to repeat my sermon preached in the forenoon for him, after which, with tears in his eyes, he laid his hands on my head, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, with a short prayer, blessed me. Then he bad me go to preach at Mansfield Woodhouse, and tarry there all night, (for he had promised it to one Mr Dand there,) but to be sure to come when he sent for me. This he did next morning about six o'clock; when I came I found him in pangs of death, he had not known nor spoken to any for an hour before: the chamber was full, and one was praying for him; after prayer I spake to him, he turned about his head, took me by the hand, and bad me pray, pray: I desired a reverend minister to go to prayer again; Mr Rothwel said, 'Pray you, pray you;' I did so: after that he smiled, 'Now, (says he) I am well: happy is he that hath not bowed his knee to Baal.' He bade us sing Psalm cxx. he sung a while, but in the singing of the psalm he died, in the year 1625, and in the 64th year of his age.

Thus have I given you as true an account as I could of this famous champion of Christ, who, notwithstanding his non-conformity, may be called with Austin, *Hæreticorum malleus*, The hammer of heretics; and with Ambrose, *Orbis terrarum Anglicarum oculus*, The eye as bright as any other in the English orb.

Two things, amongst many others, I think worth the inserting into his life, which have been omitted in the foregoing story.

The one is a strange sickness and recovery he had once at Bernard's castle. His sickness was a Vertigo Capitis, he would have forty fits at least in an hour, and every one of them accompanied with mischievous temptations, which, when the fit was over, he dictated, and I writ down: these held him about three weeks, in which time he had the advice of learned physicians from London, York, Newcastle, Durham, and other places; they all jumped in their judgments, imputing it to much study, fasting, and inward trouble of spirit; their prescriptions wrought kindly, but removed not his disease. He desired divers Christians to pray for him on a day prefixed, and promised to join with them as well as he could, with some others that should be with him, assuring them, that he was confident that disease should not be removed but by prayer and fasting.

The

The morning of that day he had a fit continued four hours together upon him; and the devil set upon him all that while with moſt dreadful temptations, telling him he would make him the ſcorn of religion, and every man ſhould reproach it for his ſake, that had before by his means looked towards it: that he ſhould never preach more, but ſhould blaſpheme the name of God he had preached; with many like ſuggeſtions: God gave him courage, comfort, and victory over them all. The devil told him, if he did faſt and pray that day, he would torment and hinder him, &c.

We met at the time appointed, and Mr Rothwel would needs have me to perform the duty, which, through God's goodneſs, I did, and the devil was not permitted to hinder or interrupt him or us; and God heard our prayers, ſo that he had never a fit after that; and the Sabbath ſe'night following he preached; but after many wreſtlings with Satan, who told him he would make him mad, and before all the people in the pulpit, make him a ſcorn if he did adventure to preach; nevertheleſs his faith in Chriſt overcame his fear of Satan, and he preached, with great aſſiſtance and comfort, upon that text, pſal. cxvi. 9. 'I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living.' Nevertheleſs, that ſickneſs did ſo weaken his brain that ever after he was inclining to ſome infirmities, which love muſt cover.

The other is a relation which I had from himſelf, and from divers others to whom the ſtory was known, that are yet alive. As well as I can recollect, it is thus;

There was one John Fox living about Nottingham, who had no more learning than enabled him to write and read: This man was poſſeſſed with a devil, who would violently throw him down, and take away the uſe of every member of his body, which was turned as black as pitch in thoſe fits, and then ſpake with an audible voice in him, which ſeemed ſometimes to be heard out of his belly, ſometimes out of his throat, and ſometimes out of his mouth, his lips not moving. He lay thus, if I miſtake not, ſome years. Many prayers were put up to God for him, and great reſort, eſpecially of godly miniſters, to him. Amongſt the reſt, Mr Bernard of Batcomb, then of Worklop, and Mr Langley of Truſwell, betwixt whom and John Fox I have ſeen divers paſſages and writing, he relating by pen his temptations, and they giving anſwers when he was ſtricken dumb.

As Mr Rothwel was riding to ſee him, the devil told all that were in the houſe, 'Yonder comes Rothwel: but I will make a fool of him before he goes' The people looked forth, and ſaw him coming about a quarter of a mile from the houſe. As ſoon as he entered the room the devil ſaid, Now Rothwel is come: and as ſome ſay ſpake thus; 'Rothwel, thou ſayeſt there is no poſſeſſion, what thinkeſt thou now? here is a man opens not his lips, and yet he ſpeaketh!' And after a while he further ſaid;

Devil. Say nothing to me of this man for I tell thee he is damned; and he added thereto many fearful blaſphemies.

Rothwel. Thou art a liar, and the father of lies; nor art thou ſo well acquainted with the mind of God concerning this man, which makes thee thus to torment him; therefore I believe thee not, I believe he ſhall be ſaved by Jeſus Chriſt.

Devil. He is a murderer; and thou knoweſt no murderer muſt come into heaven.

Rothwel. Thou lieſt again, for David murdered, and is in heaven; and the Jews with wicked hands crucified the Lord of glory, yet Chriſt prayed for them, and Peter exhorts them to repentance, that their ſins may be blotted out.

Devil. But this man hath not, cannot, ſhall not repent.

Rothwel. If he had not, thou wouldſt not have told him ſo; but if he have not, I believe God will give him repentance, and thou ſhalt not be able to hinder it.

Devil. Thou art a murderer thyſelf, and yet talkeſt thou thus?

Rothwel. Thou lieſt again. I have fought the Lord's battles againſt his known enemies, the idolatrous and bloody papiſts in Ireland, rebels to the queen my ſovereign, by whoſe authority I bore arms againſt them; otherwiſe I have killed no man.

Devil. (Swore and blaſphemed) Thou didſt murder one this day, as thou cameſt hither; and there is one behind thee will juſtify it.

Rothwel looked over his ſhoulder; and with that the devil ſet up a hideous laughter, that nothing could be heard for a great while, and then ſaid;

Devil. Look you now; did not I tell you I would make Rothwel a fool? and yet it is true, thou didſt murder one this day; for as thou cameſt over the bridge (which he named) there would I have killed thee, and there thy horſe trode upon a fly, and killed it.

Mr Rothwel's horſe you muſt know ſtumbled there; it ſeems the devil had power to cauſe it, but without hurt either to Mr Rothwel or his horſe.

Rothwel. Thou haſt oft beguiled me; I hope God will in time give me wiſdom to diſcern, and power to withſtand all thy deluſions; and he it is that hath delivered me out of thy hands, and will I doubt not alſo deliver this poor man.

The devil blaſphemed fearfully, quoted many ſcriptures out of the Old and New Teſtament, both in Hebrew and in Greek, cavilled and played the critic, and backed his allegations with ſayings out of the fathers and poets in their own language, which he readily quoted; ſo that the company trembled to hear ſuch things from one that underſtood no learning, and that moved neither tongue nor lip.

Mr Rothwel was mightily enabled by God to detect the devil's ſophiſtry.

Devil. What ſtand I talking with thee? all men know that thou art bold Rothwel, and feareſt no body, nor careſt for words, therefore I will talk to thee no more. (That name he carried to his grave; they would ſay, 'That is he the devil called bold Rothwel.'

Rothwel (turning to the people) ſaid, Good people, you ſee the goodneſs of our God, and his great power; though the devil made a fool of me now, through my weakneſs, God hath made the devil dumb now, do you ſee how he lieth? therefore let us go to prayer; that God who hath made him dumb, will (I doubt not) drive him out of this poor man.

The devil raged, blaſphemed, and ſaid, 'And wilt thou go to prayer? If thou do, I will make ſuch a noiſe, that thy prayer ſhall be diſtracted; and thou knoweſt God will not hear a diſtracted prayer: but thou haſt got a device, becauſe thou wilt not be diſtracted with thy eyes in prayer, thou winkeſt, (ſo he always did); but if thou pray I will pull out thy eyes.

Rothwel. I look to find thee as great an enemy in this duty now, as I have done heretofore; but I fear not thy threat, I know thou art limitted: God heareth the prayers of the upright, hath promiſed to give his ſpirit to ſupply infirmities; therefore, in confidence of his promiſe, and powerful aſſiſtance of his Spirit, and in the name and interceſſion of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, we will go to prayer. They did ſo; Mr Rothwel kneeled by the bed on which the poor man lay, the devil, for a quarter of an hour together, or more, made a horrid noiſe; nevertheleſs Mr Rothwel's voice was louder than the devil's. After a while the devil roared at Mr Rothwel's face; this was the firſt motion of any part of the man's body) Mr Rothwel opened his eyes, met, and brought down the hand, which he held with great eaſe, two men being ſcarce able to hold the other hand; prayer was ſtill continued; at length the devil lay ſilent in the man, and after that departed from him. The man fetched divers deep ſighs, inſomuch as they thought he had been expiring, but his colour returned to him, and the uſe of all his members, ſenſes, and underſtanding; and at the next petition he ſaid, (to the glory of God, and amazement, but comfort of all the company, Amen; and ſo continued to repeat his Amen to every petition. Prayer was now turned into thankſgiving, and ſo concluded.

After prayer John Fox ſaid, 'Good Mr Rothwel leave me not; I ſhall not live long, for the devil tells me he will choak me with the firſt bit of meat that I eat.' Mr Rothwel anſwered, 'Wilt thou believe the devil that ſeeks thy deſtruction, before thou wilt truſt in God through Jeſus Chriſt, that ſeeks thy ſalvation? Hath not God, by his almighty power, diſpoſſeſſed him? had he had his will,

will, thou hadſt been in hell before now; but he is a liar, and as he is not able to hinder thy ſoul's life, ſo neither ſhall he be able to deſtroy the life of thy body. Wherefore get me ſomething ready (ſaith he) for him, and I will ſee him eat before I go, and will crave a bleſſing upon it. When it was brought, Eat, ſaith Mr Rothwel, and fear not the devil; ſhewing him that he might do it in faith of that ordinance by which God appoints meat for means to preſerve life, and urged that place of Jairus' daughter reſtored to life; 'he commanded to give her meat,' Luke viii 55. With much ado, and in great trembling, at laſt, he took and eat it 'Look, (ſays Mr Rothwel) you all ſee the devil is a liar; the firſt bit hath not choaked him, nor ſhall the reſt.'

Mr Rothwel left him, after which he was ſtricken dumb for three years together. I had a book written with his own hand, of the temptations the devil haunted him with afterwards, and the anſwers divers godly and reverend miniſters gave to thoſe temptations; but the cavaliers got them, and all my books and writings.

Thus the poor man remained tempted, but no longer poſſeſſed: at length, by prayer alſo, (which was inſtantly put up to God for him, every Sabbath and lecture day, in many places), the Lord opened his mouth, and reſtored his ſpeech to him. One uſing this petition, 'Lord, open thou his mouth, that his lips may ſhew forth thy praiſe;' he anſwered, in the congregation Amen: and ſo continued to ſpeak, and ſpake graciouſly to his dying day.

The Life of Dr JOHN PRESTON, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1628.

JOHN PRESTON, the ſon of Thomas and Alice Preſton, was born at Heyford in Northamptonſhire, a town divided by a little river into the upper and lower Heyfords, and is in maps oft written in the plural number: it is a rectory, and hath a fair church in the lower Heyfords, but yet ſtands in divers pariſhes.

That farm wherein Mr Thomas Preſton lived is in Bugbrook pariſh, where they buried and baptized, where we find that John, the ſon of Thomas Preſton, was baptized October 27. 1587; but was deſcended from that family of the Preſtons that lived at Preſton in Lancaſhire, from whence his great grandfather removed upon occaſion of a fatal quarrel with one Mr Bradſhaw, a neighbouring gentleman, whom in his own defence he ſlew, and ſatisfied the law, (and was acquitted for it), but not the kindred, who waited an opportunity to be revenged for it, as the manner of thoſe northern counties then was.

It fell out not long after, that Mr Bradſhaw's next brother meets Mr Preſton near to the place where he had ſlain his brother, and told him he ſhould do as much for him, or he would revenge his brother's blood. Mr Preſton told him, he had ſlain his brother againſt his will, and in his own defence; that he bare no evil will unto them: deſired him he would forbear. But when nothing would prevail, they fought, and Bradſhaw fell again.

But Mr Preſton was troubled and grieved at it, for he ſaw a fire was kindled that would not eaſily be quenched, and therefore reſolved that he would leave that fatal and unlucky country, though he was a gentleman of a very fair eſtate: and walking one day penſive in Weſtminſter hall, one Mr Morgan of Heyford, with whom he was acquainted, came unto him, and aſked why he was ſo ſad? to whom, for anſwer, he relates the foregoing ſtory. Mr Morgan knowing him to be a very gallant man, was very ſenſible of his eſtate, and told him if he would go with him to Heyford, he ſhould have a good farm to live in for the preſent, and what accommodation he could afford him. Mr Preſton thanked him, and after ſome conſideration of the matter, reſolved to take his offer; and ſo Mr Preſton of Preſton in Lancaſhire became a kind of farmer in Northamptonſhire, where he afterwards lived and died, and his ſon ſucceeded him; and ſo it came to Thomas Preſton, as we have ſaid.

His mother's name before ſhe married was Marſh, but ſhe had an uncle, by the mother's ſide, whoſe name was Crefwel, a man of means and good eſteem in Northampton where he lived, and where he had been ſeveral times mayor. This uncle being rich, and having no child, was very careful of her, and took this ſon, whilſt he was young, unto himſelf, and ſent him to the free ſchool in Northampton, where he was a ſcholar under the government of Mr Sanderſon, then maſter of the ſchool, and afterwards under Mr Waſtel who ſucceeded him: and when he had been there ſome time, his uncle was perſuaded to remove him into Bedfordſhire, unto one Mr Gueſt, who had ſome time taught a private ſchool in Northampton, and was accounted a better teacher of the Greek tongue; from whence, after he had perfected his ſtudies in the Greek, he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted of King's college, under the tuition of Mr Buſſe, one of the fellows, in the year 1684. where he did, as young ſcholars uſe to do, that is, applied himſelf to that which was the genius of the college and that was muſic; and finding that the theory was ſhort and ſoon attained, he made account the practice would alſo be ſo; and accordingly adventured on the nobleſt but hardeſt inſtrument, the lute; but here he found that art was long, and was not willing to attend it: he uſed to ſay within himſelf, whilſt he was fingering of his inſtrument, *Quantum hoc tempore legi potuit?* and whilſt his fingers were thus diſtempered and foundered upon the lute, it fell out that his tutor Mr Buſſe was choſen maſter of the ſchool at Eaton, and ſo removed from the college about two years after he was admitted. Coming not from Eaton's ſchool, but from another, he could not be of the foundation, and was therefore uncapable of thoſe preferments in the college that were of moſt worth, and the ſooner perſuaded alſo for to remove, which he did unto Queen's college, where he was received and admitted under the tuition of Mr Oliver Bowles, one of the fellows of that houſe, a very godly learned man, and a noted and careful tutor, under whoſe government he ſettled to his book, and left his muſic, and by whoſe conduct and directions he grew in knowlege, and was improved unto very thriving undertakings in his ſtudies.

It is not nothing to be well deſcended, *Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis*; ſheep and neat bred in Lancaſhire, or on the peak hills, and after driven into Northamptonſhire, and planted there, produce a very gallant race. Theſe Preſtons though removed from their native ſoil, and much impaired in their revenue, retained yet the garb and metal of their anceſtors, they carried themſelves and were accounted gentlemen; ſomething there was in this young Preſton's ſpirit that was not vulgar; I have ſeen in a book of his, under his own hand, when he was young, ſuch ſparklings of aſpiring ingenuity, as argued in him ſomething that was not common.

He was as yet but junior Sophiſter, but looked high, and grew acquainted with thoſe that were gentile, and fancied ſtate affairs and courtſhip, that had deſires or diſpoſitions to be ſecretaries or agents in princes courts; thought it below him to be a miniſter, and the ſtudy of divinity, a kind of honeſt ſillineſs, and accordingly got in with a merchant, by whoſe means he did procure that he ſhould live in Paris, and learn the language and garb of France; and another gentleman in recompence, ſhould be received and entertained in London, to learn our garb and language.

Mr Crefwel of Northampton was by this time dead, and had bequeathed certain lands in that town to him after his wife's deceaſe; theſe lands he ſells to put himſelf into a poſture fit for that deſign; but here he now began to find that he had reckoned without his hoſt, and that he ſhould have ſaid, 'if the Lord will I ſhall live and do this or that,' James iv. 15. for the merchant dies before the exchange could be accompliſhed, and ſo theſe blooming hopes, that had thus long held up his imagination, died with the merchant.

He was of an able, firm, well tempered conſtitution, brown, comely viſage, vigorous and vivid eye, but ſomewhat inclining to that kind of melancholly that ariſeth from aduſt and parched choler, which now began a little to be diſcovered in him. For being mated in his firſt deſign, he grew diſcouraged, went not ſo much abroad among the gallants, but ſtruck ſail to fortune and retired; yet his appetite was rather dammed than dried up; for after a very little pauſe and boyling over of his fullenneſs, he begins

begins to ſteer again the ſame courſe, although by more certain and domeſtic mediums and if he muſt be ſhut up and confined to the muſes, reſolves to be no ordinary ſervant to them; his genius led him unto natural philoſophy, which by that time was become his proper taſk; which he undertakes, not as boys uſe to do, to ſerve their preſent uſe, but with devotion, reſolves to leave no ſecret unattempted; adoreth Ariſtotle as his Tutelary ſaint, and had a happineſs to enter often where others ſtuck, and what broke others teeth, was nuts to him, no dark untrodden path in all his phyſics or metaphyſics, but he was perfect in it; and ſo drowned and devoted was he, that he ſeldom or never could be ſeen abroad, to the wonder and amazement of his former brave companions, ſo that no time paſſed, *ſine linea*; not that between the ringing and toling of the bell to meals; and for his ſleep he made it ſhort; and whereas notwithſtanding all endeavours, there was one in the college that would always be up before him, he would let the bed cloths hang down ſo that in the night they might fall off, and ſo the cold awaken him; inſomuch that his tutor was conſtrained to read unto him moderation, and to tell him, as there might be intemperance in meats and drinks, ſo alſo there might be in ſtudies; but the evil of it as yet he felt not, the ſweet and good he did, came off with honour and applauſe in all his acts, and was admired in the regent houſe when he ſat for his degree, both by the poſers and all the maſters that examined him, and from that much obſerved throughout the univerſity.

About this time his tutor (Mr Bowle's,) was called to the rectory of Sutton in Bedfordſhire, and ſo left the college, and another of the fellows, then Mr (afterward) Dr Porter became his tutor, a very learned man and great philoſopher, who never went about for to diſſuade him from his ſtudies, but gave him all aſſiſtance and encouragement. The year following it came unto his tutor to be head lecturer in the college, and Sir Preſton being to probleme in the chappel, made ſuch an accurate and ſtrong poſition, and anſwered ſo underſtandingly, that his tutor borrowed his poſition of him, when he had done, to look on and peruſe; and finding it elaborate, reſolved to make more uſe of it, than ever his pupil did intend.

The maſter of the college at that time was Dr Tyndal, who was alſo dean of Ely and reſided for the moſt part there; thither his tutor goes, and carries his poſition with him, which he ſhewed to the maſter, and acquainted him with what he had obſerved, that he was a youth of parts and worth, and deſerved ſome encouragement; the maſter was an honeſt gallant man and loved a ſcholar, and was glad of any opportunity to ſhew it, and ſo bids his tutor ſend Sir Preſton over unto Ely to him, where he aſſured him, he ſhould not want what was in him to do him good; and bade him hold on, and he would take care for him. and there being an election in the college, ſoon after he was choſen fellow by the unanimous conſent of maſter and fellows, and his tutor, Mr Porter, brought him word of it, as he was at ſtudy, not thinking any thing, and told him that he muſt come down into the chappel preſently to be admitted, and accordingly was admitted fellow of Queen's college in Cambridge *anno Dom.* 1609. That is, five years after his firſt admiſſion into the univerſity: he was not ſo much moved at it, as young ſtudents uſe to be, becauſe he looked ſtill at higher things, and had not quit in his retired thoughts his firſt deſign of being ſome body at court, to which he thought this honour might be a bar: this courteſy was not compos to him, yet it was not manners to be diſcontented, but attend what ſhould enſue.

He was by this time grown a maſter in philoſophy, had waded far in Ariſtotle, and had met with few that were able to encounter him, and therefore now reſolves to go another while to ſchool to Hippocrates and Galen, and verify what is ſo often ſaid, *ubi definit philoſophus, incipit medicus*: he had a very penetrating wit, and exact and ſolid judgment, to conjecture at effects in cauſes, and prognoſticate events; and being ſkilful in philoſophy before, ſoon made the theory his own, but becauſe *Perfectio ſcientiarum eſt in ſummitate*, the life and vigour of a ſcience is in the practice, he reſolves to make enquiry after that. Books make not men practitioners in any art, *Nemo ex libris evaſit artifex*, he retires unto a friend of his in Kent, who was very famous for his practice, where he earneſtly attended and waited on the trade and way of knowing ſimples, and compounding medicines, wherein he attained to that ſufficiently, that had divinity failed he might have been another butler; yet what he had was not in vain; for when any of his pupils were amiſs, though he ſent them always unto phyſicians, yet himſelf peruſed, and many times corrected their preſcriptions.

It was not eaſy to allay his eager, and unſatisfied appetite and apprehenſion with any one art, Eccl. v. 10. He that loveth ſilver ſhall not be ſatisfied with ſilver. *Creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit.* The more you put into the ſoul, the wider preſently it reacheth He thought he could not be a good phyſician, that could not read the powers of the herbs and plants in ſtars and planets, and therefore acquaints himſelf with Ptolemy, and other authors in aſtrology, and other curious arts and cacculations, as they are called, Acts xix. 19. that he might be able to ſtudy, not only books, but men, and to read mens fortunes in the heavenly bodies; but he could not, nor did not read his own.

There was a ſoothſayer that told Agathocles he ſhould be ſlain the next month: who aſked, how long he thought he ſhould live after him? He anſwered, many years. He told him he would prove one of the two falſe, and leave the other to the iſſue, and ſo commanded for to hang him preſently. Mr Preſton was very buſy among the houſes of the planets, but ſaw not there his own domeſtic doom, nor what his Maker had determined concerning him; for as he was in theſe coeleſtial contemplations, it fell out, that Mr Cotton, then fellow of Emanuel college, preached in ſaint Mary's, where Mr Preſton hearing him, was ſet about an other exerciſe, conſtrained from his contemplations in aſtrology, to look into himſelf, and conſider what might poſſibly befal him. It was his manner, as it is of other ſtudents, when they come home from ſaint Mary's ſermons, to run unto their ſtudies preſently, or what is worſe; but this young ſtudent was forced to retire and ruminate: this ſermon had bereaved him of two beloved notions, one was his low opinion of the miniſtry and preaching; for he ſaw an over-ruling gravity and majeſty in that ſermon, that he thought had been impoſſible to pulpits. I have heard it often in the college, that he took away ſixteen anſwers in a probleme in the chappel; but here was one he knew not how to take away, *Sed hæret lateri lethalis arundo*, no cunning in philoſophy, or ſkill in phyſic would ſuffice to heal this wound. Another was his great opinion of, and ambition after ſtate employments; for theſe were higher things that now were offered to him, concernments of eternal influence, which nothing could divert that he had ſtudied hitherto; there have been divers eminent and great phyſicians that began in medling with their own infirmities. Self love rides always on the fore-horſe. His own accounts and aking conſcience, ſet Luther firſt upon the ſtudy of divinity.

Mr Preſton after this affront and baffle in the pulpit, wanted eaſe, and when he could not find it in his other books and ſtudies, begins a little to look into the Bible, and to conſider of the ſtudy of divinity In the proſecution of his ſtudy in philoſophy, he found many of the ſchoolmen quoted, and ſo was willing for to look a little into them, and finding thoſe he light on, pithy and ſententious, went on: it gave him eaſe, that he was now a ſtudent in divinity, and had left Albumaſar and Guido, and ſuch high flown ſpeculations; yet it pleaſed him for to ſee and find his Mr Ariſtotle, ſo often quoted, and in ſuch requeſt among them, and thought it that were to be a preacher, he might adventure well enough upon it, and ſo was drawn on very far in the ſtudy of the ſchool-divines. I have heard him ſay, there was nothing that ever Scotus or Occham wrote, but he has weighed and examined; he delighted much to read them in the firſt and oldeſt editions that could be got. I have ſtill a Scotus in a very old print, and a paper not inferior to parchment, that hath his hand, and notes upon it throughout; yet he continued longer in Aquinas, whoſe ſums he would ſometimes read as the barber cut his hair, and when it fell upon the place he read, he would not lay down his book but blow it off; and in this tune he continued, until a rumour came into the univerſity that the king would ſhortly come to viſit them. King James was happier in his education, than his mother

mother would have had him. It pleaſed God to breed a Buchanan on purpoſe; for to guide his younger years, and by that time he was ripe, Scotland was grown acquainted with Geneva and the king no ſtranger unto Calvin's way. The news awakened all the univerſity, and there were few but promiſed to themſelves ſome good from this fair gale, that ſeeing 'Promotion came neither from the eaſt, nor from the weſt, nor from the ſouth,' Pſal. lxxv. 6. it muſt and would come from the north; and the proverb be inverted, and be, *Omne bonum ab Aquilone.*

Dr Harſnet, maſter of Pembrook hall was then vice-chancellor, a prudent well adviſed governor, who knowing well the critical and able apprehenſion of the king, was very careful and ſollicitous to pitch upon the ableſt in every faculty, for actors in that ſolemn entertainment, and himſelf made choice of Mr Preſton to anſwer the philoſophy act, and ſent unto him to provide himſelf. He was ambitious enough by nature, and had this news come a little ſooner, nothing had been more ſuitable to his deſign an inclination. But now the gentleman was planet-ſtruck, grown dull and phlegmatic; Mr Cotton's ſermon had ſo invaded him, that kings and courts were no ſuch great things with him, eſpecially when he underſtood that another was reſolved on for anſwer.

Dr Wren was then a very pregnant ſcholar in Pembroke hall, and alſo chaplain unto biſhop Andrews and thought fit to be employed in this commencement ſervice, but was not willing to have any other place but anſwerer: the vice-chancellor urged his promiſe and engagement unto Mr Preſton, and his opinion of his great ability, but nothing would ſerve. The vice-chancellor's college, and the biſhop's chaplain muſt have precedency, which he moſt ſeriouſly excuſed to Mr Preſton, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the firſt opponents place, which he declined, as being too obnoxious unto the anſwerer, who is indeed the lord and ruler of the act; but there was no removing now, and ſo he goes about it with much unwillingneſs, being rather driven than drawn unto it.

His great and firſt care was to bring his argument unto a head, without affronts or interruptions from the anſwerer, and ſo made all his major propoſitions plauſible and firm, that his adverſary might neither be willing nor able to enter there, and the minor ſtill was backed by other ſyllogiſms, and ſo the argument went on unto the iſſue: which fell out well for Mr Preſton; for in diſputations of conſequence, the anſwerers are many times ſo fearful of the event, that they ſlur and trouble the opponents all they can, and deny things evident, which had been the caſe in all the former acts; there was wrangling about ſyllogiſms, that ſullied and clouded the debates extremely, and put the king's *acumen* into ſtraits; but when Mr Preſton ſtill cleared his way, and nothing was denied, but what was ready to be proved, the king was greatly ſatisfied, and gave good heed, which he might well do, becauſe the queſtion was tempered and fitted unto his content; namely, 'Whether dogs could make ſyllogiſmes.'

The opponent urged that they could; an enthimeme (ſaid he) is a lawful and real ſyllogiſme, but dogs can make them; he inſtanced in an hound who had the major propoſition in his mind, namely, 'The hare is gone either this or that way;' ſmells out the minor with his noſe; namely, She is not gone that way, and follows the concluſion, *Ergo* this way with open mouth. The inſtance ſuited with the auditory, and was applauded, and put the anſwerer to his diſtinctions, that dogs might have ſagacity, but not *ſapience*, in things eſpecially of prey, and that did concern their belly, might be *naſutuli*, but not *logici*; had much in their mouths, little in their minds, unleſs it had relation to their mouths; that their lips were larger than their underſtandings: which the opponent, ſtill endeavouring to wipe off with another ſyllogiſme, and put the dogs upon a freſh ſcent, the moderator (Dr Reade) began to be afraid, and to think how troubleſome a pack of hounds, well followed and applauded, at laſt might prove, and ſo came in into the anſwerer's aid, and told the opponent that his dogs, he did believe, were very weary, and deſired him to take them off, and ſtart ſome other argument; and when the opponent would not yield, but hallooed ſtill and put them on, he interpoſed his authority and ſilenced him. The king in his conceit was all the while upon New-Market heath, and liked the ſport, and therefore ſtands up, and tells the moderator plainly he was not ſatisfied in all that had been anſwered, but did believe an hound had more in him than was imagined. I had myſelf (ſaid he) a dog, that ſtragling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very freſh ſcent, but conſidering he was all alone, and had none to ſecond and aſſiſt him in it, obſerves the place and goes away unto his fellows, and by ſuch yelling arguments as they beſt underſtand, prevailed with a party of them to go along with him, and bringing them unto the place, purſued it unto an open view. Now the king deſired for to know how this could be contrived and carried on without the uſe and exerciſe of underſtanding, or what the moderator could have done in that caſe better, and deſired him that either he would think better of his dogs or not ſo highly of himſelf.

The opponent alſo deſired leave to purſue the king's game, which he had ſtarted, unto an iſſue, but the anſwerer proteſted that his majeſty's dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by common law, but by prerogative. And the moderator fearing the king might let looſe another of his hounds, and make more work, applies himſelf with all ſubmiſſe devotion to the king, acknowleged his dogs were able to out do him, beſought his majeſty for to believe they had the better; that he would conſider how his illuſtrious influence had already ripened and concocted, all their arguments and underſtandings; that whereas in the morning the reverend and grave divines could not make ſyllogiſmes, the lawyers could not, nor the phyſicians; now every dog could, eſpecially his majeſty's.

All men acknowleged that it was a good bit to cloſe with. It was grown late, and ſo the congregation was removed unto the regent houſe, and the king went off well pleaſed with the buſineſs. The other acts were eaſily forgotten, but the diſcourſe and logic of the dogs was freſh in mouth and memory, and the philoſophy act applauded univerſally. The king commended all the actors, but above all, the opponent. It was eaſy to diſcern that the king's hound had opened a way for Mr Preſton at the court, if he were willing; yea many of the great ones put him in mind, and promiſed all aſſiſtance and encouragement. Sir Fulk Grevill, afterward lord Brook, was taken greatly with him, and after many demonſtrations of his real love, ſettled at laſt a ſtipend on him of fifty pounds *per annum*, and was his friend unto his laſt hour; but his ambition after courtſhip was well allayed, ſo as he did not ravenouſly purſue it. But being now reſolved to be a miniſter, fell to the ſtudy of modern writers, eſpecially Mr Calvin, whoſe very ſtile and language much affected him. The courtiers wondered that he did not bite, Prov. xix. 12. 'In the light of the king's countenance is life, and his favour like a cloud of the latter rain.' That a young man ſhould not be ambitious, that a good eye ſhould not ſee; they began to be a little jealous of him.

He was reſerved naturally, and could keep counſel; few knew how Mr Cotton's ſermon had affected and wrought upon him But this not failing when the wind blew, begat ſuſpicion Some judged he was modeſt, and wanted opportunity to bring him on; ſome that he was melancholy, and ſo neglected what was proper for him to intend; ſome buſy and intent upon his pupils, who now began to come from all parts But the politicians aſſured, it was ſome inclination unto puritaniſm, a name now odious at court; for it could not be, (ſaid they) that he ſhould let ſo fair an opportunity miſcarry, if he had not ſomething elſe in view. Kings think themſelves extremely undervalued, if a word be not enough; cardinal Pool being choſen pope, at midnight by the conclave, and ſent unto, to come and be admitted, deſired it might be let alone until the morning, becauſe it was not a work of darkneſs. An honeſt argument, but not Italian enough; *Quis niſi mentis inops?* And ſo they went back and choſe another. When Balaam came not at the firſt call, ſee how Balak reaſons, Numb. xxii. 37. 'Am I not able to promote thee?' But Mr Preſton had indeed another king in his thoughts, when he had found treaſure in the field, he parts with all for that, Matth. xiii. 44. A purchaſe is not worth the having, that hath not either ſome convenience annexed, or may not

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ſome way be improved. God was a greater good than man, heaven than earth, a crown of glory than a crown of gold. But this neglect and ſelf-denial was well interpreted by good men, and that opinion of affecting Puritanes, which blaſted him at court, began to blazon him at home, and work a reputation, that to him was more acceptable. Men thought him meet for to be truſted with the care of youth; and many had their eyes upon him, for their ſons or friends. Mr Morgan of Heyfords, had been ſometime dead, and had left his ſon and heir an orphan in truſt with ſome that were his kinſmen, and like to manage his eſtate to moſt advantage. This Mr Morgan's ſon, under whoſe ſhadow theſe Preſtons had for ſometime lived, was by his guardians now commended to his care; not only for that relation he had to Heyford's his native town, and to the family, but alſo that by that means the young gentleman might be preſerved from the influence of his other friends, who were many of them popiſh. King James had been ſo well pleaſed at the commencement held before him lately, that he reſolves upon another viſit. The heads agree to entertain him with a comedy. There was one Boggle's of Clare hall, that had made a jeering comedy againſt the lawyers called Ignoramus. This was reſolved on for to be acted before the king, and great care was taken for to furniſh and accommodate all parts, with actors anſwerable.

Mr Morgan was a comely modeſt gentleman, and it was believed would well become a woman's dreſs, and accordingly his tutor [Mr Preſton ſent to,] that he would give way and all encouragement unto the ſervice. He liked not the motion, could not believe that his friends intended he ſhould be a player, and ſo deſired to be excuſed. But the Guardians were not ſo exact and ſcrupulous, but thought if he played this game well, he might win more than could be hoped for elſewhere; and ſo Mr Morgan was allowed by his Guardians to play his part, and afterward removed unto Oxford, and ſuffered to play what part he would, and ſo relapſed unto popery, which hath proved fatal and infortunate to him and his.

But here was matter for Mr Preſton's back friends, to argue he was not a courtier, that would envy ſo ſmall a courteſy to thoſe, that had ſo freely offered greater unto him; and it was reſented with a kind of angry indignation, that their offers had ſo little influence upon him; and there were ſome that watched opportunities to make him ſenſible of this neglect. There is no ſuch *ſolœciſme* at court as independency. *Si non vis ut per illos tibi bene ſit, ef ſciunt ut ſit male.* But Mr Preſton by this time had caſt up all accounts, and reſolved to ſtand unto his bargain whatſoever it coſt him. Only he thought if he muſt be a puritan, and bid farewel to all his carnal and court deſigns, he would not be one of the lower rank, but would get places if he could. *Mediocribus eſſe poetis, non dii, non homines, non conceſſere columnæ* That counſel of the wiſe man, Eccl. ix. 10. 'Whatſoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might,' he always practiſed. And what is commonly ſaid was true in him, *In magnis ingeniis nihil mediocre.*

This faithfulneſs to Mr Morgan, attended with ſo great a ſhadow upon himſelf, increaſed his reputation in the country, ſo that now he was accounted the only tutor; and being careful to read unto them, and direct their ſtudies, he found himſelf abridged of his own time, that ſhould have been beſtowed on his body. He alſo grew acquainted with many eminent and godly miniſters, as Mr Dod and Mr Hilderſham, who would come often to his chamber; and he was ſo hardened in his way, that he would get them many times to go to prayer with his pupils, a boldneſs not adventured on by any other. But by theſe labours his able body was debilitated. It was a great orator that ſaid, *Primo deſii velle cauſas agere, deinde deſii poſſe.* At firſt, ſaid he, I would not plead, at laſt I could not. Mr Preſton in his youth would not ſleep, but let the bed cloaths hang down, and awaken him. Now he could not, but about midnight ſtill awakened, and ſlept no more; whereby in time his body languiſhed, and could not anſwer as in former times.

Mr Butler of Clare-hall was then oracle in phyſic, to him he goes, and opens his condition to him; who, after ſome queſtions, bids him take tobacco, and ſo leaves him. He knew that Butler was odd and humorous, and thought he might give this advice to try him, and therefore reſolves to wait a while before he meddled with ſo odd a medicine, which Hippocrates and Galen had never ordained to any of their patients, and was at that time not ſo common, and of no good report; but his want of reſt continuing, and his appetite unto his book encreaſing, he goes again to Mr Butler, as a ſtranger, and propounds the caſe again; Mr Butler gives the ſame advice, and being ſatisfied that he was ſerious now, falls to taking of it, and found that this copious fume aſcending, did draw thoſe crudities from the ſtomach's mouth that hindered concoction of his meat, and vapours from it that occaſion ſleep, and ſo reſtored his reſt, and that in time his ſtrength; and ſo he went on in his work, until Dr Tindal, maſter of the college died. He was an old man, and that preferment of the maſterſhip of Queen's was more accounted of than now it is. There were very many that had their eyes upon it, but Dr Mountain in a ſpecial manner, who was often heard for to profeſs, he would rather be maſter of that college than dean of Weſtminſter: but Mr Preſton had another in his eye, Dr Davenant was a gentleman deſcended, and was a fellow commoner, when under graduate, but very painful, and of great capacity, and grew accordingly in learning and in reputation, and for his worth and parts was already choſen Margaret profeſſor, and read in the ſchools, with much applauſe, thoſe excellent lectures upon the Coloſſians which now are printed; him Mr Preſton pitched upon, but knew it muſt be carried very privately; for the Mountain was already grown into ſome bigneſs, was one of parts, and firſt obſerved in acting *Miles glorioſus* in the college, and had been chaplain unto the earl of Eſſex, but like the heliotrope, or flower of the ſun, did now adore Sir Robert Carr, already viſcount Rocheſter, the only favourite.

When it was agreed among the Perſians that he ſhould reign, whoſe horſe firſt ſaw the riſing ſun, and neighed at it, one turned his horſe head towards the mountains, believing that the ſun would firſt ariſe there; but it fell not out ſo here. Mr Preſton having laid his plot before hand, and ſeen what mountain was in his way, had taken care that word ſhould be daily brought him how the old Dr did, and when he found him irrecovecable, had horſe and all things ready; and upon notice of his being dead, goes preſently, and was at London and in Whitehall before any light appeared on the mountain top: the court was quiet, and he had ſome friends there. His buſineſs only was to get a free election, which he made means for to procure. But knowing alſo with whom he had to do, makes ſome addreſſes unto Viſcount Rocheſter, in the behalf of Dr Davenant, who being unacquainted with his chaplain's appetite to that particular, was fair and willing to befriend a learned enterprize. So Mr Preſton returns unto the college before the maſter's death was much took notice of; and aſſembling Dr Davenant's friends, acquaints them what had paſt at court, and ſo they went immediately to election, and it was eaſily and fairly carried for Dr Davenant, who being called, was admitted preſently.

But when Dr Mountain underſtood that Dr Tindal was departed, he ſends and goes to court and college for to make friends; but, alas! the game was played, and he was ſhut out. Never did Ætna or Veſuvius more fume, but there was no cure; only he threatens, and takes on againſt the actors, but they were innocent, and not obnoxious. This Dr had made great promiſes, gave a very goodly piece of plate unto the college, with this inſcription, *Sic incipio*, but now he vowed it ſhould be *Sic deſino*. However the college for the preſent was well paid, and grew in reputation very much; and becauſe they wanted room to entertain the numbers that flocked to them, built that goodly fabric, that contains many fair lodgings both for ſcholars and fellows, towards King's college.

It was not long before it came to Mr Preſton's courſe for to be dean and catechiſt, which he reſolved to improve by going through a body of divinity, that might be a guide unto the ſcholars in their ſtudies in divinity; for it was not his opinion that others ſhould do as he had done, that is, peruſe the ſchoolmen firſt, and then come to the modern writers; but firſt, read ſums and ſyſtems in divi-

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nity, and ſettle their opinions and judgments, and then read fathers, ſchoolmen, or what they had a mind to. This being known, and ſome honeſt townſmen hearing him at firſt by chance, there came the next day very many for to hear him, and the next day more, both townſmen and ſcholars from other colleges, ſo that the outward chappel would be often full before the fellows came. Mr Preſton was of a very meek and quiet ſpirit, never reſented injuries, nor provoked any unto averſeneſs, yet had ſome enemies: *Si injuria multos tibi fecit inimicos, faciet invidia multos* What had Paul done, Acts xiii. 45. for to deſerve ſo ſharp an oppoſition, but envy moved them? There had been other deans and catechiſts before this gentleman, yet no ſuch crowding.

Complaint was made to the vice-chancellor of this unuſual kind of catechiſing, it was aſſured, not only that townſmen and ſcholars mingled, but other colleges intruded alſo, that the fellows for the croud and multitude could not get through, and come to chapel to their places; that it was not ſafe for any man to be thus adored and doted on, unleſs they had a mind to cry up puritaniſme, which would in ſhort time pull them down; that the croſier ſtaff would not ſupport them long, if ſuch aſſemblies were encouraged; *Obſta principiis, ſero medicina paratur*, &c.

Well, upon the whole, an order was agreed on in the conſiſtory, and ſent unto the college, that the ſcholars and townſmen ſhould be confined to their proper preachers, that no ſtranger, neither townſman nor ſcholar, ſhould preſume, on any pretence whatſoever, to come unto thoſe lectures, that were proper only to the members of the college. The edict was obſerved punctually, and the auditory by it much impaired. Had ſtrangers ſtill been ſuffered to attend, thoſe ſermons had been printed as well as others; for there were divers that exactly noted, and wrote out all fair, unto the time of this reſtraint, but no one after that could go on with it, and ſo it reſts. But he went on, and was aſſiduous to the year's end, and waded through it, which was a very great help unto many of his pupils who made the greater benefit of thoſe things, becauſe they were not common and in print.

About that time the lecture at Trinity-church, and the ſermons at St Andrews, were prohibited, and the ſcholars all confined to St Mary's, which did occaſion Mr Preſton to read divinity unto his pupils on the Lord's days, at three o'clock in the afternoon, which he alſo often did upon the week days; but the townſmen and the ſcholars of other colleges that had taſted of his ſpirit in the chapel, endeavoured that he would do it where they might hear. Buttolph's belongs unto queen's college, and is uſually ſupplied by one of that houſe; there he is willing to make a trial how it would take, and reſolves the next Lord's day to preach at three o'clock, after St Mary's ſermons ſhould be ended; which, though but very little known, occaſioned ſuch a throng and crowd as was incredible. Men were not cloyed with preaching then, nor waxed wanton.

There dwelt then in the pariſh one Dr Newcome, a civilian, and commiſſary to the chancellor of Ely, who, being in the church, and ſeeing the crowd, commanded that evening prayer only ſhould be read, but no ſermon; the miniſter entreated that for that time Mr Preſton might be allowed to preach, ſo did the earl of Lincoln and others in the church; but he was reſolute, and becauſe he would not be further importuned, went home with all his family, and left them to determine at their peril what they would do; ſo upon advice it was concluded that the ſermon ſhould go on, and Mr Preſton preached a very ſavoury and holy ſermon, upon 2 Pet. iii. 17. 18. There was ſo much time ſpent in debates about it, and meſſages before the commiſſary left the congregation, that it was too late to do both, and therefore they adventured for that time to forbear common prayer, that ſo the ſcholars might depart, and be at college prayers. But this inſtructed Dr Newcomb in his complaint. The court was then near hand, that is, at New-market; thither the commiſſary goes the next day, and having the biſhop of Ely there, and many other clergymen, aſſures them that Mr Preſton was in heart, and would quickly be in practice a non-conformiſt, and was ſo followed and adored in the univerſity, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy courſe were taken with him, they might caſt their caps at all conformity, and ſee their power trodden under foot; and told them gentleneſs was not the way, for he was cunning, and would recover all if he were not ſeriouſly and thoroughly dealt with.

There was no advocate for Mr Preſton, but the Dr being firſt in his own cauſe, ſeemed juſt, Prov. xviii. 17. 'And ſpake to thoſe that were willing to believe.' The puritans began to be conſiderable, and they doubted he might come in time to head them. It is a great ſecurity to a man to be deſpiſed; *Contempto nullus diligenter caveat*: A fellow that hath nothing in him, nor is not owned, may be exorbitant, as he of one in his time; *Contemptu jam liber erat*. But David that hath a party following him, muſt have an army to attend him; and therefore he did wiſely to profeſs himſelf to be a dead dog, or a flea, 1 Sam. xxiv. 14.

The king was made acquainted with this complaint, and aſſured that Mr Preſton had as ſtrong an influence into the puritans, as the principle of the Jeſuites, which was *Agua viva*, had upon them, and therefore it behoved him to conſider what to do. A word was enough to a wiſe and jealous king who did not love to play an after game, and therefore hears himſelf the doctor's information; enquires whether the biſhop's and chancellor's juriſdictions extended unto members of a college, and finally concludes to proceed againſt him by the power of the univerſity.

A letter is framed unto Dr Scot, maſter of Clare hall, vice chancellor at that time, and to the heads, to call before them Mr Preſton, to give a ſtrict account of that notorious diſobedience unto the commiſſary; he anſwers mildly, that he was not guilty; refers himſelf unto the auditory, that evening prayer was omitted, becauſe the ſcholars might depart in due time, ſeeing the time allotted for it was ſpent in treating with the commiſſary, not out of any diſreſpect unto the ſervice, which he himſelf did uſually attend at other times. When the wolf complained the lamb had fouled the water that he was to drink; the lamb anſwered that if he had defiled it, yet that could not prejudice the wolf that was above, and the mud would certainly be carried downward; but this anſwer did not fill the belly of the wolf. Mr Preſton's innocency did aggravate his crime, which was his popularity, and therefore they told him, they were engaged to ſupport, by all juſt means, the biſhop's juriſdiction: that the king had honoured him, in leaving that affront to be examined by his proper judges, and that except he ſhould take off the court, they muſt and would proceed to a very round and ſerious cenſure.

Muſa mihi cauſas memora, quo numine læſo
Quidve dolens regina Deum, tot volvere caſus,
Inſignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Impulerit? Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?

That a fellow of a college for preaching of an innocent and honeſt ſermon, in a church belonging to the college, by the conſent and in the hearing of the incumbent, ſhould be thus vigorouſly undertaken.

Among other gentlemen of quality that were pupils unto Mr Preſton at this time, there was one Sir Capel Bedels, an orphan, of a very fair eſtate in Huntingtonſhire, a daughter's ſon of old Sir Arthur Capel, who being guardian to his grandchild, had recommended him, as he had done many of his own ſons, unto his government. It was a great truſt, and Mr Preſton's care was anſwerable; and becauſe, *plus vident oculi*, he had his ſpies, that gave him notice of all their carriages and correſpondencies; by one of theſe he was informed that Sir Capel haunted Dr Newcomb's houſe, and was very familiar with his daughter, Mrs Jane Newcomb, a very proper well-bred gentlewoman; his tutor aſking if they were contracted, he anſwered, no, but would be very ſhortly, as he was told, for he was reſolved to have her. Mr Preſton charged him to keep all ſecret, that Sir Capel might not think he was acquainted with it, and immediately appoints a journey unto Safron-walden, to take the air, and ſee that ſtately pyle at Audley end, and takes divers of his fellow commoners along, as he uſed to do at other times; and among others this Sir Capel Bedels. When they had dined and viewed the houſe, it was propounded by one of them, that

that they might go that night to Haddam, and viſit old Sir Arthur Capel, ſeeing they were thus far on their way, and it was late. Mr Preſton ſeemed to be indifferent, and ſo the propoſition took, and with none more than with Sir Caple, who knew his grandfather would fill his pockets, and that would ſweeten his Newcomb miſtreſs next embraces, and make him welcome to her. The old knight was glad to entertain ſuch welcome gueſts, and that night there was no diſcourſe, but of the ſtately rooms and goodly gallery of Audley end, and ſo the young men went to bed pleaſed, that the college-bell next morning would not awaken them; but Mr Preſton ſlept not in *utramque aurem*, but awakened betimes, and acquaints Sir Andrew with all the buſineſs, adviſeth him, by no means to permit the gentleman's return unto the college; for though the wound might ſeem quite cured, and he never ſo much engage forbearance, yet frequent apparitions would reditegrate: *Et nihil facilius quam amor recrudeſcit.* Sir Arthur was a very wiſe man, and had experience of the world, thanks Mr Preſton for his faithfulneſs; pretends Sir Capel wanted ſomething, and deſires his tutor to give him leave to ſtay a little while until he could be furniſhed, and then he ſhould be ſent, to which the tutor eaſily conſented: and ſo the reſt went home; and after a while the old man tells Sir Capel he grew in bigneſs, and it would be fit for him to travel before he ſettled, and he prevails with him to be content.

But what ſays Mrs Newcomb, who is robbed by this means of her vowed and reſolved ſervant, and her crafty father that beholds ſo good a morſel ſnatched from between his teeth; do ye think he had forgotten this when Mr Preſton came to preach within his juriſdiction? *Pulvere qui læſunt, ſed læſi marmore ſcribunt:* other injuries perhaps may be forgotten, but loſs of money is not: *Plorantur lachrymis amiſſis pecunia veris.*

Mr Preſton was not altogether a ſtranger at the court, however now there was no remedy; when he came to New-market, he found that biſhop Andrews, then biſhop of Ely, was chief; and that his juriſdiction in the commiſſary, was it that was pretended to be affronted, and therefore applied himſelf to him, and told him that he did not purpoſe to offend, but being engaged for to preach at that time, could not with honour diſappoint the auditory; if he ſuſpected him for any thing, deſired he would examine him, and ſatisfy himſelf. The biſhop told him, the king was told he was an enemy to forms of prayer, and held no prayer lawful but conceived: and therefore being popular, his judgment and opinion might do hurt. Mr Preſton anſwered that it was a ſlander, for he thought ſet forms lawful, and refuſed not on all occaſions to be preſent at the college prayers, and, when it was his turn, to read them. The biſhop anſwered, that he was glad, and would inform the king, and do him all the good he could, and bade him wait a while, and then repair again to him for ſatisfaction in it; and ſo time paſſed on, and there was nothing done.

There were ſome at Court that wiſhed well to Mr Preſton, *ſed lapſuro affiſtere formidant*, were loth to undertake a drooping cauſe; only there was one Dr Young, an honeſt Scotchman, that was dean of Wincheſter, and he told Mr Preſton plainly, that biſhop Andrews was his greateſt adverſary, and though he gave him good words, yet aſſured the king, that if Mr Preſton were not for this expelled the univerſity, lord biſhops would not long continue; but becauſe Mr Preſton was accounted, and not without cauſe, a learned man, he was not willing to appear againſt him; but deſired the puniſhment might be inflicted where the fact was done, and that was in the univerſity.

Mr Preſton ſaw now that the biſhop was a courtier, and could give words where deeds were not intended, and therefore goes again unto the biſhop, and tells him plainly, that he or none muſt put a period to his attendance, and that either he would ſpeak unto the king in his behalf, or tell him plainly that he would not, that he might know whence all this trouble flowed. The biſhop pauſed a while on this bold carriage, and at the laſt bad him come to him ſuch a time again, and he would deal with the king in his behalf.

So he goes unto the king, and tells him that however Mr Preſton was very dangerous, and it would be a very great ſecurity if he were handſomely expelled, yet he doubted it would not hear well, if it ſhould be done for this offence; for he would be abſolved in the opinions and minds of men, and be owned and applauded as their martyr, and might perhaps recover, and live to be revenged; and therefore thought it would be better, for to enjoin him to declare his judgment about forms of prayer; for that would be accounted a recantation and however would weaken his reputation with the puritans, which would be enough; for if they could divide him from his party they ſhould not fear him; for he ſaid, his carriage argued confidence in ſome aſſiſtance, which when they had removed, they ſhould be ſtrong enough at ſingle hand. All that the biſhop ſpake, was as if *extripode*. An order preſently was drawn, and ſent to the vice-chancellor, that Mr Preſton ſhould, in Buttolph's church, declare his judgment concerning forms of prayer, on ſuch a Sunday, or elſe they ſhould immediately proceed againſt him, according to their firſt inſtructions.

Mr Preſton was glad there was a way out, but ſenſible of the hard hand that had been carried towards him; but now there was no remedy, and it was vain to ſtrive againſt the ſtream: but before he could come home, the news was all about the town, that Mr Preſton was to preach a recantation ſermon at Buttolph's church on ſuch a day. This was good ſport to the brave blades, who came crouding as faſt as any for to hear, and it was no ſin now for any body to be from prayers: and indeed there was a very great aſſembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it. So he went upon his former text, and preached a very profitable ſermon, concerning growth in grace, and directed prayer, as a ſpecial means to make men grow in grace. Now that (he ſaid) was of two ſorts, either that which was ſudden, extemporary, and conceived; or ſet, enjoined, and preſcribed before, not only for the ſenſe and ſcope, but alſo words and phraſes. And whereas ſome thought this was to ſtint the ſpirit, he ſaid, there was a liberty to uſe conceived prayers at other times, wherein the ſpirit might expatiate and enlarge itſelf; and alſo the intention of the mind, though not in extenſion and variety of language. The blades that came to laugh, had no great cauſe to do it, for this paſſage was at the very cloſe, and the ſermon all along before was ſharp and ſearching; both ſides were ſilent and went home, nor without ſome prints of good upon their ſpirits: *Optimus orator cenſendus, non qui meruit auditorum judicium, ſed qui abſtulit;* he makes the beſt ſpeech that binds his hearers, rather to think what was ſaid, than who ſaid it.

The good-fellows were nothing ſo merry at the end, as at the beginning of the ſermon. Indifferent hearers praiſed all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the preacher. Good men were glad he came ſo well off, and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him: himſelf was troubled, leſt any thing he ſaid ſhould be miſtaken or miſrepreſented, as he was apt to be.

But there were many eyes upon this action, and all men waited to ſee the iſſue. Courtiers did not like it, that after all theſe toſſings to and fro, he ſhould thus light upon his feet, yet would not meddle for the preſent, but wait occaſions. Thoſe that were well affected were glad he was engaged againſt the court and biſhops, and did preſage he might be inſtrumental to their downfall, and every body laboured to engage him more and more againſt them.

The Spaniſh match was then the common talk, and great unwilligneſs appeared in the people generally; and Dr Willet had preſumed to offer arguments unto the king againſt matching with idolaters. The king was greatly vexed at this adventure, and took great pains to perſuade the Dr that a papiſt was not an idolater: *ſed non perſuadebat etiamſi perſuaſerat.* The people were unſatisfied; and there being then a parliament, a very honourable and able member of the houſe of Lords prevailed with Mr Preſton to write ſome arguments againſt it. And though there were ſevere edicts and proclamations againſt ſcandalous papers, and intermeddling with myſteries of ſtate, yet he promiſed it ſhould be ſcattered and divulged unto fit perſons, and none ſhould know from whence, or from whom it came; accordingly, when it was finiſhed and

written fair, one gave it to a porter, whom he met in Holborn, and bad him leave it, according to the direction. The next day a great Lord comes unto him, that had perſuaded Mr Preſton unto the ſervice, and tells him, that he had met with ſuch a piece againſt the Spaniſh match, as he never ſaw, and proteſted he was convinced that he muſt ſpeak againſt it in the houſe, whatever came of it. The other aſked him who made it, and where he had it. He aſſured him he knew not, but it was left at his lodgings, by he knew not whom. The lord deſired he might ſee it, and it was copied out, and ſpread among thoſe of the parliament they thought fit, but the author of it never known.

King James had ſomething always in his writings and ſpeeches againſt the puritans, which was ill taken, for that it was apparent, thoſe meant thereby were godly conſcientious perſons. The houſe of commons was the only mote in king James's eye, the *remora*, as he conceived unto his abſolute dominion, for he knew not how to engage them, as he did the lawyers and divines; but if he ſtopped one mouth with preferment this parliament, there would be others open the next againſt him. There were ſome now that adventured to apologize for puritans, and to ſay in parliament, that honeſt men were wounded under that name; and to propoſe, that godly miniſters might not be ſilenced, and thrown out of their freeholds for trifles and ceremonies. But king James would none of that ſtuff, breaks up the parliament, and ſets out proclamations: *Sed quid proderit totius regionis ſilentium, ſi affectus fremant.* People love not to be enforced to duty. *Homines duci volunt non cogi.*

The chaplains that attended monthly at the court, were not ambitious of preaching over often, and ſo a combination was agreed on for preachers before the king, whenever he ſhould lie within twelve miles of Cambridge. The king did not deſpair of making ſcholars his, and therefore uſed all endeavours to oblige them, eſpecially Cambridge men, where a ſeed of puritans had been a long time; and though the plains about Royſton and New market afforded better game than elſewhere, yet ſcholars he conceived might be catched ſometimes as well as hares, and ſo was willing they ſhould preach before him. Young men he knew would preach themſelves: *Omnis oratio docet, aut rem, aut animum dicentis.* He ſhould learn either things or perſons.

By this means it came to Mr Preſton's turn to preach before the king at Royſton; he was ſo muffled at court in Dr Newcomb's buſineſs that he knew not what to do could not decline it altogether, for that would have expoſed him unto too much obſervation; and yet he greatly feared what might befal him in the doing of it. Therefore he changed his courſe with one that was to preach a little after, and did it very privately, that if his enemies ſhould have deſigns they might be diſappointed, and ſo it was not much known.

When he was to preach, it fell out that his courſe came upon a Tueſday, when the king did lie at Finching-brook. The court was very thin, and the prince and duke of Buckingham were both abroad, and the king himſelf was for an hunting match that day, and gave order that the ſermon ſhould begin at eight o'clock. Mr Preſton had ſome at the court that were ſolicitous as well as he, and they told him it would give very great content, if he would take ſome occaſion in the ſermon to ſhew his judgment, as he had done before, about ſet forms. Dr Young, dean of Winchester, (of whom we ſpake before) did then attend; and when the king came in, and ſat down in the chair, he told him who it was that preached, and ſaid, he hoped he would give content: I pray God he do, ſaid the king.

The ſermon is in print, upon John i. 16. which he ſo clearly opened and applied, that the king ſat all the while as quiet as could be, and never ſtirred nor ſpake to any body, but by his looks diſcovered he was pleaſed: when all was done, he came unto him, as the manner was, to kiſs his hand; and the king aſked him of what Preſton he was deſcended, he anſwered, of that in Lancaſhire: then ſaid the king, You have many of your name and kindred very eminent; and Preſton the priſt, although a papiſt, is a very learned man.

Great haſte was made to bring in dinner, and the king was very pleaſant all the time, had his eye continually upon Mr Preſton, and ſpake of divers paſſages in the ſermon with much content; eſpecially that of the Arminians putting God into the ſame extremity that Darius was put in, Dan. vi. when he would have ſaved Daniel, but could not. But as ſoon as ever he was retired, the marquiſs Hamilton kneeled down, and beſought him, that he might commend the preacher to him for his chaplain, proteſted he did not ſo much as know him, but that he was moved by the weight and ſtrength of that he had delivered: told him, he ſpake no pen and inkhorn language, but as one that comprehended what he ſaid, and that he could not but have ſubſtance and matter in him. The king acknowleged all, but ſaid it was too early, remembered New market buſineſs, and was reſerved.

Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the maſters of requeſts, had married a kinſwoman of the duke of Buckingham's, and was a kinſman unto Mr Preſton; he makes a relation of the buſineſs unto the duke, and told him, if now he would appear in favour of his couſin Preſton, he might oblige the puritans, and lay a ground work for his own ſecurity, if tempeſts ſhould ariſe; aſſured him that Mr Preſton was ingenious, and might be made; that the king and all the court were taken with the ſermon, and did approve it. The duke of Buckingham was a wiſe man, and apprehenſive of what Sir Ralph ſuggeſted ſeaſonably, ſaw thoſe they called puritans were growing, and in the parliament were thought conſiderable; knew the king's affections might cool, and he might need friends, and took Sir Ralph's diſcourſe into his moſt ſerious thoughts.

An honeſt man, one Mr Packer, was then his ſecretary, and he ſet on what Sir Ralph Freeman had ſuggeſted, and ſo it came unto a reſolution, that Mr Preſton ſhould be owned; and the duke commanded Sir Ralph Freeman to go to Mr Preſton from him, and acquaint him of his good opinion of him, and deſire to ſee him; and indeed there was ſuch a concurrence and concerting of opinions and deſires among the courtiers, that it was aſſured Mr Preſton he might be chaplain unto whom he would, and that was now the deliberation, which of theſe offers he ſhould accept, and whom he would acknowlege his patron and protector for the time to come.

There was not ſo few clergymen at court at any time, and ſo no kind of oppoſition; yet the king himſelf hung back, and would do nothing haſtily: he was not reconcilable unto the puritans, and ſo deſired not in that reſpect to engage him; but he deſired to deprive them of Mr Preſton, and to divide him from them, and would do any thing that might drive that on. And conſidering how many he had won, that Mr Preſton was a young man, and might be drawn on, he would not hinder nor oppoſe; ſo it was the joint opinion of all his friends, that the beſt preferment was to be the prince's chaplain, who then was grown, and had an houſhold. This therefore was repreſented unto Sir Ralph Freeman, and his opinion required, who quickly yielded, and propoſed it unto the duke. Both prince and duke had been abroad, and neither of them heard the ſermon: when therefore Mr Preſton was brought unto the duke, he very ſeriouſly received him; and told him it was the prince's unhappineſs and his to be abſent when he did preach, and therefore deſired him that he would vouchſafe a copy of his ſermon to him, and believe that he would be ready to the beſt and utmoſt of his power to ſerve him.

There were many other courtiers that deſired copies of the ſermon; and the court not ſtaying there, Mr Preſton came home to furniſh copies. He never penned a ſermon word for word, but wrote what came into his mind, and as it came, and that in no good hand; and ſo it was a buſineſs to provide theſe copies, which yet he ſeriouſly attended till they were written fair, and then to court he goes, where the duke preſents him to the prince, and ſo he was made and admitted chaplain to the prince in ordinary; for as then the prince had not compleated the number he intended, which was ſix, who were accordingly to wait two months by the year, and preach unto the houſhold upon the Lord's days, and perform ſuch duties as were required of them:

But God was making other work for Mr Preſton, for Dr

Dr Tolſon, biſhop of Saliſbury dies, and leaves a wife and many children unprovided for; for he had been biſhop but a little while. This wife of his was Dr Davenant's ſiſter; in pity therefore and commiſeration of her caſe, it was propoſed to the king by thoſe that were his friends, that Dr Davenant, a ſingle man, and well deſerving, might ſucceed his brother in the biſhoprick, and ſo make ſome proviſion for his children. The king thought very well of Dr Davenant, not only for his ſingular abilities and labours in the univerſity, but for his pains alſo, and ſervice in the ſynod of Dort againſt Arminius: and it was looked on as a deed of charity, and ſo believed he would carry it, and he the man.

But this created Mr Preſton's cares, Dr Davenant had been his conſtant and faithful friend, and given countenance upon all occaſions to him and all his pupils. But now who ſhould ſucceed; and where ſhould Mr Preſton find another ſhelter? The fellows for the moſt part were not his friends, envied his numbers, and great relations, and there was no man like ſo to befriend him. Beſides, the Margaret profeſſor's place would be void alſo by this remove, and many able ſtiring batchelors in divinity, propoſed unto him that place, and aſſured him the election would be eaſily carried for him.

The truth is, he had no great hope to do any great good in the election of the maſter of the college, and one Dr Manſel being named, a very moderate good natured man, he let that care fall, and was more anxious about the profeſſor's place; for tho' ſound doctrine in the univerſity was of much uſe, yet Engliſh preaching was like to work more, and win more ſouls to God.

He always high valued, and frequently conſulted with Mr Dod; and he perſwaded Engliſh preaching, as that wherein God was more immediately ſerved, and ſaid there were others that might ſupply the univerſity in the profeſſor's place, that either could not, or would not labour mens converſion. And indeed the maſter of Sidney college Dr Ward, a vaſt ſcholar, was then in view and nomination for the profeſſor's place; yet Mr Preſton was ſo ſollicited by honeſt men, that he knew not what to do; two things he thought he wanted to enable him. The one was a Latin tongue, the other a latine ſtile; in both which, by reaſon of diſuetude, he was unready. For his ſtile therefore, he reſolves upon an exact and logical analyſis of all the epiſtles, which would actuate and exerciſe his ſtile, and acquaint him with the ſcripture phraſe and language; and if he were called to be profeſſor, might ſerve for lectures in the ſchools; which work he immediately applied himſelf unto, and very happily compleated; a work of great pains unto him, and in itſelf of great worth; but being Latin, and written only with his own ill hand, was not thought popular enough to come abroad, but lieth in the dark.

For the exerciſing of his Latin tongue, he reſolves a journey into the Netherlands, were he ſhould have much occaſion of ſpeaking Latin, and ſee thoſe colleges and univerſities; but there was no travelling beyond ſea, without a licenſe under the hands of privy counſellors; this he procures among his friends with all the ſecrecy that could be, and a great while before he meant to uſe it, that he might conceal it from the college and univerſity; but this his ſecrecy begot ſuſpicion that there was ſome plot. *Velle putant quodcunque poteſt*: It is not ſafe for men to have abilities. It was reſented ſo much the more, becauſe no clergy man was made acquainted with it, and the opinion was, that ſomething was brewing againſt Epiſcopacy. This they were ſure of, that Amſterdam was in the Netherlands, and ever had been fatal to the hierarchy. The lord keeper, then was biſhop Williams, he ſees this plague afar off Prov. xxii. 3, and provides a meſſenger to go along unknown to Mr Preſton, that ſhould obſerve and give intelligence weekly of all that paſſed: *Integer vitæ ſceleriſque purus, non eget jaculis nec arcu.* 'A breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs is a better guard than a ſhirt or coat of mail.' It was David's uprightneſs that did preſerve him, Pſal. xxv. 21. ſo was it Mr Preſtons; for he knew nothing of his attendance, till after his return, but gave out in the college, and among his pupils, that he would go the next vacation into Kent, and viſit ſir Richard Sands, and drink if he ſaw cauſe, the Tunbridge waters, concludes to take one of his pupils with him, a Yorkſhire gentleman, ſir Henry Slingſbys ſon and heir; and did accordingly acquaint his father and make proviſion for it long before.

The time came, and he goes into Kent, and is received in the paſſage boat for Rotterdam, in the garb and notion of a gentleman, with his ſcarlet cloak and gold hatband, and all things anſwerable; and ſo goes over all the provinces, both proteſtant and popiſh where there was any thing obſervable, and encounters frequently with divers prieſts and Jeſuites, profeſſing himſelf a proteſtant gentleman, that was willing to find out the truth, and try all tenets, and accordingly was courted by them very much, and ſolicited to be a papiſt; and they gave him very many popiſh books, and ſo he came back into Kent, and to the college at the time appointed, unknown to any in the college, but only one of his pupils, from whom he ſeldom concealed any thing. He was no ſooner ſettled in the college, but a rumour flies abroad that Mr Preſton had been beyond the ſeas; he ſhewed them that it was incredible, and wonders at their ſillineſs, that they would believe ſo unlikely a relation; the matter was not great, now all was paſt, and ſo it reſted doubtful and undetermined.

He had a long time been ſucceſsful in the way of pupils, but doctor Davenant's leaving of the college troubled him. A great tutor hath much occaſion to uſe the maſters influence for accomodation and advancement of his pupils, which now he ſaw he could not promiſe unto himſelf; and it fell out much about this time, that doctor Dunn, preacher at Lincolns inn died, and ſome in that ſociety propoſed that Mr Preſton might be tried whether he were willing to accept that place for term time: he was himſelf neither careleſs, nor cracking of his good name: *famæ nec incuriоſus, nec venditator.* But it was much grown by reaſon of his ſucceſs in the conflicts and encounters he had at court. It was ſome refreſhing unto honeſt men, that Mr Preſton, ſo reſolute, and conſtant in the ways of God, was yet the prince his chaplin, and helped forward the deſire of theſe men; it ſuited with him, to have an opportunity to exerciſe his miniſtry in a conſiderable and intelligent congregation, where he was aſſured, many parliament men, and others of his beſt acquaintance would be his hearers; and where in term time, he ſhould be well accomodated, ſo he conſented and undertook the place; the chapel then was very little, and at the firſt, the numbers that attended on his miniſtry, beſides their own ſociety were few, but when the chapel was new built, as now it is, the numbers were exceeding great, that were his conſtant hearers, and foundations laid, that will not eaſily be ruined.

This was ſome eaſe unto his grieved mind, for Dr Davenant's leaving of the college and univerſity; but filled not his great capacity and large deſire of doing good; the college he gave over in his thoughts, but not the univerſity, where his preaching was much reſented, and made great impreſſions; and tho' at Lincolns inn he had gown men to be his hearers, yet they were not like to propogate and ſpread it. A preacher in the univerſity, doth *generare patres*, beget begetters, and tranſmit unto poſterity, what God is pleaſed to reveal to him; in a word, doth what the apoſtle doth enjoin, 2 Tim. ii. 2. and he of all men, thirſted after opportunities of doing ſervice, and might well ſay with the ſpouſe, that 'he was ſick of love, Cant. ii. 5.

Some of the fellows of Emanuel college were very eminent for parts and learning, yet clouded and obſcured, (as they thought) by an opinion that lay upon the college, that they were puritans, that is, not only godly and religious, (for ſo they were, and were content to be eſteemed) but nonconformiſts, and averſe to government; for which cauſe there had been lately ſome alteration made, both in their chapel, and manner of their diet; they thought therefore, if they could prevail with Dr. Chaderton their preſent maſter, to reſign, who was eſtabliſh'd in it by the founder, and named in the ſtatute, but was grown very old, and had outlived many of thoſe great relations, which he had before, they might perhaps procure that Mr Preſton might ſucceed him, and bring the college into reputation, being a good man, and yet a courtier, the prince his chaplain, and very gracious with the duke of Buckingham. But this was ſooner ſaid than done, the old Doc-

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tor was exceeding wary and jealous not only of his own diſparagement, but eſpecially of the good and welfare of that brave foundation that had grown and flouriſhed under his government ſo long; for if it were but known that he were out, there were divers lay in wait to get a mandate, and come in againſt their minds; a freſh example whereof they had lately ſeen in their next neighbours, Chriſts college, where after Mr Pemberton was choſen, Dr Carew dean of Exeter, was forced on them, and did all he could to mould a new, and alter the conſtitution and genius of the college. But the fellows anſwered, that this might be better hindered and prevented whilſt he was alive, than at his death; for his reſignation might be carried pirvately, but his death could not, and if all the fellows were content, the election might be paſt before the reſignation were diſcovered; and ſo they promiſed to ſound and try the judgment of the other fellows, and then repair again unto him.

There were two things in the college that (in their opinions) greatly pinched them. The one was the ſtatute for attendance and continuance whilſt they were fellows, ſo that they had not opportunity to live in noblemens houſes, or take lectures to exerciſe their miniſtry, and make themſelves known unto ſuch as had it in their power to prefer them. Another was the ſtatute of departing at ſuch a ſtanding, whether they were provided or not provided: and there was then a freſh example in Dr. Travarſe a man of great worth, yet forced to ſojurn as a fellow commoner in Chriſts college until he could be better accomodated; the fellows therefore were eaſily induced to affect this change; for they thought Mr Preſton might be an inſtrument, by reaſon of his great acquaintance, either to get ſome mitigation of the ſtatute, or procure more livings to be annexed to the college for their preferment.

So they returned to the old man, and told him that the fellows were all agreed, and ready to do what he ſhould preſcribe, and it reſted now in him to prevent the danger that did threaten, not only them in their particular concernments, but the growing good and welfare alſo of the college. The poor man wiſt not what to do, to outlive the maſterſhip he thought was to outlive himſelf, and to go into his grave alive.

Yet he honoured and loved Mr Preſton very much, and could not anſwer that dilema of the college fafety; therefore he told them he would not be wanting to the college good, but it concerned them as well as himſelf, to provide they were not cheated, and another forced on them, whether they would or not; and therefore deſired that Mr Preſton might be reqeſted to deal with his friends at court, to procure ſome promiſe that there ſhould be no mandate granted, in caſe his reſignation ſhould be known; he told them likewiſe how unprovided he was for maintenance, when that was gone, and how unſeemly it would be for him now in his old age for to want, and therefore deſired he might be taken in this particular into conſideration. But Mr Preſton quickly eaſed the old man of all theſe fears, and procuring a letter from the duke of Buckingham in theſe words.

'SIR,

'I have moved his Majeſty, concerning Mr Preſton's ſucceeding of you, in the maſterſhip of Emanuel college, who is not only willing, but is alſo graciouſly pleaſed to recommend him to the place in eſpecial manner before any other; ſo that in making this way for him, you ſhall do a very acceptable thing to his majeſty, as alſo to the prince his maſter, of which I am likewiſe to give you notice, and to put you out of all doubt, that another may be thruſt upon you: you ſhall not need to fear any thing in regard that from his Majeſty there will be no hinderance to his ſucceſſion; and for that point of ſupply of maintenance, I ſhall (as I promiſed) take care for to procure it, when fit occaſion ſhall be offered; ſo taking kindly what you have done, I reſt,

Theobalds, Sep. 20. 1612. Your very loving friend G. Buckingham.

When the doctor had received and read this letter, he was in all things ſatisfied, as to the court, but they all knew that doctor Travarſe lay in wait for this preferment; for being outed by the ſtatute at Emanuel college, he ſojourned at Chriſt's college as fellow commoner, and preſumed either by his friends at court, to get a mandate, or be choſen in the college by a party of the fellows, whom he thought his own; therefore great care was taken to keep all ſecret, and though the ſtatute do ordain a vacancy of ſeven days, and notice of a ſchedule paſted upon the chapel door, yet ſuch was the concurrent uniform agreement of all the fellows, that it was not diſcovered to any of the ſcholars until the day of election; and becauſe there is a ſacrament to be immediately before it, they were conſtrained to lock up all the gates that none might come in or go out till it was paſt; and then two of the fellows were diſpatched to queens college, to acquaint Mr Preſton with what they had done, and to deſire that at two of the clock he would repair unto the college to be admitted, and undertake the charge.

It was ſtrange news at queens, and all the college were much affected with it, wondering extremely that ſuch a great tranſaction ſhould be carried with ſo much ſecrecy, and that among Mr Preſton's twelve diſciples (as they called them) there ſhould be never a Judas but all concurred in it; but there was order given preſently that all the ſcholars ſhould be ready againſt two of the clock that day to attend Mr Preſton and the fellows to Emanuel college, in habits ſuitable unto their ſeveral qualities, which was done accordingly; and a very goodly company attended him from Queen's unto Emanuel, where they were chearfully received and entertained according to cuſtom, with a generous and coſtly banquet, and then returned unto Queen's again; but left Mr Preſton, the prop and glory of it, at Emanuel.

In the plantation of Emanuel college at the firſt, the godly founder took great care to ſtore his college with godly and able fellows from all the other colleges, and ſome were after added that were eminent; but now a maſter is beſtowed, God in mercy hath enabled that good ſociety to pay their debts by ſending not only members, but alſo heads into very many of the other colleges, ſo that they may now well ſay, *Quæ regio in terris noſtri non plena laboris.*

Sir Walter Mildmay their noble and religious founder, was wont to ſay unto his friends, that he had ſet an acorn that might perhaps in time become an oak; bleſſed be God our eyes have ſeen it, not only grown and flouriſhing, but fruitful, ſeaſonable ſhowers, a great promotion into a new plantation, and earneſt prayers unto God, a ſpecial means to bring theſe down, of which I think no college ever had more, which in theſe laſt years have returned a glorious harveſt: to God be praiſe.

The news ran ſwiftly all the kingdom over, and was received as men were affected. Good men were glad that honeſt men were not abhorred, as they had been at the court, and preſaged much of that enlargement and deliverance, which he have lived to ſee; the courtiers made full account that he was theirs, and would mount up from one ſtep to another, until he were a prelate; eſpecially the duke of Buckingham, who from this time ſeemed ſincerely to affect him, *multum fuit ad annum, dediſſe beneficium*, thought he had given earneſt, and could not be defrauded of the purchaſe. The earl of Pembroke, and the counteſs of Bedford, had a great intereſt in him and he in them; and all men looked on him as upon a riſing man, and reſpected him accordingly. As for Lincoln's-Inn, they made account they had a ſpecial influence into this honour, as having firſt expreſſed their good opinion of him; and there was an honeſt godly old man, one of the benchers, Mr Ayres, that upon hearing the news, would needs be young again, and made an Anagram upon his name, though he was uncertain how he wrote it in Latin, for he had ſeen it writen divers ways. Being therefore reſolute, and loath to miſs it, he reſolves to write it both ways, as he that uſed to ſay his prayers in Latin and Engliſh, that both might not fail, and ſo firſt he wrote it *Johannes Preſtonius*, with this Anagram, *In flas pius honore*: And this diſtich:

Doctrina, ingenium, virtus tua, præmia poſcunt:
En dedit Emanuel, flas in honore pius.

But

But leſt this ſhould be miſtaken, he writes it *Johannes Preſtonus:* with this Anagram, *ſe neſſe, non turpia:* And this diſtich:

Turpia non noviſſe, bonum: ſe noſſe, beatum;
Iſta docet alios, ſed prius ipſe facis.

The reſt of that ſociety rejoiced, that their lecturer was maſter of Emanuel, and took occaſion to expreſs it according to their ſeveral diſpoſitions and relations, when he came to them in the term, which ſhortly followed. There was one thing in the college ſtatutes that greatly troubled him; and that was that the maſter's abſence from the college was confined to a month in every quarter, and he ſaw not how he could attend at court, and preach at Lincoln's Inn in term time, but he ſhould tranſgreſs; but the fellows ſoon conſented to an interpretation, that abſolved him from the rigid ſenſe, there being in the ſtatute a double liberty; firſt, that in caſe of violent detention it ſhould hold; they reſolved, that not only a natural, but alſo a moral violence was to be underſtood. The other was, that in caſe of college buſineſs he ſhould not be eſteemed abſent. Now the college was at that time in ſuit for a living in the weſt, of good value, with one Mr Ewins, a gentleman in the pariſh, who had bred up a younger ſon to be a ſcholar in relation to that living; and therefore contended for it, as it had been his own inheritance; and when he was worſted at common law, prefers a bill in chancery, and thought by money to carry it againſt the college right. Biſhop Williams, the lord keeper then, was his great friend, and when after many delays it came at laſt to hearing would not allow the counſel for the college to ſpeak; Mr Preſton being preſent, craved leave to ſpeak in the cauſe himſelf, but was not only ſilenced, but ſeverely reprehended for it; it was trinity term, and the plague was very hot in London, ſo that Michaelmas term was wholly adjourned, and the next term was proclaimed at Redding, and the records removed thither; but before that, the lord-keeper was removed from his throne, and ſir Thomas Coventry, one of the college council that were not permitted before to ſpeak ſucceeded him; by by whoſe integrity and juſtice, the college was reſtored to their right, which ever ſince they have enjoyed, and ſo his following the college buſineſs excuſed his abſence all his time.

Being therefore now eſtabliſhed, and greatly minding the good thereof, he obſerved, that the ſcholars kept acts but ſeldom, and accordingly when they came unto it, performed it but meanly; he therefore adviſed with the fellows in it, and after many conſultations, it was reſolved, that the number of acts ſhould be in a manner doubled, of thoſe under maſters of art, which was a great advancement to learning of all ſorts in the college.

About this time, ſir Arthur Chicheſter, afterward an Iriſh baron, was choſen to go Embaſſador into Germany, about the palatinate affairs, and Mr Preſton was by the duke of Buckingham and other friends, deſigned to go along with him: he did not greatly fancy the employment, but would not contradict; only it was conſidered, that though he was the prince his chaplain, and maſter of a college, yet he was not doctor, which they thought might ſound ill abroad, and reflect upon his maſter, and there was not time to go unto it, in the ordinary way of acts and exerciſes; therefore a mandate was addreſſed to the vice chancellor and heads, foraſmuch as Mr Preſton was to wait upon my lord embaſſador, and could not in ſo ſhort a time perform his acts, he ſhould be forthwith admitted doctor in divinity, that he might be ready to attend the ſervice, which was done accordingly with all alacrity.

Being therefore thus engaged, and not knowing what might befal him in the voyage, he reſolved to ſettle his temporal eſtate before he went. He was not willing to be accounted rich; would often ſay, *manifeſtus theſaurus cito expenditur.* And therefore though he had great incomes from his pupils, and was not prodigal, yet he was not maſter of his money; for he had been adviſed to adventure in the Eaſt-India company then newly ſet up, and becauſe eſtates there were inviſible, he was the willinger, but by that means wanted money; for there was paying for many years but no returns; yet there was hope it might at laſt come in, and ſo it did without diminution of the principal, but not in his lifetime. Therefore he thought it needful to make a legal diſpoſition of his eſtate by will, and ſo he did, and named a very honourable perſon his executor, who lived to enjoy that money as well as other by virtue of it. But the voyage came to nothing; for ſir Arthur did not go as he intended yet this was his laſt will, and according to it all was enjoyed, though he made additions by way of requeſt or direction, which were accordingly performed.

It was ever his ambition not to be mercenary in his miniſtry, but at liberty to preach where he might do moſt good, without relation or reſpect unto the wages; and he conſidered that the maſter of Emanuel could have no living that had cure of ſouls annexed, and therefore was willing to give ear unto the ſollicitations of the townſmen, who greatly preſt him to be their lecturer at Trinity church; for they had applied themſelves to Dr Andrews biſhop of Ely, and propounded to him Mr Jeffries, one of the fellows of Pembroke-hall; and he had given way, and Mr Jeffries did preach at Trinity ſome years, but was deſirous of a more ſettled condition, and had deſired Dr Preſton to procure him to be chaplain unto ſome nobleman that was like to help him to a living, which was a very eaſy thing for him to do, having ſo much intereſt in many great ones; ſo he pitched upon marquis Hamilton, who preſently admitted Mr Jeffries, chaplain to him, and ſhewed him much reſpect, as well for Dr Preſton's ſake, as for his own, and long it was not before a living fell, namely the rectory of Dunmow in Eſſex, which the marquis procured and beſtowed upon his chaplain Mr Jeffries; for he had not then commenced doctor, and by that means the lecture at Trinity was ſhortly to be void.

The townſmen made account that now they had what they deſired, namely an opportunity to ſettle Dr Preſton in the lecture at Trinity; and great care was taken to increaſe the ſtipend from forty or fifty pounds per annum unto fourſcore, that the doctor might have twenty pounds a quarter paid him; for they thought the former inconſiderable, not knowing what principles the doctor lived by; and when they had effected that, they employed ſome of the chief to propoſe the matter to the doctor very ſolemnly; who was eaſily perſuaded to accept their offer, without relation to the ſtipend; but there was one of the fellows of Sidney college, Mr Middlethwite, that put in for it, and though few or none of the contributors or townſmen ſided with him, yet he procured letters from the biſhop of Ely, and engaged all his friends, both in the court and univerſity, that it came unto a very great conteſt. Dr Preſton, who was offered any biſhoprick he would reſolve on, and told at Royſton by the duke of Buckingham, that the biſhoprick of Glouceſter was then void, contends with Mr Middlethwite, to be lecturer at Trinity church, for a ſtipend of fourſcore pounds *per annum*, as the upſhot of all his hopes, and fruit of all his great atchievements at the court; and the contention was ſo great on all ſides, that it could not be concluded by any mediation, but was referred to an hearing at Royſton before king James, who was againſt the doctor's preaching in the univerſity, the conſequence whereof he well ſaw, and was informed fully of. I confeſs, I often wondered why Mr Middelthwite, an eminent ſcholar, and like enough to get preferment, as afterwards it is known he did, ſhould ſtickle for ſo ſmall an opportunity to preach, againſt the inclination and diſpoſition of the townſmen: until I underſtood that he was ſet on by the prelatical heads, who told him, that it was a ſervice acceptable to the king, and he ſhould be rewarded for it. At the time appointed it came unto an hearing, and an argument was urged againſt the doctor, namely, that it was a lecture maintained by ſixpence, a thing unſeemly for a maſter of a college, and the prince his chaplain, but the duke had taken care that nothing ſhould be ordered and concluded againſt the doctor's mind; for the duke reſolved not to loſe him; ſo the meeting was diſſolved and nothing done; but that night, ſir Edward Cowvey, then ſecretary, invited Dr Preſton to ſupper, and after ſupper told him, that the king had ordered him to tell him, that if he would give over his purſuance of that lecture, and let the heads

diſpoſe of it, he ſhould make his choice of any other preferment that was more honourable and profitable for him; but the doctor's end was to do good, not to get good; the king, to make him uſeleſs, and divide him from the puritans. The duke was more indifferent, who laboured in him to win and gratify the puritans, whoſe power in parliament was very formidable; therefore, when nothing elſe would content him, he was confirmed lecturer at Trinity church, the laſt preferment he ever had, where he preached after all his time, and did much good.

The duke had now obliged Dr Preſton, in the judgment and opinion of all the honeſt party, and much diſpleaſed the prelatical; and he ſaw apparently that king James approved not his ſiding with them, yet he was more expreſs than ever in his affections to him, and freeneſs with him. He had indeed a very happy and rare compoſure of ſweetneſs and ſolidity, would play and dally with the king as if he were a woman, and yet enquire, apprehend, and argue counſels and debates of ſtate, as if a Burleigh, or a Walſingham; ſaw clearly the affections of the king were fading, which the puritans (though never ſo much his friends) could not repair, and therefore eyed and adored the riſing ſun who now was grown, and fit for marriage but no preparatives to find a conſort for him. He knew the Spaniſh match was but a colour, and a treaty dandled between Briſtol and king James, to fool the prince off, and ſhut his ears againſt the French propoſals. This he diſcovers to the prince, tells him, kings did not love an heir apparent, how near ſoever; that the daughter of Spain was deſigned to a monaſtery, and kept for a reſerve unto the houſe of Auſtria; that in France there was a lady much before her: that if he pleaſed he would wait upon him into Spain in a diſguiſe, and take the French court in their way, and ſee that lady, and ſo diſcover Briſtol's, and his father's juggling. The prince reſents, and hugs this overture. They tell king James; the earl of Briſtol, and the Spaniſh miniſters abuſed him, that it was time to bring that treaty to ſome concluſion; deſire they might go into Spain and play the game out.

The king ſaw who had ploughed with his heifer, feared, as he was apt to do, a check mate; yet for the preſent urgeth only his affections to them both, and aſked them how he ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long without their companies? but they perſiſting, he ſigns a warrant with his own hand for Jack Smith and Tom Smith, with each of them a ſervant and their horſes, to go beyond ſea.

The duke was not unmindful of Dr Preſton, but leaves order with the dutcheſs and counteſs of Denbigh, to be careful for him: and Sir Ralph Freeman having a child to baptize, Dr Preſton is entreated for to preach, and the dutcheſs and counteſs were both goſſips, who ſhewed to the Dr very great reſpect, and gave him hopes of doing good; and ſome he did, for he procured, by their means, Mr Hilderſham's liberty, and reſtitution to his place at Aſhby de la zouch, and gave great hopes unto good miniſters of fairer times than had been formerly; only he would relate, with much regret, that he often found Dr Laud then biſhop of St Davids, with them, and therefore doubted of the iſſue and event.

The Dr ſaw, by the debates about the lecture, that he had enemies as well as friends at court; that the duke was mutable, as well as mortal; knew that the king abhorred that journey into Spain, and would remember it, if able. *Dulcis inexperto, cultura potentis amici expertus metuit.* And therefore, though now he were ſettled and aſſured in the univerſity, yet would not leave his lecture at Lincoln's inn; but being ſtill in London in the term time, about the college buſineſs, continued preacher at Lincoln's inn, and thought it might be a good reſerve, in caſe the naughty heads, or factions in the court, ſhould fall upon him; and it was well he did, for the prince and duke returned the next October, highly offended with the Spaniſh gravity, and both they, and all their train, did nothing but tell ſtories of the Spaniſh baſeneſs: ſo a parliament was called, and the duke cried up by all the godly party in the kingdom.

The Spaniſh agent at the court, had order from his maſter out of Spain, for to defy him, and proteſt againſt him at the council table, but ſeriouſly he could not have done him a greater courteſy, for the people univerſally did hate the Spaniard, and now the duke became the people's martyr. I have ſeen verſes made in his defence and commendation; and agents was preſently diſpatched into France to treat of that match. King James liked not this ſtuff, but the prince was able now to go alone, and eſpecially when he had the duke for one of his ſupporters: all things are fairly carried for religion, and the duke of Buckingham, the prince's and peoples favourite. The people ſeemed now to have the better, and the court affairs to decline and droop.

Dr Preſton, like another Mordecai, was very great, the prince his maſter, and the courtiers eyes upon him, becauſe they ſaw he came not thither for preferment, as all men elſe did. *Piſoni in imperium adeptato nihil in vultu mutatum, quaſi magis imperare poſſet, quam vellet.* His honours altered nothing in him, but gave encouragement to all the godly party; and his ſermons at Lincoln's inn much wrought upon the parliament, ſo that a bold petition was contrived and preſented to the king at Whitehall, from both houſes of parliament, April 25. 1624, againſt the ſpreading and increaſe of popery, and the indulgence given unto prieſts and Jeſuits. King James was in the evening of his glory; his party in the court under a cloud; another ſun almoſt in view, and the day ſtar already riſen; and accordingly he anſwered warily to their petition, bewails his want of information, as the real ground of this their trouble, which otherwiſe he had prevented; acknowleged that whilſt the treaties laſted with Spain and Auſtria, he was obliged to comply; but now both being broken off, he would be rigid and ſevere againſt the prieſts and Jeſuits; bids them find out a way for to reſtrain the growth of popery, and he would ſecond them; but reſolves to pay the duke of Buckingham for all this, and gives order to the earl of Briſtol to prepare an information for that end; but the match with France, and other intervenient accidents, obſtruct it for the preſent.

The duke having told tales out of ſchool, and broken off the match with Spain, was much obliged to further and promote the French, which he did ſeriouſly excuſe to Dr Preſton, upon this ground, that there was not any Proteſtant for to be had; and for to marry with a ſubject had always been unlucky and fatal to the kings of England; that the French would not be rigid in religious obſervations, but the Dr conſtantly oppoſed; only acknowleged this difference, that Spaniſh popery was an abſolute ingredient to their weſtern monarchy, but French was not ſo; and ſo this was leſs evil.

But the French found out this obligation, and were untractable, unleſs the duke would aid the king of France againſt the Rochellers: this was a hard chapter for one ſo much obliged unto the puritans and Dr Preſton, and he therefore declined all he could, but nothing elſe would ſerve, and he knew king James lay ready to take advantages; ſo in concluſion eight ſhips were granted to oppoſe the Rochel fleet, and many colours fought to cloud it and hide it from the world; but from that time Dr Preſton doubted of the ſainteſhip of the duke of Buckingham, whom otherwiſe he honoured and loved very much.

But it was high time for the duke to look about him; king James was not to learn now how to play his game, he was an old, but not a fooliſh king, Eccl. iv. 13. and therefore failed not to make proviſion, and lay rods in piſe, that he might uſe upon occaſion. Kings uſe for to account an ague in the ſpring their phyſic, yet phyſic till March be paſt is not good, but this ague antidates the months, and comes in February. The king was then at Theobalds, and the ague was made but ſmall account of. He feared death, but was the moſt impatient and diſordered of any living; what rules ſoever the phyſicians gave, he would obſerve none; which intemperance might very well occaſion the growing ſtrength and vigour of the diſeaſe, which howſoever more and more encreaſed, and at laſt began to be conſiderable; then he began to take advice, and to ſubmit to rules, but now it was too late; for March 27. 1625, on the Lord's day, in the morning, about ten o'clock, at Theobalds the king dies. Dr Preſton then attended in his month, and was ſometimes haſtened to the prince to comfort him, and ſometimes to the duke; and indeed it was a very mournful morning. Death is a very ſerious thing, and knocks alike at palaces as at the meaneſt

meaneſt cottage. King James was very much beloved of all his ſervants; ſome of the huntſmen could not be gotten from him; the prince and duke were both of them retired, and wept exceedingly. But Sir Edward Conwey, and ſome of the lords, drew up a writing, and proclaimed Charles Stewart king, with all his titles; and haſte was made to pack away to London. The prince, duke, and Dr Preſton, in coaches ſhut down, haſten to Whitehall, and there he is proclaimed again with more formalities, and the lord mayor and the city ſent to, where it was done with much ſolemnity, and great rejoicing of the people; for the prince had that exceeding happineſs to come upon the ſtage unprejudiced; for he had never interpoſed nor acted but in the Spaniſh buſineſs, and that ſucceeded to his great advantage, ſo that if he liſted he might have been as popular as ever any were.

This fall occaſions many alterations in the court; the biſhops generally, and Dr Preſton's enemies, and all that had contended with the duke, were creſt fallen. King James was like enough to have out-lived the duke of Buckingham, who had been very ſick ſince his return from Spain, but all is altered, and the duke does all. But he had many things to do; the affronts received in Madrid, and at the council table by the agent, were to be ſent back by a puiſſant and mighty navy, and proviſions made accordingly; king James to be interred; a parliament to be ſummoned; the French lady to be ſent for, and brought into England, which the duke eſpecially intended, and ſpake to all the gallants of his retinue to attend him, and to many others of the gentry and nobility throughout the kingdom. But he found it hard thus in the morning of his affairs to be abroad, there being then a parliament, and the ſickneſs much encreaſing in the city, ſo he was conſtrained to employ the Earl of Holland, and attend himſelf at home.

All were not gratified in this great revolution and mutation of affairs, and the diſcontented party murmurred, and let fly at the duke, and (the ſickneſs much encreaſing) began to make a mutiny; and it was much deſired that the parliament might be prorogued till ſome other more healthful, and leſs dangerous time. But the navy againſt the Spaniards, and the preſſing wants of all ſorts that depended on the court, would not permit, ſo it was only adjourned to Oxford; yet there the ſickneſs was as ſoon as they, and ſome of their members ſmarted for it: but haſte was made to gratify the new king, and the proviſions for the navy went forward, many men engaged, and the king reſolved to attend that buſineſs, as admitting no delay.

There was one thing that invited Dr Preſton to a journey that year, and that was a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the plague was in the town, in which caſe there is a liberty to diſſolve the college, without any detriment unto the officers and members of it. He was not willing to omit the opportunity, becauſe he had many invitations into the weſt. The biſhop of Saliſbury he deſired to conſult with, about a book of Mr Montague's, that was commended to him by the duke of Buckingham, to peruſe and give his ſenſe upon it. Mr Shervil, the recorder of Saliſbury, was a bencher of Lincoln's inn, and a very good friend of his; he had divers friends at Dorcheſter, and was deſirous to be ſea ſick, and was ſtill enticed forward, and at laſt reſolved to wait upon the king and duke at Plymouth, whether they were gone to ſee the navy ſet ſail. Whilſt he was there, the Rochel fleet was broken by thoſe ſhips the king had, and Monſieur Sabeeza came into Falmouth with the remainder, and thence to Plymouth, with moſt lamentable outcries againſt the duke, who ſeemed to be very much affected with it, and made mighty promiſes of wonderful repairs, but Dr Preſton failed not to ſet that buſineſs home, he did believe the duke was over-ruled to lend them, and ſorry when he ſaw the ſad effects.

But whilſt the duke was thus detained in the weſt, the earl of Briſtol, and the lord keeper Williams, combined againſt him, and drew in many to their party, among others the earl of Pembroke, and divers great ones in the houſe of commons, and was ſo encouraged and heartened in it, that the earl of Briſtol, May 1. 1626, preferred in the houſe of Lords twelve articles againſt the duke of Buckingham, tending to prove, 'That the duke had promiſed unto the pope, and miniſters of Spain, to make the king a papiſt; and over-ruled him againſt the judgment of the earl of Briſtol, to write unto the pope with the title of *Sanctiſſime Pater*: that his carriage in the matters of religion was ſo offenſive, that he ſtuck not to kneel before the hoſt as often as he met it: that he was ſo licentious and unchaſte in his behaviour, that the Spaniſh miniſters reſolved not to have any thing to do with him: that when he could not bring about the match to his own peculiar advantage, he uſed means to obſtruct it, and break it off: that he had informed king James of all theſe things, who promiſed to hear him, and leave the offender unto juſtice, and that not many days before his ſickneſs.'

The duke had now reaſon to look about him, and was very able ſo to do; and firſt he labours to divide the party, by drawing off the earl of Pembroke, by promiſing his daughter to the earl of Montgomery's ſon, which afterward he did accompliſh: then he endeavoured to oblige the puritans, by gratifying Dr Preſton all the ways he could, and particularly in the buſineſs of the college ſuit, by depriving biſhop William's of the ſeal, and giving it to Sir Thomas Coventry, who was one of the college counſel; yea, he went ſo far as to nominate the doctor to the king to be lord-keeper, and the king was ſo firm to him, that the earl of Briſtol could do no good, and ſo withdrew his articles.

Dr Preſton's friends were neuter all this while, and looked on, neither engaged for him nor againſt him which was ſadly repreſented to the duke, by the biſhop's, and that party, who wondered he ſhould dote upon a man that either could not, or would not own him in his need; bade him conſider whether puritans were like to be his friends, whoſe ways were *toto cœlo*, different; and told him plainly he could not have them both. If he adherred to thoſe that ſought their ruin, they muſt adhere to ſuch as would ſupport them; ſo that the duke was in a great ſtrait, and knew not what to do.

Dr Preſton was alſo importuned to put it to an iſſue and if he would not leave the rotten and corrupted clergy then to leave him; and becauſe there had been informations of that book of Montague's, they propounded it might come to a debate, and not remain, as now it did, unſettled.

The doctor and the duke were both of them unwilling to an open breach, loved for to temporize and wait upon events: but Dr Preſton's friends would not be ſatisfied, but urged a conference, whereunto they were encouraged by ſome orthodox and very learned biſhops; and at laſt it was concluded by two religious noblemen that a conference there ſhould be, the biſhop of Rocheſter and Dr White, then dean of Carliſle, on the one ſide, and the biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield and Dr Preſton on the other. A day was ſet, a Saturday in Hillary term, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the place was York houſe, and Dr Preſton ſent to in the morning for to attend it. The noblemen came unto the biſhop's lodgings about two o'clock, and ſent for Dr Preſton to them, who gave many reaſons why he could not go, but they were reſolute, and taking the biſhop with them went without him; but the doctor conſidering, and fearing his abſence might betray the cauſe, and give encouragement unto the other ſide, went afterward himſelf unto the place, and ſat by as an hearer, ſilent, until all was done; but talking afterwards occaſionally of falling from grace, the biſhop ſhewed that a godly man might go far, and yet return, by the inſtance of the prodigal, Luke xv. But Dr White exclaimed againſt any that ſhould think the prodigal in acts of drunkenneſs and whoredom not to be fallen from grace, and urged that of the apoſtle, Rom. i. 32. 'That thoſe that do ſuch things are worthy of death;' that is, ſaid he, in a ſtate of everlaſting death, and therefore fallen from grace; ſo 1 Cor. vi. 9. 10 'ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God;' that is, are not ſons, for 'if ſons then heirs,' Rom. viii. 17.

But Dr Preſton anſwered, that theſe ſins made indeed a forfeiture of all their intereſt into the hands of God, and he might make the ſeizure if he pleaſed, but did not unto thoſe which were his children, and in covenant with him; as two tenants, by not paying of their rent, or keeping covenants, forfeited their leaſes, yet the lord might ſeize the one, and not the other, as he pleaſed. But the biſhop

biſhop and the dean both cried out, this was the way to all licentiouſneſs and looſeneſs. To which the doctor anſwered, That the 'ſeed of God,' as the apoſtle calls it, 1 John iii. 9 remaining in the ſinning ſaint, or ſon, and would repair him; as in water there remains a principle of cold, even when it boileth over, that will undoubtedly reduce it when the heat and fire is removed, as in Peter, David, Sampſon, and others, was apparent, ſo that they could not run out into all licentiouſneſs; 'for the ſpirit luſted againſt the fleſh, that they cannot do the things they would,' Gal. v. 17. and though he did not diſinherit them, and blot their names out of the book of life, Phil. iv. 3. yet he might, and would withdraw his favour, imbitter all their comforts, Matth. xxvi. 75 raiſe trouble to them from their deareſt intereſts, 2 Sam. xii 11. fill them with anguiſh, Pſal. xxxviii 3. 4. which in reaſon will keep them from running out, ſeeing the evil is commenſurable unto that good of pleaſure or profit their ſin afforded; and, if need be, he can add unto it eternal apprehenſions, and make them feel the fierceneſs of his anger, Pſal lxxxviii. 6. 7 without any hope of being eaſed; and after this can reſtrain or with hold them, as he did Abimelech, Gen. xx. 6 For if one ceaſe to be a ſon becauſe he commits a ſin that doth deſerve eternal death, then every ſin a child of God commits, rends his relation or ſon-ſhip off; for every ſin deſerves eternal death, Rom. vi. 23. And becauſe in many things we offend all, Jam. iii. 2. we ſhould be always out of ſon ſhip, and have neither certainty nor comfort in our eſtate, unleſs he could give ſome good ground out of ſcripture, to aſſure what ſins put us out, and what did not.

The duke had ſent to Dr Preſton to decline this cloſhing conference, and aſſured him he was as much his friend as ever, and would not have ſtopt it if he could; but the biſhops had over-ruled it, which the doctor at the firſt believed and ſo was backward; but when he ſaw the confidence of Dr White and his companion, he doubted the ſincerity of that aſſurance, and was afterwards informed, that there had been a meeting at the counteſs of Denby's, and the duke had promiſed to leave him. This gave him reſolution and encouragement againſt the ſecond conference, which was managed in a manner by him alone, againſt Mr Montague and Dr White; for when the doctor ſaw the duke begun to double with him, he was leſs fearful to offend him. though the duke ſtill carried it with all the fairneſs he could, and appeared not in perſon.

When the time came for the ſecond conference, the doctor readily appeared and the firſt thing he charged Mr Montague with, was about his doctrine of traditions, which he affirmed he had delivered as groſſly and erroneouſly as any papiſt, Gag. p. 38. 39. 40. For he juſtified that place in Bazil, where he ſays, 'The doctrine retained in the church was delivered, partly by written inſtructions, partly by unwritten traditions, having both a like force unto piety;' which was ſo unlike to Bazil, and the opinion of thoſe times, that it was generally believed to be put in by the papiſts of latter times.

Mr Montague confeſſed, it was ſuſpected by ſome of the preciſer cut; but Dr Preſton told him, biſhop Bilſon was none of them, yet he did judge it ſuppoſititious; and it muſt be ſo, or Bazil acknowleged to be erroneous For he inſtanceth in praying towards the eaſt, and uſe of chriſm or oil in baptiſm; both which being rejected by the church of England, argues they held that place of Bazil not canonical.

Maſter Montague anſwered, that *dogma* there uſed by St. Bazil, might ſignifie a thing that ſeemed ſo, and ſo the ſenſe might be, that ſome things that ſeemed true, of leſs eſteem and conſequence, might be delivered by tradition, as long as matters more ſubſtantial were taken from the ſcripture. But Dr. Preſton ſhewed that *dogma* ſignified oftentimes doctrine, and was uſed here by Bazil for thoſe heads of doctrine that were more principal, and leſs expoſed, comparing them unto thoſe places in the temple, whereunto the people had no acceſs.

Mr Montague anſwered farther, that the aſſertion was hypothetical, that if a doctrine came from the ſame author, it was no great matter, whether it were by writing or word of mouth, for either had the ſame authority. But Dr. Preſton told him, Bazil was poſitive, and ſpake directly, and him he juſtified, and therefore could not be hypothetical, as he pretended.

It is a great ſtep unto victory for to divide, Paul ſaw the Phariſees againſt the Sadducees, Acts xxiii. 6, 7, 8. that he might ſave himſelf. The Jeſuites are ſo good at it that though they have but one to be their adverſary, they will endeavour to divide him from himſelf. by moving paſſion, or compaſſion, or ſome affection of his own againſt him. Dr White had openly in the commencement houſe, maintained that election is not *ex prævisis operibus*, and therefore Dr Preſton reſolved to pinch Mr Montague in that particular, that he might bereave him of his animating champion Dr White.

There were four ſeveral places that Dr Preſton had obſerved to make good this charge, the firſt which he produced, was Gag. pag 179. Some proteſtants hold that Peter was ſaved, becauſe God would have it ſo, without reſpect unto his faith and obedience; and Judas damned, becauſe God would have it ſo, without reſpect unto his ſin. And added, this is not the doctrine of the proteſtants, this is not the doctrine of the church, the church of England hath not taught it, doth not believe it, hath oppoſed it.

Now Dr White was very fierce and eager to engage, told him it was no doctrine of the church of England, but a private fancy of ſome, that Judas was condemned, without reſpect unto his ſin; 'For the wages of ſin is death,' Rom. vi. 23. 'The ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die,' Ezek. xviii. 4. But Dr Preſton anſwered he did not charge that upon Mr Montague, but the former part of the aſſertion, that Peter was not ſaved, without reſpect unto his believing and obedience, and ſo election ſhould not be abſolute, but grounded upon faith and works foreſeen. Then faith Dr White, I have nothing againſt that, but leave Mr Montague to anſwer for himſelf.

Dr Preſton was glad that he was eaſed of Dr White, and yet reſolved to make advantage of it, and therefore told Dr White, if he thought election was not *ex fide Prævisa*, he deſired to know whether ſaving grace were an affect, and fruit of election, or no? Dr White acknowleged readily it was; then ſaid Dr Preſton, whoſoever hath ſaving grace is elected. Now you know that an elect perſon, can never finally miſcarry, or fall away; therefore whoever hath true grace can never fall away. The old man ſaw the ſnare, and would have avoided it, by denying the conſequence, But the doctor urged, that whereſoever the effect is, there muſt be the cauſe. but ſaving grace is an effect of election This Dr White would have denied, but the hearers murmured that the effect could not be without the cauſe. as the day is not without the preſence of the ſun. Then Dr White anſwered, that ſaving grace was an effect indeed but a common effect. But Dr Preſton urged, that it was not more common than election; for all the elect had ſaving grace, (and none but they) and therefore they could never fall away. But this (ſaid he) is by the way, I will now apply myſelf to Mr Montague.

But when Mr Montague perceived that his great Goliah Dr White forſook him, he was greatly troubled, and cavilled at the words a while, but the book, adjudging it for Dr Preſton, he ſaid the church of England had not declared any thing againſt it. Dr Preſton alleged the ſeventeenth article, but told Mr Montague, that he affirmed the church of England did oppoſe it, and he deſired to know where.

But after one of the lords had whiſpered with Mr Montague, he confeſſed that for Arminius, he had never read him, and that he had written ſome things negligently in that book which he never thought ſhould thus be ſcanned among friends, and therefore promiſed to write another book in butter and honey, and therein more exactly for to acquit himſelf.

Some of the good lords propoſed, that in ſtead of this book which Mr Montague had promiſed to write, the ſynod of Dort might be received and eſtabliſhed as the doctrine of the church of England, ſeeing there was nothing there determined, but what our delegates approved. But Dr. White oppoſed this mainly; for (ſaid he) the church of England in her catechiſm teacheth to believe in God the

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ſon, who redeemed me and all mankind, which that ſynod did deny.

Dr Preſton anſwered, that by redemption there, was only meant the freeing of mankind from that inevitable ruin, the ſin of Adam had involved them in, and making of them ſaveable upon conditions of another covenant, Joh. iii. 16, 17. ſo as now ſalvation was not impoſſible, as it was before the death of Chriſt, but might be offered unto any man, according to the tenor of that commiſſion, Mark xvi. 15, 16. Which could not be unto the devils, for they were left in that forlorn condition, whereinto their ſin and diſobedience put them, Heb. ii. 16. 2 Pet. ii. 4. that the jailor was a boiſterous bloody fellow, Acts xvi. 24, 27. yet Paul makes no doubt for to tell him, ver. 31. 'That if he believed on the Lord Jeſus, he ſhould be ſaved with his houſe.'

But Dr White in no ſort received this, but affirmed earneſtly, that Chriſt died for all alike in God's intention and decree, for Cain as well as Abel, for Saul as much as David, for Judas as much as Peter, for the reprobate and damned in hell, as well as for the elect and ſaints in heaven.

But Dr Preſton anſwered, that there was a ſpecial ſalvation afforded to believers, 1 Tim. iv. 10 that Chriſt was indeed a ranſom for all, 1 Tim. ii. 6. but the Saviour only of his body, Eph. v 23. that he redeems all, but called, juſtified and glorified whom he knew before, 'and had predeſtinated to be conform to the image of his ſon Rom. viii. 29. 30. that to whom in this ſenſe Chriſt was given, to them were given alſo 'all things appertaining unto life and godlineſs, 2 Pet. i. 3. as faith, 2 Pet i. 1. Phil. i. 29. Eph. ii. 8. repentance, Act. xi. 18. 2 Tim. ii. 25 a new heart, Exek. xxxvi. 26 his ſpirit, Gal. iv. 5. 6. So that nothing can be charged on them, but Jeſus Chriſt hath undertaken, and is engaged to diſcharge them Rom. viii. 21, 32, 33, 34. ſo that they can never periſh, nor be taken out of Chriſt's hand, Joh. x. 28. 29, 30. but as they are begotten again unto a 'lively hope,' 1 Pet. i. 3. ſo they are 'kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation, ver. 5. where as Judas was loſt, Joh. xvii. 12. and is gone 'to his own place,' Act. i. 25. and there are many nations and people of the world that have no outward offer made unto them in the goſpel, Pſal. cxxvii. 19, 20. Act. xvi. 6, 7. and thoſe that have it, have not hearts given them to underſtand it, and believe it. Deut. xxix. 2, 3, 4. Iſa. vi. 9. 10. Mat. xiii. 13, 14. 15 and therefore they are loſt, 2 Cor. iv. 3 4 and are damned, 2 Theſ. x. 11: 12 for he ſhewed that in Adam all men were loſt, Rom. v. 12. and none recovered but by Chriſt; therefore ſuch as had not Chriſt's interceſſion, could not recover; but Chriſt prayed not for ſome, John xvii 9. and therefore ſuch could not be ſaved. Heb. vii. 25.

Dr. White acknowleged that there was a difference; for though all had ſo much as by good improvement might ſerve their turn, yet the elect had more, for God abounded towards them, Eph. i. 8, 9. Rom. v. 15, 17, 20. As all the troop have horſes, but the officers have better. Both travellers have ſtaves to leap over the ditch, but the one a better and ſtronger than the other. The worſt had grace enough to keep corruption, and the renitency of their natures down; but the elect, ſuch as would do it eaſily; for Chriſt had taſted death for every man, Heb. 2. 9. and died for thoſe which yet might periſh, 1 Cor. 8. 11. and bought thoſe, that yet brought upon themſelves ſwift damnation, 2 Pet. 2. 1. becauſe they did not huſband and improve the favour offered to them.

Dr Preſton anſwered, That Chriſt was in himſelf ſufficient to ſave all, and might be ſaid to be provided for that end and uſe, as a medicine is to cure infected perſons, though it cure none actually, but thoſe that drink it, as Proſper, *Habet in ſe quod omnibus proſit, ſed ſi non bibitur non medetur*. As Job i. 5 11, 12. but many did not thus apply Chriſt, becauſe they had him not ſo offered and exhibited as others had Mat. 11. 21. Luke. 10. 13. for God gave ſome faith and repentance as we have ſhewed; as the ſerpent that Moſes was commanded for to make, was in it ſelf ſufficient to cure thoſe that were bitten, Numb. 21. 8, 9. yet cured none, but only thoſe that looked on it. So as Moſes lift up the 'ſerpent in the wilderneſs, ſo ſhall the Son of man be lift up, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have life everlaſting,' Job. 3. 14, 15.

But Doctor White urged that place Iſa. 5 4. that God had done all he could, but they neglected and rejected the counſel of God againſt themſelves,' Luke. 7 30.

Dr. Preſton anſwered, that God had done all that they could challenge of him, for he had given them in Adam power, Eccl. vii. 29. and propoſed another way of mercy in a mediator, and therefore he appeals to every one that was indifferent, Iſa. v. 3 but this was not Iſrael. he 'dealt not ſo with other nations,' Pſal. cxlix. 20. Beſide he had done what he could, without reverſing and reſcinding his decree, John xii. 38 39 40 for otherwiſe he could have given them the ſame ſpirit of faith 2 Cor. iv. 13. the like gift that he gave to others who believed on the Lord Jeſus, Acts xi. 17. could have wrought in them both 'to will and to do' according to his good pleaſure, Phil ii. 13. could have healed them as he had promiſed, Iſa. lvii. 18. and as he did perſecuting Saul, 1 Tim. i. 6. But God had other ends, Rom. ix. 17, and attributes, Rom. ix. 22. which he was willing to diſcover, Prov. xvi. 4.

But Dr White aſked, how then he could require faith and repentance, Mark i. 15 Acts xvii. 30. which was all one, as if he ſhould require one to give his judgment and opinion of a colour that had his eyes ſhut, and then ſhut his eyes as faſt as he could.

Dr Preſton anſwered that he might do it to ſhew and diſcover our impotency, as we bid our little children riſe, that by their own fault fell, that we may let them know their inability, and be the more beholden unto us to help them up, as Mark xi. 23, 24 and becauſe the call and command of Chriſt is the vehiculum and conduit pipe of ſtrength and power, Acts xiv 10 John v. 6. 9. as Lazarus, John xi. 43. 44. Thus God by bidding and commanding men to take grace, does thereby fit them and enable them to do it, as that cripple, Acts iii 6, 7 8. was by the command inabled; ſo Saul Acts xxii. 13. being commanded to receive his ſight, was inabled the ſame moment to look upon him and ſo ver. 16. being commanded to 'waſh away his ſins,' had the blood of Chriſt provided ready for to do it. So theſe commands are not like thoſe the apoſtle ſpeaks of, Jam. ii. 16. for here is ſomething given: when God bids, he doth not, *verba dare, ſed rem.*

But it was further urged by the doctor, that God had no pleaſure in the death of wicked men, Ezek. xxxiii. 11. but that he would 'rather they ſhould repent' and leave their ſins, Ezek. xviii. 23. and ver. 32. if therefore God were not ready to the utmoſt of his power to give them grace, he could not be excuſed from diſſembling and double dealing.

But Dr Preſton anſwered, that ſuperiors may command unable perſons for many reaſons, but cannot be ſaid for to diſſemble, unleſs they refuſe to give, when the required condition is performed. And if I bid one come unto me, and I will give him ſix pence, if I refuſe when he is come I did diſſemble; but if he comes not, he cannot charge me; for their not coming may be for want of will, John v. 40. as well as for want of power, John vi. 44. Now if I know a cripple will not come, tho' he could, I may puniſh him for it. It's true, God delights in nothing but himſelf, his joy and comfort is terminated only in himſelf, not in the creature, but as ſome way ſerved and repreſented by it; for God 'made all things for himſelf,' Prov. xvi. 4. yea for his 'pleaſure,' Rev. iv. 11. That is, the exerciſe and illuſtration of ſome one of his attributes; as his 'power', Exod. xi. 16. Rom. ix. 17. his 'wrath', Rom. ix. 22. Never did ſtrong man glory of his ſtrength more than God doth of his ſovereignty and omnipotency, Job 40. 9. 10. 11, 12, 13. Now, if it fall out, that in the illuſtration and exerciſe of theſe his glorious attributes and excellencies, ſome creatures ſmart, yet he delights not in their ſmart and ſufferings, but in the demonſtration of his own omnipotency. Ahaſuerus makes a feaſt to all the ſtates and orders of his kingdom, to ſhew the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majeſty, Eſt. i. 3. 4. This was not done without the ſmart and ſuffering of many of the creatures, yet he delights not in

their ſufferings, but in his own magnificence and bounty. When Chriſt was at the feaſt, John ii. 1, 2. he doth not condole the death of all thoſe innocents that went to make it up; *Qui fruitur pœna, ferus eſt:* but rejoiced in the good cheer, and good will of the friend that bade him.

There were few preſent of Dr Preſton's friends, and accordingly this conference was repreſented and reported with all the diſadvantage that could be to him; inſomuch, that many parliament men that were his friends, were much offended at it; which occaſioned him as ſoon as he came to Cambridge, to write the ſeveral paſſages, and ſend them to thoſe friends that were unſatisfied. But it was an evidence, that the duke and Dr Preſton were not ſo great, but that he ſticked to the prelates, and would in the iſſue leave Dr Preſton and the puritans, which much abated good mens affections to the duke; and it was believed, that he had no ſuch footing in the king's affections, as he did pretend unto: *Poſtea Mæcenas ſpeciem potius, quam vim tenuit in amicitia principis.* They thought his greatneſs began to languiſh; and it was believed in the univerſity, that there was another favourite in being, though yet obſcure; for the earl of Suffolk much about this time died, who had been a long time chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and great means was uſed to ſet the duke up for to ſucceed him; but good men were fallen off becauſe of his deſerting Dr Preſton, and others did believe his glory was departed; and ſo the earl of Berkſhire, the former chancellor's ſecond ſon, was ſet up againſt the duke, and many viſited for him that loved greatneſs, and were ſervants good enough unto the times; and it is believed, it had been carried for him againſt the duke, if the wiſdom of Dr Goſſing, then vice chancellor, and ſome others in the ſcrutiny had not prevented it; but it was pronounced for the duke, and great care was taken for the inveſting of him in a very ſolemn manner. A repreſentative of the univerſity is deſigned to attend him at York houſe in their habits, and a ſumptuous feaſt provided for their entertainment; the duke ſat in the midſt of the table among the doctors, where, by ſome body, there was an health begun unto the king. When it came to Dr Preſton for to pledge it, he was uncovered and bowed as others had done, but drank but very little, and ſo delivered it unto the next; but one of the doctors took notice, that he drank not all, and told him, he had ſeen him drink as great a glaſs of wine, and did believe he could have drunk this if he would, but that he loved to be ſingular. The doctor acknowleged he was not ſkilful in the laws of drinking healths, and therefore if he had offended, he deſired it might be imputed to his ignorance; but he thought the end was to ſhew reſpect unto the perſons named, which was done beſt by the ceremonies that preceded, as being bare, ſtanding up, and ſuch like; wherein (he ſaid) he had not willingly offended; but if it were an engine to court intemperance, and to engage men unto greater quantities than themſelves liked, it fell ſhort of that modeſty and freedom of the Heathens. Eſth. i. 8. and was a ſin in all, but of men of their degree and rank an abominable wickedneſs.

The duke miſliked this incivility, and frowned on the doctor that occaſioned it; but it was believed it could not have been done, without aſſurance that the duke's affections were ebbing towards Dr Preſton. And no wonder; for his end being to make impreſſions of good upon the court, he could not but ſee, if they did not ſucceed, they would recoil. If you manure and ſow your land, if the ſeeds ſubdues it not, and conquers it not, it is enabled to bring forth the ſtronger weeds, Heb. vi. 7, 8. If your pearls be caſt before ſwine, they will alſo turn again and rend you, Matth. vii. 6. The duke had now ſeen the worth and way of Dr Preſton; he had found that he could not win him, and make him his, he could not therefore in the way of policy, but labour and reſolve to wrack and ſink him. When Herod was convented by prevailing conquering Auguſtus, for his great aſſiſtance of Mark Anthony his adverſary, and knew it would be in Auguſtus power to take his head off, he ſettled his affairs, but gave peremptory order that his beloved Mariamne ſhould be put to death; for this only reaſon, becauſe another ſhould not enjoy ſo great a beauty. So the duke would not another ſhould enjoy the great abilities of Dr Preſton, but was reſolved to break him if he could; yet in a civil court way.

But the doctor was too knowing not to ſee thus far off, Prov. xxii. 3. *Quæ alii levia faciunt, diu patiendo; ea ſapiens, diu cogitando:* and had accordingly provided a ſucceſſion of reſerves wherein to hide himſelf. The firſt and ſureſt was his conſcience, 2 Cor. i. 12. 'This is our rejoicing, the teſtimony of our conſcience, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our converſation in the world.' If a man be welcome into his conſcience, he need not fear the ſtorms and bluſters that he meets abroad. *Ire te recedas, cum cogeris in turba eſſe.* When a man is forced to be where he would not, as Peter was foretold he ſhould be, John xxi. 18. yet he may in deſpite of them retire into himſelf. Paul made it his buſineſs to have his 'conſcience always void of offence,' Acts xxiv. 16. and ſo did Dr Preſton; for though his actings, being many of them above the common ſize, were not always underſtood, and very often miſinterpreted, yet he was innocent and upright always in them. An undeniable argument whereof was, that he never ſued for the leaſt preferment, as we have ſaid, but ſtudied, and often conſulted, how without breaking he might avoid them.

And though he lived like himſelf, and gave relief to others, yet it was ever of his own, as very many yet alive can witneſs. And indeed, he was a man of very much communion and ſweet ſociety with God; prayed much in private, and by himſelf, beſides as tutor with his pupils, and after, as maſter in his family. Whatever weakneſs he was in, or buſineſs did occur, kept many private days of faſting by himſelf, eſpecially before the ſacraments and Sabbath days; and, accordingly enjoyed a conſtant clearneſs and aſſurance of his juſtification, and intereſt in the blood of Chriſt; even then, when frailties and infirmities did moſt of all afflict and wound him. He never (that I know) was troubled or perplexed about adoption, though very often about the imperfection of his graces, and the unconſtancy of ſanctification; ſo as he ſtudied moſt exactly that treatiſe of the ſaints infirmities, and there is nothing in all his works that may more properly be called his.

His next retreat was to Lincoln's Inn; for now he ſaid, the duke was chancellor, and would endeavour to ingratiate himſelf, and be a benefactor; and had brought Lopinius' manuſcripts, and did verily intend to found a library; and ſo it would be eaſy, and in his power, to our hired the college and univerſity. For there was a reſolution in ſome of the fellows, to petition the duke without him, and to annul the ſtatute of continuance or commoration in the college; yet he conceived the lawyers would prevail a kind of freedom and exemption. For he ſaw, when that holy bleſſed Dr Sibbs was outed, both of fellowſhip and lecture in the univerſity, yet by the goodneſs and prudence of ſir Henry Yelverton, that conſtant patron unto godly miniſters, (a virtue yet running in the veins of his poſterity), he was received and retained at Gray's-Inn, unto his death; therefore he would in no ſort leave his title unto, and intereſt in Lincoln's-Inn, but reſerved it in his power unto his dying day.

But he knew kings had long hands, and that the duke's were nothing ſhorter; and that Lincoln's-Inn, though a great deal ſtronger and better built than Gray's Inn, yet would not hold out long, in caſe the duke ſhould ſeriouſly belaguer it; therefore he pondered of removing farther off if need were. And having weighed all retreats, reſolved upon Baſil in the Switzer's country, as a place which the kings had ſeldom touched, even when it was a receptacle of their greateſt enemies; and therefore he reſolved, in caſe he could not be free in England to ſend there, and ſpend the reſidue of his ſurviving days, in writing what he was not ſuffered to preach, or had not publiſhed according to his mind.

He was naturally very affable and courteous unto ſtrangers of every country, and by converſing much with them, endeavoured to preſerve his knowlege in the French and Italian languages. But, after he had thus reſolved upon Baſil, he was very friendly to all the Germans, that were diſperſed from ſeveral univerſities, eſpecially from

from the Palatinate; for whom he procured ſeveral ſorts of entertainments, both in the country abroad, and in the univerſity; for which, as he had very many gratulatory epiſtles from particular perſons, ſo one of note from the king of Bohemia, under his hand and ſeal.

But he knew that theſe were but the foxes earths, that might ſucceſſively be taken and poſſeſſed. He therefore alſo thought upon that *unum magnum* of the cat, or rather of the Holy Ghoſt, Prov. xviii. 10. the name of the Lord, that is, the goodneſs, mercy, power of the mighty God, where he was well aſſured, he ſhould for ever be free enough from the kings and dukes. Yet theſe did no way retard his induſtry in uſing means. Obſtructions quicken induſtrious and active minds, but damp and clog the dull. There is a ſtateſman of no mean eſteem, that writes profeſſedly againſt the uſe of citadels and forts, becauſe it makes the ſoldier leſs reſolved in engagements. And the Spartans were forbidden to wall their city, becauſe it would encourage cowardice. But it did not take off Dr Preſton from his duty. For finding that his ſtanding at court was undermined, he reſolved upon buttreſſes to underprop him in the country.

There was in the county of Northampton a gentleman of very able parts, and clear affections to the public good, no ſtranger to the court in former times, nor to the duke of Buckingham, with whom the doctor uſed to communicate affairs, and who was then a parliament man of much eſteem; to him the doctor, in a letter, diſcovers all, ſhews him the hopeleſs poſture of the duke, how much they were both diſappointed in him; lays ſome directions what to do, and urgeth activeneſs. This letter, by a ſad miſfortune, was let fall, by him that was intruſted to convey it, about Temple bar, and handed from one to one, until it came to Sir Henry Spillers; who having viewed, and pondered the contents, concluded it was a purchaſe that would ingratiate him unto the duke, and ſo immediately preſents it to him.

The duke was troubled to read his faults and fate ſo ſtrongly intimated and preſaged. His temper was exceeding good, and he could manage his affections many times, with much ſerenity and moderation; but now he was quite off, and could not think of any thing but a revenge. I have not known any thing ſo trouble and afflict the doctor as this did, that the duke ſhould have his hand againſt him, and that he had involved ſo good a man to whom he wrote.

But it pleaſed God to cut the duke out other work, for the cry of Rochel, and the proteſtants of France, was ſo exceeding great, and ſo much reſented by the parliament, that the duke reſolves to vindicate his honour by relieving them. And whilſt he was buſy to ſet that fleet out, and furniſh forces for ſurprizing the iſle of Rhees, he could not undertake that work of revenge intended againſt Dr Preſton. But the doctor thought not that he had done enough, unleſs he proclaimed in the pulpit what he had often told the duke in private; according to that command of Chriſt, Matth. vi. 27. 'What I tell you in darkneſs, that ſpeak you in light; and what you hear in the ear, that preach on the houſe tops.' As Chryſoſtome ſaid to his people; *Cum verum ſinguli audire non vultis, publice auditis.*

When the French match was concluded, he preached that ſermon of the pillar and ground of truth, againſt the mingling of religions, and mixing truth with falſehood; and ſhewed how impoſſible it was to mingle truth with error, or make up one religion out of theirs and ours. For, ſhould they leave out any tenet of their church, it would follow, that the church in that before had erred; and ſo that pillar would be overthrown, on which have hanged ſo many neceſſary points of popery. Neither could we put with any one truth, for religion is of a brittle nature, break it you may, bend it you cannot. It cannot be accommodated to reſpects of policy, and intereſts of ſtates and kingdoms; but as elements, when mingled in a compound body, do loſe their proper forms; ſo religions, when made ingredients, and compounding parts of any other, do loſe their forms, and ceaſe to be religions in God's account, 2 Kings xvii. 33. 34. Pillar and ground, p. 16.

And when the Rochellers were in diſtreſs, and laid their ruin and diſaſters at our door, fathered their loſſes and calamities on us, he preached that ſermon of the new life, where (p. 48) we have theſe words: 'We cannot ſtand alone; what meaſure we mete to others in their diſtreſs, men ſhall meaſure the ſame to us in our neceſſity, Luke vi. 38. And how ſoon alſo the fire may take here we know not.' And p. 52. 'If any be an impediment, nay, if any do not do their beſt, I pronounce this in the name of the moſt true God, that ſhall make it good ſooner or latter, that they and their houſes ſhall periſh.' Eſth. iv. 14. The court was hoodwink'd in all theſe comminations; for by church, they underſtood the prelates and their party; and the king thought if he adhered to them, and did their work, he was abſolved. But thoſe that read the commentaries that have been written ſince in red letters, will have occaſion to believe the contrary.

And when the duke was in the iſle of Rhees, in which voyage he had engaged many of his very good friends, and much of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, the doctor preached that ſermon, called the demonſtration of the Deity, where (p. 81.) ye have theſe words; 'It is certain that evil is intended againſt us, and will come upon us, except ſomething be done for to prevent it; for there is a covenant between God and us, and breach of covenant cauſeth a quarrel; now the quarrel of God ſhall not go unrevenged, Lev. xxvi. 25. 'I will ſend a ſword upon you, which ſhall avenge the quarrel of my covenant.' God's quarrels are not raſh and paſſionate as mens are; and therefore he will not lay them aſide without ſome true and real ſatisfaction. If we will not believe his word, yet will we not believe his actions: are not our allies waſted? are not many branches of the church cut off already, and more in hazard? In a word, have not our enterprizes been blaſted and withered under our hands for the moſt part? Have not things been long going down the hill, and are even now haſtening to a period?' This ſermon was preached to the king at Whitehall, on the Lord's day, and on the Wedneſday following the news came of the total routing of our army in the iſle of Rhees, which was ſuch a ratification of his prediction, but the Sabbath day before, as made many to believe he was a prophet; and they called him Micaiah, becauſe he ſeldom propheſied good unto them. And Dr Neal, then biſhop of Winchester, ſaid, That he talked like one that was familiar with God almighty. And they were the more affected with it, becauſe the doctor had another courſe to preach before his month was out, (for every chaplain was to preach twice, once upon the Lord's day, and alſo upon the Tueſday;) but the doctor was deſirous to exchange his courſe upon the Tueſday for a Sabbath day; ſo Dr Potter preached on the Tueſday, and Dr Preſton was to preach upon the Lord's day following, and was reſolved to proceed on the ſame text, but to handle a point relating to the third verſe. For having ſhewed in this ſermon that things were not done by chance, but by God, he now reſolved for to ſhew, that God did things that men do not look for; which being known among the biſhops, and they affrighted with that diſaſter at the iſle of Rhees, they interceded with the clerk of the cloſet, that ſeeing Dr Preſton's turn was paſt already, and this was Dr Potter's, another might be put up, and he deferred till another time; which was conſented and yielded to: and ſo, upon the Friday before, a meſſenger was ſent unto the doctor, to tell him that another was provided to preach for Dr Potter, and he might ſpare his pains. The doctor wondered at the providence; for he was reſolved fully to have ſaid that in that ſermon, if he had been ſuffered, that would in reaſon have deſerved Micaiah's entertainment, 1 Kings xxii. 27. But God was merciful unto him, and uſed his enemies as inſtruments to ſave him from the danger. It would have damped ſome men to be thus refuſed. He might have ſaid with him, Matth. xxii. 4. 'Behold, I have prepared my dinner; my oxen and fatlings are killed, and all things are ready.' But he conſidered what he had preached before, 'That a ſparrow fell not to the ground without God's will. That his will and reſolution for to ſacrifice his all was now accepted, as Abraham's was; that his ſermon, whilſt an embryo, and only in intention, had an efficacious operation upon the auditory: for as they had ſhewed and diſcovered their fears, ſo good men

did

did their joys; and the ſermon was more talked of at court and in the city, than any ſermon that ever he had preached before. For all men enquired what the ſermon was that Dr Preſton was not ſuffered to preach; and many wiſe men were perſuaded, that it did more good than it would have done, in caſe it had been preached. So that inſtead of being damped and dejected at the affront, he was enlivened and encouraged: *Repulſus generoſo excitat iram. languido triſtitiam.* I never knew him come from the court more ſatisfied than he did this time, nor more encouraged in his miniſtry at Cambridge, for he was then upon thoſe ſermons of the attributes, that ſince are printed, and God was greatly with him in them.

Thoſe fellows at Emmanuel, that had been active in making of him maſter there, were much diſſatisfied, becauſe the doctor never would conſent to the annulling of that ſtatute, *De mora ſociorum in colligio*; for he was convinced, that the founder had added it upon very weighty grounds, and he ſaw it was a means to make the fellows preach, and look abroad, and leſs intend the actings of the maſter; that young ſcholars were heartened in their ſtudies, with hopes that there would be preferments ready for them. And it was ordinary among the ſcholars, to obſerve how long ſome fellows were to ſtay. Therefore obſerving theſe affronts at court, they petitioned the king, that that ſtatute might be abrogated. The duke was glad of this occaſion to be revenged upon his old friend Dr Preſton, and did embrace it with all alacrity. Commiſſions were diſpatched for to hear and conſider their allegations, and many meetings and debates were had about it; in which it was acknowleged it was a ſtatute of equal power and validity with the reſt, though added three years after: and upon that, one of the fellows that had petitioned fell off The doctor uſed all his friends for to ſupport and keep in power and effect this ſtatute and found many very forward to aſſiſt him it; but above all, a very noble grandchild of the founder's, yet living, did much encourage and enable the defence; for though a courtier, and much obliged, yet adventured, and waved all his intereſt, rather than he would behold his grandfather's pious and prudent care ſo overthrown So a temper was at laſt agreed on, that it ſhould be ſuſpended from effects in law, until ſix livings of an 100 l. *per annum*, ſhould be annexed to the college.

The ſoul is the undoubted ſovereign of the body, and hath therein *deſpoticum imperium* an abſolute and uncontrouled juriſdiction; and in caſe of injury or over-burdening, there is no action lies. But ſouls ſhould conſider, ſoft and fair goes far: *Qui vult regnare diu, languida regnat manu.* It was Hooſon that told the ſcholars they would come time enough to London, if they did not ride too faſt. It was incurable in this good man to over-ride himſelf. for the body is *pars compoſiti*, when it is tired we cannot take a new one at the next ſtage, as we do horſes; but he thought all was one: ſome lived as much in ſeven years, as others did in ſeventy. *Non diu vixit, ſed diu fuit*, was his opinion of many men; That our life is like to iron, that will conſume with ruſt as much as employment. *Vita ſicut ferrum, exerceat, vel pereat.* Theſe were his principles, and his actings were according; the moſt unmerciful unto his fleſh of any living. And it is true, that not time, but actions ſhould be the met wand of all men's lives: *Non annos meos ſed victorias numero*; Not how long I have lived, but how? Yet God doth uſually allow his deareſt ſervants time to do their work in. Moſes 120 years of age, Deut xxxiv. 7. David an old man before he dies, 1 Chron xxix 28. Paul aged, Phil. ix. notwithſtanding all his labours and activity. But the doctor had a ſhorter period put unto his days; all mens is ſet, Job vii. 1. his was ſhort. It was no diſparagement to good Joſiah to die about the doctor's age, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1. Our glorious king Edward, that ſcarce outlived his minority, out ſtripped, nowithſtanding, all his longeſt living predeceſſors in doing good. God that ſet his time, haſtened his ſervice. and ſo he did the doctor's. His preaching and ſtudying labours were exceeding great; but that which ſpent and wore him, was his care and trouble for the church's ſafety and proſperity; often he would inculcate that, 2 Cor. 11. 28. 'That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.'

When his body therefore began to be ſick and languiſh, he was content a little to abate and take off, and thought a country houſe in ſome good air might help, as formerly it had done; and accordingly took one at Linton, near the hills, about ſix miles off, which he furniſhed, and purpoſed to be in all the week, and come on Saturdays to preach upon the Lord's days; and had this courſe been taken time enough, much might have been. But now he feared ſolicitude would be changed into ſolitude, the air of ſuitable converſe, he doubted, would be wanting there; and being alone, he ſaw, would too much gratify his melancholy. The ſpring therefore approaching he was willing to conſult with ſome phyſicians; and London being far off, he ſent to Bury for Dr Deſpotine. His preſent malady was want of reſt, which now tobacco would not help him to, as formerly it had done; and therefore he propoſed letting blood. The doctor plainly told him that might perhaps allay his heats, and purchaſe ſleep; but if he were within the verge of a conſumption. it would be fatal to him. He was inticed, notwithſtanding, with the deceitful hopes of preſent eaſe, and ſo was let blood, but never lived to repair that loſs. For ſinking more and more, he went to London, and took advice of thoſe that were beſt acquainted with his ſtate of health; by their advice he retired a little unto Newington, unto a loving friend of his that lived there, and then to Hartfordſhire, unto a thiner and more penetrating air. The malady they all agreed, was in his lungs, which were not ulcerated neither, but obſtructed, and oppreſt with ſtiff and clammy matter, that he could not void, and perſpiration was what he wanted, and they ſuppoſed a penetrating air might do the cure: but that was found too ſearching and corroſive for the other parts, which were pervious enough and penetrable. He therefore thought upon Northamptonſhire, his native country, which would in reaſon be moſt propitious unto him. However he would leave his breath where firſt he found it, and thankfully return what had been ſerviceable now a long time to him.

He had at Preſton, four miles from Heyford, a very dear and boſom friend, that was ambitious of entertaining good men; old Mr Dod was but a mile off, and being ſeriouſly invited thither, he pitched upon it, where he enjoyed great contentment, what air, converſe of friends, and loving entertainment could afford, and at the firſt was much refreſhed by it; but nature being ſpent, and no foundation being left to work upon, all his refreſhing quickly flagged.

He had before made uſe of Dr Aſhworth, and he was one of much experience, and knew his body well; therefore he thinks of riding over unto Oxford to him, which he did: and there continued about twelve days, and conſulted with ſuch as were there of any note. Men die and periſh when their time is come, as well *errore medici, ut vi morbi.* Dr Aſhworth was perſuaded that the ſcorbute was his diſeaſe, and that the London doctors had all miſtook their mark, and therefore pitched upon applications ſuitable: a great error for ſo experienced and grave a doctor. Deſire of reſtitution into a ſtate of health, made ſhift to flatter him into the belief it was ſo. The old man upon this perſuaſion comes over unto Preſton with him, ſteeps and ſtrains ſcurvy-graſs, and gives him drenches able to have weakened a ſtronger man than he was now: and having ſtayed and tampered with him about three weeks, and finding nothing anſwer his expectation. he takes his laſt leave of him, giving ſuch order and direction as he thought good; and ſo leaves him, and returns to Oxford, July 9 1628.

When this dream and fancy of the ſcorbute failed, and Dr Aſhworth was gone, he reſigned up himſelf to God alone, and let all care of phyſic and the doctors go. He had a ſervant who had been laborious with him, and whom he often uſed as a friend; he would ſay, *Servi ſunt humiles amici*, which was very true of him. To him he therefore now unboſomed himſelf, not only touching the vanity and emptineſs of all things here below, but his own belief and expectation of a ſudden change; not of my

company,

company, ſaith he, for I ſhall ſtill converſe with God and ſaints, but of my place and way of doing it. His will was made (as we have ſaid) ſome years before, but he was doubtful if it came to proving, it might be baffled and affronted, and therefore purpoſed to wave it, and make a deed of gift to him that was in that will his executor, with ſuch reſtrictions and limitations as he thought good, all which he ſet down with his own hand; wherein he carefully provided for his mother during life, and both his brothers.

His books and all the furniture and goods belonging to and in his lodgings at Emmanuel college, he gave one of his pupils that was fellow there, whom he always greatly favoured. Some exhibitions he gave ſcholars there to be diſpoſed of from time to time by him that was executor. And as he truly valued, ſo he liberally rewarded his ſervant's faithfulneſs, who liveth yet in very good condition and reputation; of whom is verified what is ſaid, Prov. xxvii. 18. 'Whoſo keepeth the fig tree ſhall eat the fruit thereof; ſo he that waiteth on his maſter ſhall ſurely come to honour.'

And having thus diſcumbered himſelf of worldly cares he took care for the places he now poſſeſſed, prayed for the college that it might continue a flouriſhing nurſery of religion and learning, told thoſe about him, as David before his death, 1 Chron. xxix. 2, 3 &c. what he had done towards that goodly building ſince erected, and what care he had taken to get thoſe rectories in the king's letter mentioned, whereof we ſpake before; prayed God to furniſh Lincoln's inn, from time to time with able preaching miniſters, and ſo the lecture at Cambridge, that had coſt ſo much trouble in the procuring. Then for his ſermons, that they might not come into the world like vagabonds; but ſeeing the father lived not to ſee them ſettled and provided for, thoſe would be careful whom then he named, and is long ſince intimated upon occaſion. In all which great things God hath ſo anſwered him, as I think no man was ſince Eliſha. 2 Kings ii 9, 10.

The night before he died being Saturday, he went to bed, and lay about three hours deſirous to ſleep, but ſlept not; then ſaid, 'My diſſolution is at hand, let me go to my home, and to Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bought me with his precious blood.' And ſo lay ſtill, as in a ſlumber, till about two o'clock in the morning; then drinking, and reſting on his ſervant's arms, he fell into a cold and clammy ſweat, which he told them was the meſſenger of death, and ſo continued for about two hours very ſilent. About four o'clock he ſaid, I feel death coming to my heart, my pain ſhall now be quickly turned into joy; and ſo his friends were call'd that were preſent in the houſe, who ſpake unto him, but had no anſwer from him, as they were uſed to have. They kneeled all down, and a reverend divine there preſent prayed. When prayer was ended, he looked on them, and (turning away his head) gave up the ghoſt.

It was about five o'clock on the Lord's day, but to him an everlaſting Sabbath. He never (by his good will) reſted that day, ſince God was truly known unto him till now; God gave him therefore now an everlaſting reſt. No man deſerved better funeral ſolemnities; but Mr Dod was much againſt it; and his friends at Cambridge, who did highly honour him, and deſired nothing more than to have waited on his duſt unto its long home, were now obliged to attend the election of another maſter, that they durſt not ſo much as make it known, or do any thing from which it might be gathered. So he was buried decently but without ſtate, in Fawſley church, in the county of Northampton. Old Mr Dod, the miniſter of that place, preached, and a world of godly people came together July 20. 1628. being within a little of forty-one years of age.

Dr Preſton, juſt before his death, aſked what day it was? and being anſwered that it was Sabbath-day; a fit day, ſaid he, to be ſacrificed on. I have accompanied ſaints on earth, and now I ſhall accompany angels in heaven. Alſo, Mrs Chaderton telling him of his preaching ſo profoundly on God's attributes, he anſwered; If it ſhall pleaſe God to prolong my life, I will make all ſo plain, that every one ſhall be able to underſtand it.

NUMB. 12.

The Life of Mr ARTHUR HILDERSAM, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1631.

ARTHUR HILDERSAM was born at Stetchworth, near New-market in Cambridgeſhire, October 6. 1564: he was ſon of Thomas Hilderſam of the ſaid town, (a gentleman of an antient family) and Anne Poole, his ſecond wife daughter to Sir Jeffery Poole, fourth ſon to Sir Richard Poole, (who was couſin german to king Henry VII.) and Margaret counteſs of Saliſbury that was daughter to George duke of Clarence, the ſecond brother to king Edward IV. and Iſabel the eldeſt daughter and coheir of Richard the great earl of Warwick and Saliſbury. Thus much for his birth.

For his education: In his childhood he was brought up in the popiſh manner, taught to ſay his prayers in Latin; both his parents, and their kindred, eſpecially his mother, being zealous papiſts. When he was to be ſent abroad to ſchool, his father's aim was only to ſend him to a good ſchool, where many gentlemen's ſons were taught; but God ſo ordered it, by his good providence, that his father, unawares placed him at Saffron Walden ſchool in Eſſex, with one Mr Doſborough, a godly man, and a religious proteſtant, who taking great affection to him for his wit and diſpoſition, was very careful of him, and taught him not only that human learning fitting for his years, but the grounds of the proteſtant religion. This his ſchool-maſter was the firſt bleſſed inſtrument that God was pleaſed to make uſe of, to work in him a liking and reliſh of the reformed religion.

He continued with him till he was fit for the univerſity, which was not long; for when he was about thirteen years of age, he was placed by his father (the good hand of God ſtill over ruling him) with a very godly and religious tutor in Chriſt's college in Cambridge, where he continued till after he was maſter of arts, where he gained much love and eſteem for his piety, learning, ingenuity, affability, and harmleſs inoffenſive witty converſe.

When he had continued in Cambridge two years, or thereabouts, his father ſent him up to London, intending to ſend him to Rome, (being confident he ſhould neither want reſpect, encouragement, nor preferment, for his great uncle's ſake, (cardinal Pool) brother to his mother's father) but he refuſing to go, his father kept him long at London, taking him from one popiſh ordinary to another, hoping that ſuch company would at length have prevailed with him to have gone, according to his deſire; but he continuing firm in his reſolution not to go to Rome, his father reſolved to caſt him off, which ſoon after he did. Thus he, whom God had appointed to ſuffer much for him, began to 'bear the yoke in his youth;' and in his tender years became a confeſſor, in forſaking father, friends, all preſent maintainance, and probable hopes of great future preferment, for Chriſt's ſake.

Being in this dejected and forlorn condition, 'God that comforteth thoſe that are caſt down' comforted him, by meeting with Mr John Ireton (then fellow of Chriſt's college, afterwards rector of Kegworth in Leiceſterſhire, a man famous for piety and learning) in London, who, at their meeting, ſaid unto him, 'Arthur, why art thou ſo long from thy book, and loſeſt ſo much time?' 'Alas, Sir, (ſaid he) I ſhall go no more to Cambridge:' and thereupon told him his condition, and the occaſion of it. 'Be not diſcouraged, (ſaith Mr Ireton) thou haſt a noble kinſman, whom I will acquaint with thy caſe; and I doubt not but he will provide for thee.' Accordingly Mr Ireton, ſoon after, went to the right honourable Henry earl of Huntington, lord preſident of the north, (whoſe mother and Mr Hilderſam's mother were brother's children) and repreſenteth to him the ſad condition of his poor kinſman: the noble earl gladly embraced this opportunity of doing good, and ſent for him, encouraged him, promiſed him maintainance, and gave order to Mr Ireton to ſend him back to Cambridge, and to place him with a good tutor; 'for (ſaid he) I ſuppoſe his father did place him with a papiſt.' But when Mr Ireton aſſured him the contrary, he gave order he ſhould go to his former tutor,

of whoſe love to him, and care of him, Mr Hilderſam was wont often to ſpeak.

When Mr. Hilderſham was maſter of arts, he was ſoon after to common-place [a college exerciſe in divinity, not differing from a ſermon, but in length] he being loth to adventure upon that exerciſe, intreated one of the fellows (his ſpecial friend) to ſupply his place the firſt time; but he out of love refuſed to gratify him in that, and wiſhed him to remember one Mr Sidney Zouch, maſter of arts of that college, who getting one to ſupply his place the firſt time, and hearing afterwards ſome of his own year perform that exerciſe ſo well, that he deſpaired of doing the like; could never after, be perſwaded either to common place, or preach, though he were a very able ſcholar. The firſt time he was to common place, he was much afraid; but obſerving that there ſat a very godly man (his friend on the other ſide of the chapel, he thought, that, that man prayed for him, which much encouraged him.

He was of ſo good repute for his piety and learning, that by the major part of the fellows he was choſen fellow of that college; but Dr Barwell (the maſter) making uſe of his negative voice, ſtopped him; and the matter came to the viſitors, two of which, viz. Dr Perne, and Dr Goad, favouring the competitor, Mr Willet, (who was afterwards Dr Willet,) made him fellow. Not long after, he was choſen divine of Trinity hall in the ſaid univerſity; where he continued till Sep. the 14 1587, at which time by the foreſaid right honourable earl, he was called to be and placed preacher at Aſhby de la zouch in Leiceſter ſhire. The impropriate tithes of the ſame pariſh being ſettled upon him for his life by the ſaid earl, and continued to him by the favour of the two ſucceeding earls, George and Henry, until his death. He hath given public notice to the world, of his duty and thankfulneſs to that noble houſe in his dedicatory epiſtle to his lectures on John iv.

January 15 1590. He married Mrs Ann Barfoot (daughter to Mr Barfoot of Lamborn hall in Eſſex, who was a very loving and careful wife of him, and the like mother of his children;) ſhe ſurvived him about eight years. He was ſilenced in June 1590. and reſtored again in January, 1591. He was inſtituted and inducted into the vicarage of Aſby, Oct. 4 1593

He preached at the aſſizes at Leiceſter in the time of a great dearth, July 20. 1599. a godly, learned, zealous, plain and powerful ſermon, upon thoſe words, 1 King. xviii. 17, 18. 'And it came to paſs when Ahab ſaw Elijah, that Ahab ſaid unto him, art thou he that troubleth Iſrael? and he anſwered, I have not troubled Iſrael, but thou and thy father's houſe, in that ye have forſaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou haſt followed Baalim In the handling of which text he ſo offended judge Anderſon, that he manifeſted his anger and diſpleaſure both by his countenance and geſture, ariſing to go away; but Mr. Hilderſam ſpeaking ſome words unto him with miniſterial authority, he ſtayed till the ſermon was done. After ſermon the judge would have had the grand jury to have indited him; but in thoſe days it would have been hard to have found a grand jury in Leiceſterſhire, that would have done that Some farther and greater danger Mr Hilderſam was in, by reaſon of that judge's diſpleaſure for that ſermon, but God in mercy prevented it.

In the year 1598 there was an attachment ſent out of the high commiſſion for his apprehenſion. In the beginning of king James his reign, when many petitioned for reformation, (which petitions were very modeſt and moderate, ſubſcribed by above ſeven hundred and fifty godly able preachers, in but twenty five counties; which petition was directed to the parliament, and other petitions to his majeſty and the lords of the council, and to the biſhops) he with ſome few others of his brethren, were choſen, and chiefly intruſted to manage that important buſineſs, to proſecute the petitions, to ſolicit the cauſe; and if required, to diſpute it. And whereas there were ſome appointed to deal (for thoſe that deſired reformation,) in the conference at Hampton court, be, with Mr Stephen Egerton of London, and Mr Edward Fleetwood of Lancaſhire, delivered to them ſome ten demands and requeſts made by thirty reverend miniſters: in the name of themſelves and many others, which they intreated them to ſolicite his majeſty for, in the behalf of the church.

He was deprived and ſilenced by William Chaderton then biſhop of Lincoln, April 24, 1605 for refuſal of ſubſcription and conformity; yet after ſome time, by the connivance and favour of William Overton, then biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, he preached ſometime in that dioceſe, ſpecially at thoſe two famous exerciſes at Burton, upon Trent ot Staffordſhire, and Repton in Derbyſhire, which were the means of great good to the ſouls of many both miniſters and private chriſtians in the parts adjacent. He was the main upholder of theſe two exerciſes for many years.

In January 1608. by the favour of William Barlow, then biſhop of Lincoln, he was allowed to preach again at Aſhby aforeſaid, where he began his lectures on John iv. 10. January 31 and continued that lecture weekly on Tueſday, till Nov. 12. 1611. Theſe lectures being one hundred and eight he publiſhed in his life time, 1618. having them all written by himſelf, before he preached them; which courſe he took when he began theſe Lectures, and continued it to his dying day, blaming himſelf much that he began it no ſooner, and by that neglect both himſelf and others were deprived (in a great part) of the benefit of his former labours.

Nov. 1611 he was ſilenced by Richard Neal's means then biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, who complaining to the king of him, the king commanded the arch biſhop to write to the biſhop of Lincoln, to ſend for Mr Hilderſam, and to ſilence him, which was accordingly preſently done. The occaſion of biſhop Neal's complaint to king James was this: one Edward Wightman a damnable heretick (afterwards burnt at Lichfield for blaſphemy and hereſy,) dwelling in Burton upon Trent aforeſaid; and coming ſometimes to the exerciſe there, the biſhop and his friends gave out that Wightman learned his opinion (at leaſt that of the ſouls ſleeping) of the Puritans, and at the foreſaid exerciſes, and of Mr Hilderſham by name. biſhop Neal informing king James of this, the king commanded him, (when he went into the country) to ſend for Mr Hilderſam and to hear what he could anſwer Wightman in this matter. The biſhop accordingly ſent for Mr Hilderſam, but would not hear his defence till Wightman came. Wightman being called to his ſecond public hearing, Nov. 26 1611. (in the hearing of more than five hundred people) charged the biſhop with ſundry wrongs he had done him, naming this for one; that he had given it out, that he had learned his opinions from Mr Hilderſam: whereas I profeſs (ſaid he) he never taught nor confirmed me in any of them; but was of all men over moſt oppoſite unto me in them, and cauſed mine own friends to reject me for them. Mr Hilderſam had long before in a private conference in the preſence of Mr Aberly the miniſter of Burton (who had intreated him to uſe ſome pains to reclaim Wightman,) ſhewed him that his opinion of the ſouls ſleeping, was entirely repugnant to the holy ſcriptures, and an hereſie long ſince condemned in the church. The places of ſcripture he urged againſt him, were theſe, Luke xvi. 22, 23. and xxiii. 43. Phil. i. 23. Soon after, he received a letter from Wightman, March 10. 1608. and perceiving by that, and the report of others, that he grew more and more obſtinate in his errors, and laboured to draw others into it, Mr Hilderſam took occaſion in the next exerciſe held at Burton, viz. upon March 15. 1608. publicly and at large to confute his error; the text that fell out that day to be handled, leading him directly unto it, viz. Heb. xi. 27. About a month after the ſaid exeeciſe, viz. April 21. 1609. Wightman ſent him another letter, wherein he reviled him for the ſaid ſpeech, at the ſaid exerciſe, and took upon him after his manner to anſwer it Yet after this, viz. November 27. 1611. before the biſhop, he impudently avouched to Mr Hilderſam's face, that at the conference forenamed, he ſhould ſay, that the whole drift of the ſcripture indeed, did make for the opinion of the ſouls ſleeping, but that the church had otherwiſe judged of the matter. Mr Hilderſam did proteſt, that he never ſpake or thought ſo; and offered by oath, or any other means that ſhould be required to avow, that he ever held this his opinion, to be directly contrary to the ſcriptures, and a moſt deteſtable hereſie: Mr Aberly alſo, who was preſent

ſat at the conference was ready to depoſe that Mr Hilderſam ſpake no ſuch thing at that time, but the direct contrary. So that not only the reſt that were there, were fully ſatisfied; but the biſhop himſelf alſo openly profeſſed, that he was aſſuredly perſwaded, that Wightman had greatly wronged him in this that he had ſaid of him. Thus was Mr Hilderſam's innocency cleared in a public audience, during the time of Wightman's trial at Leichfield; yet he remained under the cenſure of ſilencing, which was procured to be inflicted on him upon this occaſion; and the two forenamed exerciſes were put down. Concerning which, all the chief gentlemen of worth in thoſe parts, certified unto the arch-biſhop Bancroft a little before his death, that the profit which that country (which above moſt other places of the land beſides, was known to ſtand in great need of ſuch means of inſtruction) received by them was exceeding great.

Mr Hilderſam continued ſilenced a long time, yet could not live peaceably from men, tho' he lived quietly with men. For December 8. 1612. Letters miſſive were ſent out of the high commiſſion court, requiring his appearance there; accordingly he appeared, April 22. 1613. at which time he was judicially admoniſhed and enjoined, that (having the catechizing of his own family only) he ſhould not at any time hereafter preach, catechize, or uſe any part of the office, or function of a miniſter, either publicly or privately, until he ſhould be lawfully reſtored and releaſed of his ſaid ſuſpenſion.

In the ſpring 1614. he fell into a violent fever, which held him long, the malignity of which, ſtruck up into the roof of his mouth, and the griſtle of his noſe, which endangered him much; but by the bleſſing of God, upon the care and ſkill of phyſicians and ſurgeons, he was recovered.

In Eaſter term 1615. by letters miſſive he appeared in the high commiſſion court again, which committed him to the fleet, (for refuſal of the oath *ex officio*,) where he continued a priſoner divers weeks; at length he was removed by *habeas corpus* unto the king's bench, where he continued a great while. In both places, he endured imprisonment three months. Then he was delivered out of priſon, upon bond, to appear the firſt court day, term, Mich. 1615. but by dangerous ſickneſs (whereof affidavit was made in court) he was hindred from appearing at that time.

Sep. 4, 5 6. 1616. The commiſſioners, doctor Lamb Mr Owen, Mr Middleton, and others ſat at Aſhby, to examine witneſſes to prove the articles exhibited againſt Mr Hilderſam, and his neighbours, Mr Dighton and Mr Holt, where the deponents were, many of them, profeſſed adverſaries, eſpecially Mr Hacket, (then vicar of Aſhby) who was the principal accuſer and informer of the court againſt them; and ſo his teſtimonies ought not in law to have been received againſt them. It might well have been diſcerned by the diſpoſition of many of the deponents, what little credit was to be given to them; and that Mr Hilderſam might have had the moſt odious and capital crimes depoſed againſt him by ſuch witneſſes, who did not only in matter of fact affirm upon oath, that which all the pariſh knew to be notoriouſly falſe; but did alſo take upon them to know and deliver upon their oath, the reaſon and ground of his pretended practice, which (they having never been, as all the neighbours knew, meer ſtrangers to him) was impoſſible for him to do it.

The next term the cauſe came to be heard and cenſured; but Mr Hilderſam hearing of the heavy ſentence againſt Mr Dighton, and Mr Holt, November 21. 1616. (viz. to return back to priſon, there to remain till they conformed themſelves; they were alſo fined a thouſand pounds a piece, pronounced excommunicate, and ordered to be ſo publicly denounced, and enjoined to make their ſubmiſſions, *in conceptis verbis*, in three ſeveral places; and laſtly, they were condemned in expences and coſts of the ſuit) concealed himſelf, and did not appear at the day of his calling and cenſuring, but eight days before ſend a copy of his anſwer to the ſeveral points that were depoſed againſt him, to his advocate, Dr Huſſey, to be ſhewed to the court; which anſwer, in the judgment of rational, honeſt, indifferent men, was full and ſatisfactory.

To inſtance but in the proof of one article, and his anſwer thereunto. One George Reading depoſed, 'That upon Palm ſunday was two years, he was one of thoſe that came up to the communion-table in Aſhby church in ſeveral companies, and (though Mr Hacket had before given warnings, that he would admit none that would not receive it kneeling) refuſed ſo to receive it, but would have received it ſtanding; and when he could not have it ſo, yet ſtood ſtill among them that kneeled, till the communion was done.' To which depoſition Mr Hilderſam's anſwer was, That it is notoriouſly known to all the inhabitants at Aſhby, that I was at that time ſick in my bed, and for many weeks before, and after, utterly unable to ſtir out of my chamber; neither did I ever at any time preſent myſelf in that manner to the communion table, neither doth Mr Hacket, or any other deponent charge me with any ſuch matter. And this fellow that had deviſed this againſt me, (whereof there was no colour at all of truth) would in all likelihood have ſworn any thing that might have done me hurt, if he had been required to do it. Notwithſtanding this his anſwer to that, and his anſwer to all the reſt, delivered as aforeſaid to his advocate, the court proceeded to cenſure him, November 28. 1616, whereby he was pronounced a man refractory and diſobedient to the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church of England. And becauſe he yet refuſed to ſubmit himſelf, and to join in the adminiſtration of public prayer, and divine ſervice and ſacraments, as they are here lawfully adminiſtred; wherefore he was by the court pronounced a ſciſmatical perſon, and a ſchiſmatic, and thought well worthy of ſevere puniſhment. And, in reſpect, that he was the prime ring-leader of all the ſchiſmatical perſons in that country, both of the clergy and laity, he was firſt fined two thouſand pounds to his majeſty's uſe, pronounced excommunicate, and ordered to be ſo publicly denounced; as alſo was ordered to be attached and committed to priſon, and ſo to be brought before the commiſſioners, to be degraded from his miniſtry; and was further ordered to make his public ſubmiſſion *conceptis verbis* (as ſhall be preſcribed him by this court;) and, laſtly, he was condemned in charges.

When he heard of this terribly cruel ſentence, it was his wiſdom now to conceal himſelf, which accordingly he did for a time long in the city; and God ſo hid him under the ſhadow of his wings, that his adverſaries could not meet with him.

During this time of his keeping cloſe, one Mr John Hartly, one of the elders of the Engliſh congregation at Leyden in Holland, came with letters of credence from the congregation, making offer to him of the paſtor's place, then vacant; which he reſolved to have accepted of, had not his wife's unwillingneſs to go over the ſeas, retained him here. The foreſaid fine of two thouſand pounds was eſtreated without abatement into the Exchequer, March 12. 1616, whence ſeveral proceſſes were iſſued to the ſheriffs of Leiceſterſhire, to enquire of his eſtate; but they, by ſeveral returns, anſwered, They could find none. At length, the ſaid fine was begged, and granted by his Majeſty, king James, under the great ſeal, to Mr Williams, page to the (then) marquis of Buckingham; whereupon Mr Hilderſam compounded both with him, (giving him a great ſum of money), and with the regiſters alſo of the high commiſſion court, for their part of the fine, and obtained a diſcharge from them both. I ſuppoſe it will be hard to find, that any man was before, or ſcarce hath been once, in that court, ſo deeply fined, and heavily cenſured, merely for his judgment and conſcience; having done nothing either factiouſly or contemptuouſly againſt that government, and thoſe orders of the church that were then eſtabliſhed. He was indeed always, from his firſt entering into the miniſtry, a reſolved and conſcientious non conformiſt, as appeareth by the foregoing ſtory, and ſo continued to his dying day: witneſs that clauſe in his laſt will; 'I do hereby declare and proteſt, that I do continue and end my days in the very ſame faith and judgment, touching all points of religion, as I have ever been known to hold and profeſs, and which I have, both by my doctrine and practice, and by my ſufferings alſo, given teſtimony unto.' He was a great admirer, follower, and friend, of Mr Thomas Cartwright, famous for religion and learning, who left his

his papers to Mr John Dod and him, to peruſe and publiſh what they thought fit.

Though he himſelf was a conſtant non-conformiſt, yet ſuch was his ingenuity and chriſtian charity, that he reſpected, eſteemed and was very familiar with thoſe he knew to be religious and learned, though of another judgement. He did always oppoſe the ſeparation of the Browniſts, and the ſemi ſeparation of Mr Jacob, with whom, as alſo with ſome ring leaders of the former ſort, he had divers conferences and diſputes. He is called by Dr Willet (his contemporary, and ſometimes competitor) 'The hammer of ſchiſmatics, whom they commonly call Browniſts;' as you have it in f. . his epiſtle to the Reader, before the forenamed lectures, on John iv. that is, Mr John Cotton's of New-England, (his dear and familiar friend), who there expreſſes his high opinion of the author thoſe lectures, and his treatiſe of the doctrine of the Lord's ſupper, printed 1680, annexed to a little treatiſe of the like argument ſet forth by a learned godly man (his intimate friend) Mr William Bradſhaw, of which treatiſe of Mr Hilderſam's, Mr Cotton gives this teſtimony: 'That it hath been of ſingular good uſe to many poor ſouls for their preparation to that ordinance. And in very deed (ſaith he) thoſe queſtions and anſwers do more fully furniſh a chriſtian to that whole ſpiritual duty than any other, in any language (that I know) in ſo ſmall a compaſs.' Mr Cotton always mentioneth in the foreſaid epiſtle, a letter of Mr Hilderſam's to a gentlewoman, againſt ſeparation, which, without his conſent, a ſeparatiſt, Mr Francis Johnſon) printed and refuted; 'Which, (ſaith Mr Cotton) hath ſo ſtrongly and clearly convinced the iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowlege in it both the wiſdom of God, and the weakneſs of the Separatiſt; his wiſdom, in bringing to light ſuch a beam of the light of his truth, by the hand of an adverſary, againſt the author's mind; and the weakneſs of the other, to advance the hand of his adverſary, to give himſelf and his cauſe ſuch a deadly wound in open view, as neither himſelf, nor his aſſociates can be able to heal.' His judgment and teſtimony of the author, and his lectures on John iv. you may read in that epiſtle. In a private letter of his from Boſton, February 3 1629. to him; he mentioneth a letter he received from a Dutch miniſter in London, (one Timotheus Van Ulcren) who telleth him, he had ſent ſundry of the books on John iv. to miniſters beyond the ſeas, who do read them with great ſatisfaction, that the ſaid Dutch miniſter did, in the name of many others, intreat Mr Cotton, to beſeech Mr Hilderſam to put forth his ſermon on Pſal. li. and other his lucubrations. And accordingly, Mr Cotton in that letter writeth thus; 'Since the ſermons already on part of the Pſalm, do ariſe to a juſt and full volume, be entreated to hearken to the deſires of ſo many at home and abroad, and give them leave to be doing good, whilſt the reſt are preparing. You have cauſe to love the Lord your God with all your might; and therefore, ſince thoſe ſermon might be ſhewing your love to God in working his work before theſe fellows, do not hold back any part of this ſervice to the church, for the preſent time.' This his requeſt he renewed, in another letter of July 23. 1629.

Having mentioned the teſtimony and judgment of the reverend Mr Cotton, concerning Mr Hilderſam and his labours, whom in his reply to Mr Roger William's anſwer of his letter, p. 177 he ſtileth him 'a man of a thouſand;' I ſhall inſert another teſtimony of a man deſervedly famous in the church Dr Preſton, then fellow of Queen's college in Cambridge, concerning the forementioned lectures on John iv. He having long deſired, at length obtained of Mr Hilderſam the copy of them, which he kept a long time, and peruſed, and being deſired to deliver his opinion of them, in his letter to the author, Nov. 28. 1615. ſpeaketh thus.

"I will ſay to you faithfully and ingeniouſly what I think, without adding a word more than mine own heart is perſwaded of. Firſt in general, for putting them to the preſs, I do not only think that they are worthy of it, but ſo far as any intreaty of mine might prevail, I ſhould preſs you to it, as depriving God's church of a very great benefit, if you ſhould refuſe. In particular, beſides the profitableneſs of the matter, theſe two things I obſerve in the reading of it: Firſt, throughout the whole carriage there appeareth a continued ſtrength (that I may ſo call it) without any failing or deficiency, without any inequality, unevenneſs or deformity of ſome parts with the reſt. Secondly, it is preciſe and ſuccinct (tho' large) the things choice and pertinent, and throughly depending each on other. In brief, ſo it is, there is nothing that need be added, and *nihil quod amputem*. So that when I went about to take out ſome things for mine own uſe briefly, I could not almoſt tell what to leave out. To ſay all in a word ſir, I do think it is ſuch as will anſwer to your name, and ſuch as men would look for from you. There are very few writings, but wherein we commonly ſee ſome failings in theſe two particulars, which I mentioned. Beſides, the method I much like, as very judicious; which hath not ruled you, but you it in a ſeaſonable changing it, as your matter lieth, ſo caſting the frame of it, that it extorteth not more than is neceſſary from you, nor cutteth off any thing that you would deliver: which one preciſe, uniform method ſtrictly kept, often doth, I hope it will be a good help to miniſters when they read it, and bring the method of doctrine and uſes into more credit." Theſe are Doctor Preſton's own words in his letter, unto this ample and laudable teſtimony given, by theſe two worthies, this may be added, that his moſt grave and authoritative manner of preaching, did give an edge and excellency unto his miniſtry.

Though Maſter Hilderſam, in the judgment of theſe eminent divines at home and abroad, and moſt others that knew him, were a man of ſuch worth and ability, and whoſe labours were ſo uſeful in the church; yet was he for a long time, by the then prevailing power in the church caſt aſide like a broken veſſel,

After his cenſure in the high commiſſion court, he lived privately a long time, ſometimes in the city, ſometimes in the country.

He was always, whether ſilent or having liberty to preach a conſtant ſtudent. When he was in the country, and had conveniency of place and weather, he uſed to walk alone every morning near an hour, to meditate. In the morning he read conſtantly a chapter, whence he gathered ſome obſervations, and wrote them in a book, with the reference to ſome common place in the margin, which he referred to his common place book by numbers. The like he did out of many books that he read; in others which he read, he referred the moſt obſervable things in them to his common place book, by the pages in them. As he was much in ſecret prayer, ſo was he fervent therein; yea, frequent in holy ejaculations audibly expreſſed, as was obſerved by ſome godly friends, whoſe occaſions brought them often near to the place where he ſtudied.

He was always a diligent attender of the public aſſemblies, whether he were in the city or country; he uſed often even in his old age to write ſermons in the church. He highly prized the miniſtry of the word, that he would often ſay, "he never heard any godly miniſter preach, tho' but of weak parts, but he got ſome benefit by him.

He ſojourned in many families, and always by his godly and amiable carriage, got love and eſteem of all in the houſe.

In all places where he did reſide, or whether he came occaſionally, he was always helpful in family prayers, in expounding the ſcriptures read, and in the repitition of the ſermons preached in the public congregations; being alſo willing by private conference to inſtruct the ignorant, to ſatisfie the doubtful, to ſettle the wavering, to comfort the dejected, and to encourage all ſorts in the exerciſe of religion.

He was much in the houſe of Mrs Katharine Redich of Newhall in Derbyſhire, (widow to Alexander Redich of Redich in Lancaſhire eſquire, his boſom friend) his ancient acquaintance, and conſtant dear friend to his death, who ſurvived him not above eight days; the grief for his death haſtening (as it was ſuppoſed) her end. In her houſe at Hamſtead near London, Auguſt 21. 1624. he fell ſick of a violent fever, which put him into ſuch danger, that the phyſicians doubted of his recovery; he overhearing ſome intimation of it, when he thought none were in the room, the curtains being drawn about his bed, he was overheard by one in the room, to ſpeak ſuddenly

those words of Pſal. cxviii. 17. 'I ſhall not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord.' At that time there was as little hope of his preaching, as of his recovery. But God, in great mercy, ſoon after reſtored him both to health and liberty. The next year viz. June 20. 1625. he was licenſed by Dr Ridley, then vicar general to the moſt reverend biſhop of Canterbury, to preach in the dioces of London, Lincoln, and Coventry, and Lichfield, under the ſeal of that office. By vertue of which Licenſe he began to preach, Auguſt 3 1625. in Aſhby church aforeſaid, thoſe eight ſermons on Pſal. xxxvi. 13 concerning faſting, prayer and humiliation for ſin, which were published ſince his death, viz. 1632 according to his own copy left under his hand, by his ſon Mr Samuel Hilderſam.

September 28 1625 he began his one hundred and fifty two lectures on Pſal. li. publiſhed in the like nature, 1635.

After the laſt forementioned licenſing, he was ſilenced again, March 25. 1630. by notice given him from the court at Leiceſter of the king's inſtructions, for every lecturer to read ſervice in ſurplice and hood, and he began to preach again Aug 2. 1631. and ſo continued till December 27. 1631. which was the laſt ſermon that he preached.

Soon after he fell ſick, of his laſt ſickneſs, and diſcerning it to increaſe, he ſent for his forenamed ſon dwelling at Weſt Felton in Shropſhire, forty nine miles from Aſh, by; he with his wife came to him with all convenient ſpeed, January 13 and ſtayed with him till his death.

Their company and attendance at that time (as always formerly) was very contenting and comfortable. And of his daughter in law (who was by himſelf propounded as a meet wife for his deareſt ſon, and in whom he ever took a great delight) he was heard, with affection to ſpeak theſe words, 'never man had a kinder daughter in law.'

His diſeaſe, (tho' not diſcerned to be ſo at the firſt) proved the ſcorbute, the which being a dull and melancholic diſtemper, indiſpoſed him to ſpeak much; yet as he ſhewed wonderful patience through his whole ſickneſs, ſo he uſed many holy and heavenly expreſſions to thoſe that attended him, or came to viſit him, who (he being ſo much beloved and honoured in the country) were not a few.

He ſuggeſted unto ſome dear friends, his fears that wolves would ere long come in amongſt them, and thereupon earneſtly exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſt in the truth, which they had received. And occaſion being given to mention theſe words, 1 Tim. iii. v. 'How ſhall he take care of the church of God?' Looking to his ſon, he ſaid, 'oh ſon, ſon, that care of the flock, is the main thing.'

The moſt godly people in thoſe parts, his conſtant hearers (who had been either converted to Chriſt, or edified and confirmed in grace by his miniſtry) being very ſenſible of the great loſs, which not themſelves only, but the whole church of God alſo would ſuſtain by his death, (that they might not ſeem negligent in the uſe of any means within their reach, to prolong his life and their own comfort,) did reſolve among themſelves to ſet apart a day that they might ſolemnly in public ſeek the Lord by faſting and prayer in his behalf wherein they had the hearty help of Mr Simeon Aſh, both in the morning and afternoon by ſermons and ſupplications, who did more owe himſelf unto Mr Hilderſam, than to any other man, having been firſt placed in the univerſity, under the tuition of famous Mr Thomas Hooker, fellow of Emanuel college, and afterwards directed and encouraged by his miniſtry, by his great care and love.

March 4. being the Lord's day, he grew very weak, and was prayed for in the congregation in Aſhby church, both at the morning and evening exerciſe. His ſon prayed with him divers times that day, and whilſt he was praying the laſt time, he departed, and ſlept in the Lord, between nine and ten of the clock that night, viz. March 4. 1631. Thus he who had diligently heretofore, kept the holy reſt of the ſabbath, did in the cloſe of the ſabbath, reſt from his labours; and having glorified God often, both in public and private, on that day before, was at laſt on that day received into glory. Mr Herring (his dear and familiar friend) being then at Coventry, was ſent for the next day, and came and preached the lecture in Aſhby church on Tueſday, March 6 in the morning. Mr Hilderſam having taken order in his will, that there ſhould be no funeral ſermon in his burial, and then ſpake like himſelf, holily, diſcreetly, learnedly, and affectionately, concerning the loſs that, that congregation, the country, and whole church had ſuſtained by the death of him that was lately dead. In the afternoon of that day, his body was born by neighbour miniſters to the grave, accompanied by a great multitude both of miniſters and others, who expreſſed much ſorrow and lamentation.

He lived in Aſhby aforeſaid for the moſt part (yet being often forced to remove his dwelling) of forty three years, and ſix months, with great ſucceſs in his miniſtry, love and reverence of all ſorts. He was very charitable to the poor himſelf, and in exciting of his auditors to contribute towards their relief. In few country congregations in England the collections for the poor were ſo large, as they were at the quarter days at his Lectures.

The loſs of poor Aſhby by his death was exceeding great; for he was the peace maker among neighbours, and the patron of the poor; wickedneſs was checked, and godlineſs cheriſhed by his great care and wiſdom. He was a friend to every one in a good cauſe, and it was his unwearied delight to be chriſtianly ſerviceable in any kind.

He lived to a great age, conſidering that his pains in preaching did ordinarily weaken him ſo much, ſixty eight years and five months; yet this happineſs God vouchſafed to him, which was more than ordinary, that he outlived not his parts, but as his graces increaſed towards his end, ſo his abilities of invention, judgment, memory, elocution decayed not in his age. He left a precious memory behind him; had letters of commendation written in the hearts of many, of which ſome live here, ſome in glory. His books will prove more durable monuments of his name, than that his ſon erected for him in Aſhby church.

And yet his name with the lively picture of his perſon, lives in his worthy ſon, Mr Samuel Hilderſam, whoſe learning Cambridge knew, while he was fellow of Emanuel college; and whoſe preſent miniſterial labours, and pious converſation at Weſtfelton in Shropſhire, do perpetuate the honour of his reverend father, whoſe very memory he doth much reverence, and whoſe rich vertues, both perſonal and miniſterial, he doth happily imitate. And his good help from his father's papers, and other ways, hath moſt conduced to the drawing up of this faithful relation, that God may be glorified, and many ſouls may be edified by this famous example, thus preſented unto public view.

The Life of Dr THOMAS TAYLOR, *ſometimes Paſtor of Aldermanſbury London, who died* Anno Chriſti 1632.

THOMAS TAYLOR was born at Richmond in Yorkſhire, of worthy and godly parents, his father was recorder of that town, and a very Gaius or Oneſiphorus to the ſilenced miniſters of England, and to the exiled miniſters of Scotland. He brought up divers ſons into the miniſtry. This ſon of his (as the other) was of a child trained up in the holy ſcriptures, which are able to make wiſe to ſalvation. Afterward, as age came on, he was well grounded in other learning, and was ſent to Cambridge, where he became fellow of Chriſt's college, as one that ſhould do the Lord Chriſt abundance of good ſervice. He was there moſt painful and unwearied in the ſtudy of tongues, arts, ſciences, all ſorts of exerciſes about them; and eſpecially for divinity, which was his profeſſion. One while he was Hebrew reader to the college. Being ſoon ripe, he entred into the miniſtry at the age of one and twenty years.

In queen Elizabeth's time, he was called to preach at Paul's croſs, and preached the ſermon in king James's time.

In the courſe and work of his miniſtry, he ſpent thirty five years, with all diligence and painfulneſs, even to the very end, when by right he might have ſpared himſelf; living

living in all ſincerity and godly pureneſs, with entire love of ſouls, with all watchfulneſs, with meekneſs, wonderfully quickned with zeal. He was an utter enemy of popery, arminianiſm, antinomianiſm, and other ſects which crept up in thoſe times, as appeareth partly by his writings.

Amidſt all his pithy diſcourſes, he was alſo an excellent and nimble orator, and wound up his matter with a good farewel, even when at times it was but ordinary. And from this his courſe he would ſcarce ſuffer himſelf to be withdrawn at any time, to refreſh his ſpirits by a little freedom. Yea, ſometimes when he was drawn forth into the country for recreation, by the ſolicitation of God's people, he eſcaped not without his uſual burden: or, he ſpent his vacant time in preparing books for the preſs, which were both many and very uſeful, and will be to poſterity, who have cauſe to bleſs God who giveth gifts to men, and public minds, that they may profit far and near, both bearers and ſtrangers, all debtors to him. And men of underſtanding obſerved a great ſeal put to his miniſtry, in ſeveral places whereto he was called; ſome converted, others confirmed, others comforted in the way of God. And in theſe times of diviſion, wherein many profeſſors have turned into by-ways thoſe that were his conſtant hearers continue in that way ſtedfaſt, and unſhaken in faith and love which is in Chriſt Jeſus. Yea at Reading there was a generation of young preachers, who under his miniſtry grew up in knowlege and holineſs, and ſome eminency of gifts, profiting by him and his pains there; and ſome profeſs it at this day. Perhaps alſo in the great city of London, and at Cambridge.

Neither was he altogether for the public, but pious in private, and not only in the courſe of his family, but in keeping faſts among the godly of the place, which in thoſe days was ſomething of a dangerous exerciſe. And to make them ſolid profeſſors indeed, he put them upon a weekly way of handling catecherical points of divinity; that is, every week to confer of one of the heads of religion, according to the catechiſm ſubjoined to Mr Dod's treatiſe on the commandments, ſtill proving the doctrines by teſtimonies of ſcripture. For the other perſonal qualifications, he was a man full of love, alms deeds, and merciful conſideration of the needy, though not with a trumpet: and he was a man bleſt of God with all the bleſſings of wiſdom, Prov. iii. 16. 'Length of days, riches, and honour:' he had every where both godly and great friends, and is likely ſtill to have, among that ſhall converſe in his worthy works.

In that his bleſſed and holy courſe he drew on towards his end. It was his clymacterical year of 56; having over laboured himſelf with preaching in the city, he betook himſelf to his country houſe at Iſleworth, to be a little refreſhed. But, having inflamed and corrupted his blood by preaching, he ſoon fell into a mortal diſeaſe, a pleurity, for curing whereof, though no means were wanting, yet the deſired effect, through the counſel of God, followed not.

In the beginning of his ſickneſs he ſet his houſe in order moſt holily, and as became ſo worthy a father, and then bade farewel to all, as one throughly prepared for his departure, full of faith and patience, and joy in the holy Ghoſt, a great help in that acute diſeaſe; careful of the welfare of the church at home, then in danger to be corrupted; grieved for the evils he knew in ſome mens dealings; rejoicing greatly in the midſt of the apprehenſion of death, for the happy proceedings of the heroical king of Sweden, then victorious in Bavaria. And once when he was told, he muſt a little help himſelf by cherrfulneſs, he fell into a moſt contentful diſcourſe of thoſe noble deliverances and victories; and more would have ſpoken, if weakneſs had permitted; but eſpecially his joy in God, and in the conqueſt of Chriſt, 'Oh! (ſaid he) we ſerve a good Lord, who covers all imperfections, and gives great wages for little work; and in mercy he hath provided for me ſome of the greateſt:' with other holy ſpeeches, full of faith and joy, which his infirmity would not ſuffer him to utter perfectly. In which manner he languiſhed by degrees, and at laſt, on the Lord's day, being the uſual day of his principal labours, he was diſmiſſed of all, and went to keep a perpetual Sabbath in heaven, where now he reſteth from his labours, and his works follow him, even a full reward in endleſs glory. 'Which eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither can enter into the heart of man to conceive, what things thoſe are which God hath prepared for them that love him.'

The Life of Mr HUGH CLARK, *who died Anno Chriſti* 1634.

HUGH CLARK was born at Burton upon Trent, in the county of Stafford, Auguſt 15. 1563. of honeſt parents, who were very careful of his education, both in religion and learning; and when he was fitted for the univerſity they ſent him to Cambridge, where he was admitted unto Jeſus college, under the tuition of Mr Duport, (afterwards Dr Duport, and maſter of that college); in that place he followed his ſtudy very hard, and his proficiency was very exemplary; but after two years and an half, the air not well agreeing with his conſtitution, he removed to Oxford and continued there till he was maſter of arts. He was a good logician and a very acute diſputant.

The firſt place that he was called to exerciſe his miniſtry in, was about Oundle in Northamptonſhire, where he met with a people that, for the generality of them, were very ignorant and ungodly and much addicted to the prophanation of the Lord's day, by Whitſon-ales, morris-dancing, &c. which ſins Mr Clark, in his miniſtry, much ſet himſelf againſt, endeavouring from God's word to convince them of the evil, and denouncing God's judgments, in caſe of their obſtinate perſeverance in ſuch provoking courſes: but they, having been always trained up in ſuch practices, and having their hearts hardened against admonition, ſtill perſevered in their former courſes; and that the rather, becauſe they were oppoſed by the word of God therein; but the judgment of God found them out for this their wickedneſs; for ſhortly after, on a Lord's day, the leader of the dance, being a luſty young man, in the midſt of their profane paſtimes, ſuddenly fell down and died. Yet theſe obdurate perſons (though a little affected for the preſent) ſoon ſhaked off their fears, and returned to their vomit again.

Mr Clark, the Sabbath following, took occaſion from this ſad diſpenſation of God, to ſhew them the greatneſs of their ſins, and how highly God uſed to be diſpleaſed with thoſe which took liberty to prophane his holy day, withal quoting Jer. xvii. 27. 'If thou will not hearken unto me, to hallow the Sabbath day, &c. then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it ſhall devour the palaces of Jeruſalem, and it ſhall not be quenched;' opening, urging, and preſſing it home upon their conſciences; yet ſtill they kicked againſt theſe warnings; and the evening following returned to their ſports again. Amongſt them there was a ſmith that was a chief ringleader; but it pleaſed God the very next day, that two huſbandmen coming to his ſhop to ſharpen their plough ſhares, a ſpark from the red hot iron, as he beat it on the anvil, flew into the thatch, which both the ſmith and his neighbours ſaw, and ſtood gazing upon it, and might at firſt with one of their fingers have pulled it down, the thatch being low, but God took away their power of moving towards it, ſo that they ſaw it at firſt burn like a candle, then like a torch, and preſently the whole ſhop was on fire; and the men running out, both ſhop, houſe, and all the ſmith's goods were conſumed in the fire, and yet a neighbour's houſe that ſtood very near it eſcaped.

This ſecond remarkable judgment was again, by Mr Clark, preſſed upon their conſciences, yet nothing would prevail; but as if they had made 'a covenant with death, and were at an agreement with hell, they ſtill perſiſted in their ungodly practices; and God, who threatens to walk contrary to them that walk contrary to him, puniſhed them with one judgment after another; and amongſt others this was very remarkable. That, upon the Sabbath day which they had highly prophaned by drinking, dancing, &c. in the night, when they were retired to their ſeveral homes, there was heard a great noiſe, and rattling of chains up and down the town, which was accompanied with ſuch a ſmell and ſtink of fire and brimſtone, that many of their guilty conſciences ſuggeſted unto them, that the devil was

upon

come to fetch them away quick to hell. This ſo terrified and wrought upon them, that they began to give better heed to the miniſtry of God's word, and to break off their prophane courſes, for the greateſt part, ſo that there was an eminent reformation wrought amongſt them; at leaſt ſixteen of thoſe poor ſouls being effectually wrought upon, and brought home to Chriſt; and ſome others that relapſed to their former ways, God purſued them with his judgments till he had brought them to beggary.

During Mr Clark's abode in this place he had experience of God's gracious protecting him from the rage of ſome deſperately wicked men; and amongſt others, this is very remarkable: Mr Clark having one day preſſed God's judgments againſt ſome ſins, that he ſaw ſome of the people much addicted to, there came the next morning, a luſty young man, a ſtranger, to enquire for him, as deſirous to ſpeak with him. Mr Clark being made acquainted with it, ſent for him into his chamber, and knowing his vitious life, took occaſion ſharply to reprove him, and to tell him of the danger he was in by reaſon of the ſame in caſe he perſevered in his lewd courſes. This round and faithful dealing, through God's mercy, wrought ſo effectually upon him, that falling upon his knees, he entreated him to forgive him. Mr Clark anſwered, that he ſhould beg pardon at the hands of God, againſt whom he had ſinned, for he knew not for his own part, wherein he had offended him: yea, ſaid the other, 'I have not only offended God by ſinning thus and thus againſt him, but you alſo; for I came hither with a full reſolution to ſtab you with this dagger here at my back, but God hath ſo over-awed my ſpirit, that I have not had power to move an hand to accompliſh ſuch a wickedneſs; and this reſolution of mine proceeded from the ſermon which you preached yeſterday, which ſo terrified my conſcience, that my whole body fell into ſuch a trembling, that I was not able to ſit, whereupon I roſe up, and ſet my back to a pillar to ſtay me, yet neither would that prevail to ſtay my trembling &c. But now if you pleaſe to forgive me, I ſhall, by God's grace, never entertain any ſuch deſperate thoughts again.' Mr Clark freely forgave him, and, after ſome wholeſome and reaſonable admonitions, diſmiſſed him.

About this time the ſchiſm and errors of the Browniſts began to ſpread in Northamptonſhire, and Mr Clark had many bickerings and diſputations with ſome of the chief of them, whom he mightily confuted; and, through God's grace, reclaimed ſome of them.

In the year 1590, he was ſent for by Roger Wigſtone, eſq; who lived at Woolſtone in the county of Warwick, by whom he was choſen to ſucceed Mr Lord, an able and eminent divine, in the paſtoral charge in that place; and having preached ſometimes amongſt them, he was freely choſen by the people alſo. Then having his preſentation from Mr Wigſtone, (who was a gentleman of eminent piety in thoſe days, and a great friend to godly miniſters), he went to Dr Overton, biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, for his inſtitution; but the biſhop having deſigned the living for one of his chaplains, he endeavoured to perſuade Mr Clark to deſert his title to it, promiſing that he would remember him when ſome other preferment ſhould fall. Mr Clark conſidering his fair and direct call to the place, and therefore hoping that God had a work for him to do there, he abſolutely refuſed to gratify the biſhop in his requeſt, telling him, that he could not with a good conſcience do it, and therefore importuned him for his inſtitution. Then did the biſhop ſet his acuteſt chaplains upon him, to examine and diſpute with him, hoping thereby to get ſome ground of exception againſt him; but when that prevailed not, he framed other excuſes to defer the inſtituting of him, one while alleging that his regiſter was not with him, and then that he had ſo many days allowed by the law to make enquiry after him. And hereby he made Mr Clark to ride three or four journeys without attaining his deſire, and this the biſhop did, that the living might fall into the lapſe. Mr Clark perceiving his drift, told him, that if he refuſed any longer to grant him inſtitution, he would bring his *quare impedit* againſt him, which occaſioned the biſhop at laſt to grant it him; but withal, he ſent at ſeveral times, ſometimes an apparitor, ſometimes one of his chaplains, and other ſubtile perſons, to attend his prayers and ſermons, to ſee if they could catch any advantage againſt him, and upon trivial occaſions cited him oft to his court, and thereby much moleſted him. At laſt the biſhop himſelf, being at Coventry upon a Sabbath day, he, with ſome of his ſervants, came in the morning to Woolſtone, being but four miles off, and coming into the church, he ſet him down in a ſeat juſt before Mr Clark, none elſe of the congregation knowing him. Mr Clark ſeeing the biſhop, abated nothing of his zeal and fervency in preaching of the word, inſomuch as the biſhop being much nettled by the ſermon, ſhifted and ſhuffled up and down, as if he had ſit upon thorns; an honeſt man by, obſerving it, fetched him a cuſhion firſt to ſit on, and then another to lean on, but yet the biſhop ſeemed very reſtleſs.

The ſermon and prayer being ended, the biſhop ſaid openly, 'This is an hot fellow indeed but I will cool him.' Mr Clark hearing it replied, 'My Lord, if I have not faithfully delivered the truth of God, I beſeech you declare what I have ſaid amiſs, that I may make my defence here before my people.' The biſhop anſwered as before, 'You are an hot fellow indeed, but I will cool you;' and ſo departed: Mr Clark replying, 'It is good to be zealous in the work of the Lord.'

After this the biſhop picked a quarrel againſt him, and ſuſpended him from preaching; whereupon Mr Clark uſed to expound the word, then did the biſhop ſuſpend him from expounding; whereupon he catechiſed with expoſition and application; then was he ſuſpended from catechiſing alſo. Whereupon, at the uſual times, in the church, he cauſed an honeſt man that was his neighbour, to read a chapter, and at the end of every verſe, to aſk him the meaning of it, and what inſtructions and uſes might be gathered out of it. This ſo angered the biſhop that he proceeded to excommunicate him; whereupon Mr Clark repaired to Dr Whitgift archbiſhop of Canterbury, and from him procured his abſolution; and as he returned homewards about Dunſtable, he met biſhop Overton going towards London to whom he ſhewed his abſolution, and ſo went on in his miniſtry as before.

This ſo irritated the biſhop that he ſtill ſuborned ſome to watch him in all his public prayers and ſermons. About this time the perſecution growing hot againſt the non conformiſts, Mr Clark, in his prayer, requeſted of God to forgive the queen her ſins, though in modeſt expreſſions. This the biſhop being informed of and ſuppoſing that he had now gotten that advantage which he had long waited for, he charged Mr Clark with treaſon, and cauſed him to be committed to the common jail of Warwick, where he lay (bail being refuſed) till the aſſizes; and then the biſhop cauſed him to be arraigned at the bar, and had ſo exaſperated the judge againſt him, that he would have had the jury to find the bill. But it pleaſed God to ſtir up the heart of a noble gentleman, a juſtice upon the bench, from that good report which he had heard of Mr Clark, to ſtand up, and publicly to tell the judge, that before Mr Clark ſhould have any wrong, he would kneel before the queen for him. This ſo prevailed with the jury that he was acquitted.

Upon his releaſe, Mr Clark repaired again to archbiſhop Whitgift, complaining to him of all this wrong which he had received from the biſhop; the archbiſhop (very worthily) ſent for the biſhop and upon a fair and equal hearing of the buſineſs betwixt them, he enjoined the biſhop to go down, and in Mr Clark's church, upon a Sabbath day, before the congregation, to acknowlege the wrong which he had done him; which the biſhop accordingly did perform, and ever after, upon all occaſions, was Mr Clark's great friend ſo long as he lived.

Not long after the devil ſtirred up new adverſaries againſt him in his own pariſh, his miniſtry being very quick, powerful, and ſearching, ſo that ſome wicked perſons, that found themſelves to be galled by it, railed upon him, threatening to kill him; ſo that Mr Clark, being a ſtrong luſty man, for a time, walked not abroad without his rapier in his hand, for his own defence. At laſt, one of theſe wicked men, whoſe conſcience the miniſtry had galled, vowed his death; and as Mr Clark was coming from Coventry, he way laid him in a wood. Mr Clark, in the evening, came alone homewards, with nothing but

a wand in his hand; whereupon this man rode up to him, and falling into discourse with him, Mr Clark took the opportunity to reprove him for his disordered life, and so laid open God's judgments due to him for the same, that he fell into a great trembling, confessed his intention to have killed him, and begged pardon. Yet still he persisted in his wicked ways, and God's judgments found him out at last; for though he had a very good living, yet he fell into misery and want, and died in Warwick jail for debt.

Mr Clark had in his parish a chappel of ease, which had two townships belonging to it, one of them two miles from the parish church, the chaple itself near two miles from it, and the profits of both (the tithes being impropriated) scarce amounting to a competent maintenance for one man. Mr Clark was fain to supply them both himself. And indeed, God had extraordinarily fitted him for it, having given him a very strong able and healthful body, so that for the greatest part of his life there, which was about forty four years; he rode four times a day in winter and summer between the two churches, read the word, and preached four times a day, administred the sacraments, and performed all other ministerial duties in them both. He preached upon several texts in each of the churches, so that divers godly persons, old and young, went betwixt the two churches, hearing several sermons to their great profit and comfort. Besid s this, every holy-day he supplied both the churches, sometimes preached, but constantly expounded in each of them, and for the most part twice a day also; and God so blessed his labours, that he begat many sons and daughters unto God.

He was very careful in the education of his children, first to train them up in the knowlege and fear of God; for which end, he would take all opportunities to whet the word of God upon them, when he lay down, and when he rose up, and as he walked by the way, &c. and God so blest his labours, that he lived to see, to his great comfort, the work of grace wrought in the hearts of all his seven children. And next to this, his care was to train up his children in learning, and to honest callings; often saying, that if he could leave them no other portion, yet he would give them that education, that they should be able to get their own livings, in any part of the world, where God should cast their lot.

Towards the later end of his life, came forth the book for recreations on the Sabbath day, and some young persons in the town where he lived, having been encouraged thereby, and by a popish landlord which they had, would needs have a Whitson ale, and Morris-dance, an heathenish sport, long before, through God's goodness, banished out of that town. Mr Clark laboured by his ministry, to beat down the first rising of this motion; but these persons were so backed and encouraged by some that set them on, that they would needs prosecute their design, notwithstanding all the warnings given them by their faithful pastor. But God that hath said, 'He that despiseth you, despiseth me, &c. made their sin quickly to find them out in a terrible judgment that suddenly ensued; for in that barn, standing near a smith's shop, where their revels were most kept, there was a violent fire kindled, which notwithstanding all help, quickly burnt it down, and in a strange manner flying against the wind, it went from house to house, burning down all the houses of the chief of those which had an hand in these prophane sports.

Mr Clark was a man (like Apollos) mighty in the scriptures, and so studied in the body of divinity, that upon short warning, he could preach very pertinently and profitably. He had an excellent pair of lungs, and was exceeding powerful in his ministry, striking shame and terror into the hearts of the wicked, to whom he was a Boanerges, and yet withal, he was a Barnabas to humbled, broken, bleeding souls.

His old age was accompanied with a lingering and painful disease, which yet he bore with great patience, and as he came nearer to heaven, so his motion thitherward was more quick and lively. Many godly persons came to visit him in his disease, and none of them went away without some spiritual and comfortable instructions from him. At last, having long glorified God on earth, and finished his work, he went to receive his wages, quietly resigning up his spirit unto God, November 4. 1634, having lived seventy one years, two months, and nineteen days, and having been pastor of Woolstone forty four years.

'This Mr Hugh Clark was my father.'

The Life and Death of Mr JOHN CARTER, *who died* Anno Christi 1634.

MR John Carter was born at Wickham in Kent, near Canterbury, about the year of our Lord 1554. He was descended but of mean parents, yet were they religious, and of good report, who not being able to maintain him at the university, wholly upon their own charge; there was one Mr Rose, a rich man in Canterbury, who taking notice of his piety in those his tender years, of his ingenuity, studiousness and proficiency in all school learning, even beyond the pitch of a grammar-scholar; and finding him hopeful, and likely to prove a precious instrument in the church of Christ, he took him into his care sent him to Cambridge, and contributed such sums of money to him from time to time as were needful. He was admitted into Clare Hall, and was pupil to Dr Bing, a famous Civilian, and master of that house.

Presently after his first admission into that house, he was taken notice of as one of singular learning and ripeness for his years. Amongst the rest that were of his year, he had a theme given him to make upon this subject, *Frugalitas virtutum maxima:* and when the young students brought in their themes, the lecturer took and read them, and when he came to Carter's theme he stood, and paused a while, and at last, said before them all: here is the best theme that ever I read; and gave him some money for his encouragement, and highly commended his industry; and always after cast a favourable eye upon him, and sought opportunities to do him good.

When Mr Carter had taken his degrees of batchelor, and master of arts, his tutor, Dr Bing (out of his singular love to him for his piety and learning) gave him a chamber in his own lodgings, where he continued a year or two, which conduced much to the compleating of him for the work of the ministry; and all the while that he continued a gremial in the lap, and bosom of his mother the university, he held constant meetings with divers of, his famous contemporaries, and that every week, as with Dr Chaderton, Dr Andrews, (afterwards bishop of Ely) Mr Culverwel, Mr Knewstubs and divers others, whom God raised up and fitted to send forth into his harvest, to gather his corn, then ripe for the sickle, into his barn. At their meetings they had constant exercises; first, they began with prayer, and then applied themselves to the study of the scriptures; one was for the original languages, another's task was for the grammatical interpretation; another's for the logical analysis; another's for the true sense and meaning of the text; another gathered the doctrines, and thus they carried on their several employments, till at last they went out, like Apollos, eloquent men, and mighty in the scriptures; and the Lord was with them; so that they brought in a very greatest harvest into God's barn.

Mr Carter would not run before he was sent, though he was so excellently qualified for the work; he durst not venture upon the exercise of the holy work of the ministry till he had not only an inward but an outward call also, *viz.* an allignation, approbation, and solemn admission by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. When he was ordained, the bishop (who in their days was *Primus Presbyter*, or *Praes*) seeking to oppose him, asked him this question, Have you read the Bible through? Yes, said he, 'I have read the Old Testament twice through in the Hebrew, and the New Testament through in the Greek; and if you please examine me in any particular place, I shall endeavour to give you an account of it.' Nay, said the bishop, if it be so, I shall need to say no more to you; only some words of commendation and encouragement he gave him, and so with other assistants he ordained him.

Anno Christi, 1583. the vicarige of Bramford in Suffolk, near Ipswich, fell void, and Mr Rose of Canterbury, before mentioned, procured the presentation thereof for

Mr

Mr Carter, of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, in whose gift it was. The salary at first was only twenty marks *per annum*, but afterwards the church raised it to twenty pounds *per annum*, and that was the most that ever he had there, yet he accepted of it, and being settled in it, he set himself to do the work of Christ faithfully with all his might, 'as a workman that needed not to be ashamed.

Every Lord's day, he preached twice very powerfully, and catechised the younger sort. He also preached a lecture every Thursday, to which multitudes from Ipswich, and other adjacent places did resort: And God gave such success to his ministry, that by his labours many sons and daughters were from time to time begotten unto God. Many precious christians that remain unto this day, acknowlege, that their conversion was by Mr Carter's ministry.

Before his sermons he made but a short prayer, and that always in the same words: after sermon he used to be large, and full, and expressed himself with great variety of phrases, and with much fervency, and always he concluded with the 'Lords Prayer.'

He was very diligent in visiting the sick, especially the poorer sort; and he never went to a house of any poor creature, but he left a purse alms, as well as a spiritual alms of good, and heavenly advice, and prayer. No poor body ever came to his door that went away empty; his wife also looking to that as carefully as himself.

Every Saturday throughout the whole year he gave the milk of his cows to the poor of the town; and indeed he gave more to the poor every year than the revenue of his slender vicarage came to in the whole; yet God so blessed him, that whilst he was in Bramford, he quickly paid Mr Rose of Canterbury all the money that he had disbursed towards his education in the university; and before he purchased about twenty pound *per annum*; God's blessing only makes rich.

He had but two sons, and he brought them both up in learning, and maintained them in the university in good fashion.

He was sound and orthodox in his judgment: an able, and resolute champion against all manner of popery and arminianism; as also against anabaptism, and Brownism, which did then begin to peep up, and infest the church, or tear and rent the seamless coat of Christ.

He was always a nonconformist, one of the good old puritans in England. He never swallowed any of the ceremonies against his conscience: so that he was often troubled by the bishops, but God raised him up friends that always brought him off, and maintained his liberty. He was prudent, and of a peaceable spirit, and never censured any that could, and did conform, if he judged them conscientious, and saw any thing of God in them.

At his first coming to Bramford, he saw of the travel of his soul. He had a plentiful harvest, many souls being added to the church, by his powerful ministry and holy life. But after he had abode many years amongst them, the people began to be glutted with heavenly manna, and loathed it, so that there grew a great decay in their first love: and about the year 1615. or something before, there arose up a generation of malignant spirits, who were haters of a plain, powerful, and searching ministry, and of the life and power of godliness: these were the gentry and chief of the parish. These rose up against Mr Carter pressed him to conformity, complained of him to the bishop, and threatned that they would either bring him to conformity or eject him.

At this very juncture of time, through God's gracious providence the rectory of little Belsted fell to be void. A very small village, some three miles from Ipswich, and a solitary place; the means indeed was better than Bramford, yet short of a competency, and of the deserts of so eminent a pillar in the church of Christ: it being but about fifty pound, and at the most not worth above fifty pounds *per annum*.

The patron (Mr Bloss) became a suitor to Mr Carter to accept of it, which he refused again, and again, being resolved rather to endure persecution at Bramford, to grapple with all difficulties, and to die there, rather than to remove. But God's providence over ruled him. At Bramford he saw that he must be outed, and Mr Bloss would take no denial: yea, and he he found favour in the eyes of the bishop, so that he was instituted without subscription, or submitting to the ceremonies; and then at last, God (as it were) taking him by the hand, and pulling him whether he would or no, he removed from Bramford, after he had done faithful service in the work of the ministry for about thirty four years in that place, and was settled at elsted personage, where he continued eighteen years before God caused him to rest from his labours: and in all that time he discharged his holy function just as he had done in Bramford in his younger years; though his congregation here was but small: yet it pleased God that many fish came within the compass of his net from Ipswich, and other neighbouring towns, where they were destitute of faithful shepherds, so that his latter crop in God's harvest field, was very considerable.

Little Belsted was a *Tusculanum* to him, where in his old age he had much secret and sweet communion with God in the house, and as an Isaac, with him in the fields, which was a begining of that glorious communion which he now enjoys with God in the 'mountains of spices.' He 'being dead, yet speaks;' and his 'works praise him in the gates.' For from the press we have his learned and pithy commentary on the sermon of Christ in the mount: and two short, but substantial, solid, and profitable catechisms: one milk for children: the other, winter evening communication.

His pains in the study of the Revelations were indefatigable. He wrote much in a little room; but these labours of his yet never saw the light. Many ministers that privately did converse with him, lighted their candles at his.

For his carriage and deportment in his family, it was sober, grave, and very religious. He there offered up the morning and evening sacrifice of prayer, and praise continually; so that his house was a little church. Thrice a day he had the scriptures read, and after that the psalm or chapter, were ended, he used to ask all his children and servants what they remembred, and whatsoever sentences they rehearsed, he would speak sometime out of them that might tend to their edification. For his own and his wife,s habit, it was very plain, and homely, of the old fashion, yet very cleanly and decent; insomuch that all that came to his house would say, they had seen Adam and Eve, or some of the old patriarchs.

In all his house also, there was nothing but honest plainess. He was such a one as Jacob, a plain, sincere I had almost said a perfect man; I am sure a true Nathaniel, 'in whom was no guile.'

He never used any plate in his house, but vessels of wood and earth; pewter and brass were the highest mettals for his utensils. All the time of his house keeping he used constantly at his table a little wooden salt, which with age was grown to be of a duskish black, which was much taken notice of by all comers.

He never made feasts, yet always had wholesom, full and liberal diet in his house, and all fared alike: he and his wife, did never think that his children, and servants and poor folk did eat enough.

'The righteous man (says Solomon) is merciful to his beast:' So he was careful even for the brute creatures, that they should be fed to the full. All his cattle were like to the first kine that Pharaoh saw feeding in the meadow, they were fat fleshed, and well favoured; insomuch as some godly people used to say merrily: if they would be a cow, or a horse, or a hog, or a dog, they would chuse Mr Carter for their master.

He had a sharp wit, and was sweet, mild, affable, and pleasant in his conversation; yet were there not any of his most facetious passages, that did not savour of holiness. His communication and discourse was allways heavenly, and his eyes were frequently lifted up towards heaven: he did not eat or drink without praising God with his mouth and eyes. His 'whole conversation was in heaven.'

Besides his family duties, and prayers, he prayed constantly in his closet at his first going to his study, and before he came forth to dinner and supper. He prayed very loud, and mostly very long: for the extension of his voice he had a double reason: one, that by his earnest speech he

he might quicken, and raise up his own heart, and devotion: the other, that he might give a good example for secret prayer to his children and servants; and he never closed any prayer, without adding the Lord's prayer; and his ground for that practice was this; he judged his own best prayers imperfect, and that of Christ most perfect and comprehensive of all necessities.

That you may be the better satisfied concerning his sense and judgement of this matter, take this transcript out of his printed commentary upon Mat. vi. 9. Whereafter he hath set forth the excellency, and perfection of Christ's prayer, he addeth, "Christ now directs us to the right performance of the duty of prayer. 'After this manner pray ye:' or, as St. Luke sets it down, 'when ye pray say' Not binding us strictly to use these words always, and none other, but to use the matter, manner and like affections: but as for them who cannot so well enlarge their suits in other words, or for those also who can, and do it, and yet remain still unsatisfied, as not having done it sufficiently (and who can do it sufficiently?) the Lord Christ hath left this most excellent help to use the very words of this divine prayer, as the most worthy servants of God have ever used to do: and learn we here by the way, that an absolute necessity lieth upon us (which ought to be our greatest glory and comfort) to pray in these words, or in this manner. For it is the undispensible commandment of our Lord Christ:" 'after this manner pray.'

He had a special dexterity in comforting afflicted consciences; resolving doubts, and answering questions; when some came to him (not long before he changed this earthly for an heavenly mansion) and told him of the rigour of the prelates; how it grew higher every day, how they persecuted conscionable ministers and christians: of their innovations, and of the book for liberty of sports on the sabbath days, tending to the fearful profanation thereof: he used these expressions: 'I have had a longing desire to see, or hear of the fall of antichrist: but I check myself, I shall go to heaven, and there news of it will come thick thick, thick.

When others came to him, and pressed him with importunity to tell them his judgement concerning the future state of the church, saying to him, that he had travelled much in the study of the Revelations, and they were perswaded that God had revealed something more than ordinary to him. What do you think (said they) shall we have popery once again, or no? he answered, 'you shall not need to fear fire and faggot any more: but such dreadful divisions will be amongst God's people and professors, as will equalize the greatest persecutions.

A man meeting him near his house, called to him saying oh Mr Carter! what shall I do? my wife is entering into her travel, and I think she will die with very fear: Mr Carter answered, 'make haste, run to your wife, and tell her, that I am going to my closet as fast as I can to pray for her; therefore bid her not faint, but to be of good courage and comfort.' the man accordingly ran to his wife, and told her what had passed between Mr Carter and him, presently her fears vanished, God gave her strength, and she was delivered immediately, and safely: and strait after, her husband went to Mr Carter, (even before he came out of his closet) and told him what God had done for him.

Another time a poor man met him by the way, and cried to him piteously, saying, Mr Carter! what shall become of me? I work hard, and fare hard, and yet I cannot thrive, I continue bare, and know not how in the world to live. He answered him: 'yet still you want one thing, and I will tell you what you shall do, work hard and fare hard, and pray hard, and I will warrant you shall thrive.

There dwelled in that parish a tanner, that was a very godly man, and one that had much familiar society with Mr Carter. This man as he was very busie in tanning a hide with all his might, not so much as turning his head aside any way: Mr Carter coming by accidentally, came softly behind him, and merrily gave him a little clap on the back: the man started, and looking behind him suddenly, blushed, and said, sir, I am ashamed that you should find me thus: to whom Mr Carter replied, 'let Christ when he comes find me so doing:' what (said the man) doing thus? yes (said Mr Carter to him) 'faithfully performing the duties of my calling.'

Being at dinner at Ipswich at one of the magistrate's houses, divers other ministers being at the table also: one among the rest (who was old enough, and had learned enough to have taught him more humility) was very full of talk, bragged much of parts and skill, &c. and made a challenge, saying, here are many learned men, if any of you will propound any question in divinity, or philosophy, I will dispute with him, resolve his doubt and satisfie him fully. All at the table (except himself) were silent for a while: then said Mr Carter, (when he saw none else would speak) to him, calling him by his name: 'I will go no further than my trencher to puzle you: here is a sole: now tell me the reason why this fish that hath lived always in the salt water, should come out fresh? to this, this forward gentleman could say nothing, and so was laughed at, and shamed out of his vanity.

At another time a certain man came to him, and made his moan, saying, I have lost the greatest friend that I had in the world: I had (in a manner) all my livelihood from him: to whom Mr Carter answered: 'when the fountain is dried up in one place, God will open it in another.

To one of his sons he said, 'son John, God hath always brought water for me out of the hard flinty rock. Those covetous hard hearted men, who have been enemies to my person and ministry, have many times come in and given me countenance and maintenance.

His eldest son whom he had bred up to the ministry, and who proved a blessed instrument in the church of Christ, being dead, Mr Carter took care of his eldest son, sent him to Cambrige, and walking with him towards the stable took his leave of him, in these words in latin. *Cave, mi fili, fastum, Ignaviam, antichristum.* my son, beware of pride, sloth and antichrist.

His usual saying was, 'a traveller must have a swines belly, an ass's back, and a merchant's purse:' meaning that he must be content with any fare, bear all injuries, and provide for vast expences. We are pilgrims and travellers here, and we must prepare for wants, wrongs, and spoiling of our goods.

It might well be said of him, *Semper erat ubi non erat:* his heart was where his head was, and now his soul is, to wit, in heaven.

His whole life was nothing else but a communion-day: old Jacob seemed to live in him; and sure the spirit of God breathed as much in him, in his words and writings, (holiness dropped from his pen in every ordinary letter that he wrote) in his actions and soliloquies, as in any man's in these latter times. He was always instilling precious precepts, exhortations, instructions, or consolations into those with whom he had occasion to converse.

A godly woman told his son, that she had been servant to a religious gentleman to whose house Mr Carter did often resort, and that she was won to Christ at first, by hearing the heavenly speeches, and sweet principles that dropped from him as she was warming his bed, and as she waited upon him in his chamber.

He was always most just and exact in his dealings: he put a clause in his will, for the faithful and careful payment of his debts; yet when his son John and his daughter Eunice, whom he made his executors, enquired what his debts were, he could find nothing that he owed, except to the smith for shoeing of an horse or two.

His son when he came to look over his library, found two or three books, not one of them worth a groat, upon which he had written, 'This book was borrowed of such an one; let it be restored: or if the owner cannot be found, allow something to the poor for it, and that liberally.

Once, being in a journey many miles from home, in changing a piece of gold at a shop, he took a half-crown piece instead of a shilling neither he nor the shop-keeper knowing it; but as soon as he came home he found the mistake: whereupon he could not rest satisfied, but the next day took a long journey back again on purpose to that town, to carry back the half-crown again.

He was of a sweet, mild, and gentle nature, and of a gra-

gracious ſpirit; a loving and faithful huſband to his wife, and a tender and indulgent father to his children; and if he failed in any thing, it was in his carriage to his ſervants, for truly he carried not himſelf to them as a maſter to his ſervants, but as a familiar friend to his friends: he would make them to ſit down with him at his table, and would drink to them at his meals

He and his wife were married together almoſt threeſcore years, and in all that time there was never heard any diſ uſteful word to paſs betwixt them. Neither indeed could it be otherwiſe, for he lived and walked with her as a man of knowlege: he was to her a prudent, faithful, and tender guide; and ſhe was humble, and meek reverenced and highly eſteemed him: every word he ſpake was an oracle to her, and her will ever cloſed with his judgment.

He lived to the age of fourſcore: when his youngeſt ſon John was born, who was the youngeſt of nine, he called him the ſon of his age, and yet he lived to ſee him forty years old before he died, being forty years old when he was born.

He was much and frequent in ſecret faſtings, and when he kept ſuch a day, he told none of his houſe of it, ſave his wife only, and ſhe would not eat any thing that day on which he faſted, but oftimes ſhe was with him in his retiring chamber to join with him in prayer; yet could it not be concealed from the reſt of the family, becauſe at night he ſupped not, but only had a toaſt, and a draught of ordinary beer to ſuſtain nature.

On the Sabbath days, he never had any roaſt meat at dinner, becauſe he would have none thereby kept from the public ordinances; the pot was hung on with a piece of beef and a pudding in it, and that was their conſtant Lord's days dinner, for well nigh ſixty years together.

His church at Belſted ſtood in a very ſolitary place, whereof he always kept a key, and would often reſort thither all alone. A gentleman once eſpying him as he went towards the church on a private day, hid himſelf till Mr Carter was paſt, and gone into the church, and then he came cloſe up to the church-wall, deſiring to peep in at ſome window to ſee what he did, and to liſten if he ſaid any thing; and this gentleman afterwards told his ſon John, that he firſt prayed, then read a chapter, and after that prayed largely, and very heavenly, as if he had been in his family, or in the public congregation.

He vigorouſly held on the conſtant courſe of his miniſtry to the laſt. It may be ſaid of him as of Caleb and Joſhua, he was as fit for ſervice in God's harveſt-field at fourſcore as he was of forty.

Indeed ſome abatement of bodily ſtrength there was, as old age did ſteal upon him. After his afternoon ſermon on the Sabbath days he would be ſomething faint, and commonly when he came home he would call for ſome comfortable draught, and when he had lifted up his eyes to heaven, and taken it, he would ſay to them about him, 'Theſe are crutches to ſhore up a ruinous houſe;' but in his intellectuals and ſpiritual ſtrength there was no decay.

Old Mr Benton of Wramplingham in Norfolk, a holy man of God, being upon occaſion in Suffolk in thoſe parts, could not but give a viſit to his old friend Mr Carter of Belſted; and being with him he heard him diſcourſe with ſuch holy gravity, and a mixture of all kind of learning, ſolidity, and wit, that he ſtood amazed at it, and ſaid, 'Mr Carter, I ſee you are like unto the palm and cedar tree, you bring forth more fruit in your age.' 'I thank you, (ſaid Mr Carter) you tell me what I ſhould be.'

And now the time of his departure was at hand; about a fortnight or three weeks before his tranſlation there appeared ſome decays in his body and memory, which now began to fail him: he would ſometimes (but rarely) call to go to ſea, and to his better country; yet he ſat up from morning to night, and commonly walked up and down the room, and never failed to perform prayer and other family exerciſes, ſo that none could diſcern any conſiderable defect either in his ſpiritual or natural ſtrength; only in this, that when he had done, he would preſently call to begin again; and ſay to his daughter Eunice, who was now the ſtay of his houſe, and the ſtaff of his old age, (God having taken away his dear wife about two years before) 'Daughter, ſhall we not go to prayer?' and when ſhe anſwered him, 'Sir, we have been at prayer already:' 'And you are weary, (he would reply) 'I fear we have not done what we ſhould do.'

It was one of his conſtant and ordinary petitions in every prayer, that God would vouchſafe him a merciful and eaſy paſſage out of this life, and the Lord did moſt graciouſly anſwer him therein.

February 21. in the year 1634, being the day before the Sabbath, in the evening, he called very earneſtly for paper, ink, and two pens; 'For, (ſaid he) by God's grace, to-morrow I will preach twice.' But, God knows, he was not in a fit condition for ſtudy; yet with that reſolution he went to bed, and God gave him ſome reſt that night. In the morning, upon the Sabbath day, he did riſe from his bed, as he uſed to do, and came out of his bed-chamber into the hall, and after prayer, he called for his ordinary breakfaſt, which he uſed before he went to church, (for ſtill he held his reſolution for preaching) which was an egg; he took it into his hand, but alas! it would not down; whereupon he ſaid to his daughter; 'Eunice, I am not able to go to church, yet I pray thee lead me to my bed, I will ly down a little and reſt me.' So he roſe up out of his chair and walked up and down, ſhe ſupporting him; and when he came to the parlour door, before he put his foot over the threſhold, 'Oh Eunice! (ſaith he) what ſhall I do?' Put your truſt, ſaith ſhe, in that God of whom you have had ſo much experience, who never yet did leave you nor forſake you. 'Yea, (ſaith he) the Lord be thanked.'

So he gathered up his ſtrength, went to the bed ſide, ſat down upon it, and immediately compoſed himſelf to ly down: he lifted up one of his legs upon the bed, without any great difficulty, laid down his body, and reſted his head upon the pillow. His daughter ſtill ſtood by, expecting when ſhe ſhould lift his other leg upon the bed, thinking he had been fallen aſleep; and ſhe was not miſtaken, for ſo he was; it proved his laſt ſleep: and before ſhe could diſcern any change in him, his ſoul had taken its flight into heaven, even into the arms and embraces of his bleſſed Saviour, whom he had faithfully ſerved all his life long; being about fourſcore years old.

He intended a Sabbath's labour for Chriſt, and Chriſt gave him reſt from his labour, even the reſt of an eternal Sabbath. When his daughter began to ſpeak to him, and to lift him, ſhe found that his breath was departed, yet was there not any change in his countenance at all; his eyes and his mouth continuing in the ſame poſture they uſed to be in his ſweeteſt ſleeps.

Thus the Lord gave unto his faithful ſervant the deſire of his ſoul, and a return of his prayers, ſuch an eaſy paſſage as that his death could not be diſcerned from a ſweet natural ſleep.

Not many days before his death he called his daughter, and ſaid to her, 'Daughter, remember my love to my ſon John, I ſhall ſee him no more in this life; and remember me to the reſt of my children and family, and deliver this meſſage to them all from me; 'Stand faſt in the faith, and love one another.' This was the laſt meſſage that ever he ſent to them.

He ended his life with a doxology, breathing out his laſt with theſe words, 'The Lord be thanked.'

When he had thus yielded up his ſpirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, his daughter Eunice diſpatched away a meſſenger to his ſon John at Norwich; for ſo had her father given order before he died, that his body ſhould not be put into a coffin till his ſon John came: and God carried him through the journey in hard weather, ſo that through God's providence, he arrived at Belſted early on Tueſday, and going into the houſe of mourning, he found the body of his deceaſed father ſtill lying upon the bed; they uncovered his face, and ſweetly he lay, and with a ſmiling countenance, and no difference appearing to the eye between his countenance alive and dead, only that he was wont to rejoice, and to bleſs his ſon at their meeting, and now he was ſilent: his ſon fell upon his face and kiſſed him, and lift up his voice and wept, and ſo took his laſt leave of him, till they ſhould meet in a better world.

February the 4th, in the afternoon, in the year 1634, was he interred, at which time there was a great confluence of people from all parts thereabout, miniſters and others

thers, all taking up the words of Joash king of Israel, 'Oh! my father! my father! the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.'

Good Mr Samuel Ward, that famous divine, and the glory of Ipswich, came to the funeral, brought with him a mourning gown; and offered very respectfully to have preached his funeral sermon, now that such a congregation was gathered together, and upon such an occasion; but his son and daughter durst not give way unto it; for so their father had often charged them in his life time, and that upon his blessing, that there should be no sermon at his burial; 'for (said he) it may give occasion to speak some good of me that I deserve not, and so false things may be uttered in the pulpit.'

Mr Ward rested satisfied with this, and accordingly did forbear; but the next Friday at Ipswich, he turned his whole lecture into a funeral sermon for Mr Carter, in which he honoured him, and lamented the church's loss, to the great satisfaction of the whole auditory. *Gloria fugientis sequitur.*

Glory is like your shadow! follow it, and it will fly away from you; but fly from it, and it will follow you. And so it proved with Mr Carter.

He was most eminent for humility; humble he was in his habit, and humble in all his deportment; for though his gifts called him before great men, yet his most ordinary converse was with those of an inferior rank; in whom he saw most of the power of godliness; so that he might truly say with David, Psal. cxix. 63. 'I am companion of all that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts.'

He wrote very much; but he left nothing behind him save what is printed, and his exposition upon the revelations, and a petition to king James for the taking away burdensome ceremonies out of the church: nothing else but a few broken papers which he regarded not. Probably he burnt the rest, when he saw his appointed time draw near, merely out of a low opinion of himself, and his own gifts.

He avoided all things that might tend to outward pomp and ostentation: he would have no funeral sermon: he left order in his will not to be buried in the church, but in the church-yard; where he and his wife, that glorious pair, ly interred together, without so much (or rather so little) as a poor grave-stone over them.

He had learned of Christ to be meek and lowly in heart: he was humble in his life, and humble in his death, and now the Lord hath highly exalted him.

He kept a constant diary, or day-book, in which every day he set down God's extraordinary dispensations, his own actions, or whatsoever memorable things he heard, or read that day.

He cast up his accounts with God every day; and his sins were blotted out before he came to his last reckoning his day of refreshing came, and he rests from his labours.

Plus vivitur exemplis quam preceptis, saith Seneca; Examples of the dead are sermons for the living.

He was a true child of Abraham, and the blessing of Abraham fell upon him. 'I will bless them (saith the Lord to him) that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee.'

Some years after his death, his son John being at Bramford, there was an antient gentleman that had lived there long, and was Mr Carter's old friend, who spake thus unto him, 'Mr Carter, I have now lived to see the downfall of all your father's opposites, and enemies; there is not one of them, but their families are scattered and come to ruin.' Let all the enemies of God's faithful messengers hear and fear, and do no more so wickedly.

It may be truly said of him, and his faithful yoke fellow, as it is written of Zacharias and Elizabeth, 'They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.' And truly the world will, and can testify, that neither of them did ever do that thing that was evil, or unjust, or scandalous, or uncomely, even their enemies themselves being judges; they were, as to men, without blemish; their life was a sweet savour, and they went out of this life as a fragrant perfume.

This life was drawn up by Mr John Carter, junior, now also with the Lord; one who degenerated not from the steps of his learned and holy father, and by him was sent to me some years since, together with this ensuing epistle; which I have the rather inserted to provoke and stir up others, who can in this way revive the memories of the dead saints, to do it, which will be a more lasting monument to them, and far more beneficial and advantageous to the church of God, than any sumptuous and costly funerals, or grave-stones, whatsoever.

To my reverend Brother, and fellow Labourer in the Lord's Vineyard, Mr Samuel Clark, Pastor of Bennet Fink, London.

Worthy Sir,

THat which Naomi spake to Ruth concerning Boaz, 'He hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead,' it is fully verified of yourself; you cease not to shew kindness to the living and to the dead. To the living, by your preaching and ministry you make saints daily. To the dead saints you shew kindness, by perpetuating their names, to their honours, and the good of many: and herein you are a great gainer; you shine yourself, by making others shine. Amongst the rest of those that honour you, I am one, though I never saw your face, otherwise than in the frontispiece of your learned books.

In the first part of your Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, we had information, that you did resolve to add a second part, and to put in the lives of such godly divines, and others, as were eminent in these latter times, if you were furnished with faithful informations; hereupon, divers did set upon me, with very great importunity, to write the life of my dear father, and to send it to you. Truly, worthy Sir, I was desirous of the thing, but durst not undertake the work: I was sensible of mine own weakness, and also that his sayings and doings had so far slipped the memories of this generation, that I should have brought to light such an imperfect thing, as rather would have been a blemish to so eminent a saint, than any honour; hereupon I laid aside all thoughts of meddling, or attempting such a thing. I know that he is glorious in heaven, and on earth too, so far as his name is spread.

Now, good Sir, let me be bold to give a short account of myself. Some few days since I went about to make a new diary for myself; I was desirous in the first place, to set down some passages of my father, for mine own satisfaction and use. I began so, and before I was aware, it amounted to so much, as I thought better that that should be published, than nothing at all: and at last my spirit grew restless, I could not satisfy myself till I had digested it into some order, and made it public. And now, Sir, here it is; I present it to your judicious view; accept it in good part from a meer stranger.

My humble request to you, worthy Sir, is this, that, though I slipped the last opportunity, yet if you shall set forth any more lives, or if you shall have a new impression of any of the former, that you would extract so much of my precious father's life as you shall judge fit, and place it where you please in your Ecclesiastical history. Your monuments will be lasting in after ages, when my poor pamphlet will be worn out with time. Pardon my boldness: The Lord lengthen out your days, for the good of his church, and the honour of his saints.

Your most observant friend and brother,
that truly honoureth you,
JOHN CARTER.

The Life of Dr RICHARD SIBS, *who died Anno* Christi 1635.

RICHARD SIBS was born upon the edges of Suffolk, near Sudbury, and being trained up at school, when he was grown ripe and ready for the university, he was sent to Cambridge, in the year 1595, and was admitted into St John's college, where he, by his sedulity and industry, so profited in learning, and approved himself by his godly and blameless conversation, that he was promoted from one degree to another in the college; being chosen first

firſt ſcholar, and then fellow of that houſe: he alſo took all the degrees of the univerſity, with general approbation and applauſe.

It pleaſed God to convert him by the miniſtry of Paul Bains, whilſt he was lecturer at St Andrews in Cambridge. And when Mr Sibs had been maſter of arts ſome while, he entered into the miniſtry, and ſhortly after was choſen lecturer himſelf at Trinity church in Cambridge, to whoſe miniſtry, beſides the townſmen, many ſcholars reſorted, ſo that he became a worthy inſtrument of begetting many ſons and daughters unto God, beſides the edifying and building up of others.

He ſometimes had a little ſtammering in the time of his preaching, but then his judicious hearers always expected ſome rare and excellent notion from him, as Dr Gouge, his frequent hearer, told me.

About the year 1625, or 26, he was choſen maſter of Katharine-hall in Cambridge, the government whereof he continued till his dying day; and indeed, like a faithful governor, he was always very ſolicitous and careful to procure and advance the good of that little houſe; for he procured good means and maintainance, by his intereſt in many worthy perſons, for the enlargement of the college, and was a mean and inſtrument to eſtabliſh learned and religious fellows there; inſomuch as in his time it proved a very famous ſociety for piety and learning, both in fellows and ſcholars.

But before this, viz. about the year 1618, he was choſen preacher to Gray's inn, one of the learneſt ſocieties in England, where his miniſtry found ſuch general approbation and acceptance, that beſides the learned lawyers of the houſe, many noble perſonages, and many of the gentry and citizens reſorted to hear him, and many, till this day, bleſs God for the benefit which they received by him.

His learning was mixed with much humility, whereby he always eſteemed lowly of himſelf, and was ready to undervalue his own labours, though others judged them to breathe ſpirit and life, to be ſtrong of heaven, ſpeaking with authority and power to mens conſciences. His care in the courſe of his miniſtry was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his hearers; and though he was a wiſe maſter builder, and that in one of the eminent eſt auditories for learning and piety that was in the land, as was ſaid before; yet, according to the grace which was given to him, (which was indeed like that of Eliſha, in regard of the other prophets. 2 Kings i. 9. the elder brother's privilege, a double portion) he was ſtill taking all occaſions to preach of the fundamentals to them, and amongſt the reſt, of the incarnation of the ſon of God, one of the chief fundamentals of our faith, one of the chief of thoſe wonders in the mercy-ſeat, which the cherubims gaze at, which the angels deſire to pry into, 1 Pet. i. 12. And preaching at ſeveral times, and by occaſion of ſo many ſeveral texts of ſcripture concerning this ſubject, there is ſcarce any one of thoſe incomparable benefits which acrue to us thereby, nor any of thoſe holy impreſſions, which the meditation hereof ought to work in our hearts, which was not by him ſweetly unfolded, as may appear by thoſe ſermons now in print: and therefore, ſaith a reverend divine, 'The noted humility of the author I leſs wonder at, finding how often his thoughts dwelt upon the humiliation of Chriſt.'

As for his ſermons upon Cant. v. reverend and holy Mr Dod, upon the peruſal of the manuſcript, was ſo taken with them, that he profeſſed that he found them ſo full of heavenly treaſure, and containing ſuch lively expreſſions of the unvaluable riches of the love of Chriſt towards all his poor ſervants, that ſue and ſeek unto him for it, that by his great importunity he prevailed with Dr Sibs, otherwiſe much undervaluing his own meditations, to commit the ſame to the preſs; to which Mr Dod gave this atteſtation:

'I (ſaith he) judge it altogether unmeet, that ſuch precious matter ſhould be concealed from the public uſe. I judge theſe ſermons a very profitable and excellent help, both to the underſtanding of that dark and moſt divine ſcripture, as alſo to kindle in the heart all heavenly affections towards Jeſus Chriſt; the whole frame whereof is carried with ſuch wiſdom, piety, and experience, that it commends itſelf to all that are godly wiſe; and I doubt not but they ſhall find their temptations anſwered, their fainting ſpirits revived, their underſtandings enlightened, and their graces confirmed; ſo that they ſhall have cauſe to praiſe God, for the worthy author's godly and painful labours.

Indeed he was thoroughly ſtudied in the holy ſcriptures, which made him a man of God, 'perfect, thoroughly furniſhed unto every good work:' and, as became a faithful ſteward of the manifold graces of God, he endeavoured to teach to others the whole counſel of God, and to reſtore them, with the knowlege of God's will, in all wiſdom and ſpiritual underſtanding.

He was a man that enjoyed much communion with God, 'walking in all the laws of God blameleſs:' and, like John the Baptiſt, was 'a burning and ſhining light,' waſting and ſpending himſelf to enlighten others.

He was upon all occaſions very charitable, drawing forth, not only his purſe in relieving, but his very bowels in commiſerating the wants and neceſſities of the poor members of Chriſt.

He uſed ſometimes, in the ſummer-time, to go abroad to the houſes of ſome worthy perſonages, where he was an inſtrument of much good, not only by his private labours, but by his prudent counſel and advice, that upon every occaſion he was ready to miniſter unto them.

And thus having done his work on earth, he went to receive his wages in heaven, peaceably and comfortably reſigning up his ſpirit unto God, in the year 1631, and of his age 58.

The Life of Dr LAURENCE CHADERTON, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1640.

LAURENCE CHADERTON was born of an antient family at Chatterton in Lancaſhire, about the year 1546; and his parents being both papiſts, they trained him up in that religion, yet bred him to learning; and when he came to ſome maturity of years, his father ſent him to the inns of court; but he being not pleaſed with that kind of life, through the motion of God's holy ſpirit, who had a work for him to do in another calling and place, left the inns of court, and went to Cambridge, about the twentieth year of his age, and the ſixth year of queen Elizabeth: and getting ſome acquaintance in Chriſt's college, it pleaſed God that the maſter and fellows took ſuch a liking to him, for his ingenuity and induſtry, that they admitted him into a poor ſcholar's place.

Then did he write to his father, to acquaint him with his preſent condition, and to requeſt ſome means of maintainance from him: but his father diſliking his change of place and ſtudies, but eſpecially of religion, ſent him a pock, with a groat in it, to go a begging with; further ſignifying to him, that he was reſolved to diſinherit him, which he alſo did; yet did the Lord ſupport his ſpirit, to prefer an heavenly before an earthly inheritance; and ſeeing that he had nothing elſe to truſt to, he fell cloſe to his ſtudies; and through God's bleſſing upon the ſame, he ſo eminently profited in all ſorts of learning, that in the year 1567, being but yet batchelor of arts, he was choſen fellow of Chriſt's college. In the year 1578. he commenced batchelor of divinity; and the ſame year, October 26. he preached a ſermon at Paul's croſs, which he alſo printed.

He was choſen lecturer at St Clement's church in Cambridge, which place he ſupplied about the ſpace of ſixteen years, and by his holy, learned, and judicious ſermons did very much good, and was ſucceeded therein by Mr Michael Bentley, fellow of Chriſt's college, a godly, plain, and profitable preacher.

He was a man famous for gravity, learning, and religion; ſo that when Sir Walter Mildmay (counſellor of ſtate to queen Elizabeth, chancellor, and under-treaſurer of the exchequer) founded Emmanuel college, in the year 1584, he made choice of this man for the firſt maſter; and when Mr Chaderton ſhewed himſelf not unwilling to undertake that great charge, Sir Walter replied, ſaying, 'If you will not be the maſter, I will not be the founder of it.'

In the beginning of king James's reign, he was one of the four divines for the conference at Hampton-court, choſen

chosen by the ministers that desired a reformation in the church government; and for his learning and sufficiency was the same year chosen to be one of the translators of the Bible.

In the year 1612, when the prince elector Palatine came to visit Cambridge, he would needs have Mr Chaderton commence doctor of divinity, which accordingly he did.

He deserved very well of Emmanuel college, for whereas the founder gave allowance for the maintainance of three fellows only, together with the advouson of Stranground rectory in Huntingtonshire, near Peterburrough, Dr Chaderton procured, by his friends and acquaintance, allowance for twelve fellows, and above forty scholars of the house, besides the advousons of Auler and Northcud-berry rectories; as also of the vicarage of Dulverton in Somersetshire, Piddle Hinton in Dorcetshire and Loughburrow in Leicesterthire, of the noble Henry Hastings earl of Huntington, which nobleman was a great friend to godly ministers.

After he was master of Emmanuel, his manner was, not to suffer any young scholars to go into the country to preach, till he had heard them first in the college chappel. All his younger days he used to expound a portion of scripture twice a week in his family.

He was married fifty three years, and yet in all that time he never kept any of his servants from church to dress his meat, saying, that he desired as much to have his servants know God as himself. If at any time he had a servant upon trial, though they could do as much work as three others yet if they were given to lying, or any other vice, he would by no means suffer them to dwell in his house.

Towards his latter end Arminianism began to sprout up apace in the university, and he being fearful that an Arminian might come to succeed him in his place after his death, resolved if he could procure a godly and worthy man, to resign his place to him in his life time, which accordingly he did to famous Dr Preston, whom he yet survived, and saw after him Dr Sancroft, and after him Dr Holsworth, to succed in his mastership.

He was of a very charitable disposition, insomuch as if he heard of any godly minister that was in want, he would send them forty or fifty shillings at a time.

Though he lived till he was very old, yet his sight remained very good, as may appear by this example:

A little before his death, an old servant of his came to see him, and found him reading in a book so that at the first he took no notice of her; but when she came nearer, lifting up his head, he spake to her, asking her what o'clock it was; she told him eleven. I have, said he, here got a book that I have been reading of ever since eight o'clock, for I like it very well: and yet all that time he had read without spectacles.

He lived eighteen years after the resignation of his mastership and in November 1640 resigned up his spirit unto God, being about the age of ninety four years, and was buried in St Andrew's church: Dr Richard Holsworth, then master of Emmanuel, preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a large and deserved commendation.

The Life of Mr JOHN BALL, *who died* Anno Christi 1640.

JOHN BALL was born about the year 1585, at Cassington, an obscure village, a mile from Hanborough, in Oxfordshire: he being set to school at Yarnton, was found so apt to learn, that the school master prevailed with his parents, though of low estate, to continue him scholar there till he was fitted for the university. God's providence, by means of friends, made way for his placing in Brazen nose college in Oxford, where he improved very much in the knowlege of the arts, and he proved a quick disputant.

When he was batchellor of arts, wanting means for his maintainance to continue longer in the university, he accepted a motion made for his removal into the country, and was placed in lady Cholmley's house in Cheshire, as tutor to her children, where many other children also were taught by him. And though he came raw and unprounded in religion (as himself was wont to express it), from Oxford, yet within a short time there appeared (with the increase of his scholastical abilities) the breakings forth of the power of godliness in his conversation, unto them who were most religious and judicious there, who thereupon took him into their society, for mutual edification in the ways of God's fear: whereas there was a great scarcity of godly and painful preachers in that corner of the country, in those times, he did much frequent the ministry of reverend Mr John Ford, whereby he was not a little edified.

He had few books, and therefore perused the more seriously such as he had under-hand. Calvin's life, published by Beza, and his commentary upon the psalms, made deep impressions upon his spirit.

Growing into acquaintance with the most godly people in those parts, who much lamented the evils of the times, he often associated with them, in keeping private days of fasting and prayer. Himself, with some other Christians, were often convented to Chester, and much troubled there, for keeping a fast on ascension day, their fault being aggravated by the bishop and his officers, because they fasted upon that holy day.

As he took not up any opinion or practice till he had well weighed it, so was he not much moved by any trouble which assaulted him in his way. When others judged him ripe for the ministry, he was not hasty in adventuring upon that calling, because he was sensible of the weight thereof, and also desirous to satisfy his conscience concerning the way of entrance by episcopal subscription: and upon the serious studying of the points in controversy, betwixt the bishops and non-conformists, he was dissatisfied to yield unto that subscription which was then strictly commanded.

Some conflicts he had with the then bishop of Chester, about non conformity; but though he looked upon a bishop in those times as a formidable creature, yet he came off unshaken.

Having resolved upon the encouragement given by judicious divines, to enter into the ministry, when God should make a fair way for his admission, without subscription, by the intercession of friends, he, with Mr Julines Herring, (who afterwards was famous for the work of the Lord in Salop), were made ministers by an Irish bishop, being occasionally in London, with freedom from the forementioned snare.

About the year 1610, he was called to be minister at Whitmore, a small village near unto Newcastle in Staffordshire, where he was entertained into the house of Edward Mainwayring, esq; a pious and much esteemed gentleman.

Here he married a godly wife, whom God had provided as an help meet for him, (he himself being always a meer scholar, neither much minding nor intermedding in worldly affairs, beyond the bounds of his calling) by whom he had six sons and one daughter. Six of his children were born unto him while he continued in Mr Mainwraying's family, where he found much love, and did much service; for every evening he expounded a portion of scripture, which was read in course, and many mornings also was helpful in catechising of the family. Hither many ministers and others had often recourse unto him for counsel, where they were always friendly entertained; and the Lord blessed that family very much, which doth still shew much kindness unto the children of this good man.

Afterwards he removed, with his own family, unto an house which Mr Mainwayring had built for him, where he had his seventh and last child born to him, and where he dwelt till his death.

He was a great lover of learning, and therefore laid out, in the first years of his ministry, all the money which he could spare, from necessary expences, in buying good books, with which he was so well acquainted (having both a quick understanding and strong memory) that he could readily give an account of all passages most remarkable in them.

He had so well studied Bellarmine's controversies, that it is scarcely credible what relation he could make *ex tempore* of them, from point to point; and shew from particular to particular, where the fallacy and the weakness of his

his arguments did appear: And the like might be truly atteſted in reference unto the Arminian diſputes and the other church controverſies, both in former and latter times.

It was his cuſtom to read over a book, when once he undertook it; and no man could be more cautious in entertaining opinions without much mature conſideration, having well weighed all arguments produced on both ſides, both for and againſt them; and wherein his apprehenſions were different from his brethren, he did wiſely forbear to vent them in ſuch ſort, as might occaſion any diviſion or offence.

Oh! how well had it been with England, if all other men had managed their ſtudies and practices according to this pattern? for then, ſo many ſparks (cried up as new lights) had not been kindled amongſt us, which, being blown abroad by pride and ignorance, do threaten to ſet the whole world on fire.

But, to proceed in the narrative of this worthy man's life; he was ſo enriched with knowlege, both in practical and polemical divinity; he was ſo able to interpret and reconcile difficult ſcriptures; he had ſuch dexterity in dealing with afflicted conſciences, and he was ſo well furniſhed with miniſterial gifts for preaching, prayer, and the adminiſtration of both ſacraments, that it was not eaſy to diſcover wherein he moſt excelled. His ability to counſel and comfort dejected tempted Chriſtians, was occaſioned (as himſelf would acknowlege) by his converſing with Mrs Sarah Mainwayring, wife to the gentleman in whoſe houſe he continued many years, as was before mentioned. who was much exerciſed in that kind, and was an unparallelled gentlewoman for holy tenderneſs and exactneſs in religion.

Willing he was to take every talent with which God had truſted him, as opportunity was offered; and he was a man moſt unwearied in all ways of ſervice.

As he took extraordinary paids in public, ſo did he alſo in private, eſpecially on the Lord's day. For having by way of preparation upon the Saturday in the afternoon, ſpent about two hours in his houſe, in praying and expounding ſome ſcriptures, (to which exerciſe divers did reſort) on the Sabbath morning, he expounded a portion of ſcripture in his family, (whereof many neighbours were partakers:) then he preached twice in public, read divers chapters, and catechiſed alſo in the afternoon, ſpending much time therein, (eſpecially in the ſummer ſeaſon) after the evening ſermon, he went into Mr Mainwayring's houſe (being near at hand,) where he repeated both his ſermons, and prayed; likewiſe after ſupper he had another exerciſe in his own family, equivalent to a ſermon, unto which divers well affected of the neighbourhood did repair. Theſe his great labours were the more wonderful in that they were ſo excellent and ſolid, as many miniſters and ſcholars yet living know, who did often frequent them. He taught a ſchool alſo, (both from a deſire to do good, and that he might provide the more comfortable ſubſiſtance for his family) having not only the children of poor neighbours, (for he refuſed none that were willing to learn, but of perſons of better quality ſent unto him; ſome whereof were tabled in his own houſe, and the reſt placed in the neighbourhood. Every morning of the ſix days in the week, he inſtructed his own children, and ſcholars in the principles of religion, whereby many young ones (of whom ſome are now miniſters,) were well ſeaſoned and ſetled in the grounds of godlineſs. Every night likewiſe he opened and applied ſome portion of the ſcripture, for the edification of his family.

And beſides his frequent preaching at lectures, at Madeley eſpecially, where he was the principal upholder of a weekly ſermon, and a monthly faſt, and his helpfulneſs in holy faſting and prayer elſewhere, when deſired, it was his cuſtom to ſet apart days, when freed from attendance upon his ſchool, for the ſolemn ſeeking of God, with his godly neighbours, as the neceſſities of the times did require.

He was moſt ready to communicate his learning, graces, experiences, yea, his all, for the profit of ſuch who converſed with him: the remembrance whereof is very ſmarting upon the hearts of ſome of his ſurviving friends, becauſe they made not a fuller improvement of him for their own advantage.

In the latter part of his time he had ſome ſcholars whom he inſtructed in academical learning, reading lectures to them in logic and philoſophy, and hearing them to diſpute, which often they did during his dinner time: and while he was at ſupper, other ſcholars read a piece of Greek or Latin, ſo exceeding diligent was he in husbanding the ſhreds of time, as he called them; the reſidue of the day, till very late, he ſpent in his private ſtudy.

And as he was incomparably abſtemious and moderate in the uſe of meat, drink, ſleep, and apparel, ſo he had an admirable command over his paſſions; for thoſe who moſt converſed with him never ſaw inordinate out-breaches of anger, or other affections in his converſation.

This character was given by a friend who was much with him, viz, 'That as Mr Dod did turn earth into heaven, by a ſpiritual improvement of all earthly affairs, ſo Mr Ball did reconcile earth and heaven, becauſe worldly occaſions were no diſtractions to him in his journey thither.'

He lived upon a ſmall maintainance, viz. twenty pounds *per annum*, for ſerving the cure at Whitmore and the keeping of one cow both ſummer and winter, by Mr Mainwayring aforeſaid, with what he got by teaching ſchool; yet he would often ſay, that he thought never man paſſed through this world with leſs care. God indeed ſtirred up ſome friends, who knew his great worth and mean outward condition, to be helpful unto him. towards whom he was always really reſpectful, requiting their love by his daily prayers, and his readineſs upon all occaſions to do ſervice unto them and theirs. Through God's ſingular bleſſing upon his yearly incomes, he lived very comfortably, was given to hoſpitality, and alſo unto liberality unto the poor, conſidering his eſtate, and left a good competency unto his wife and children: yea, ſuch was this holy man's gratitude and contentment, that he would ſay, 'I have enough, and enough,, and enough.' Whereas he went once every year into Oxfordſhire, to expreſs his dutiful reſpect unto his aged parents, he made choice of that time for his journey, that he might enjoy the benefit of Oxford act. And as his love to learned diſputations was large, ſo, by ſtrength of memory, he could give a punctual account of all the moſt conſiderable arguments urged, and anſwers returned, upon the ſeveral queſtions diſcuſſed.

And ſtill this journey was made profitable unto his Chriſtian friends, near to whoſe dwellings he travelled, by conference, his aſſiſtance in private faſts, and other exerciſes of religion.

It would be too tedious and tiring unto the reader, if relation ſhould be made of all thoſe memorable paſſages in this reverend man's life, (which his friends ſurviving do well remember) which did proclaim the high degree of holineſs with which God adorned and crowned all his other great abilities, therefore ſome few of them only ſhall be reported.

His conſtant carriage towards all who converſed with him, did ſpeak out his deep humility, for always he was apt to prefer others before himſelf: and he was never obſerved, by any reproachful ſpeeches, or behaviour; to caſt the leaſt contempt or diſcouragement upon the meaneſt Chriſtian.

He was all his life long very apprehenſive and ſenſible of the weightineſs of the miniſter's calling, ſaying, 'That no man ſhould dream of eaſe by that function;' and would often much bewail before the Lord in prayer his own inconſiderate entrance upon it. A friend being weary of teaching ſchool, and acquainting him with his purpoſe to enter into the miniſtry, Mr Ball told him, 'That he would find it a far heavier taſk to teach men than boys.' And a fellow miniſter telling him of his danger to be ſilenced by the biſhop, he returned this anſwer. 'If he ſhould ſo deal with me, I would put off my hat and thank him.'

Having experimentally poiſed the weight of the miniſter's work. he would ſay unto his non conforming brethren, when prelatical perſecution threatened to drive him out of England, 'If we be neceſſitated to tranſplant ourſelves, you ſhall preach, and I will teach ſchool' And always, when other miniſters were in company, he would endeavour earneſtly to put them upon the performance of

family

family duties, as judging them to be better able than himſelf.

Such who knew this man's learning of all kinds, and rich miniſterial gifts, will admire (upon the conſideration of theſe paſſages) at the forwardneſs of illiterate mecanicks in theſe times, to intrude upon the miniſter's office And whereas the bleſſed apoſtle himſelf cried out, 'Who is ſufficient for theſe things! we may do more than gueſs what ſpirit animateth thoſe men, whoſe practices ſpeak thus; 'who is inſufficient for theſe things.'

He did lay to heart the want of laborious learning amongſt godly miniſters, becauſe ſo many neglected to acquaint themſelves throughly with the controverſies of of the times; and he thought that poſitive divinity might be beſt gained by the ſtudy of controverſy; when the main principles were firſt well drunk in. He would ſay that a ſubtle jeſuite would make wild work in many places of England, becauſe neither the people nor their miniſters had ſufficient inſight into the points of differences betwixt us and the papiſts. Now what other errors, (no whit leſs dangerous,) have for the ſame reaſons been entertained of late years, (as he foreſaw and feared) it is too notorious.

Although he himſelf was much pleaſed with ſober, profitable diſputations, yet he would ſhrink with trouble upon the appearance of their audacity, who dared to queſtion foundamentals in religion, or to ſpeak ſlightly of the matters of God. Once obſerving a man in the heat of conference, carried beyond the bounds of modeſt enquiry after the truth, he uſed theſe words with holy admiration; 'and whither will the love of arguing carry a man!

He compared many profeſſors of late times, unto young travellers, who ſo ſoon as they are mounted, begin to gallop, and do outride their fellows; but they either fall ſhort, or come late if (not lame) home.

And he called the ways of ſeparation a labyrinth, wherein men tire themſelves and grow giddy, as in amaze; but when all is done, there is no way out, but that whereby they entred.

He made it his buſineſs to raiſe and maintain high and honourable thoughts of God at all times, as himſelf would often times ſpeak of the titles of the Almighty, with much gravity and reverence, endeavouring to draw forth holy thankfulneſs in all conditions of life. Here two or three things ſhall be touched upon, to give a taſte of this good man's gracious ſpirit

He with a neighbour miniſter, having occaſion to meet at a place, where they had only bread and cheeſe to their dinner, the maſter of the houſe expreſſing trouble, that he had no better proviſion for ſo good unexpected gueſts: hereupon he ſaid, that it would coſt a man many years labour, to be truly and throughly thankful unto God for one piece of bread and cheeſe, proceeding to diſcover, moſt divinely, the many mercies which were to be acknowleged in that meal and meeting.

And whereas at that time Rochel was beſieged, and the inhabitants were in great diſtreſs through want of food, he moved a ſerious conſideration, how much bread and cheeſe with peace and fellowſhip would be valued at Rochel: yea, he ſeriouſly made his demand, whether their obligations at the preſent place and meeting, were not much greater, becauſe they in their inſtant enjoyments, had not experienced Rochel's fears and ſorrows.

At another time a dear friend relating his great danger by a fall off his horſe in a journey, and ſaying, that he never had received ſuch a deliverance. Mr Ball anſwered, yea, an hundred times, viz. 'ſo often as you have riden and not fallen; becauſe the preventing of perils is to be prized as much as our reſcuing out of them.

At a marriage feaſt, where chriſtian friends, were civily rejoicing in the good occaſion of their meeting, the many good bleſſings provided for their comfort, and in their mutual ſociety, this ſpeech came from him with much gravity; 'one thought of Jeſus Chriſt reaching the heart, is more to be valued, than all creature contentments whatſoever, tho' they ſhould be enjoyed in their fulneſs for a thouſand years without interruption.

That he might keep God's ſervants of the loweſt parts, always high in his own eſtimation, he would wiſely weigh their peculiar ſerviceableneſs in ſome kind or other, tho' they were inferiors in ſundry excellencies. Hereupon when one admiring worthy Mr Dod's holy converſation, ſaid, 'oh how well would it be if all miniſters were like unto him;' Mr Ball anſwered, the church would be quite undone if all others were like him. For tho' no man more honoured Mr Dod, (which not many years before his death he witneſſed, by liſtning unto his fatherly counſel bare headed, with his hat in his hand,) yet he knew that other men, much inferior in graces, had ſome ſpecial way of advantage to the cauſe and the people of God.

He was a zealous oppoſite to paſſionate frowardneſs, obſerving the lamentable fruits thereof, in many perſons and relations, and he had an extraordinary dexterity to calm them who were boiſterous. He would thus adviſe them, 'Put judgment into office; for affections are good followers, but bad guides. Look well to your hearts, for paſſion is the effect of pride.' And he would ſay unto them, 'You had need to get a ſtrong bit and bridle, for you ride an unruly horſe.' Obſerving one bitterly to bewail the death of a dear friend, he ſaid, 'rather labour to get good by it.'

He was wont to humble paſſionate profeſſors, who in their heat would ſpeak unadviſedly, by this poſition, he would undertake to prove, (*viz*) 'that a moral heathen who never heard of Chriſt, might poſſibly by watchfulneſs, ſecure himſelf from uttering one froward word all the his life long;' And therefore it was a great ſhame for Chriſtians to be worſe, who had more grace and greater helps to ſeppreſs ſin. This was one parcel of good counſel, which he commonly beſtowed in all caſes, 'Inform judgment, ſet faith on work; be of good courage.' As he uſed to be large in his prayers in behalf of the church of God, (according to the peculiar concernments thereof) both at home and abroad, ſo was he particular in minding his ſpecial friends before the Lord, and in the ſpiritual welfare of his children was ſo much upon his heart, that he daily deſired to lodge them in God's boſom; yea, he ſeldom gave thanks either before or after meat, (eſpecially towards the end of his life) without ſome touch of tendency towards his children, in reference unto whom this was one conſtant petition, 'that they might never ſeek great things for themſelves in this world.' And his own practice from his youth, proved the ſincerity of his heart in this ſuit, becauſe he never looked after, nor would entertain any motion of removing or wealth or wordly promotion, tho' his charge was great, and his eminency, both in miniſterial and ſcholaſtical gifts, with the power of godlineſs, which did ſhine in his whole converſation, gained him many friends, and rendered him in their account, a man more meet for a place of public note and reſort, than the village where he dwelt.

When the prelatical oppoſition againſt the Non-conformiſt was hot and high, he ſpake thus unto a neighbour brother; 'Be confident, that although all who are now known Non-conformiſts were dead and gone: yet God would rather raiſe ſome out of our aſhes to proteſt againſt Epiſcopacy and the ceremonies, than ſuffer that cauſe to fall unto the ground.' He would ſay, The Fathers wanted ſome of our light, but we want more of their heat.'

He was exemplarily careful to preſerve God's ordinances from pollution and contempt, and therefore did always take great pains with his people, to prepare them for the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. In his ſermons, he was wont to tell his auditors, that their perſecuting, impoveriſhing, impriſoning, and thruſting daggers into their miniſters bodies, would not be more grievous than their unworthy communicating at the Lord's table, and their unanſwerable walking unto the ordinances of graces diſpenced amongſt them. And when parents preſented their children in the congregation to be baptized, he would very affectionately lay open their duty, preſſing ſacramental engagements home to their hearts, with ſtrong arguments and authority miniſterial; though no man was known by his friends, who more diſreliſhed the corruption in church-government, and in adminiſtrations of holy worſhip, yet he hath ſufficiently publiſhed unto the world his great diſlike of the way of ſeparation from our church aſſemblies upon ſuch pretences. Thus, he ſpake unto a friend, who had moved him to maintain our church communion againſt the

the Separatiſts, 'How little am I beholding unto you, who drew me from more profitable ſtudies, to peruſe thoſe ſapleſs ſpeculations?'

He much lamented in his prayers before God, the firſt breakings out of independency in England, both in reſpect of the preſent offence, and the woful conſequences thereof, whereof he was much afraid: yea, he did very often tell his friends (both in the time of his health and laſt ſickneſs) that if God ſhould give opportunity and hopes of church reformation, that we might be eaſed of our preſent grievances, the brethren of the new ſeparation, would be found the greateſt obſtructers thereof.

His remembrance of the hiſtory of former ſeparations, (with which he was fully acquainted) and his prudential foreſight of the diducts which would neceſſarily follow from their principles, (*viz.* anabaptiſm, *&c.*) together with his wiſe inſight into the diſpoſitions of ſome perſons who then appeared therein; theſe were the grounds of his foretelling the confuſions, the ſpreading of pernicious errors, and hinderances of reformation, which we have ſince ſadly ſuffered under. Theſe reaſons of his predicti on (which is noiſed abroad) are expreſſed, leſt any ſhould imagine him to have inclined to regard injections and impulſions of the ſpirit, which ſome cry up as propheti cal. His diſtaſte whereof may be evidenced by this one inſtance, viz. being aſked by one, who much pretended unto immediate inſpirations beſides ſcripture, whether he at any time had experience thereof in his own heart? his anſwer was this, 'No, I bleſs God; and if I ſhould ever have ſuch phantaſies, I hope God would give me grace to reſiſt them.

When there was diſcourſe concerning the new, (or rather the renewed) errors, which were broached, he would ordinarily ſay, 'A good treatiſe of the ſufficiency of the ſcriptures would put an end unto theſe matters.' His exceeding love to ſtudy, and his great modeſty cauſed unwillingneſs to go far from home, or to appear public in any kind. And if the extraordinary importunity of ſome much eſteemed friends, had not conquered this averſeneſs, he would in probability never have printed any thing in his own name, or have come into the company of perſons of chief place and quality; yet God was pleaſed in both theſe ways to make him ſerviceable. For, beſides the profit which many have received from his printed books, he was happily inſtrumental by conference to preſerve ſome men of chief eſteem, (in regard of their piety, parts, and places of command) in the countries where he lived, from warping towards the ways of new ſeparation, upon the ſolicitation of ſuch who were buſy ſticklers therein.

Upon the calling of the parliament in the year 1640, ſome hopes being conceived that he might be an inſtrument of public benefit to the church, by dealing with ſome parliament-men, that (if further reformation of things wofully out of order, could not be procured), men unconformable to the ceremonies might not be thruſt out, and kept out of the miniſtry in that regard. He thereupon took a journey unto London, with his neighbour and endeared brother Mr Langley; but receiving ſmall encouragement to his hopes and endeavours of that kind, he returned home with ſorrow upon his heart, complaining of the many ſymptoms of God's diſpleaſure, which he ſaw ready to break out againſt poor England, and reſolved to do what ſervice he could in any other way.

And, being convinced, that his labours might be profitable to the church, both in the preſent and ſucceeding ages, he was reſolved to lay forth himſelf for public ſervice in any kind, as his good friends ſhould adviſe; and in purſuance hereof, he deſigned theſe three works, *viz.* '1. A treatiſe of the church.' 2. 'An expoſition of obſcure ſcriptures out of all the original languages.' 3. 'A more full ſyſtem of divinity by the enlarging of his catechiſm.' For all which he had much good proviſion under hand, when the Lord ſaw cauſe to put an end to his labours. And here, all thoſe muſt ſilence their hearts, (who knowing him, may be apt to judge his removal at this time to be unſeaſonable) with theſe words, (which were much in his mouth when God checked hopes by croſs providences) 'The Lord is wiſeſt: God is moſt wiſe.' Many conflicts he had with men of greateſt ſtrength, as was imagined to maintain the new paths, into which divers had ſtepped aſide. But the truth is, never was any of them able to ſtand up under his arguments. Though God was pleaſed to take him away, (whom ſome in ſcorn called The Preſbyterian champion), yet he hath raiſed up other worthies, who do ſtrenuouſly gain ſay thoſe other extravagancies.

When his nature was enfeebled by conſtant ſtudy, and great long-continued labours, he paſſed the time of his languiſhing ſickneſs, with a ſweet, humble, divine, peaceable ſpirit. He preached in public ſo long as bodily ability could bear it; and he continued to pray in his family till ſtrength failed. Now his addreſſes to God were moſt holy and heavenly, as ſwan like ſongs, the ſweeteſt at laſt. Though he ſpake not very much during his bodily decays, yet the words which he uſed were ſolid and ſavoury.

Being aſked, what he thought of himſelf, whether he ſhould now die or recover? He anſwered, 'I do not trouble myſelf about that matter.' He often bewailed the infirmities of his life, and in ſpecial, now as at former times, his inconſiderate entring upon the weighty calling of the miniſtry; but he manifeſted withal an holy child-like confidence in Chriſt, ſtill ſtrengthening his heart, after his humble mourning for ſin, with this conſideration, that the 'ſcripture mentioneth weakneſſes in the choiceſt ſaints, which were neither total hinderances to the exerciſe of their faith in Chriſt, nor to their ſalvation through grace.' This queſtion being propounded to him, what he now thought concerning his labours, part whereof were then printed, againſt the preſent ſeparation in England? He anſwered, that though he had been weary of thoſe controverſies, which hindered his going on in more profitable ſtudies, yet he did not repent of that which he had done, only he deſired God to pardon the defects, which had cleaved unto that and his other ſervices. When any mention was made before him of his great labours to do good, he would ſay, and this was a ſpeech which he much uſed, 'If the Lord were not a God pardoning ſins, I was in a miſerable condition.'

And, however he did ſay with tears, that he had too much reſpect amongſt men, and that many judged that to be in him which was not ſuch was his humility; yet friends expreſſing ardent deſires of his health, for ſervice ſake, he told them, that he could have been content to have lived longer, if the Lord had been pleaſed, that he might have been further uſeful in his place, and have born his ſhare in ſufferings with his brethren. 'For he expected a very ſharp ſtorm, though he hoped it would be but ſhort.' And he called it, 'The laſt combat which we ſhould have with antichriſt.' When towards his end, he was aſked, how he did? he would thus anſwer with a chearful countenance, 'Going to heaven apace.' And, as his converſation had for many years been in heaven, the Lord, who had ripened him for immediate communion with himſelf, took him unto himſelf, October 20. 1640, and of his age about fifty five. The materials of this narrative, concerning the pious, fruitful life of that faithful ſervant of Chriſt, Mr John Ball, were received from theſe miniſters of the goſpel, and men of known integrity, viz. Mr John Taylor of Checkly in Staffordſhire, who was his countryman, and of his moſt ancient acquaintance. Mr Thomas Langley of Middlewich in Cheſhire, who beſides his former intimateneſs, continued under his miniſtry above five years, he being taken off from the exerciſe of his own miniſtry by epiſcopal power, Mr Simeon Aſhe, of St Auſtin's, London, who, for the ſpace of many years had been his boſom friend, and from Mr George Croſſe of Clifton in Staffordſhire, who daily converſed with him for ſundry months, both before, and in the time of his laſt ſickneſs; who all of them do acknowlege themſelves obliged to God, for the ſpiritual good, gained by this their dearly reſpected, and much honoured friend and brother, who ſince his death, have been very ſenſible of their great loſs by his removal. But they and all others muſt learn to live upon divine, immutable, all-ſufficiency, when creatures do fail.

'Now the juſt ſhall live by his faith.'

The Life of Dr POTTER *who died* Anno Chriſti, 1642.

BARNABY POTTER was born in Weſtmorland, *anno Chriſti* 1578, within the barony of Kendal, and brought up at ſchool there, till he was fitted for the univerſity; thence he was ſent to queen's college in Oxford, where he was choſen, firſt a ſcholar of the houſe, then a fellow, and afterwards provoſt. Whilſt he was fellow, he was a very careful tutor to many worthy gentlemens ſons, whom he trained up in learning, but eſpecially in true religion. He was a very humble and meek man, a man of few words, a ſweet preacher, and a favourer of ſtrict profeſſors of religion. It was the faſhion and cuſtom of the fellows after dinner, to ſit or ſtand a while at the hall door, and diſcourſe uſually of divers points of religion, or of good writers, and ſometimes of other trivial matters. This man, on a certain time when he heard them talk of many trivial things, ſaid nothing, but obſerved what they ſaid; and when they had done talking, he thus beſpoke them: 'Now my maſters, will you hear all your extravagant diſcourſes? for I have ſtricly obſerved and marked what you ſaid; and he told them every whit, and they admired him for his memory.

It was his cuſtom firſt to write one part of his ſermon, and to commit it to memory preſently, and then another, ſo that he could preach with much facility, and upon a little warning. He was for a while lecturer at Abington, and at Totneſs in Devonſhire, where he was much reſpected. Then he proceeded doctor in divinity, and was preferred by ſir Edward Giles to a paſtoral charge, which knight was a worthy gentleman in his country, and often choſen a parliament man for Devon.

Dr Potter married the lady Giles her daughter, when he was doctor but of a years ſtanding. Not long after Dr Ayray, worthy provoſt of queen's college died; whereupon he was choſen to ſucceed him in the provoſtſhip, with the unanimous conſent of the fellows, when he was far from the univerſity, and never dreamed of any ſuch preferment.

He was alſo chaplain in ordinary to prince Charles, and accounted at the court the penetential preacher. When he had been provoſt about the ſpace of ten years, he reſigned his place, and went to his paſtoral charge in the country, and there reſided; yet he had not been there long, but king Charles his maſter, caſt a favourable aſpect upon him, and ſeeing he had not rewarded him for his long and faithful ſervice, he choſe him to be biſhop of Carliſle; and tho' many ſued for the place, yet he ſaid peremptorily that none but Potter ſhould have it; and ſurely his gracious maſter honoured not him ſo much as he did himſelf and that age, in the freedom of his noble and unexpected choice.

That which Nanzianzen ſaid of Baſil, may be fitly and properly ſaid of this biſhop; 'he was promoted, he did not ſteal or ſhuffle himſelf into the chair, he did not invade it, the honour ſought and followed him.' When he was biſhop, he was a conſtant preacher and performer of family duty, both evening and morning, and kept his ſervants and attendants in good order.

Being called to London, in the begining of the parliament, he made at Weſtminſter a worthy and zealous ſermon, wherein he inveighed againſt the corruptions that were crept into the church, eſpecially in reſpect of ceremonies ſo eagerly preſt by ſundry biſhops, as bowing to the altar, and ſuch like innovations. His ſermon was well approved of by the beſt; but he ſeeing the tumults that were then raiſed in London about the parliament houſe, and hearing that he himſelf was cenſured as popiſh, becauſe a biſhop, he took it grievouſly to heart, ſicken'd, and died there about the great climacterical years of his age.

He was a great favourer of zealous profeſſors, and lecturers, and therefore he was accounted by many a puritanical biſhop; and indeed, ſome at the court in king James his time, ſaid that organs would blow him out of the church.

He was well ſkilled in the Hebrew tongue, and for his further progreſs therein, diſdained not to learn of one of the fellows, even when he was provoſt.

He utterly diſliked the book of ſports for recreation on the ſabbath day, and told a miniſter with whom he was acquainted, that if it were ſent down to his dioceſe, he would ſlight it and urge none of his juriſdiction to read it.

He was of a weak conſtitution of body, melancholic and lean, as being a hard ſtudent, and therefore to recreate his ſpirits he loved vocal muſic, and to this end, he ſent divers times for ſuch ſcholars in the college as could ſing well, and he would bear a part with them in his lodgings after ſupper, where they made moſt excellent melody. He was the laſt biſhop that died as a member of the parliament, and was biſhop of Carliſle ſome fourteen years.

The Life of Mr RICHARD SEDGWICK *who died* Anno Chriſti. 1643.

RICHARD SEDGWICK was born at eaſt Dereham, in the county of Norfolk, *anno Chriſti* 1574. His His father was a clothier; but by reaſon of a great loſs by fire, fell into decay. He had an uncle living in Yorkſhire, who was very rich, and of large yearly revenues, having no children; whereupon he took this Richard in his tender years home to himſelf, and put him to ſchool, with an intent to make him his heir; but God had laid up a better portion for him. His uncle and his family was prophane, hating the power of godlineſs, and wedded to games and ſports; yet even in ſuch a family God viſited him in mercy, and awakened his ſoul by working in him hearty deſires after himſelf. While the reſt of the family were at their games and dancings, he would be in a corner mourning His uncle at firſt thought his retiredneſs to have been bookiſhneſs, and therefore rebuked him gently, and called upon him to take more liberty; but at laſt perceiving the truth of the thing, began to hate him, and to deal roughly with him, and not being able to bring him to his will, caſt him out of the family, ſaying, that a Puritan ſhould never inherit his land.

Before this, his father died, and his mother being induſtrious and ſparing out of the little meanſhe had left her, maintained him at Peterhouſe in Cambridge, where he profited greatly in all kind of learning. He began the exerciſe of his miniſtry in Kent; where he being called to preach in the cathedral at Canterbury, in his ſermon touching the corruption of the prebends, and their cathedral ſervice, he ſo far diſpleaſed them, as that by threats they brought him to condeſcend, through weakneſs, to promiſe to recant, and a day for this was appointed.

Upon his return home, and his ſecond thoughts, he became very ſad, and in his perplexity took his bible and opened it, and at the firſt, lighted on that encouraging word of God to Jeremiah, Jer. i. 7, 8. 'Whatſoever I command thee thou ſhalt ſpeak; be not afraid of their faces, for I am with thee to deliver thee, ſaith the Lord.' By this he was ſo ſtrengthned, that he reſolved to ſtand to what he had formerly delivered, whatſoever dangers did attend him. At the time appointed, he preached again in the cathedral, having a very large auditory, both of the country and city, in which ſermon he confirmed what he had before delivered, earneſtly preſſing the prebends to reform the abuſes amongſt them. By this they were ſo offended, that they complained of him to the biſhop, and ſo perſecuted him, that he was forced to forſake his place and to retire himſelf into private, and was entertained for a time by ſir Edward Bois the elder, a man eminent for piety in thoſe days.

During his retirement, he came upon occaſion to London, and by the means of Mr Egerton, paſtor at Blackfriars, was received into the family of ſir Edward Anſon, who lived in the city during the winter, and in ſummer at Crawly in Surrey, a place deſtitute of a preaching miniſtry. In this family his encouragement was great, but his labours abundant. Every day his uſual courſe was to pray in the morning at ſix o'clock with the husbandmen, and at ten to pray with the reſt of the family, and expound a chapter, in which courſe he went through the four firſt books of Moſes. His courſe at night was after prayer,

prayer, to catechiſe the family by turns, wherein he uſed no reſpect of perſons, the meaneſt not being left out, and the chiefeſt not forborn. On the Lords's day, during his abode at Crawly, he preached twice conſtantly, and after public exerciſes, called the whole family in private to render an account of what was delivered in public. In the winter, when the greateſt part of the family was at London, under an able miniſtry, he was ready to help others, and by providence, was called to improve his talent at Batterſey in Surrey. Mr Weybourne, a reverend divine, who conſtantly preached in that place, having by a fall broke his leg, and being diſabled thereby to continue his labours, deſired his aſſiſtance. At this place the people were ſo affected with his miniſtry, that they requeſted him to continue to preach among them, promiſing to ſtrain themſelves to provide him maintenance.

He had a fair call and opportunity (denying himſelf) to anſwer it, for ſir Edward Anſlow, about this time had an eſtate befallen him in Hertfordſhire, whither he reſolved to go to dwell, in which place was an able and godly miniſter; Mr Sedgwick ſeeing that by continuing in this family, he ſhould not have occaſion of exerciſing his public miniſtry, relinquiſhed fifty pounds annuity during his life, aſſured to him by this worthy knight, and accepted of this call to preach at Batterſay.

Before his departure out of this family, he married a wife of an honeſt and religious ſtock in the city of London. He had not long exerciſed his gifts at Batterſay, bringing glory to God, but the devil again raiſed up perſecution againſt him. One Mr King, church warden of the place, was offended at him, becauſe he freely reproved ſin, and boldly ſpake againſt the corruptions that were then in the church: by this man he was preſented into the commiſſaries court, and by his means cited to appear to anſwer certain articles. This was about the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, not long before the coming in of king James. Upon this citation he reſolved to appear, and came to London and being at the door of the commiſſaries houſe, Mr Egerton his faithful and reverend friend, by providence paſſing by came to him, and having ſaluted him, told him he had heard of the oppoſition made againſt him at Batterſay, and aſked him if he would accept of a call to go beyond the ſeas; his anſwer was (having returned thanks for his kindneſs) that he could not as yet reſolve him, foraſmuch as he ſtood accuſed at preſent, and was reſolved whatever came of it, to defend thoſe truths that he had publicly delivered; but yet profeſſing a willingneſs to follow providence, whitherſoever the Lord ſhould call him. Appearing before the commiſſary, he met with courteous uſage, and was friendly diſmiſſed; for at this time thoſe men feared a change to be brought in by king James.

Not long after this he was called by the merchant adventurers to be miniſter to their company beyond ſea, whither, breaking through all diſcouragements, he went. During his abode beyond the ſea at Stoade, and Hamborough (which was about the ſpace of eleven years and an half) he by the advice of the godly learned erected and eſtabliſhed diſcipline in that church. God did greatly bleſs his miniſtry, and he begat among that little company, many ſons and daughters unto God. He had communion with the Netherland Dutch church at Stoade, and at Altenon near Hamborough, and with the godly that came out of England, admitting them, being deſirous to come to the Lord's table.

In his miniſtry he was very ſearching, many coming and confeſſing thoſe things which he had never heard of, till it came out of their own mouths.

In his carriage he was affable and courteous, yet grave and awful, ſo that many durſt not for fear do thoſe things that otherwiſe they were diſpoſed to. The merchants here found the benefit, by the orderly carriage of their factors there.

Yet here the devil was not quiet, for one of the prime merchants taking exceptions againſt his impartial dealing in the miniſtry, and the order in the church, threatened, by ſuch a day, naming it, to have him over into England; but before that day came, he was ſummoned by death to another place.

He was very charitable himſelf, allowing ſomething yearly towards the maintainance of the ſuſpended miniſters here, and greatly furthered charity in others. By his direction and encouragement Mr Jones, a rich batchelor, and one of the elders of his church, bequeathed many thouſands of pounds to pious uſes, which to this day ſpeaks his praiſe.

He was eminent in ſelf denial; for being made executor by the ſaid Mr Jones, of his laſt will and teſtament, whereby he might have gained much to himſelf, he never reſted till he had cauſed him to alter his will, and to place others in his room.

Upon the diſſolving of that company of merchants, he came over into England, and being diſappointed of a place in London, intended for him by Mr Jones, he went to Monmouth in Wales, and for ſome time held the lecture ſettled there: afterwards a chappel being erected at W pping, he was called to that place, and became the firſt miniſter there. Here he abode to his death, being holy, and exemplary in his life and converſation, and abundant in labours, preaching conſtantly thrice a-week, and catechiſing on the Lord's day beſides.

The tenderneſs of his fatherly care, and love of this people, he expreſſed all the time of his living with them, but eſpecially in the time of the great ſickneſs, when, remaining with them, he preached conſtantly every Lord's day, and the faſt days, notwithſtanding all the danger he was in, the infection in that place being much ſpread, and very violent. The providence of God over him at that time was very remarkable; for although all the families round about him were infected, and his houſe adjoined to the place of burial, yet neither himſelf nor any of his family were any ways ſmitten with it.

Many were his labours in private, being much ſought unto both for counſel and comfort. What ſucceſs God gave unto his miniſtry, was evident by the many ſouls won and built up by him. He was very ſtudious, and wrote much, yet was always averſe from publiſhing any thing, though often requeſted; ſaying, that the many books that were daily ſet forth, hindered the ſtudy and reading of the holy ſcriptures. Once he committed to the preſs a catechiſm, fitted for his own congregation; and before his death had finiſhed a large tractate of the body of divinity, which ſtill lies by.

He ſought the good of all, and was a precious favour unto ſome, in whoſe hearts to this day his memory flouriſhes: he foreſaw the enſuing diſtractions with a grieved heart, and raiſed himſelf up to comfort, by contemplating the approaching time wherein Chriſt and his truth, and his ways ſhall have the pre-eminence: his judgment concerning ſome hath proved true, aſſerting often that their principles would not (if they continued in them) ſuffer them to ſit down on this ſide of Anabaptiſm: he was a friend of truth and peace, and an inſtrument of refreſhing the bowels of the poor; many ſtrangers, for his ſake, giving in largely towards their relief.

Having finiſhed his courſe, being ſpent with labours, he quietly and comfortably ended his days; and according to his laſt words, went unto his God, in the year 1643, and of his age 69, having continued his miniſtry at Wapping 26 years.

The Life of Mr JULINES HERRING, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1644.

JULINES HERRING was born in Flambermayre pariſh in Montgomeryſhire 1582: his father, within three years after returned with his wife and family into Coventry, where his anceſtors had been chief officers of the city, in their courſe, almoſt for the ſpace of two hundred years, and where he himſelf alſo was ſheriff and mayor, living and dying in good eſtimation there. This Julines, his ſon, having had his firſt education in Shropſhire, with Mr Perkin miniſter at More chappel, his mother's near kinſman, where he learned the principles of religion, was brought home unto Coventry, where he was trained up in learning under rev. Mr Tovey, who then was head ſchoolmaſter there.

While he was a ſchool boy, he was noted for his diligence in reading the holy ſcriptures, delighting in thoſe chapters

chapters especially which treat of faith in Christ, and of repentance from sin to God. And even then in his childhood, he, with two or three of his school fellows, were so religiously disposed, that on play days they would pray together, and repeat the heads of their catechism, with the sermons they heard upon the last Lord's day, before they went to their lusory exercises. Thus this Timothy grew acquainted with God and his word, and the ways of religion, while he was a child.

Being well fitted for the university, he was sent unto Cambridge, about the fifteenth year of his age, and admitted into Sidney college, where he was studious, and a good proficient in academical learning.

When he was master of arts, coming home to his father, he preached often in Coventry, with very good approbation amongst those, who were best affected towards the ways of godliness: here he had special encouragements in the study of divinity, from Mr Humphrey Fen, famous for his ministry and non conformity at Coventry, (who in the preface to his last will and testament, made so full and so open a protestation against the hierarchy and ceremonies, that the prelatical party would not suffer it to be put among the records of the court, when the will was tendered to be proved) and his conscience was unsatisfied to enter into the ministry by episcopal subscription; but, thro' a good providence, he, with Mr John Ball, were made ministers by an Irish bishop, without that subscription.

The first place of his settled ministry was Cawk in Darbyshire, a small village, whither he was called by means of his much honoured good friend Mr Arthur Hilderſam, and where he had good encouragements from Mr Bainbridge, a gentleman there, of good estate, and estimation for religion. In this place, which was six miles from Darby, and three from Ashby de la zouch, his peace and liberty was the better preserved, because it was a peculiar, and so not subject unto episcopal visitation: here God was pleased to set a broad seal to his ministry, making him an happy instrument to build up many, who were brought to Christ by Mr Hilderſam's labours; and also to turn many others 'from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.'

At this time there was great scarcity of good preachers in those parts, whereupon people from twenty towns and villages, flocked unto Cawk chappel as doves to their windows, every Sabbath day, where more congregated, especially in summer and in afternoons, than the chappel could contain; yet standing at the windows without, they might hear the sermons preached, and scriptures read, because Mr Herring's voice was clear and strong: hither great companies came in the morning, with joyful expectation of wholesome soul provisions; here they continued all day with cheerfulness, some bringing their victuals from home with them, and others going to a three-penny ordinary, provided purposely for the refreshing of strangers; and they went from hence in the evening in companies, repeating the sermons, and singing psalms in their return home: here, amongst many others, Mr Simeon Ashe received some of his first impressions, and bents towards religion, whom Mr Herring loved from his childhood, and who lived in his heart and prayers unto his his death.

And this is a matter considerable, that few, if any, in those parts, who were hopefully brought unto God, by the ministry of Mr Hilderſam and Mr Herring, have been turned aside into the by-paths of error and separation, in these broken dividing times, but they continue sound in their judgments, and holy in their conversations, well remembering the principles whereof they were well instructed and grounded by those two worthies, their fathers in Christ.

When he had continued at Cawk about the space of eight years, he was forced from thence for non conformity by the prelatical power, being informed against by ill-affected men, who maligned the great service which he did, and envied the great respect which he had in those parts.

Before he removed from thence, the Lord provided for him a most gracious yoke-fellow, who was no discouragement, but an encouragement rather unto him always, both in his services and sufferings for Christ, and his cause: his wife was the third daughter of Mr Gellibrand, sometime preacher to the English company at Flushing in Holland, and grandchild to that man of God Mr John Oxenbridge, minister of Southam in Warwickshire, and afterwards of Bablick in Coventry, where he died; and as she came out of a godly stock, so she hath expressed, and still doth express the power of godliness, in every condition and relation of her life, to God's honour. By her he had thirteen children; and as they were happily, mutually helpful in the ways of holiness, so it was their joint care to educate their posterity in the nurture and fear of the Lord. They were taught the principles of religion from their childhood, and their tender good mother, according to their father's appointment, caused them to learn the Proverbs of Solomon by heart: neither was this gracious care in vain; for the blossoms and fruits of grace sweetly appear in their lives, to the comfort of their parents and Christian friends. And here this one thing is notable and imitable in this worthy man, in reference to his children, viz. That ever before he gave them correction, he endeavoured to convince them of their sin against God, and sought, by prayers and tears, for God's blessing upon that means for their good.

When the course of his ministry was interrupted at Cawk, and there was no hope of his peaceable continuance there, God, by means of Mr William Rowley, a wise religious man, and his faithful friend, was pleased to open a door for the more public exercise of his ministry in Shrewsbury; here he preached at Alkmare's church, every Tuesday morning, and upon the Sabbath also, so long as liberty was allowed, which sermon was at one o'clock, that neither the ministers of the town might be offended, nor other congregations emptied, by the people's flocking unto his ministry.

The sermon which he preached on the Lord's day, he repeated it the same night before supper, at the houses of Mr Edward Jones, Mr George Wright, and Mr William Rowley by course; and whereas some spies were usually sent thither, crowding in with the company, to pick quarrels, he behaved himself so prudently, and prayed always so affectionately for the king and present government, that his adversaries gave this testimony of him, viz. 'Though he be scrupulous in matters of ceremony, yet he is a loyal subject unto the king, and a true friend unto the state.

Beside the great good service which was done in Salop, by his ministry, and private conferences with Christians, in reference unto him, many other ministers had the more frequent recourse unto the town, Mr Pierson, Mr Nicols, &c. who were put upon preaching once or oftner, before they departed thence, whereby knowlege was much increased, and the power of godliness much cherished and promoted.

But Satan maligning those opportunities of service unto Christ, some envious ill affected persons, amongst whom Mr Peter Studly was the chief, were stirred up, to lay in complaints against him as a non-conformist; for such was his prudence, sweetness, and peaceableness of spirit, that other objections could not, with any colour of truth, be made against him there: hereupon Dr Morton, then the bishop of that diocess, referred him unto two neighbour ministers for satisfaction; and in pursuance of this order, Mr Herring gave in his scruples in writing, and also replied, upon their answer.

The consequence of this paper dispute was a certificate to the bishop, from the ministers, that they believed Mr Herring, from conscientious grounds, in his own apprehensions, remained unsatisfied; and the bishop himself told Mr Herring's friends, that he was satisfied in his integrity. But such were those times, that he was suspended from the use of his ministry, though, by mediation of friends, the suspension was divers times taken off, and then brought on again by persons of contrary minds and judgments.

Thus he continued in Salop for the space of seventeen years, sometimes enjoying, and sometimes wanting liberty for the exercise of his ministry in public. But when the pulpit door was shut against him, he was the more frequent in keeping private fasts, and in expounding the scriptures three times a day in his own family; by which exercise some of the neighbours were edified also.

Always

Always upon the Lord's day, whether he was at home or abroad, he frequented the ordinances of God administered in public, profeſſing thereby, as himſelf ſaid, that his practice ſhould declare his judgment againſt ſeparation from the congregations in England, though there were corruptions in them. When ſome ſeeds of ſeparation were ſcattered in Salop, by Daniel Chidley and his wife, their growth was checked by his appearing againſt them. He had many bowels towards them who were miſled in this kind, as was expreſſed by the many prayers, with tears, which he poured forth before God in their behalf. And having, upon this occaſion, ſtudied the point the more thoroughly, he would often ſay, 'It is a ſin of an high nature to un church a nation at once, that this would become the ſpring of many other fearful errors; for ſeparation will eat like a gangrene into the heart of godlineſs.' And he did pray, that they who would unchurch others might not be unchriſtianed themſelves.

When the plague was in Salop, he gave himſelf unto prayer for the town, and in particular for the perſons infected; and many from the peſt-houſes returned thanks unto him, for the ſpiritual comfort received by his prayers.

He took great delight in his ſtudies, having a very good library, and was often willing to miſs a meal, that he might the more ſatisfy himſelf in converſing with his books: he was ſeldom hungry, as himſelf was wont to ſay, while he was in his ſtudy, and thoſe who beſt knew him, could eaſily render the reaſon thereof; for he was afraid of doing God's work negligently, ſo it was his meat and drink to converſe with his God, and to do the will of his heavenly Father: and yet ſuch was his compaſſions towards afflicted conſciences, that he gave charge unto his whole family, to ſend none ſuch away till they had ſpoken with him; yea, unto them, his manner was to give full liberty of ſpeech, that they might not go away without ſome clearing and ſatisfaction.

His experience, humility, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, was ſuch, that ſeldom any one who was troubled in ſpirit departed from him without ſome relief and comfort; whereto may be added his great faithfulneſs towards them in perplexed caſes, who opened their hearts into his boſom, for ſpiritual ſatisfaction.

When he was not allowed liberty to preach in public at home, he was willing to beſtow his pains abroad; and every where he in his miniſtry proved himſelf a ſolid well ſtudied divine, 'a workman who needed not to be aſhamed. It may be truly affirmed concerning him, that when he was in journeys, he imitated the Lord Chriſt his maſter, 'who went about doing good:' for in the families whither he came, if there was not opportunity of more public employment, wherein he might appear with ſafety in thoſe prelatical times, he was always ready by prayer and expoſition of ſcripture, to be ſerviceable unto the ſouls of ſuch who deſired to improve him.

He was a man of an ingenious and cheerful ſpirit, yet very grave and inoffenſive; yea, the lightſomeneſs of his behaviour being accompanied with holineſs and humility, did make his ſerious ſervices the more acceptable, and more taking upon the hearts of thoſe who converſed with him.

Amongſt many other rare gifts, with which God had enriched him, this did ſhine forth brightly unto all them who were acquainted with his way, in performing family duties, whether in his own houſe, or elſewhere, viz. That he would always moſt aptly and affectionately enlarge himſelf upon the ſermon lately heard, or the chapter read, by confeſſion, complaint, petition, thankſgiving, &c. unto the great advantage of them who joined with him in that exerciſe.

He was indeed a man made up of love and meekneſs, for the diſcovery whereof take two inſtances, which will tell the reader that he was dove like, without gall. The one is this; Dr Lamb having broken his leg by a fall, was brought into the ſame inn in Northamptonſhire, where Mr Herring had taken up his lodging, being in a journey; and that night he prayed very affectionately for him, tho' Dr Lamb was a notorious violent perſecutor of non-conformiſts, both miniſters and people; yea, though he had been a bitter oppoſite againſt Mr Herring particularly. He being aſked the reaſon, why he expreſſed ſo much reſpect towards ſo unworthy a man? returned this anſwer, 'The greater enemy he is to the church, the more need he hath of prayers.' And then wiſhed thoſe who were with him, to prove themſelves Chriſt's diſciples, by loving their enemies, and by praying for their perſecutors. The other inſtance is this, viz. Underſtanding the archbiſhop ſaid to ſome of his friends, petitioners for the liberty of his miniſtry, 'I will pickle up that Herring of Shrewſbury;' he uſed theſe words, 'If he will abuſe his power, let it teach Chriſtians the more to uſe their prayers:' and then he prayed, that the non-conformiſts enemies might, by obſervation, know that they have a good God to truſt unto, when trampled upon by ill-diſpoſed men.

He was a conſtant mighty wreſtler with the Almighty in prayers for England, that the goſpel might not be removed, but that the kingdom of Chriſt, might be here advanced more and more. He much feared that bad times would overtake this nation; and at a conference about the affairs of England, he uſed theſe words: 'God's rod (I much fear) will be home-bred war in the ſtate, and errors and hereſies in the church, with God's viſible departure from us.'

When all hope of regaining the liberty of his miniſtry in Shrewſbury was quite gone, and therefore his continuance there, in many regards, was judged inexpedient; he removed with his wife, and ſuch of his family who were not diſpoſed of elſewhere, unto Wrenbury in Cheſhire, where he ſojourned with his wife's dear ſiſter Mrs Nicolls; a godly woman, the widow of worthy Mr Robert Nicolls, who had been very famous in thoſe parts, both for his labours and great abilities, of whom this true character may be given; 'He was a man who had a clear head and a tender heart, who led an holy life, and abounded in the work of the Lord.' Here Mr Herring lived privately and comfortably under the miniſtry of his good friend Mr William Peartree, doing what ſervice he could, by comforting afflicted conſciences, and confirming the hearts of God's people in the faith of the goſpel, as opportunities were offered.

Before any further progreſs be made, in making known his call unto Amſterdam, here may ſeaſonably be inſerted the deſcription given by a rev. neighbour miniſter, which is as followeth:

'Whereas you deſire my opinion in writing, concerning that reverend and religious man of God Mr Herring, deceaſed; the truth is, I fear my pen may rather darken his honour, than my pencil can draw out his character: yet as the martyr counted it a great mercy to be caſt into priſon, if it were but to ſee the face of that bleſſed angel of God Mr Bradford; ſo I have looked on it as no ſmall happineſs, that the Lord, in his providence, did caſt me into theſe parts, to ſee the face, and hear the voice of Mr Herring, that bleſſed angel of a church in Salop. And I bleſs God, that I had ſome intimate acquaintance with him, and knew his doctrine, manner of life, &c. as Timothy did Paul's, 2 Tim. iii. 10. and I ſhould wrong him if I ſhould with-hold this juſt teſtimony: he was one of whom the world was not worthy, a meſſenger, one of a thouſand, a faithful miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt; a Boanerges, a ſon of thunder, to brawny hearted ſinners; a Barnabas, a ſon of conſolation to broken hearted ſinners

As ſweet a grace he had in elocution as ever I heard man in the pulpit, whoſe gift of utterance did ſet a fair gloſs on all his holy ſermons; another Appollos, eloquent and mighty in the ſcriptures; and you know the common ſaying, *Bonus textualis, bonus theologus*. His ſermons preached in the congregation, were printed in his converſation, 'In doctrine, ſhewing incorruptneſs, gravity, ſincerity,' for he was a pious and learned divine, 'and in life ſhewing himſelf a pattern of good works,' free from viſible blame; ſaving human unavoidable infirmities, none could ſay (juſtly) black was his eye. He was endued with an admirable gift of prayer, and was frequently employed in days of private humiliation, even then, when meetings of that kind were branded with the odious name of Conventicles: yet the perils, to which he rendered himſelf ob-

noxious, could not ſtave him off from opening his window, with Daniel, towards Jeruſalem. He was very fruitful in conference, diſcreet in carriage, and cheerful and couragious in his ſufferings, of which this good old non conformiſt had his ſhare. And when every door was barr'd, and no hope left to enjoy his public liberty, he left the land of his nativity, and, on a clear call, went into the Netherlands where, after ſome years ſpent in the work of the Lord, this bright ſtar did ſet, to the no little ſorrow of his dear Chriſtian friends,' &c.

This faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt had many invitations into New England, but received no ſatisfaction in his ſpirit to tranſplant himſelf thither.

Afterwards, in the latter end of the year 1636, he was propounded by ſome friends unto Mr Rulice, who was ſent from the Engliſh reformed church in Amſterdam unto London, to provide a miniſter to ſucceed Mr John Paget, as a man moſt meet to undertake that place; for the caſe there was this, viz. 'Mr John Paget, whoſe works praiſe him in the gate, being, through old age, rendered unable to uphold his wonted work in that reformed congregation, was eaſed of his paſtoral attendance there, (though the lords of the city, according to their commendable cuſtom, continued his competent maintainance till his death) therefore Mr Rulice, his colleague, was employed to find out an aſſiſtant.

This motion made known to Mr Herring, was the rather hearkened unto, becauſe his ſuſpenſion from preaching was a burthen to his active ſpirit, and he eſpied no ground of hope, that he ſhould ever be ſuffered by the prelates to enjoy his much-deſired liberty in England any more: hereupon coming up to London, after much ſeeking of God, and ſerious conſulting with godly brethren, he was perſuaded that this call came from God, and therefore might not be gain-ſaid.

Now having reſolved, in the purſuance of this providence, to leave England, amongſt other difficulties to be encountered, he was much affected with a double conflict, the one relating unto his manuſcripts, the other unto his near and much endeared friends: he had many papers and letters, which he much prized, containing both the ſpiritual breathings of gracious hearts, and matters of great concernment; and thoſe he durſt not adventure to take with him, fearing a ſearch, nor yet did he judge it ſafe to leave them, becauſe he knew not into what hands they might come; therefore, upon advice, he burnt many writings, though both then and afterwards, he did with tears think of that letter martyrdom, for ſo he called it, wherein many of the beſt thoughts of his deareſt friends were committed to the flames. If this was ſo grievous, then let the reader gueſs with what grief of heart this thought was entertained, that now he muſt leave thouſands of his precious friends, without hope of ſeeing their faces any more in the land of the living.

And truly his labours and lovely converſation had gained him multitudes of friends in every country and corner where he was known; for no man was more generally and entirely affected by all ſorts who feared God, than good Mr Herring: although it be not poſſible to give a particular account of the gentry and miniſtry, moſt eminent for religion, who highly prized and heartily loved him, yet the virtuous lady Margaret Bromley, who then dwelt at Sheriff-hales in Shropſhire, deſerves an honourable remembrance, becauſe ſhe was a conſtant and unparalleled favourer of all good miniſters and people, being both tender hearted and open handed towards ſuch who ſuffered under prelatical preſſures, and otherwiſe; and, at her houſe, the moſt famous miniſters in all neighbour countries had hearty welcomes, with manifold ſweet opportunities of ſervice unto God, and of mutual edification: beſides the frequent ſoul helps which the pariſhioners of the congregation to which ſhe was related had upon Sabbath days, for her ſake: there were few holy days, days of vacancy from worldly buſineſs, in the year, wherein they had not one ſermon at the leaſt, preached by ſome able miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt; amongſt whom Mr Pierſon, Mr Ball, Mr Herring, and Mr Nicolls (before mentioned, who died at this good lady's houſe), were of chief worth.

Oh! what pathetical bleſſings, with exhortations, encouragements, and prayers, did this worthy man of God beſtow upon this, and the families of other choice friends, before he took his laſt farewel of his dear native country. This narrative would ſwell too big, if report ſhould be made of generals only in reference unto them, who were naturally, nearly related unto himſelf and his gracious conſort, beſides ſuch who were very dear unto them both, in the ſpirit of Jeſus Chriſt.

Some who beheld the laſt greetings betwixt him and reverend Mr Ball of Whitmore, profeſs that they ſtick too deep in their breaſts to be forgotten; for after they had ſpent together well nigh one day and one night in conference, they did, like Jonathan and David, frequently fall upon one another with mutual embracings, they parted and cloſed again a third and fourth time; and when Mr Herring was on horſeback, and Mr Ball on foot, they went together, often ſhaking hands over the hedges; and upon the final ſalutation, they comforted each other with this conſideration, 'That though they ſhould never ſee one another again on earth, yet they ſhould meet in heaven.' And Mr Herring was ſo deeply affected with thoſe paſſages, that he ſaid to ſome of his company, 'Two or three more ſuch partings would hinder my journey beyond ſea;' and yet adding withal, 'Mr Ball hath conquered my paſſions.

In his paſſage out of England, he, with warm affections, and heavenly benedictions, took his leave of his own and his wife's ſiſters, with their huſbands, whoſe dwellings were in divers counties.

Thoſe two eminently worthy rev. divines, Mr Oliver Bowles, of Sutton in Bedfordſhire, and Mr Barry of Cotmor in Rutland, who had married two of his wife's gracious ſiſters, as they had brotherly reſpect in his boſom, ſo they had ſpecial viſits in his journey towards Holland. He was neceſſitated ſecretly to take ſhipping at Yarmouth, whither his brother in law, Mr Bowles, did accompany him, becauſe the then archbiſhop had given order, that no ſcholar nor miniſter ſhould paſs, without license from the council table.

Now, whereas in his journey he had often prayed, that God would yet further clear his call into Holland, by two ſpecial providences, viz. 1. 'That he might not be examined whether he was a miniſter, (for he profeſſed, that he durſt not deny his holy calling). 2. 'That God would ſtrengthen him at ſea, and grant him a comfortable voyage.' He had anſwers of ſingular grace returned in both.

He landed at Rotterdam, September 20. 1637, and went aſide from company, ſo ſoon as with conveniency he could, to bleſs the Lord for his ſafe arrival, and for all other favours vouchſafed to him, who had never before been upon the ſea.

The next day he went in a waggon to Amſterdam, and was met on the way by his dear colleague, with the elders and deacons of the church, and many of the Engliſh merchants, who expreſſed much joy for his ſafe coming unto them. By them he was accompanied to the houſe of his good friend Mr Whitaker, where he continued till his removal unto his own houſe, upon the coming over of his family into Holland.

His firſt ſermon was upon Pſal. xxiv. 1. 'The earth is the Lord's, &c. wherein he much inſiſted upon this conſideration, 'That God's children ſtill tread upon their father's ground, whitherſoever his providence doth remove them;' and he preached with ſuch ſatisfaction unto the hearts of his hearers, that thereby way was made for his future acceptance and ſervice. The week following he was preſented firſt unto the honourable lords, the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, who kindly accepted him, and gave him a gratuity towards the charges of his journey, and afterwards to the rev. Claſſis, where he was lovingly received into that ſociety, and thanks were given unto God for bringing him ſafe unto them.

Whereas it was his cuſtom to pray every night before he went into his bed, the night before a faſting day, appointed by the ſtates, to ſeek direction in their counſels, and ſucceſs upon their armies, now before Breda, he ſpake thus to his ſon who attended him, 'My heart is more fit for a thankſgiving day; and it would be ſo unto me, if God would bring over my deareſt Chriſtian, (for that was his

his wife's name) thy tender mother, with her company. Come, let us pray for them.' And the next morning when he was ready to go to the congregation, he heard that his dear wife was come unto Amsterdam, by which providence his spirit being raised unto holy astonishment and admiration, he uttered these words, 'Oh! what a God do I serve! how exceeding merciful is my God to me!'

What his prudent and pious conversation was, and what high estimation he had in Amsterdam, may be understood by the testimony of Mr Rulice, written by his own hand, March 1. 1650, which is as followeth;

How acceptable and dear Mr Herring, my once rev. colleague, was to us all, church, classis, magistrates, yea, to all those who knew him, it is publicly known: how faithfully he employed those excellent gifts which God in a large measure bestowed upon him, in public, in private, in his sermon, in his advices, in consistory and classes &c. what need I mention, for all well know? For his private conversation, what sweetness and inoffensiveness yea, exemplary godliness did not he shew upon all occasions?

His sickness was lingering, his death like a sleep. As in his life, so in his sickness; and to his last breath, he shewed that his heart was truly stored with patience, faith, love to God and his people, heavenly mindedness, zeal to the honour of God, and with entire love to his wife and children.

But I must break off; I hope that reverend man, who undertakes to publish the life and death of my most dear brother and colleague, will so set it out, that it may be a spur to provoke the living to follow such a worthy pattern, and be a means of quickening many, not only to walk faithfully in the way to heaven, but also in that great function of the ministry. Thus far Mr Rulice.

The strangeness of independent brethren of England, when they came over into Holland, was a great trouble unto this real saint; and his constant prayers were, that they might neither be deceived themselves, nor do any hurt unto the government of the reformed churches: he often said, that those men had need of much caution, because the devil, in the times of purest reformation, would be a more subtil angel of light than he was in Luther's days.

When his son returned into England, he warned him to take heed of joining with any party against the presbyterial government of the reformed churches; 'For I am sure, said he, it is the government of Jesus Christ.

When the Scots first came into England, it was his constant and affectionate prayer, that they might be instruments of much good, but of no blood nor division between the two nations.

He was one of God's special remembrancers in behalf of England, begging fervently that the lords and commons in parliament might be preserved from the two destructive rocks of pride and self interests. He poured out his soul before the Almighty, that he would appear for the non-conformists cause in England, and set up the presbyterial government, according to the scripture rules: he often professed himself to be no enemy unto the persons of bishops, but an opposite to their pride and prelatical rule.

When news came unto him of the battel at Edge-hill, thus he spake with tears, 'O Lord! wilt thou write England's reformation in red letters of her own blood; yet preserve thine own people, and maintain thine own cause, for Jesus Christ's sake.'

He greatly bewailed the obstructing of church reformation in England, by them who professed themselves zealous for reformation; and it was no small offence unto him to hear of the letters which came from some independents in London into Holland, wherein falsehoods were reported, to the reproach of some presbyterians, his known godly friends in England.

He was a true Nathaniel indeed, 'in whose spirit there was no guile;' and therefore all falsehood and unworthy jugglings were an abomination to his heart. There was an holy harmoniousness, in his whole conversation; his life was a well spun thread from the beginning to the end, and tended much to the honour of his profession and particular calling. Although he walked exactly with God, and maintained the comfort of constant peace with him, yet satan was suffered to give him one furious assault the night before he died, as was perceived by those who were then with him; for rising upon his knees, with his hands lifted up, he spake these words: 'He is overcome, overcome, through the strength of my Lord and only Saviour Jesus, unto whom I am now going to keep a Sabbath in glory.' And next morning, March 28. 1644, being the Sabbath day, (about the time when he was wont to go unto the ministerial work in the public congregation), and the sixty-second year of his life, he was taken from his labours into rest, unto the spirits of just men made perfect in Heaven, where he shall sing Hallelujahs for evermore.

The Life of Mr JOHN DOD, *who died* Anno Christi 1645.

JOHN DOD was born in Cheshire, at a town called Shotlidge, bordering on Wales, not far from Malpas. His parents had a convenient estate, worth a hundred merks a year, which went to the eldest brother. This John was the youngest of seventeen, and much beloved of his parents. He was sent to school to West Chester, and when he was about fourteen years old, he was disposed of to Jesus-college in Cambridge, where (though he had little acquaintance) yet the Lord prospering his studies, he was chosen first scholar, and after fellow; in that college he there remained near sixteen years. The manner of his conversion was thus.

The steward or butcher of the college, accused him to the master, for the non payment of a considerable sum of money due for one of his pupils, which Mr Dod had truly paid, but he forgot to set it down. Hereupon there was a vehement contest betwixt them about this business, and the vexation of mind that he should be accounted a defrauder, did so trouble Mr Dod, that he fell into a fever, and was dangerously sick: yet all this while he was but in a natural estate. For, though he had some good skill in the theoric part of divinity, yet he was without any application; and his affliction was this, that he should be blamed for that, which he from the law and light of nature hated. All his sorrow as yet was but worldly sorrow; and as himself says, he neither did, nor could tell how to pray. At length the Lord put into his heart that scripture, Rom. vii. 'The law is spiritual but I am carnal, and sold under sin;' and presently his sins came upon him like armed men, and the tide of his thoughts was turned, and he left musing how he was wronged, and seriously considered how he had offended God, and he betook himself to great humiliation, and earnestly besought the Lord for pardon and peace in Jesus Christ. Yet for some time he could find no comfort, but going on to seek the Lord, there follows after much humiliation, much consolation, and the Lord sealed to him, that his sins were washed away with the blood of Christ. Then did he desire his accuser to come unto him, that though he had accounted him to be his great enemy, yet now he acknowleged him to be his good friend, for that he was a means to bring him unto God. And afterwards it so fell out, by God's good providence, that it came to this man's remembrance that Mr Dod had paid him the money, and he was very sorrowful for the wrong which he had done him, and did him all the right he could for the healing of his name; and Mr Dod said, that he had not a more faithful friend in the college, during his abode there, than this man proved.

When he was some years standing master of arts, he was appointed to oppose in the philosophy act at the commencement, which he did with great approbation, insomuch as it was desired, that he should dispute again the next commencement, but that he avoided. When he preached his first sermon in the university, he had bestowed much pains about it, binding himself to words and phrases; but in his sermon he was at a nonplus, whereupon he resolved afterwards never to pen his sermon verbatim, but his usual manner was to write only the analysis of his text, the proofs of scripture for the doctrines, with the reasons and uses, and so leaving the rest to meditation, in which course he never found defect. And whereas Dr Fulk

Fulk, Dr Chaderton, Dr Whitaker, and ſome others had their frequent meeting to expound the ſcriptures, and therein they choſe the epiſtle to the Hebrews, they were pleaſed from their loving reſpect to Mr Dod to take in him amongſt them.

While he continued fellow of Jeſus college, by the importunity of ſome godly people of Ely, he went weekly, and preached amongſt them in that city, where the Lord gave a great bleſſing to his miniſtry. His removal from Cambridg to Hanwel in Oxfordſhire, was thus occaſioned; Mr Cope, afterwards Sir Anthony Cope, a man of emin ent note, who was much wrought upon by Mr Dod's miniſtry, ſent a letter to Dr Chaderton, to provide him a miniſter for Hanwel which was then vacant. Dr Chaderton moved Mr Dod to go to the place, and after he had been a while, and preached ſeveral ſermons by the deſire and conſent of the people, and by the approbation of the neighbour miniſters who had heard him, he was ſettled as their paſtor. While he was at Hanwel, he preached twice every Sabbath, catechiſing alſo in the afternoon and kept a lecture alſo on the Wedneſday conſtantly, and beſides this, he was one of the five miniſters who held up the lecture at Banbury. He gave himſelf much to faſting and prayer, and as his ſeed time was painful, ſo his harveſt was gainful, hundreds of ſouls being converted by his miniſtry. He was given to hoſpitality delighting therein, keeping a conſtant table on the Sabbath, and on the Wedneſdays lecture; upon which days he had not under eight or twelve perſons commonly dining with him, and he ſpent the time amongſt them in ſpiritual exhortations and conference.

He was about thirty years old when he came to Hanwel, and continued there about twenty years, where he had twelve children by his dear wife, formerly Anne Bound, daughter in-law to the worthy ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, Mr Greenham of Draighton near Cambridge, and daughter to Dr Bound, ſhe was one that truly feared God, and after her decaſe, by the perſuaſion of ſome friends, he took to wife Mrs Cleiton, who then living at Stratford-Bowe; ſhe alſo was a godly woman, and he was contracted to her by Mr Egerton of Black Friars, and married by his ancient and loving friend Dr Gouge.

But to return back again to Hanwel, it pleaſed the Lord to give a great bleſſing to his miniſtry in that place; yet he had much trouble from the envy of ſome miniſters that lived about him, who, though they ſeldom preached themſelves, yet they would not ſuffer that their people ſhould go from them, and hence he was frequently queſtioned in the biſhops court. And, beſides this, though ſome of Hanwel were very courteous and kind, yet there were ſome others who were glad to get from him what they could, thinking that that which he had was too much.

Upon a time, Mr Dod took a journey to Draighton, to bemoan himſelf to his father in law Mr Greenham, by reaſon of his croſſes and hard uſage, Mr Greenham heard him what he could ſay, and when he had done anſwered him thus: 'Son, ſon, when affliction lyeth heavy, ſin lyeth light. This deſerves the rather to be remembered, becauſe Mr Dod uſed often to bleſs God for it, ſaying alſo, that if Mr Greenham had bemoaned him, which he expected, he had done him hurt; and he forgot not this ſpeech in his old age, but made excellent uſe of it for himſelf and others.

He was ſuſpended from his miniſtry at Hanwel by Dr Bridges, biſhop of Oxford. And, ſuſpecting what would follow, the Sabbath before he went to the viſitation, he gave his hearers a farewel ſermon out of that text, 'I will ſmite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered;' the people did attend unto him with ſad countenances, and weeping eyes. Being thus driven from Hanwel, he preached at Fenni compton in Warwickſhire, where he had but ſmall means, but he was deſirous to be doing good. From thence he had a fair call unto Cannons-aſhby in Northamptonſhire, where he lived quietly divers years, preached over the whole propheſy of Daniel, with ſome other ſcriptures, having much kindneſs from Sir Eraſmus Dryden, in whom there was a rare mixture of piety and learning, and good affection for Mr Dod. He was ſilenced from preaching at Aſhby, upon a complaint made againſt him by Biſhop Neal to king James, who commanded arch-biſhop Abbot to ſilence him. Then he ceaſed for ſome time to preach publicly, yet in regard of his heavenly gift in conference, he might have been ſaid daily to preach privately; he was in his element when he was diſcourſing of heavenly things. And God in goodneſs ſo ordered it, that when he was reſtrained from public preaching, yet himſelf conceived, that at that time his life was no leſs profitable, than it had been in former times.

He had much employment in comforting ſuch as were wounded in their ſpirits, being ſent for, not only nigh at hand, but alſo into remote countries.

There was a gentlewoman, who had a great worldly eſtate, and a loving huſband, but ſhe was ſo ſadly aſſaulted with tentations, that ſhe often attempted to make away with herſelf. Mr Dod was ſent for to come to her, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his counſels, exhortations and prayers, that ſhe did not only recover out of her anguiſh of ſpirit, but ſhe was afterwards taken notice of for her ſingular piety; and the Lord ſo ordered, that this affliction was not only the means of her converſion, but alſo of her huſband's, ſo that both of them were a great mercy in the country where they lived, promoting religion according to their power, entertaining and cheriſhing godly people: ſhe lived divers years quieted in her heart, and was rich in good works; and when ſhe lay on her death bed, Mr Dod was ſent for to her again, who ſpake of heaven, and to fit her for that glory; ſhe told him, that ſhe felt the comforts of God, and that ſhe could as hardly at that time forbear ſinging, as formerly in child-bearing ſhe could forbear crying, and ſhortly after ſhe died.

There was a gentleman related to a noble family, ſo perplexed in his mind, that he hath been known in hard froſts to go barefooted, that the pain of his feet might divert his thoughts. Mr Dod was ſent for to him, who was his ſpiritual phyſician to heal him.

It would be long to inſiſt on all particulars of this nature, the Lord having made him a happy inſtrument for the good of many.

When he had ſpent ſome years in this kind of ſervice, by the care and induſtry of Mr Richard Knightly of Preſton (a worthy patriot,) after the death of king James, his liberty was procured for preaching again publicly, and then he was ſettled at Fauſley, where he preached twice every Lord's day. There he went over the goſpel of John, the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and other ſcriptures.

He was much given to hoſpitality at Fauſley, as he had formerly been at Hanwel, ſo that there were ſcarce any ſabbath in the year, in which he did not dine both poor and rich, commonly three or four poor perſons, beſides thoſe that came from other places to hear him. He had ſo large an heart, that upon occaſion he had given to ſome three ſhillings, to ſome ten ſhillings, to ſome twenty ſhillings; and when the poor came to buy butter or cheeſe, he would command his maid to take no money of them.

At Fauſley he had quietneſs from the courts, as alſo at Aſhby; for in neither of thoſe places was there any church wardens. He was beholden at Fauſley, to the right worſhipful family of the Knightleys, where his bones were laid.

He uſed to bear croſſes, with much patience and meekneſs, being wont to ſay, that ſanctified afflictions were great promotions, quoting that of the apoſtle Peter. 1 Pet. i. 7. *dokimion piſteos* &c. is much more precious than gold, which he conceived to ſignifie the affliction that trieth faith, and that the word ſhould be rendered *exploratorium* rather than *exploratio*.

He always expected troubles, and prepared himſelf for them, and put this difference between the affliction, for which we are provided and others; that the one are but blows on the harneſs, but the other are blows on the fleſh.

Upon a time when an affliction was upon him, which went to his very heart, and in the expectation whereof he wept; yet when he ſaw that it was the will of God that it ſhould be ſo, he ſaid to one whom he loved. 'I will go and bleſs God, for I believe this ſhall be ſet for good.

He gave himſelf much to faſting and prayer, and when he

he faſted, his cuſtom was to abſtain from the dinner of the day before, to the ſupper of the day after. His diſeaſes till he was above threeſcore, were only fevers, and theſe for the moſt part high and violent. In the ſixty third year of his age, he had a fever in which there was ſmall hope of life. Dr Oxenbridge was his phyſician, who waiting for the breathing out of the diſeaſe by ſweating, (in which at laſt he had his deſire) he came to Mr Dod, and in the preſence of divers, ſaid unto him; now I have hope of your recovery:' to which Mr Dod anſwered, 'You think to comfort me by this, but you make my heart ſad; it is as if you ſhould tell one who had been ſore weather beaten on the ſea, and conceiving he was arrived at the haven, where his ſoul longed to be, that he muſt come back again to be toſſed with new winds and waves.'

In his greateſt health and proſperity, he would ſpeak how he deſired to be diſſolved. Upon a time, a gentleman blamed him for it, ſaying, he liked not ſervants who would have their wages before they had done their work; but he ſeemed to be conſtant in this deſire, alledging theſe reaſons among others, that God had given him a ſettled aſſurance of heaven, and a ſight of the excellency of heaven, and that the earth was but a priſon, and heaven the palace; and there was perfect holineſs and happineſs.

He took all occaſions to do good; when he was in company, by godly ſpeeches, ſeaſoning thoſe which came to him, that unleſs it were their own fault, they might be the better for him. Being invited to a great feaſt where there were ſundry gentlemen, and ſome of them began to ſwear, he ſtop'd them by diſcourſing of the greatneſs of that ſin; and that he might not burden their memories, he quoted three chapters, every one was the firſt: as the the firſt of Zachary, the firſt of Matthew, and the firſt of James, and he opened thoſe ſcriptures in ſuch ſort that they were all huſhed, and did not again offend in that kind while he was preſent amongſt them.

The word of God was his great delight, his meditation was of it in the night, and his diſcourſe in the day. When thoſe that were with him were ſpeaking of earthly things, he would find out ſome way to bring in heavenly. When he could not ſleep in the night, he would ſay, that the meditation of the word was ſweeter to him than ſleep. When he had preached twice on the ſabbath, and was a-weary, yet to thoſe that came to him, he would go on afreſh in holy diſcourſe; and the comforts which he found in his ſoul, made him ſometimes forget his body, that he hath been ſpeaking till he was ready to faint.

His eminency was in frequency, aptneſs, freeneſs, and largeneſs of godly diſcourſe; in which reſpect it may be ſaid of him, that in the country where he lived, none were known who therein were equal to him. But he was *inter omnes, velut inter ignes luna minores.*

He was very merciful himſelf, and to move parents that were rich to mercy, he would ſay thus; 'You are caring and contriving to lay up for your children, but lay up for your ſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come, being rich in good works; you will lay up treaſure in the earth, which is an unſafe place; lay up treaſures in heaven, that is the ſure and ſafe place.'

He loved and honoured thoſe that feared God, though in point of ſubſcription and ceremonies they were not of his judgment; and as he ſowed, ſo he reaped. He was full of love himſelf, and greatly beloved of others. Dr Preſton whom good men loved for his excellent piety and learning, was a faithful friend of Mr Dod's, and often entertained him at his chamber, and eſteemed much of him for his ſpiritualneſs in conference and converſation, and for his ability to open ſcripture, and to comfort troubled ſpirits. When the doctor's conſumption was upon him, which put an end to his life, he came to Maſter Richard Knightleys at Preſton in Northamptonſhire, which was but a mile from Fauſley, where Mr Dod had his abode, and deſired him to ſpeak to him of death and heaven, and heard him with patience and thankfulneſs. Maſter Dod prayed by him when he lay a dying, and preached his funeral ſermon.

Alſo Maſter Throgmorton, a pious and painful preacher of the word; an approved good man, dying the ſame year of a conſumption, came to Aſhby not far from Fauſley, to

have the help of Maſter Dod's comforts and counſels. He was oppreſſed with melancholy, and a little before he gave up his ſoul to Chriſt, he asked Mr Dod, 'What will you ſay of him that is going out of the world, and can find no comfort?' To whom he anſwered; 'What will you ſay of our Saviour Chriſt, who when he was going out of the world found no comfort, but cried out, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?'

This ſpeech refreſhed Mr Throgmorton, and within a little ſpace of time after this, he went to his heavenly inheritance.

Mr Dod, as he was of a weaned diſpoſition from the world himſelf, ſo he laboured to wean others. He put this difference between rich chriſtians and poor, that for poor chriſtians their father kept the purſe, but the rich chriſtians kept the purſe in their own hands. But it might oftner fall out, and did; therefore the purſe was better in the father's hand than in the chriſtians.

He was wont to compare wicked men to waves of the ſea; thoſe which were of a great eſtate, were great waves; thoſe which were of ſmall eſtate, were ſmall waves, but all were reſtleſs as waves.

To a friend of his that was raiſed from a meanes eſtate to worldly greatneſs, he ſent word, that this was but as if he ſhould go out of a boat into a barge or ſhip; but there ought to be a ſerious and godly remembrance, that while we are in this world, we are upon the ſea.

He often repeated this, that nothing could hurt us but our own ſins; and they ſhould not hurt us, if we truly repented of them; and nothing could do us good but God's favour, and that we ſhould be ſure of, if we unfeignedly ſought it. Speaking of David's penning the li. Pſalm after his murder and adultery, he put this gloſs upon it, that hearty and true repentance ſhall have cauſe to praiſe the Lord for his pardoning mercy.

He ſaid, afflictions were God's potions, which we might ſweeten by faith and faithful prayer, but we for the moſt part made them bitter, putting into God's cup the ill ingredients of our own impatience and unbelief. He gave this reaſon why many of God's people lived uncomfortably, for that they ſhut their ear againſt what God ſaid, where they ſhould open it; and they opened their ear to what their carnal reaſon, and ſatan, and the world ſaid, where they ſhould ſhut it. But, ſaid he, the Pſalmiſt was wiſer, Pſal xcv. 8. He would hear none of them all: 'I will hear what the Lord God will ſpeak.'

His preaching was ſearching; and when ſome did ſuppoſe that he had informers and ſpies, becauſe he came ſo cloſe to them, he anſwered; that the word of God was ſearching, and that if he was ſhut up in a dark vault, where none could come at him, yet allow him but a bible and a candle, and he ſhould preach as he did.

He had an excellent gift in ſimilitudes, which did flow freely and frequently from him, as all thoſe knew, who either heard him preach publicly, or diſcourſe privately. He called death the friend of grace, though it were the enemy of nature: and whereas the word, and ſacraments, and prayer, do but weaken ſin, death kills it. Speaking of prayer, he ſaid, a man was never in a hard condition, unleſs he had a hard heart, and could not pray.

Having preached out of that text, 'O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt;' he invited ſome women to dinner, and told them it was a uſual ſaying, let 'a woman have her will, and then ſhe would be quiet.' Now the way for a woman to have her will, is to have a ſtrong faith, and to pray as the woman in the goſpel did.

Upon a time when he had preached long, ſo that it was ſomewhat late before he went to dinner, he ſaid, you ſhall have ſome gentlemen will follow hounds from ſeven in the morning, till four or five in the afternoon, becauſe they love the cry of dogs, which to me was unpleaſant hearing; ſo if we love the word, we ſhould be content tho' the miniſter ſtood above his hour. And he added, methinks it is much better to hear a miniſter preach, than a kennel of hounds to bark. Speaking of recreation, he ſaid, he marvelled what the vocation of many was, who were ſo eager for recreation. And if we ſhould come into a houſe, and ſee many phyſic boxes and glaſſes, we would conclude ſome body is ſick; ſo when we ſee hounds, and hawks, and cards, and dice, we may fear there is ſome ſick ſoul in that family.

He told ſome friends, that if he were to paſs ſentence who was a rich man, he would not look into his purſe or cheſt to ſee how much gold he had laid up, but look unto his heart what promiſes were treaſured up there. For we count him rich that is rich in bonds, and the pleading of the promiſes in prayer, is ſuing of the bonds.

Speaking to a miniſter who was to go to a place where there was but ſmall means, he told him, that his care ſhould be to preach, and do good ſervice, and then God would provide for him. When he preached at Fauſley, and was much reſorted unto, as it was with him in other places, he told a godly man of his acquaintance, that if the country knew ſo much by him, as he knew by himſelf, they would not have him in ſo much admiration.

Speaking about going to law, his opinion was, that it was better to buy love than law. For one might have a great deal of love for a little, whereas he could have but a little law for a great deal. He would frequently ſay, that was well, which ended everlaſtingly well; and that was ill, which ended everlaſtingly ill: and that a man was never undone till he was in hell.

This was a ſpeech which he often uſed, that if it were lawful to envy any, he would envy thoſe that turned to God in youth, whereby they eſcaped much ſin and ſorrow, and were like unto Jacob, that ſtole the bleſſing betimes.

This was a remarkable paſſage of providence, that upon a time when it was late at night, it came unto his mind, that he muſt ſee a friend of his, ſome two miles off; he had buſineſs, and would have put it off, but his thoughts were reſtleſs; whereupon he went, and when he came to the place, all the family were in bed, but only his friend, who was eſteemed truly godly, but at that time was overwhelmed with tentations; the occaſion whereof was, ſome cruelty offered to his children. Mr Dod knew nothing, either of the tentation or occaſion of it: but knocking at the door, his friend opened the door to him, to whom he ſaid, I am come to you, I know not why myſelf, but I was reſtleſs in my ſpirit until I had done it. To whom his friend anſwered, you know not why you came, but God knew why he ſent you; and withal pulled out a halter, wherewith he had intended ſelf murder at that time, which by God's goodneſs, was by this means prevented.

Speaking of loſing for Chriſt, he teſtified from his own experience, that for the loſs of one carnal brother he had two hundred ſpiritual brethren.

Before he was married, he could not maintain himſelf, and thereupon he was thinking, how he ſhould maintain a wife and children, his living not being great; but looking out of his ſtudy window, he ſaw a hen and chickens ſcratching for their living, and he conſidered thus with himſelf, the hen did but live before, and had nothing to ſpare, and now ſhe hath as much with that great family.

When he ſaw a Chriſtian to look ſad, he would uſe that ſpeech which Jonadab did to Amnon, 'Art not thou a king's ſon?' He would ſay to thoſe that complained of loſſes and croſſes, that which Eliphaz did to Job, 'Do the conſolations of God ſeem ſmall to you?' God hath taken away your children, your goods, but he hath not taken away himſelf, nor Chriſt, nor his ſpirit, nor heaven nor eternal life.

He uſed to inſtruct chriſtians how they ſhould never have a great affliction, nor long, and that was by looking upon things which were not ſeen, which are eternal, 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18. What can be great to him that counts the world nothing? and what can be long to him that thinks his life but a ſpan long.

To perſwade them that are chriſtians, not to return railing for railing, he would ſay; that if a dog bark at a ſheep, a ſheep will not bark at a dog.

In theſe times of war, at the firſt beginning of them, when many well affected people came to him, being affrighted with the cavaliers, he encouraged them, uſing this ſpeech, that if a houſe were full of rods, what need the child fear, when none of them could move without their father's hand; and the Lord was a loving father; ſtate and life and all was in his diſpoſing. When afterwards the ſoldiers came to his houſe, and threatned to knock him on the head, he anſwered with confidence, that if they did, they ſhould ſend him to heaven, whom he longed to be, but they could do nothing except God gave leave. They broke open his cheſts and cupboards, and plundred him of his goods; but he ſaid to a friend of his, that he would not do them that honour to ſay they had taken ought from him, but it was the Lord's, alluding that of Job, who when he was ſpoiled by the Chaldeans and the Sabeans, yet he did not ſo much as name the inſtruments, 'But the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

At length they came to him, when through weakneſs he was unable not only to ſtir out of his chamber, but alſo out of his bed; they cut the curtains of his bed, and pulled away the pillowbeers from under his head, aſking him whether he could ſpeak Latin, in all which loſſes, which were great, he never uttered one word of impatience. In his ſickneſs, when extreme pain was upon him, as ſoon as the fit was over, he would ſay to his maid ſervant that attended him; O think well of God for it, for it is moſt juſtly and wiſely done, whatſoever he ſendeth or doeth. When his ſervants came to viſit him in the morning, he would ſay, have ye been with God to bleſs him for your ſleep this night? he might have made your bed your grave.

He would often ſay in his ſickneſs, 'I am not afraid to look death in the face; I can ſay, death where is thy ſting? death cannot hurt me. He ſpake how death was a ſweet ſleep to a chriſtian; adding that if parents ſhould tell little children, who had played all the day, that they muſt go to bed, they would be ready to cry; but a labouring man is glad when night comes that he might go to reſt, ſo wicked men, death is unwelcome unto them; but a child of God who hath laboured and ſuffered, is glad when death cometh, that he may reſt from his labours.

When he had been long ſpeaking to thoſe who came to him, and uſed to aſk him queſtions, and hath been perſwaded to ſpare himſelf, he would ſay, hear but this one thing more, it may be I ſhall never ſpeak to you again; but if it ſhould be ſo, 'Bleſſed is the ſervant whom his Lord when he cometh ſhall find ſo doing.' Hearken to a few words more; God hath heard all the words we have ſpoken, and conſidered with what hearts and affections we have ſpoken them.

He uſed to compare rebukes uttered in paſſion to ſcalding potions, which the patient could not take down, and his opinion was, that if he would do good unto others, we ſhould labour for meekneſs of wiſdom, whereby we ſhall be enabled to uſe ſoft words and hard arguments.

He allowed to huſbands and wives only one contention; which was this, who ſhould love one another beſt; and adviſed them, that when either of them were in paſſion, they ſhould not anſwer paſſions with paſſions, but with compaſſions.

He was very plain and familiar both in preaching and conference, yet very ſpiritual, and performed all with much gravity.

The chief things he ſought God for, in his frequent ſecret faſtings and prayers, (as himſelf ſaid) were the knowledge of the ſcriptures, and a bleſſing upon his miniſtry, in both which God anſwered him abundantly.

As for the ſcriptures, God had ſo enlightned him, that he was able to give account of the drift and ſcope of the ſpirit of God in the greateſt part of them, with great clearneſs, and to open them in ſuch as proved very effectual, for the bringing of ſcripture light into ſimple men's underſtanding, who were not able to reach the obſcure and ſcholaſtick interpretations of many.

His manner was to compare ſcripture with ſcripture, ſeldom naming the diſſenters; and but ſparingly different readings, but making out the truth poſitively, or by neceſſary conſequence.

In preaching, he uſually took ſome portion of ſcripture in order before him, opening a verſe or two, or more at a time, firſt clearing the drift and connection, then giving the ſenſe and interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text until he had made it plain to the meaneſt capacity; then raiſing thoſe doctrines that were moſt agreeable to the mind and meaning of the ſpirit of God in that text, clearing and exemplifying his points excellently

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out of the word, opening his proofs, (not multiplying particulars for oppreſſing memory), not dwelling ſo long as to make all truth run through a few texts: he ſpake moſt largely, and very home in application, mightily convincing and diving into mens hearts and conſciences, and leaving them little or nothing to object againſt it: he took great care to ſpeak to the meaneſt capacity, and to feed the lambs; ſaying, he muſt ſtoop to the meaneſt capacity, and if he could teach them, others might help themſelves.

He could not endure that miniſters ſhould uſe hard and unuſual Engliſh: he ſaid, that moſt miniſters in England ſhot over the heads of their hearers.

He did not ſtrive to ſpeak all that might be ſaid to a point, not to ſhew variety, but to ſpeak to the heart: he would ſay, that there were many tricks and devices that ſome men uſed in preaching, but they ſeldom did good: the pure goſpel, and that preaching which the world counts fooliſhneſs, was that that works moſt kindly.

He was very evangelical, ſtriving firſt to make men ſee their loſt condition clearly, and to be convinced of it, ſaying, Senſe of miſery was a good ſtep to the remedy; and then, largely and excellently opening the promiſes, and the grace of God in Chriſt, according to the goſpel, looking at that as the moſt effectual preaching. Some, ſays he, labour ſtill to keep men under terrors, and load them with threatenings, &c. leſt they ſhould not be humbled enough; but the goſpel works true humiliation, not the law; it ariſes from ſenſe of ſin and miſery, joined with hope of mercy. The damned have terror and ſenſe of miſery enough, but that did not humble them.

He deſired to ſpeak diſtinctly, not giving the childrens bread to dogs, but to diſcover hypocriſy and ſincerity, by lively characters and ſigns; but yet with great tenderneſs to babes in Chriſt, ſtriving to diſcover a babe from an hypocrite.

He was excellent for practical divinity, and living by faith, as to ſpirituals and temporals, and ſelf denial; and very conſolatory, rendering religion the moſt ſweet and comfortable life, notwithſtanding ſufferings.

He uſed to preſs much after the ſeeking of ſpiritual illumination, in hearing and reading, &c. and divine aſſiſtance in religious duties, not contenting ourſelves with the uſe of parts and accompliſhments, or grace received, but to look higher, ſaying, David that could preach excellently, and had Nathan and Gad the prophets alſo to preach, yet cries out for teaching; thereby ſhewing, that all that teaching would not do, unleſs God teach alſo. And David cries, 'Open mine eyes;' he had the light without, but he muſt have light within, viz. ſight, elſe he could not 'ſee the wonders of the law,' though he had the law.

He uſed to preſs much to meekneſs, and a ſweet diſpoſition to affability, charity, and cheerfulneſs, not to be rigid, ſour, tart, nor ſad, leſt the world ſhould think that we ſerved an hard maſter.

Being above eighty years old, his pains were very great, yet not painful to him, he preached almoſt all day long, yet ſaid, it was no great matter to pay money when one had it, all the labour was to get it: he opened a chapter, and prayed in his family, after he preached twice in public, and in the interim diſcourſed all dinner time, but eat very little: he brought in many with him to dinner, beſides his four or ſix conſtant widows; if his wife began to doubt of her proviſion at ſight of ſo many, he would ſay, 'Better want meat than good company; but there is ſomething in the houſe, though cold; this is not a day to feaſt the bodies but ſouls.' At firſt ſitting down he would bid them help themſelves, and one another, and ſee that none want. Let me, ſaid he, bid you but once, for I would not ſpeak a vain word to day. After both ſermons the houſe would be filled, and he being ſet in his chair, uſed to ſay, if any have a good queſtion, or a hard place of ſcripture to open, let them ſay on; and when he was faint, he would call for a ſmall glaſs of wine and beer mixed, and then to it again till night.

He was excellent in preaching occaſionally from the creatures, as he walked or rode.

His miniſtry was ſo ſpiritual, and yet ſo plain, that poor ſimple people that never knew what religion meant, when they had gone to hear him, could not chuſe but talk of his ſermon.

It mightily affected poor creatures to hear the myſteries of God, by his excellent ſkill that way, brought down to their own language and dialect.

He was ſo holy and ſpiritual, both in life and doctrine, that he ſilenced even deſperate and deviliſh oppoſers of religion. It was a diſcredit for any to ſpeak evil of him, becauſe it muſt needs expreſs much malice; and all men moſt generally, in his latter time at leaſt, honoured him.

He was very ſucceſsful in making peace, though between deſperate and almoſt implacable adverſaries, and ſome of them wicked, mightily convinced them with goſpel arguments, to the overcoming and quieting of their ſpirits.

He would anſwer any queſtions propounded, that were but fit for a divine to ſpeak to; yet ſhewing his approbation or diſlike of the queſtion, according to the honeſty and ſpiritualneſs, or curioſity and lightneſs of it.

When mean inferior people came to ſpeak with him, if he was walking in the church, where he uſed moſt to ſtudy, that he might have room to walk in, (being troubled with the ſtone) or elſewhere; if he thought them baſhful he would meet them, and ſay, Would you ſpeak with me? And when he found them unable to ſtate their queſtion, he would help them out with it, taking care to find the ſore; but would anſwer and deal ſo compaſſionately and tenderly, as not to diſcourage the pooreſt ſoul from coming again to him.

If any queſtioned him about ceremonies, about which many then ſuffered, he was very wary in dealing, not ſhy in ſpeaking his judgment; but careful of adviſing them according to their ſtrength: he would bid them take heed of being led, merely by the imitation of any body, or other mens arguments, but look to their ſcripture light, and ſee what arguments they had to bear them out; and whether they could ſuffer alone in that cauſe, if they ſhould ſurvive their patterns: he would not have them make a buſineſs about leſſer things, and then fall off from what they began to profeſs.

Being to adviſe a young man in his choice of a yoke-fellow, he bad him look principally after godlineſs. Men talk of a portion, grace is the beſt portion. 'The wiſe woman buildeth up the houſe, viz. the godly, &c. Not the rich. Some uſe to ſay, There is a portion and civility, and we will hope for grace; but, ſaith he, rather make ſure grace, and hope for riches; there's far greater reaſon for it; 'for godlineſs hath the promiſe,' riches hath none. A ſon or daughter of God ſhall be provided for.

He would ſay, he that could anſwer two queſtions well, might have comfort in any place or condition, viz. Who am I? and what do I here? am I a child of God? and am I in my calling or way? 'He hath given his angels charge to keep thee in all thy ways.

And that the knowlege of two things would make one willing to ſuffer or die, viz. What heaven is; and that it is mine. I (ſaid one) if a man were ſure. To whom he anſwered, Truly aſſurance is to be had, and what have we been doing all this while?

He uſed to ſay, they that hope to go to heaven (as moſt do) and had not good evidence for it, were like a man, that paſſing by a great houſe and eſtate would ſay, 'This is mine;' but being bid to ſhew his title, would ſay, ſome body muſt have it, and why not I? Such is moſt mens title for heaven.

During the time of his laſt ſickneſs, it pleaſed the Lord to try him by grievous pains, moſt bitter and ſharp, of the ſtrangury; but when he had any intermiſſions, he was breathing out ſuch ſpeeches, as tended to the praiſe of God, and to the edification of thoſe that heard him. He ſlept little all the night or day, long before his death; in all which time he employed his attendants which were about him, to read the ſcriptures, which he expounded to them.

And when his ſtrength was ſpent in ſpeaking, he retired himſelf to prayer and meditation. When he felt his pains returning, he would entreat thoſe that were about him, to pray to God for him, either to give him deliverance or patience.

His tentations a little before his death, and his wreſtlings with Satan were great; ſo were his victories. He

ſpake

ſpake to one that did watch with him all night, about two o'clock in the morning, that he had been wreſtling with Satan all that night, who accuſed him that he neither preached nor prayed, nor performed any duty as he ſhould have done, for manner or for end; but he ſaid, I have anſwered him from the example of the prodigal and the publican.

His faith and patience were increaſed and perfected by his ſufferings. he longed and thirſted to be with Chriſt, which words he often utterred. One of his laſt ſpeeches was this, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he ſighed and ſaid, 'I deſire to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt.'

His pains left him not an hour before his death, his ſpeech alſo then leaving him; he could not eat nor drink for two days before his death. And ſo quietly and patiently he ended his life, making a happy change, being fourſcore and ſixteen years old, 1645.

The Life of Mr ROBERT BALSAM, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1647.

ROBERT BALSAM was born at Shipton Montague, in the county of Somerſet. Having ſpent ſome years in Newhall in Oxford, upon his removal thence, he was entertained by Mr Bernard of Batcomb, in the aforeſaid county, to teach ſchool, and preach ſometimes as his aſſiſtant, under whom he greatly improved his abilities for preaching.

Upon the death of Mr Bernard, preaching occaſionally at a neighbour village called Stoke, among a company of poor untaught people, one that lived thereabouts told him, that if ſuch a miniſter ſhould come and preach among that people, where there was ſo ſmall encouragement, he ſhould think that God had a great work to do upon them: here upon Mr Balſam promiſed to be their miniſter, where he enjoyed about forty pounds a-year. The ſucceſs of his miniſtry there was very great, inſomuch that he had been heard ſay, that there were but few ſermons that he preached there, but he had intelligence that ſome one or other were converted by them.

The troubles growing in thoſe parts, by reaſon of our civil wars, after one or two years abode there, he was forced for his own ſafety, to betake himſelf to Warder caſtle in Wiltſhire, where he had not continued long, but the caſtle was beſieged by the king's party. Upon the news of their approach, he was minded to have gone for London, but being deſired by colonel Ludlow, the governor of that caſtle, he remained there during the ſiege. A little before the caſtle was delivered up, as they were in treaty about the ſurrender of it, Mr Balſam walking upon the roof of the caſtle, heard three ſoldiers ſay, That they had ſworn upon the bible, to take away the life of one in the caſtle: he aſked one of them, Who is that ye mean? Is it our miniſter? They replied, Yes, for he is a witch; which they affirmed upon this ground, becauſe the caſtle had divers times been very ſtrangely relieved with proviſion: as at one time with a herd of ſwine coming down to the gates, which they took in; and at another time, by ſome deer and conies; the ſiege then being not cloſe, but ſtraitening them at a diſtance. He aſked them, what was their names? they told him, they were the three merry boys: he replied, your names are very ſuitable to the times. And ſo, after ſome farther diſcourſe, parted with them.

After the ſurrender of the caſtle, and the enemies entry, they preſently ſeized on Mr Balſam, and clapt him up in a cloſe low room. About twelve o'clock at night, the key of the room was given to the three ſoldiers that had ſworn his death: They having received the key, preſently entered the room where he was, with another ſoldier, who was hanged the next morning. No ſooner came they into the room, but they put off their hats, and ſtanding ſtill, looked on him at a diſtance, ſaying nothing to him: he ſuſpecting them to be the men that had ſworn to take away his life, ſpake to them thus, 'Friends, what is your buſineſs? are not ye the men who have ſworn to take away my life? They anſwered to this purpoſe, We have taken a wicked oath, God forgive us; but we will do you no hurt. He deſired them to come near unto him, but they ſtood trembling, perſuaded him to make an eſcape, voluntarily offering him their beſt aſſiſtance: he anſwered, now I ſuſpect you, you are aſhamed to take away my life, now I am in your hands, but would perſuade me to a flight, that you might with the more colour kill me in the purſuit. They aſſuring him they intended really the ſetting of him at liberty; he aſked what they thought would become of them? They anſwered, they would go along with him: he replied, That you ſhall not do; for if I be taken again, I ſhall be but in the ſame caſe I am; but if you be taken, it will coſt you your lives. And therefore I will rather ſuffer the utmoſt that God ſhall ſuffer them to inflict upon me, than hazard the lives of thoſe that have ſhewed themſelves ſo friendly to me.

Upon this they had him forth into the freſh air, and in the mean time made clean his room, and ſo left him.

The next morning, a council of war was called, and as they were debating to put him to death, a captain of the council ſtood up, and ſaid, I will have no hand in the blood of this man; ſo went out of the room, and no further progreſs was made as concerning him.

Afterwards they carried him in a cart to Salisbury: as he was carried through the town to the priſon, the people of the town entertained him with great ſcorn and contempt: and that night a council of war was called, and picked for the purpoſe, by which he was condemned to be hanged: hereupon the high ſheriff of the county went unto him into the priſon, and after much ill language that he uſed towards him, he told him that he was come to tell him, that he muſt prepare himſelf to die, for he was condemned by the council of war, to be hanged the next morning at ſix o'clock; but withal aſſuring him, that if he would aſk pardon of the king for his offence, and ſerve his majeſty for the future, as he had formerly ſerved againſt him, he ſhould both ſave his life, and have what preferment he could reaſonably deſire. He anſwered, 'For me to aſk pardon, where I am not conſcious of an offence, were but the part of a fool; and to betray my conſcience in hope of preferment, were but the part of a knave; and if I had neither hope of heaven, nor fear of hell, I had rather die an honeſt man, than live a fool or a knave.

The next morning he roſe about five o'clock, being ſomething troubled that he had ſlept ſo long. About ſix o'clock the officers came into the room to bring him forth to execution.

While he was preparing to go with them, he heard a poſt ride in, aſking haſtily, Is the priſoner yet alive? who brought him a reprieve from Sir Ralph Hopton, to whom he was carried to Wincheſter. As he came to the gates of the town, Sir William Ogle the governor met him, and told him, that he would feed him with bread and water for two or three days, and then hang him. Then he was brought to Sir Ralph Hopton, who ſpake thus to him, Mr Balſam, I little thought one day that you ſhould have been my priſoner, and I cannot but wonder, that ſuch men as you ſhould be engaged in a rebellion againſt the king. To whom he replied, Sir, I cannot but wonder that ſuch men as you ſhould call this rebellion. Sir Ralph deſired him to give an account of the grounds upon which he and his party proceeded, promiſing him, that he ſhould not ſuffer for any thing that he ſpake to him. After about half an hour's diſcourſe, he committed him to his own marſhal, with this charge, Keep this man ſafe, but uſe him well. The marſhal received him, and after ſome little rough entertainment, upon his entrance into his houſe, he at length uſed him with great ſeeming reſpect. Long he had not been there, but a gentlewoman came to him with a bottle of ſack, urging him to preach a recantation ſermon the next morning, before the lords, promiſing, that if he would do ſo, the king would make him a doctor: he replied, Sure you do but mock me; for ſhould I preach upon ſuch ſhort warning, the lords would never hear ſuch *extempore* ſtuff; but if you be in good earneſt, and would make me a doctor indeed, then let me have the ſame law ye uſe to give your doctors, viz. a quarter of a year's time to make a ſermon, and by that time you may know more of my mind.

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The next morning an order was brought for the conveying of him to Oxford, whither he was accordingly carried: he lighted firſt at the blue boar, whether they brought a company of the queen's followers, who with much fury oftentimes ſwore, that he ſhould not go alive out of the room; but the muſqueteers, who were ſet as a guard upon him, deſired them to be quiet, telling them that he was their priſoner, and ſhould not ſuffer there, but they would ſuffer with him.

Thence he was conveyed to the caſtle, where after two or three days abode, he enjoyed the ſame liberty with other priſoners: and a while after, he ſet up an expoſition lecture in the priſon twice a-day, to which, not only the priſoners, and ſome of the ſoldiers, but divers courtiers, and many out of the town, often came. Being prohibited once or twice to go on in this exerciſe, he anſwered, 'If ye are weary of me, I am not willing to trouble you any longer; ye may turn me out of doors when ye will; but while I have a tongue to ſpeak, and people to ſpeak to, I will not hold my peace.

After ſome months of impriſonment he was releaſed by exchange. As he was departing thence, ſome courtiers and others, that had formerly ſhewed him ſome favour, perſuaded him to cloſe with their party, and to ſtay with them: he utterly refuſing, divers of them accompanied him out of the town; and as they were parting, one of them ſaid, Sir, if any of us ſhould fall into your hands, we ſhould deſire no better entertainment than you have had amongſt us: he replied, Gentlemen, I could wiſh that ten thouſand of you might fall into our hands within this month, that you might ſee how kindly we would deal with you. Thence he was ſent for by the lord general Eſſex, to be chaplain in his army, with whom he continued during his command.

Then he went to Berwick, where he was received with great affection of the people, and ſaw, in a ſhort time, great ſucceſs of his labours in the miniſtry.

During his abode there, two things were very remarkable: One, Whereas there was a child that had been ſtrangely viſited with ſuch a weakneſs, as neither phyſicians or divines could gueſs at the cauſe, or find out the cure: Mr Balſom moved ſome Chriſtians there, to ſeek God with him by faſting and prayer, which accordingly they did, and obtained a ſudden and extraordinary anſwer. For, as the mother of the child came home from the exerciſe, her child met her, and told her, ſhe was very well, who before had kept her bed a long time.

The other thing remarkable was this; A Scottiſh lord, by name the lord Granſon, took up his habitation for a time in Berwick, and brought with him his family, in which, amongſt many others, was the ſteward of his houſe, formerly reputed a godly man, who was very much afflicted in mind: Mr Balſom came to viſit him, and adminiſtered ſome comfort to him for that time; but two or three days after, he being ſorely afflicted again, Mr Balſom was ſent for, who finding him very much weakened, and worn out by the violence of temptation, began to ſpeak comfortably to him; but perceiving that no words of comfort would faſten on him, he whiſpered to him in his ear to this purpoſe, I doubt there is ſomething within that you would do well to diſcover: whereupon immediately the man's tongue ſwelled out of his mouth, inſomuch, that he was not able to ſpeak. Mr Balſom continued ſpeaking to him, till at length, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe in the room, being many, and ſome of them perſons of quality, a ſhrill voice was heard, as from out of his throat (having not any uſe of his tongue), to this purpoſe: 'What doſt thou talking to him of promiſes, and free grace? he is mine.'

Mr Balſom, apprehending it to be the voice of the devil, replied: No, Satan; thou doſt not know any man to be thine while there is life in him.

But this is a notorious wicked wretch, and therefore is mine.

The blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth us from all ſin.

If God would let me looſe upon you, I ſhould find enough in the beſt of you to make you all mine.

But thou art bound, Satan.

And ſo turning himſelf to the people, with a ſmiling countenance, he ſaid, What a gracious God have we, that ſuffers not Satan to have his will upon us?

Then the devil began to curſe and ſwear, and blaſpheme the Trinity in a moſt fearful and horrid manner.

'The Lord rebuke thee.'

But this man is mine, for he hath given himſelf to me, and ſealed it with his blood.

I do not believe that the father of lies ſpeaketh truth; and I do believe, how confident ſoever thou art, that thou wilt loſe thy hold before to-morrow morning.

The devil continued to curſe and ſwear further, ſaying, How canſt thou endure to hear thy God blaſphemed? I will never give over blaſpheming, ſo long as thou ſtayeſt in the room.

I will pray for him.

Wilt thou pray for a man that is damned?

I will go home and pray for him, and get all the force I can in the town to join with me.

After this, there being no more voice heard, Mr Balſom went home about eleven o'clock at night, where he found in his houſe divers Chriſtians, which he intended to have ſent for, waiting for him; and upon the ſight of them, he ſpake to them to this purpoſe; Friends, I wonder at the providence of God, in bringing you hither at this time, for otherwiſe I muſt have ſent for you. And ſo declaring to them what had happened to the afflicted man, he deſired them to ſpend ſome part of the night with him, in ſeeking God for him, which accordingly they did. The next morning Mr Balſom going to viſit him again, found him in a comfortable condition; and aſking of him how he did? he anſwered, Through the goodneſs of God, I have overcome; and am now as full of comfort as I was before of trouble. And ſo continued all that day cheerful, but in great weakneſs, and the next morning died, no diſeaſe appearing upon him.

After ſome time of Mr Balſom's abode there, he was earneſtly entreated to return into his own country, to which, for ſome important reaſons, he was inclined, but was as earneſtly importuned by many of the inhabitants of Berwick, either to abide with them, or to return again to them; and after many arguments, as he was juſt parting with them, as their laſt argument to perſuade him to ſtay with them, they preſented him with a liſt of about threeſcore that had been (as they were verily perſuaded) ſavingly wrought on by his miniſtry, during the time of his continuance there.

He left them, but with a mind of returning to them again, if providence croſt it not; but his return was prevented by his death, which happened about two years after, as he was endeavouring to get himſelf free from the place where he then was, to return to them. In the ſpace of which time he did much good, as in converting many, ſo in reducing many that were drawn away by ſectaries, in the year 1647.

The Life of Mr HERBERT PALMER, B. D. *late Maſter of Queen's College in Cambridge, who died* Anno Chriſti 1647.

HERBERT PALMER was deſcended of an antient family of that name, allied to divers other families of note, of the nobility and gentry: his father was Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Eaſt Kent, about ſix miles diſtant from Canterbury; his mother was the eldeſt daughter of Herbert Pelham of Crawley in Suſſex, eſq; he was born at Wingham, and was there baptized, March 29. 1601.

He had the happineſs of a prudent and pious education; his father, beſide his piety, being a very wiſe man, and of a more than ordinary underſtanding, as well in ſtate affairs, as thoſe of a more private concernment: his mother, beſide her prudence, and other accompliſhments more than ordinary in her ſex, was alſo eminently religious, and both of them exceeding careful of his education: himſelf alſo, being even from his infancy, much addicted to the ſerious ſtudy both of religion and learning, in both of which he made more than ordinary proficiency in a ſhort time, and continued the exerciſe and improvement of them afterward.

The ſymptoms of grace and piety began betimes to put themſelves forth to the view and obſervation of others, as ſoon almoſt as the exerciſe and uſe of reaſon; ſo that we may not, without good ground, eſteem him ſanctified even from the womb.

When he was about the age of four or five years, he would cry to go to his lady mother, that he might hear ſomewhat of God; ſo ſoon had theſe her religious diſcourſes made pleaſing impreſſions on his apprehenſion. Neither did theſe, and ſuch like expreſſions of affection to good things ſoon vaniſh away, as childiſh apprehenſions uſe to do, but continued and increaſed, according as his years and the uſe of reaſon increaſed.

Hence was it, that even from a child, being aſked at any time what courſe of life he beſt liked to follow, whether to be a lawyer, a courtier, a country gentleman, &c. he would ſtill anſwer, that he would be a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt: from which, while ſome of his friends, for trial ſake, would ſeem to diſſuade him, as being too mean an employment for a gentleman, telling him that miniſters are hated, deſpiſed, and accounted as the off-scouring of the world, &c. he would reply, It was no matter for that; for if the world hated him, yet God would love him.

He was early acquainted with the book of God, which he much delighted in, and read with great affection; inſomuch, that while he was but a child, little more than five years old, he wept in reading the ſtory of Joſeph, and took much pleaſure in learning of chapters by heart: and here was laid the firſt foundation of that great exactneſs in the knowlege of the ſcriptures, to which he did afterwards attain.

He had excellent natural parts, both intellectual and moral; which as they were ſoon capable of being employed, ſo they were ſoon ſet on work: his parents vigilancy being ſuch, that they ſuffered no time to be neglected.

He learned the French tongue almoſt as ſoon as he could ſpeak Engliſh; even ſo ſoon, as that he hath often affirmed, he did not remember his learning of it. And he did afterwards attain ſo great exactneſs of ſpeaking and preaching in that language, together with a perfect knowlege of the ſtate and affairs of that kingdom, eſpecially of the proteſtant churches amongſt them, that he was often by ſtrangers, thought to be a native Frenchman; and did not doubt but to entertain diſcourſe with any perſon of that nation, for ſome hours together, in their own language, concerning the affairs of that kingdom, who ſhould not be able, by his diſcourſe, to diſtinguiſh him from a native Frenchman, but judge him to be born and bred in France; ſo well was he furniſhed with an exact knowlege both of the propriety, and due pronunciation of that knowlege, and of the perſons, places, and affairs of that kingdom, and the churches therein. A thing not often ſeen in one who had never been out of England.

When he learned the Latin tongue, with ſuch other parts of learning as younger years are uſually employed in at ſchool, his diligence and proficiency therein was ſuch, as produced both commendation and admiration. And while others, at vacant hours, were following their ſports and recreations, he was conſtantly obſerved to be reading ſtudiouſly by himſelf, taking as much pleaſure in good employments, as others in ſports; and counting that the beſt paſt-time, wherein the time was beſt paſſed.

His carriage towards his parents was dutiful and obſequious; not only during his minority, but even afterwards; which was very evident in that honour and reverend reſpect which he continued to expreſs to his godly aged mother to the day of her death, which happened not long before his own; being alſo a ſpecial helper to her in the ways of holineſs.

And what he thus practiſed himſelf, he did frequently commend to others, being always (though himſelf unmarried) a great aſſertor of parental authority, as well from that great emphaſis which God puts upon it through the whole current of ſcripture, as from thoſe remarkable judgments which in ſcripture, and in his own experience, he had obſerved to be inflicted on diſobedient and undutiful children, (whom, as he was wont to ſay, he had ſcarce ever known to eſcape ſome viſible judgment for it in this life, though poſſibly otherwiſe godly perſons), as alſo from thoſe unavoidable miſchiefs, which do frequently enſue in civil ſocieties, where the authority of ſuperiors is vilified or contemned, and which, if well conſidered, will be often found to take their firſt riſe, and original from the contempt of paternal authority.

He was about the year 1615, admitted fellow-commoner in St John's college in Cambridge, where he continued his former diligence, as well in the exerciſe of religion, as the improvement of his learning, both in his private ſtudy, and in the performance of exerciſes in the univerſity and college, notwithſtanding the exemption which fellow-commoners in colleges are ready to plead from the performance of them.

After that he had there taken the degree of maſter of arts, about the year 1622, he was in the year 1623, conſtituted fellow of Queen's-college in that univerſity; where, although he were a gentleman, that beſide his fellowſhip, had an eſtate of his own, and ſo had the leſs need in point of maintenance, to take that trouble of pupils upon him: yet, not ſatisfying himſelf, to take a place upon him, without performing the office thereunto belonging, he took many pupils, of whom he was more than ordinarily careful, being very diligent both in praying with them in his chamber, and inſtructing them in the grounds of religion; as alſo keeping them to their ſtudies and the performance of diſputations, and other exerciſes of learning, privately in his chamber, beſide the more public exerciſes required of them by the college, to the great benefit of thoſe that were his pupils.

While he was fellow of Queen's college, about the year 1624, he was ſolemnly ordained to the work of the miniſtry, whereunto from a child he had addicted himſelf; and about the year 1626, he was called to the public exercife thereof, as a lecturer in the city of Canterbury; where, for divers years, (notwithſtanding the great oppoſitions he there met with, from ſuch as were enemies to the power of godlineſs,) he did with much diligence and very great ſucceſs diſcharge that great work, to the ſpiritual edification and comfort of many yet alive, to whom his memory to this day is precious.

The occaſion of his coming thither was this; coming from Cambridge, to give a viſit to his brother, ſir Thomas Palmer at Wingham, he did at the intreaty of ſome friends, preach a ſermon at the cathedral church in Canterbury, and that with ſo much true zeal, and real ſavour of piety, as did much affect the godly hearers. The report hereof coming to the knowlege of Mr Delme (a godly, faithful, prudent, and laborious miniſter of the French church in Canterbury) he made a journey to Wingham, on purpoſe to gain a further knowlege of him, and acquaintance with him, with whom he was already not a little in love, from that good report he had heard of him, though as yet by face unknown to him; and hereby not only obtained the knowlege of the man, but was alſo, by his gracious and ſavoury diſcourſe and carriage, very much confirmed in that good opinion which he had before conceived of him. And this was the firſt foundation of that entire and chriſtian friendſhip, which with much ſpiritual advantage to them both, was contracted between theſe two holy men, which continued, and encreaſed daily to their mutual comfort, and contentment while they were both living, and the memory thereof is ſtill precious to him that doth yet ſurvive.

After this, before his return to Cambridge, having, at the requeſt of Mr Delme, preached a ſecond ſermon at St George's church in Canterbury, on a week day lecture; the moſt godly and beſt affected in the city, were more and more taken with him, and expreſſed great deſires of enjoying his miniſtry amongſt them, if it might be obtained.

Hereupon, Mr Delme with ſeveral others of the moſt conſiderable gentlemen and citizens, having earneſtly ſought direction from God in a matter of ſuch concernment, did ſeriouſly adviſe about it; and being firſt aſſured of the concurrent deſires of many others, did by letters and meſſages to Cambridge, ſignify to him the deſire of the godly in that city, that he would undertake to preach a lecture amongſt them.

This invitation after mature deliberation, he thought good

good to accept of, preferring the opportunity and probability of doing good in that populous place before the hopes of preferment, either in the univerſity or elſewhere which, by reaſon of his many friends and acquaintance, great at court, and otherwiſe, he might likely have attained unto; holding ſteady to that reſolution, which long before that time he had taken up, ſo to employ himſelf as might probably moſt promote the work of God, whatever became of his own advantages. Whereupon a licence being obtained for him from George Abb, then arch biſhop of Canterbury, authoriſing him to preach a weekly lecture on the Lord's day, in the afternoon at Alphage church in that city; he left his fellowſhip in the univerſity, and undertook this work.

During his abode in this employment, he did much edify the people there, both by ſound doctrine and exemplary converſation. His ſermons were altogether ſpiritual and heavenly, full of ſolid explications and practical applications of the word of God; whereby the city was well ſeaſoned as with ſavoury ſalt, and much preſerved from theſe innovations and corruptions, both in doctrine and worſhip, which in thoſe days were creeping on apace; by reaſon whereof that leaven of formality, which many of the cathedraliſts were promoting, who preferred pompous ceremonies before the power of godlineſs, was ſtopped from ſpreading and corrupting ſo much, as otherwiſe it might have done. For although he was not then perſuaded of the unlawfulneſs of the then government, and ſome ceremonies then in uſe, yet he could noway approve of the corrupt innovations coming on in thoſe days, but did with all wiſdom and zeal reprove them, countenancing goodneſs and good men.

And by this means, he was a great ſtay and comfort to the godly miniſters and people, both in the city and country thereabouts; whom, not only by his public preaching, but by many other chriſtian and miniſterial helps adminiſtred in his more private converſes, he did very much encourage in true piety. Of this very many families in that city had great experience, even thoſe of the meaneſt rank, whom he was wont often to viſit as he had opportunity, that he might the better underſtand their ſpiritual condition; admitting alſo perſons of all ranks freely to apply themſelves unto him as they had occaſion, and to partake the benefit of private conferences, prayers, and other religious exerciſes; as likewiſe affording his Chriſtian advice and direction in caſes of difficulty, eſpecially to diſtreſſed conſciences; in which caſes, by moſt of his prudent and judicious reſolutions, he was frequently conſulted with as a kind of oracle. And that not only during his abode at Canterbury, but wherever elſe the providence of God did caſt him. And herein he had an excellent ability and dexterity, and took much delight in it.

And his aſſiſtance he afforded not only to thoſe of that city, but alſo to many of the moſt religious families of the nobility and gentry thereabouts; to whom, both by his perſonal converſes, and his Chriſtian letters, of which there are great numbers yet to be ſeen, he afforded frequent directions and encouragements in the ways of God; and particularly the noble family of Thomas late earl of Winchelſey, then viſcount Maidſton, whoſe abode at that time was at the Mote, a place near Canterbury: the exemplary piety of whoſe family, and the ſeveral noble branches thereof was by him in a ſpecial manner promoted.

The like aſſiſtance he afforded alſo to thoſe of the French congregation in Canterbury, whom, by reaſon of his exact knowlege in the French language, he was able to edify very much. And at the requeſt of their elderſhip, he did twice preach to them in that language upon moſt ſolemn days, to the great aſtoniſhment and edification of the whole congregation. It is memorable, that an ancient French gentlewoman, when ſhe ſaw him the firſt time coming into the pulpit, being ſtartled at the ſmallneſs of his perſonal appearance, and the weakneſs of his look, cried out, in the hearing of thoſe that ſate by her, *Hola! que nous dira cett enfant icy?* Alas, what ſhould this child ſay to us? But having heard him pray and preach with ſo much ſpiritual ſtrength and vigour, ſhe lift her hands to Heaven with admiration and joy, bleſſing God for what ſhe had heard.

Yet this his faithful diſcharge of the miniſtry was not without ſome oppoſition. On the one hand thoſe of the ſeparation, and ſuch as were inclineable thereunto, were ſomewhat troubleſome to him; but could get no advantage upon him, nor did prevail any thing (while he remained there) upon his hearers.

On the other ſide, the cathedraliſts and their favourers did oppoſe him, fearing ('tis like) leſt his godly courſes and exact walking might be a blemiſh to their looſe and carnal ways. And therefore, though the greatneſs of his birth and friends, hindered them ſomewhat from proſecuting of him, as probably they would otherwiſe have done; yet once ſome of the chiefeſt of them adventured to exhibit articles againſt him: but his cauſe and anſwers proved ſuch, as that they were not able to hurt him.

After three years, or thereabouts, his lecture there was put down by the dean and arch deacon, upon certain inſtructions then on foot concerning Afternoon ſermons, to the great grief of his godly hearers. But not long after, upon the petition of great numbers of the gentry and citizens, to the then arch biſhop, by whoſe licence and authority he had been before eſtabliſhed accompanied with the laudable teſtimony of divers miniſters concerning his orthodox doctrine, and unblameable converſation, together with the concurrent teſtimony of ten knights, and divers others of the gentry and chief citizens, he was again reſtored.

During his continuance here, he was twice, by the procurement of his friends at court, likely to be made one of the prebendaries of Canterbury. But he often admired and praiſed that providence of God, that his friends endeavours therein ſucceeded not; ſeeing himſelf by this means delivered from many temptations and dangers, which had been incident, if he had been one of that company; they being afterward, by the ſucceeding arch-biſhop, mainly ſet on work, for the ſetting up and promoting ſuperſtitious innovations.

After ſome years he was removed from Canterbury, to the vicarage of Aſhwel in Hartfordſhire, whereunto he was preſented by William Laud, the late arch biſhop of Canterbury, which in his defence before the houſe of peers in parliament, was by the arch-biſhop inſiſted upon as one of his good deeds; to which he received inſtitution, February 7. 1632, where he continued the ſame zeal, diligence and care, which he had before diſcovered, in ſeeking the good of thoſe ſouls that were committed to his charge.

Beſide his conſtant preaching there twice every Lord's-day, he did alſo very frequently preach to them occaſionally, as any opportunity was offered; not willing to let paſs any advantage offered of doing them good. Wherein, notwithſtanding the excellency of his learning, whereby, if he had ſought it, he might have attained great applauſe and admiration, even from knowing men, in the oſtentation thereof: yet he choſe always to condeſcend to the capacities of his hearers, with ſo much plainneſs, as that, if poſſible, he might be underſtood by all, even thoſe of the meaneſt capacities, as being moſt ſtudious, both for the matter and manner of his preaching, how he might be able moſt of all to profit thoſe that heard him. And on this ground upon any emergent occaſions, he endeavoured as much as might be, to ſuit his matter thereunto, and ſo the word of God, and the providence of God, might one edge unto the other, and both jointly become the more effectual. And for the ſame reaſon, he did the more approve of funeral Sermons, for that at ſuch times the minds of men, eſpecially thoſe more immediately concerned, are thereby rendered the more penſive and ſerious, and ſo the more fit to take impreſſions by the word. On the ſame ground alſo was he careful to obſerve the advantages of ſickneſs, or any other conſiderable afflictions, becauſe his admonition and Chriſtian advice, were like to be at ſuch a time the more effectual, when God had, as it were, ſoftned their heart, and opened their ear to hear.

He was alſo careful by catechiſing, both in public, and at his own houſe, to inſtruct in the principles of religion, not only the children and youth, but even thoſe that were aged, in caſe he diſcerned them ignorant, and ſuch as ſtood in need thereof; and yet not ſo as might expoſe them to ſcorn and reproach, but ſo as might moſt conduce to their edifica-

edification in the knowlege and fear of the Lord. To which end, he had prevailed with thoſe of his pariſh, at leaſt the far greater number of them, and thoſe the moſt conſiderable perſons to concur with him in it; by ſending their children and ſervants conſtantly to be catechized one the the Lord's-day before the afternoon-ſermon, ſome of whom he catechized publicly in the congregation, and others more privately in his own houſe either by himſelf or his aſſiſtant, that ſo the public catechizing might neither be too tedious, nor intrench upon the time allotted for other exerciſes, as praying, reading, expounding, preaching, &c. nor yet the examination of others for want of time, be wholly omitted; as alſo by their own endeavours at home to help on this work: and likewiſe to contribute their aſſiſtance in perſuading others to the ſame willingneſs. As for thoſe who were more eminent, but yet needed inſtruction, he labboured both by his own perſuaſion, and the perſuaſion of others, to work in them a willingneſs to repair to him in private at convenient times, that by conferences with them, and friendly diſcourſe in a familiar and gentle manner, he might bring them to ſuch a ſufficiency of knowlege, as was neceſſary for their own ſalvation.

And the better to perſuade people to a willingneſs thus to receive inſtruction he uſed by way of encouragement, eſpecially to thoſe of the meaner ſort, to give Bibles to ſuch as could read, and five ſhillings in money to ſuch as could not, when they attained ſuch a meaſure of knowlege, as that they were judged fit to partake of the Lord's ſupper. And ſuch like rewards and encouragements he uſed to beſtow on others, as he ſaw occaſion; furniſhing them with books and writings, and otherwiſe encouraging them according as they ſhould manifeſt their diligence in gaining and improving their knowlege. All which the generation to come, and the children yet unborn, may have cauſe to bleſs God for, when they ſhall receive the benefits thereof communicated from their parents to them, while others do as much in them lies, entail ignorance and Atheiſm upon their poſterity.

And becauſe he found it difficult, to bring thoſe of ſhallow memories and weak capacities to underſtand and remember the principles of religion; diſcerning, that many who could not diſtinctly repeat the words, did yet underſtand the matter, and therefore were not to be deſpiſed or diſcouraged; and others of firmer memories, who were able to learn the words, did underſtand little or nothing of the meaning of them. He did therefore ſtudy how he might beſt remedy both thoſe evils; and to that end framed ſeveral forms of catechiſms in divers kinds. At length he pitched on that form, as the moſt convenient that he could think of, which he publiſhed in print in tituled *An endeavour of making the principles of the Chriſts an religion plain and eaſy*, of which ſo many thouſands have been printed of late years, and entertained with great approbation.

His method therein is this; the anſwers which make up the main body of the catechiſm, are ſo many diſtinct aphoriſms, or entire propoſitions in themſelves, without dependance on the queſtions to make the ſenſe entire, containing in themſelves a brief model of divinity: and to that purpoſe ſo much of the queſtion is ſtill repeated in the anſwer, as is neceſſary to make the ſenſe perfect. Hereby the learner is freed from a double inconveniency: the one is, that when the ſenſe of an anſwer is imperfect, he is forced to charge his memory with learning the queſtion alſo, or elſe to make uſe either of this book or another's help to aſk the queſtion, that ſo that anſwer which he hath learned may be perfect ſenſe. The other is, that aptneſs in the learner to miſapply the anſwer to a wrong queſtion, when he learns only the predicate of the propoſition without the ſubject. Both which inconveniencies are in this way in a great meaſure prevented.

Another thing mainly conſiderable in this method, is that beſide the main queſtions, and the anſwers thereunto, there are alſo annexed divers explicatory queſtions, which require no other anſwer but yes or no; without any further charging of the learner's memory, do direct him to the diſtinct obſerving of what is contained in the principal anſwer, and ſo to the underſtanding thereof; whereas otherwiſe heedleſs learners are apt (parot like) only to learn the words without at all regarding the meaning of them. The ſame alſo will direct to help a weak memory the better to recite the larger anſwer, if he be firſt required to give a particular anſwer to thoſe expoſitory queſtions; for he will then have nothing to expreſs in the full anſwer, beſide what in the prepatory queſtions had been ſuggeſted to him. As for example, queſt. 'In what condition was man created by God at the firſt?' Was he made miſerable? No, or very happy? Yes. In the image of God? Yes. 'In what condition then was man created by God at firſt?' Anſ. Man was created at the firſt in a very happy condition, in the image of God.

And in the ſame method he intended to digeſt the leſſer catechiſm, compoſed by the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, (and authoriſed for public uſe) if God had afforded him life to have ſeen that catechiſm perfected, to the compiling whereof he had contributed no ſmall aſſiſtance; which therefore ſince his death hath been performed, by one that was intimate with him, and fully acquainted with his reſolutions in that particular.

As he was careful thus to inſtruct his flock, ſo was he alſo vigilant to prevent diſorders and miſdemeanours among them in point of practice, wherein he was not contented to uſe his own perſonal endeavours, but did alſo engage his pariſhioners to contribute their beſt aſſiſtance thereunto; whereunto they did oblige themſelves in divers excellent reſolutions and agreements, concluded by common conſent among them, and ſubſcribed by their hands, *viz.* for the preventing and puniſhing of drunkenneſs and tippling or profaning the Lord's day, and of other prophane, or diſorderly demeanours during the exerciſe of divine worſhip; by ſleeping, talking, playing &c. as likewiſe of ſtealing and pilfering: of prophane ſwearing and curſing, of railing ſlandering, whoredom, fighting, and quarreling, diſobedience to parents and governors, and of other miſdemeanours in whomſoever.

In the religious ordering of his own family, he was extraordinary vigilant and painful, that it might be, ſo much as in him lay, a garden without weeds; and that thoſe which were under his roof, might either not periſh, or at leaſt not through his default. Indeed his houſe was a ſchool of religion, ſuch as there are very few to be found; inſomuch that it was counted a great happineſs to live under his roof, under the conſtant enjoyment of ſo much means for the ſouls good.

It was his great care to entertain none in his family, but ſuch as were either truly godly, or at leaſt willing to be inſtructed and educated in the ways of God, and who would be ready and willing to attend the exerciſes of God's worſhip, both publicly and privately, and to avoid all ſcandalous converſation.

It was his conſtant practice twice every day to pray with his family, not allowing any to be abſent; at which times he read to them ſome portion both of the old and new Teſtament.

He was careful alſo to catechiſe his family twice every week, and likewiſe on Friday and Saturday to require an account from them of the ſermons preached the Lord's day before, which he then repeated to them.

Having alſo while he was at Aſhwel, the ſons of divers conſiderable perſons of the nobility and gentry, ſojourning in his houſe, for their better education in religion and learning, (he maintaining in his houſe an aſſiſtant as a ſchool maſter to teach them) he required of them the like account in catechiſing and repetitions as of his own ſervants.

He had alſo daily, after dinner and ſupper, a chapter read by one of thoſe gentlemen in courſe, and he whoſe turn was to read, was required alſo, after he had read, to repeat the ſubſtance out of his memory, which (by conſtant cuſtom) they had attained an ability to perform very exactly; after which, himſelf uſed to go over the ſame briefly, by way of expoſition, of what appeared difficult, and noting ſuch obſervations as were moſt obvious from the moſt remarkable paſſages therein.

Beſide this, he required his ſervants, after every meal to have ſome portion of ſcripture read amongſt them, or ſome other religious treatiſe concerning the fundamentals of religion, if in both.

But eſpecially he was careful that all his family ſhould ſanctify

ſanctify the Sabbath day. And therefore would not ſuffer them to be employed late the night before, about their ordinary employments, but cauſed them to conclude ſooner than on other days, that they might not be indiſpoſed for the duties of the day following. And on the Sabbath day it ſelf, he was careful that they ſhould not ſpend any part of it idly or vainly, no not in any unneceſſary preparations of diet or the like, but only of ſuch and ſo much as was neceſſary for their comfortable refreſhment that day; but would have them ſpend the whole day, as much as might be, in the exerciſes of ſome of God's ordinances public or private, inſomuch that if he had known of any diſh that had kept any of his ſervants from attending on any of God's ordinances, he would not at all eat of it.

And for better ſanctifying of that day, he was careful not only to perform private duties in his family, as prayer, reading, ſinging of pſalms, &c. but alſo when he went to the public ordinances, he would call all his family together to go along with him, that ſo they might be preſent at the whole ſervice of God. And in the evening of the day, he required of all his ſervants, and the young gentlemen that ſojourned with him, an account of ſuch portions of ſcripture as had been read in buplic; that as they recited particular paſſages thereof, he gave brief expoſitions of them, and obſervations from them: preſſing them to meditate in private of what they read in public.

Beſides this great care of his family jointly, he was alſo frequent in giving them perſonal counſel and direction in the ways of God, exhorting them alſo to a daily conſtancy in the performance of ſecret duties betwsen God and their own ſouls; ſo that ſcarce any family enjoyed the like meaſure of helps and encouragements in the ways of holineſs.

His exact walking in his own ſecret devotion, was alſo exceedingly remarkable. He was a man much in communion with God. Twice every day, he was in ſecret a ſuiter at the throne of grace, and oftner, as any particular occaſion was offered. He would very ſeldom enter upon any buſineſs, either by himſelf, or with others, without firſt ſeeking of God. He did often ſet days apart to humble himſelf in ſecret by faſting and prayer, according as either public or particular occaſions did ſeem to call for it; as alſo in ſolemn thankſgiving, for mercies received, whether public or private.

He was a great admirer of the holy ſcriptures, and much converſant in them. Beſides what he had read and heard read in his family, he did every day by himſelf read ſome part both of the old and new Teſtament, and conſtantly writ ſhort meditations and obſervations of what he ſo read whereof he hath left behind him many hundred ſheets written in characters. He was ſo throughly acquainted with it, that it was not eaſy to name a chapter or verſe, but he would preſently tell the contents of it; nor to name any ſentence of ſcripture, but he could preſently tell in what chapter or verſe it was to be found; yea, ſcarce any particular could fall out in practice, but that he would be able to ſhew what particular directions the word of God afforded for it.

He was alſo a great obſerver of providence, and took ſpecial notice how the providences of God, and the word of God did conſtantly agree together. And from hence was able to give very near conjectures, if not evident predictions in many caſes, what God was about to do, and what good or evil events were likely to come to paſs; by comparing preſent actions with ſuch precedents as he had before obſerved, in the providence and word of God in like caſes.

And as he was very careful to order all his actions according to this conſtant rule, of being ſubſervient to the glory of God, and the good of ſouls, ſo that even his journeys, viſits, diſcourſes, and familiar converſes with any, were not undertaken without a ſpecial eye hereunto; ſo did he alſo keep an exact account of what had paſſed; every night before his going to reſt, ſetting down in writing (in his uſual character,) the paſſages of that day, what actions or diſcourſes he had been employed in, what ſucceſſes or diſappointments, what mercies or croſſes he met withal, and what failings he obſerved in himſelf: all which he ſurveyed again at the end of every week, writing down the chief paſſages of that week, and ſo from month to month, and year to year. By means whereof he was throughly accquainted with his own ſpiritual condition, and did maintain a conſtant exactneſs, and even walking with God; which being ſo uniform, might perhaps by ſome be the leſs obſerved. Like the ſun's conſtant brightneſs, produceth leſs admiration, than ſome blazing ſtar that appeareth but for a while; men uſually more admiring things rare than excellent.

In the year 1632, he was by the univerſity of Cambridge made one of the univerſity preachers (having proceeded batchellor of divinity about two years before;) a matter of honour and repute, rather than of profit or employments. Yet alſo a matter of ſome advantage in ſome caſes, (as times then went) being in the nature of a general license, whereby he was authoriſed to preach, as he ſhould have occaſion in any part in England.

At the beginning of the parliament, he with Dr Tuckney, were choſen clerks of the convocation, for the dioceſe of Lincoln; wherein he might have been of good uſe, in caſe it had been thought fit to have kept up that kind of aſſembly, to have acted in concurrence with the parliament as in former times.

In the year 1643. he was by authority of parliament, called to be a member of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter. And after ſome time he was choſen one of the aſſeſſors, appointed to aſſiſt the prolocutor in caſe of abſence or infirmity. He was in that aſſembly an eminent and very uſeful member, exceeding diligent and induſtrious, being very rarely abſent, and that not but upon urgent and unavoidable occaſions. For as he accounted it an honour to be employed by God in ſo public a ſervice for the good of his church: ſo he did conſcientiouſly attend upon that ſervice preferring it before all other more particular employments, which tho' in themſelves excellent, yet ought, in his judgment, to give way for this.

And he was exceeding well fitted for this employment, having a clear and ready apprehenſion, and firm and vaſt memory, a ſolid and ſteady judgment, and a good ability, freely to expreſs himſelf. In matters of deliberation, he manifeſted much integrity and chriſtian wiſdom. In matters of debate, whether about doctrine or diſcipline, he diſcovered a great ſagacity in ſearching out the true ſenſe of ſcripture, a clear judgment, and ſtrength of reaſon, as well in the accurate ſtating of queſtions for debate, as in confirming the truth, and diſſolving objections againſt it; in all, a great meaſure of zeal, piety and prudence. All which procured him much reverence, and eſteem, from the reſt of his brethren, who judged his preſence and aſſiſtance a very great help, and advantage in that difficult work, and believed his death as an unſpeakable loſs.

His judgment was known to be for the preſbyterian government; the principles whereof he did throughly underſtand, and was well able to defend, and was a very great inſtrument for the promoting of it. Yet in two things he was at firſt much unſatisfied, but by the debates of the aſſembly, did profeſs himſelf to receive ſatisfaction in both.

One was concerning the divine right of ruling elders, wherein he afterwards profeſſed himſelf to be fully convinced, principally by the authority of thoſe two places, 1 Cor. 12. 28. (where government is attributed to a diſtinct rank of officers inferior to teachers,) and 1 Tim. v. 17. which implieth, that there are other elders which rule well, beſide thoſe that labour in the word and doctrine.

The other was, why there ought not to be continued in the church an office ſuperior to that of preſbyters. For although he did not approve of the hierarchical government as it was of late eſtabliſhed and practiſed amongſt us: yet ſince it is confeſſed that Timothy and Titus, as evangeliſts, did exerciſe an authority, ſuperior to that of ordinary preſbyters, the object of which authority, ſeemed to be of perpetual continuance in the church, it ſeemed probable to him, that the office alſo of an evangeliſt, was no extraordinary office, but ought to be continued in the church. But hereunto he received ſatisfaction, principally from hence, that in caſe the holy Ghoſt had intended the continuance of that office, he would withall, have deſcribed the work, and qualifications of perſons fit for it, and taken ſome courſe for continuing the ſucceſſion thereof,

as is done in that of elders and deacons. But this being wholly omitted, there being no more extant in that kind, than concerning the apostolical office, the power of working miracles, &c. We are rather to esteem that office, as well as these, to be extraordinary, and but of a temporary continuance, expiring with the persons.

Being thus called to attend the assembly at Westminster, he was forced to intermit his ordinary residence at Ashwel; being able only to exercise such a care of them as might be performed at a distance, and by making occasional journies thither, as he could obtain opportunities so to do. But the ordinary exercise of the ministerial work there, together with the profits of the place, he put over to a godly and able divine, to be performed in his absence; reserving notwithstanding his title to the place, not knowing how soon God might afford him opportunity of returning to them again.

But, unwilling to intermit the exercise of his ministerial function, he did at first preach occasionally (as he was requested) in divers churches in and about London, resolving notwithstanding within himself, to accept of the the first invitation for the constant exercise thereof.

And accordingly being soon after requested by the inhabitants of Dukes place in London, (who were then destitute of a minister) to preach amongst them, he did (notwithstanding their inability to raise any considerable maintenance, which might invite him) willingly to accept that employment.

This work he performed amongst them with much faithfulness, and diligence, as well by public reading, praying and preaching among them twice every Lord's day, and at other times as there was occasion; as also by administring the sacraments, public catechising, and exposition of such portions of scripture as were read amongst them. And likewise (as his custom had been elsewhere) by more private acquaintance, and converse with them in their families, whereby he might be the better able to afford personal directions, and other ministerial helps to them, as their several conditions might require. All which was performed with so much meekness, wisdom, and piety, and accompanied with such a blessing from God, as that it made a very great impression on them for their good, and was entertained by them with much approbation and affection, they being ambitious who should enjoy most of this heavenly communion and converse with him. Hereby in a short time he did much good, informing such as were weak in knowlege, settling and confirming such as were wavering in judgment, and stirring up in all, both by his heavenly conversation and christian counsel, a greater zeal and affection to the power of godliness. By reason of all which during the time of his abode amongst them, they were much preserved both from errors and divisions, whereunto the great unsettledness of the times did much expose them.

Afterwards, when the new church at Westminster was perfected and made fit for use, the inhabitants there, and others concerned therein, did sollicit him to undergo the charge of that great people; with proffer of far larger maintainance than he received or could expect from those of Dukes place, where the inhabitants were neither many nor of great estates.

But this consideration did not at all prevail with him, who regarded the work more than the wages. For although he doubted not that both religion, and reason did require a comfortable and honourable maintenance, for those that laboured in the work of the ministry, yet for his own part he was willing to deny himself in that particular, if so doing might ought advance the service of God. And so much the rather, because being a batchellor, and intending so to continue, not at all addicted to pompous vanities or excess, either in diet or apparel (in both of which he was exceedingly moderate) he had the less need of being sollicitous in getting riches; being indeed much more sollicitous, how (like a faithful steward,) to dispose and order what he had, as might be most for God's honour and service, than how to encrease it.

Yet his removal being much press'd upon grounds of another nature, he did at length, with the approbation of those concerned on both parts, refer the whole business to be considered and concluded by divers of the most eminent of his reverend and godly brethren of the assembly, whom he did frequently desire that they would wholly lay aside the continuation of maintenance, and deliver their judgments, what in other considerations they judged to be most agreeable to God's will and his duty.

Hereupon they to whom the matter was referred, meeting several times about it, and hearing at large on either side what could be alledged either for his stay or removal; after mature deliberation had, and seeking of God's direction, agreed in this opinion; that setting aside the consideration of maintenance, yet in regard of the eminency of the place, the greatness of the auditory, the many persons of quality residing there, and the great need of instruction to those of an inferior rank, many of whom were extremely ignorant, (by reason that amongst such a great multitude of people, there had in former times been so great a scarcity of preaching) together with divers other reasons of the like nature, which did more than countervail what could be alledged on the other hand, his obligations also to those of Dukes place not being absolute; they judged it most fit that he should leave Dukes place and undertake that charge at Westminster.

To this their resolution he consented, yet with this *proviso*, that those of Dukes place, should be first provided of an able faithful pastor to succeed him, being utterly unwilling to leave them destitute. And accordingly, having prevailed with Mr Thomas Young, (since doctor in divinity, and master of Jesus college in Cambridge) to succeed him there, (who was also an eminent member of the assembly of divines, a man of great learning, of much prudence and piety, and of great ability and fidelity in the work of the ministry) he took his leave of them: commending them to the grace of God, and the pious care of his successor, taking on him the charge of those belonging to the new church in Westminster, and was the first pastor of that church.

He was here also eminently faithful, and laborious in the work of the ministry, in public praying, reading, expounding, preaching, administring the sacraments, and catechising, with brief and clear expositions and confirmations of the principles of religion, as had been his usual custom in other places. Beside which he was also one of the seven, that by appointment of parliament did carry on that daily morning lecture at the Abbey church; into much that it seems almost a miracle, that so weak a body of his should possibly be able to do so much as constantly he performed, continuing oft times to speak in public for the space of six or eight hours on a Sabbath day, beside much time spent in more private exercises of prayer, repititions, &c. in the family, yet when his friends have perswaded him to favour himself, judging so much pains to be more than his body could endure; his answer had been, that his strength would spend of it self, though he did nothing; and it could not be better spent than in God's service. Yea, so far was he from favouring himself in this kind, that it was a rule with him which he constantly observed, never to favour himself by declining any ministerial exercise which he was requested to perform, whether in public or private, if he were possibly able to perform it.

Neither did he here neglect, what had been his constant practice else where, to afford private assistance to those of his flock and others, as he had opportunity. But what time he could gain from the more public affairs of the assembly, he spent for the most part in such duties, not willing to lose an hour which could be employed in doing good. And to this end, beside that free access that persons of all ranks might have unto him, as they had occasion, he spent much time in visiting them at their own families, to communicate some spiritual good to them, as directions, consolations, and encouragements in the ways of godliness, which made his company both very profitable and much desired. Hereby, besides others, very many considerable families of the nobility and gentry, (whose practice commonly hath a great influence on others) were much quickned and encouraged in the visible practice of godliness, and the power of religion, which thereby was much improved; and very many of them are ready upon all occasions, to profess that it was their great

happiness

happineſs to be acquainted with him, and bewail the want of it as a great loſs.

And he was hereunto the more fitted, for that he was naturally of a loving and friendly diſpoſition, of a courteous and affable carriage, even towards inferiors, and thoſe of mean rank, eſpecially if he diſcovered in them ſigns of grace, which he did honour and encourage wherever he met with it. Hereby he gained much love and affection from thoſe with whom he had to do, by reaſon whereof his counſels and advice became ſo much the more effectual.

To which we may add alſo his birth and education, and his frequent converſing with perſons of quality to whom he was related and allied, by reaſon whereof he was well qualified with ſuch accompliſhments as might render his company acceptable, as knowing well how to give due reſpect to all, according as their places and conditions did require, and yet to preſerve the honour and reverence of his miniſterial authority, which by the gravity, ſobriety, and holineſs of his converſation, was much ſecured.

In that great ordinance of the Lord's ſupper, which in theſe broken and diſtracted times hath been in many places wholly laid aſide, and in many more too much neglected: he took much care and pains how to manage that great buſineſs, ſo as it might be neither diſpleaſing to God, nor juſtly offenſive to good men.

The difficulty herein hath been, not concerning the manner of adminiſtration, which hath afforded leſs matter of conteſt, but concerning the perſons that might be judged fit to be admitted thereunto; which to many men hath been attended with ſo much perplexity, that they have apprehended a neceſſity of a total intermiſſion, and almoſt an impoſſibility of adminiſtering it in any tolerable manner; while, on the one hand, they durſt not promiſcuouſly admit all, by reaſon of the great ignorance of many, and the prophaneneſs or looſeneſs of others; and yet, on the other hand, ſaw not how they might be able, for want of authority, to debar any: waiting ſtill for the ſettling of a government in the church, whereby this great difficulty might in ſome meaſure be removed; till at length, through the long intermiſſion of this ordinance, thoſe that are profane and carnal began to ſlight and ſcorn it, and thoſe of better principles do too much abate in their affections to it.

And that remedy, which though late, began at length to be applied, in beginning to eſtabliſh the preſbyterian government, hath been yet ſo much defective in want of power, and ſo much expoſed to ſcorn and reproach, which men of prophane or turbulent ſpirits caſt upon it, either from principles of prophaneneſs, or of ſeparation, or from ſome other bitter root, which renders men unwilling to have their luſts, errors, unlawful liberties, or licentious courſes, in any kind whatſoever, to be checked or contradicted, that the matter is now almoſt grown deſperate, unleſs God will be pleaſed, in ſpecial favour, to afford ſome unexpected remedy.

Herein this holy man did manifeſt a great meaſure of ſingular prudence and piety, wiſely avoiding both rocks; neither totally omitting the celebration of the ſacrament, nor yet promiſcouſly admitting all unto it; but thoſe only of whoſe ſufficient knowlege he was aſſured, and whoſe lives, ſo far as he could diſcern, were unblameable and free from ſcandal.

And this he did, not only of late years, but even formerly, from his firſt undertaking a paſtoral charge; at that time it may well be ſuppoſed, to have been a thing both of greater difficulty and danger, than of late years, to keep off unworthy receivers from prophaning that holy ordinance.

In order hereunto, his firſt work was to abate, as much as might be, the number of ignorant people, by perſuading them to be willing to receive inſtruction, which with much care and diligence he was ready to afford unto them, in ſuch ways as is before expreſſed; which, though a difficult work, was yet carried on with ſo great ſucceſs, thro' God's bleſſing on his endeavours, that in his pariſh of Aſhwel, where was no ſmall number of people, he had in a ſhort time brought them to ſo great a meaſure of knowlege, that there was either none or very few, either old or young, who were not able to give a good account of the principles of religion.

When he had once prevailed with them to be ſo far ſenſible of their own ignorance, as to be willing and deſirous to learn, it was then no hard matter to perſuade ſuch of their own accord to forbear a while, till they had attained ſo much knowlege as that they might come with comfort, which would be ſo much the ſooner, according as they were the more diligent in labouring to attain knowlege.

When they had attained a competent meaſure of knowlege, if their lives were anſwerable, and not obnoxious to juſt exception; or at leaſt, they willing to redreſs what was amiſs, and ready to follow ſuch good advice and directions, as were given them for the ordering their converſations aright towards God and man; there was then no reaſon why they ſhould be longer debarred, but rather ſuch good beginnings cheriſhed and encouraged; yet with cautions frequently inculcated, to beware of hypocriſy and formality, and not to reſt in theſe beginnings, but to preſs forward to perfection.

But in caſe they did either obſtinately refuſe inſtruction, or, notwithſtanding their knowlege, were ſcandalous and incorrigible, or ſuch as in point of converſation he could not judge fit to be admitted to that ordinance; then probably they would either be found ſuch as were obnoxious to ſuch ſcandals as might endanger a more public proſecution, and ſo durſt not be refractory; or elſe, by the conviction of their own conſciences, when the danger of unworthy receiving ſhould be laid open to them; or by friendly perſuaſions from himſelf or others: or by the reverence and awe of his holy and grave carriage, and miniſterial authority, backed with the concurrence of others amongſt them, eminent for worth and piety; or for fear of being aſhamed, in caſe they ſhould be openly reproved, or refuſed in the face of the congregation, or upon ſome other the like conſideration, would be perſuaded to forbear, in caſe he judged them as yet unfit to be admitted to that ordinance. So that ſcarce any whom he judged utterly unfit, have ever peremptorily preſſed upon him to partake of it. And by theſe means, even in times of greateſt danger, was he able to avoid the mixture of profane and unworthy perſons at the Lord's table.

Hereunto his naturally courteous and affable diſpoſition did much conduce, whereby he could with the more eaſe gain acceſs both to the perſons and affections of all ſorts of people; together with an excellent mixture of meekneſs and courage, which being managed with ſingular prudence, and indefatigable induſtry, enabled him happily to carry on that difficult work, which might otherwiſe ſeem almoſt inſuperable.

And by the ſame couragious and prudent carriage he obtained a like intereſt in the affections of his people, both at Duke's-place and Weſtminſter, inſomuch as thoſe who were fit to be admitted to that ſacrament, were either otherwiſe ſufficiently known to him, by his converſing with them, or elſe would willingly, upon that occaſion, approve themſelves to him, both in point of knowlege and converſation; and others who were unfit, nor cared to attend a fitneſs for it, would rather of their own accord forbear, than venture the hazard of being refuſed; by means whereof, himſelf, and ſome hundreds of godly perſons who did communicate with him, could with great comfort join in that holy communion and fellowſhip.

On the 11th of April, in the year 1644, he was conſtituted maſter of Queen's college in Cambridge, by the earl of Mancheſter, then employed by ordinance of parliament, for the reforming of that univerſity.

He had a great influence upon the general reformation of that univerſity, and by his advice and counſel did very much help forward that work, exciting alſo and encouraging others therein, notwithſtanding the difficulties in the way, that were repreſented as almoſt invincible; and did improve all that intereſt which he had, both in that noble religious earl of Mancheſter, and in the aſſembly of divines, who were to give their approbation to all ſuch as ſhould be put into the places of ſuch as were ejected in that univerſity, whether maſters or fellows, that all poſſible care and circumſpection might be uſed, that ſuch only as were both learned and religious, might be commended to, or approved for thoſe places, leſt, inſtead of thoſe that were caſt out, others as bad as they ſhould ſucceed them, as well in their vices as their places.

But

But more especially in reference to that place, to the government whereof he was designed (whereof also he he had formerly been a fellow), it cannot easily be believed how exceeding circumspect he was, how cautious and wary in the choice of those who (as fellows) were to join with him in the government, that they might be learned, pious, and unanimous: the happy effect of which care, in so quiet and peaceable establishment of that society, as could not easily be expected in so troublesome a time, was, to the great astonishment and amazement of all, even of those that hated them, and hath had a very great influence upon that happy and flourishing condition thereof ever since. What his aim was in that place did continually appear, by his constant expressions and prayers, which sounded of nothing more than the advancement of religion and learning; and he was as true to those expressions in his continued endeavours and actings.

His first and main care was the advancement of religion and practical piety, knowing that where this took place, a conscionable improvement of time in other things could not well be wanting. This made him extraordinary solicitous for the constant presence of the whole society at the public worship of God, which he did carefully look to, when he was present amongst them, and was usually one of the last things he gave in charge to all the students, when his more public employments at the assembly called him away, and whereof he was very inquisitive in his absence.

He took great care also for the constant instruction, not only of the young scholars, but likewise of all the college servants, in the principles of religion. The exercises of common places, or sermons in the chappel, which had formerly been in use, only in term-time, he caused to be continued weekly all the year: besides which, when he was present in the college, he did frequently himself either preach or expound scripture to them.

He also took special notice of the several conversations of the particular persons in the college, as well by his own inspection and observation while he was present, as by faithful informations in his absence; and was frequent in giving them personal counsel and direction in private. Consonant hereunto was also the care of the particular fellows, who beside the instruction of their pupils in learning, caused them to come to their chambers to prayers every night, and to repetition of sermons on the Lord's day. By all which the practice of religion was much promoted.

His next care was for the advancement of learning, which he endeavoured to promote by his frequent exhortations, and encouraging all to diligence in their studies, and conscionable improving their time and opportunities; as also by requiring the constant performance of public exercises, by persons of all ranks; and exciting the fellows to a diligent inspection, as well jointly over the college in general, as severally over their own pupils in particular, for the same ends.

On the same ground also he took care to have the college library furnished with good authors, giving considerable sums of money for that end, and persuading others also to do the like: and some dues payable to the college, which formerly used to be employed in feasting, were by his means converted to a better use, in buying of such books which might feed the minds, both of the present society, and those that shall succeed.

He bestowed also a considerable part of his profits there upon the yearly maintainance of poor scholars; and at his death he gave a considerable sum of money for the same purpose, to be disposed of by the present society to such as stood in need.

Indeed his resolution was, that so long as he was hindered from residing constantly amongst them, by reason of his attending on the assembly at Westminster, he would not be a gainer by the place: but whatsoever profits he received, more than would defray the charges of journeys, and other expences occasioned by it, he would bestow some way or other for the good of the college.

In elections to places of preferment in the college, he was exceedingly careful that they might be bestowed on those that were most deserving; and to that end he did, with the unanimous consent of the fellows, make a decree, that in all future elections, none should be admitted to a scholarship or fellowship in the college, till they did first approve themselves for learning by a public trial or examination, for two or three days successively in the audience of the whole college, which hath already produced very good effects for the improvement of learning in that college, and more are like to ensue.

In case any solicited him for preferment of their friends, his constant answer was, that if they were found to deserve it better than others, they should have it; but if otherwise, they must expect to go without it; and his actings were exactly consonant hereunto: as indeed in all things, his resolutions, words, and actions, were so exactly consonant, and kept so perfect harmony as is seldom seen: whereas in many, their words are more than their intentions, and their actions less than their words.

In his converse with the fellows, it was his great care to preserve unanimity, that as well elections, as all other affairs of the college, should be carried on by a universal consent; to if that in the proposal of any thing, there were any dissent, his usual manner was to defer the determination of it, till every one should see reason to concur with the rest; and was himself as ready to hearken to any argument produced, though contrary to his present sense which he would either fully answer or yield to it; so that, scarce any thing was over-ruled merely by plurality of suffrages, but all with universal consent; and nothing more ordinary, than for all differences to be quite reasoned down.

In his absence from them his mind was still present with them; being more thoroughly acquainted with all the affairs of the college, and more careful of them than most heads of houses are when they are present: for by reason of that sweet harmony and agreement betwixt himself and the fellows, he had constantly faithful intelligence of all affairs, and did communicate his counsel and advice therein, making the good of that college, as he was wont to call it, his *Magna cura*, by reason whereof that college hath flourished in a very eminent manner: and I may safely say, without prejudice to any, that scarce any society of either university, since the late reformation, both for the general improvement of religion and learning, and the unanimous harmony amongst themselves, have been comparable hereunto; yea, so great was that unanimity and reciprocal affection between him and the society; that scarce ever any head of a society was taken from them with more general sorrow.

Beside what hath been already said, much more might be added concerning the worth of this eminent servant of God, much of which hath been already penned by himself, in that small tractate, 'Of making religion one's business,' together with the 'Appendix, applied to the calling of a minister,' which, with other small tracts, are printed together, with this title, 'Memorials of Godliness and Christianity,' wherein you may read a true character of his thoughts, as well as his actions, of which I shall only add this, That his constant practice was so exactly consonant to the strict principles that are there expressed, as can hardly be believed by those who have not seen it.

He was a man indeed of a very public spirit, and wholly laid himself out for God; and therefore, though he was ready to deny himself, and condescend freely, where his own interest was only concerned; yet was he zealous and tenacious in things that concerned God's glory, reserving his heat to encounter sin.

Hence was it, that notwithstanding his natural meekness, he acted in the things of God with much courage and resolution; as in those free and resolute expressions of himself (yet with humility, meekness, and sobriety) in preaching at the cathedral church at Canterbury, in presence of the dean and prebends, wherein he spared not to set before them such things as were notoriously amiss; yet, for the most part, expressing in Latin what did chiefly concern them, that they might take notice of it, not the people; which, though it procured him some trouble and opposition, yet he did not for that abate of his courage and resolution.

In like manner, when he was to preach at the bishop of Lincoln's visitation at Hitchin, he went thither with a resolution

ſolution to ſpeak fully and freely againſt the corrupt innovations then in practice, whatever might be the iſſue; and did accordingly perform it, though he were ſenſible of the great danger of ſo doing.

The like reſolution he manifeſted in the queſtion about the Sabbath, when oppoſition was made againſt the perpetuity thereof, and the morality of the fourth commandment, a matter wherewith his heart was deeply affected, as being an high affront to the majeſty and authority of God, the thoughts whereof ſeemed to be continually in his mind, as was evident by his prayers, diſcourſes, counſels, and endeavours; and particularly by that elaborate diſcourſe, which he, in conjunction with that judicious, learned, and pious divine, Mr Daniel Cawdrey, publiſhed to the world, entitled, *Vindiciæ Sabbathi*: the latter parts whereof were long ago fitted for the preſs, and want but invitations of publiſhing, which might encourage the ſtationer to undertake the charge. And therefore, when reading the book for ſports on the Lord's day, bowing to the altar, reading the ſervice book there, &c. were urged, he was moſt reſolute againſt them, reſolving rather to loſe all, and ſuffer any thing than to comply therein, and with that reſolution went to the archbiſhop's viſitation at Welling, held by Sir John Lamb, where yet he found, beyond expectation, rather a connivance at him, than an enforcement thereof. And the like he did concerning the convocation oath, in the new book of canons, in the year 1640, which he vigorouſly oppoſed, and took a great deal of pains in evincing the unlawfulneſs thereof.

It is well known alſo what freedom and faithfulneſs he hath uſed in reference to the public affairs, as well in his ordinary ſermons at the new church, the Abbey, and Margaret's in Weſtminſter, to which places the greateſt number of parliament men did uſually reſort, as in thoſe, by ſpecial order, preached to one or both houſes of parliament, (ſome of which are to be ſeen in print) where he ſpared not to declare, fully and plainly, what God expected from them, and freely to reprove what was amiſs: for, as he was wont to ſay, he did not in that place preach before them, *ut coram Judice*, but to them (authoritative) as by commiſſion from God; and how much ſoever they might be ſuperior to him in other regards, yet he was in that place ſuperior to them, as acting in God's name; and therefore would not be afraid to ſpeak, whatever was the will of God that he ſhould tell them, notwithſtanding any diſpleaſure or danger which might by this means befal him for ſo doing.

And upon this conſideration, we may look upon it as a wiſe providence of God, ſo ſeaſonably to take him away a little before thoſe great tranſactions about the change of government; which were ſo directly contrary to his deliberate and ſettled judgment, that he would certainly have thought it his duty to ſpeak much more than others would endure to hear: for although his judgment was clear for the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms (which was the parliament's caſe, as it was firſt ſtated, as doth fully appear in that treatiſe, entitled, 'Scripture and reaſon pleaded for defenſive arms,' wherein himſelf of all others had the greateſt hand;) yet was as peremptory againſt offenſive arms, or attempting the king's life, whoſe perſon he judged ſacred and inviolable, and hath oft expreſſed himſelf to that purpoſe, that in caſe this ſhould ever come to be the queſtion, which he hoped he ſhould never ſee, he thought himſelf bound in conſcience, by ſpeaking, preaching, and otherwiſe, to oppoſe it to the utmoſt of his power, whatever danger he might incur by ſo doing; which zeal of his, though at that time he were like to have prevailed very little with men otherwiſe reſolved, yet it might have proved an occaſion of much hurt to himſelf, and therefore God, in wiſdom and mercy, thought good to excuſe him that piece of ſervice.

He was in his converſation a man of much temperance and ſobriety in his diet he abſtained from ſtrong drink altogether; wine he drank very ſparingly, ſo far forth only as the neceſſities of nature did require, and did uſually content himſelf to eat but of one diſh at a meal, and that none of the daintieſt, even when he had more before him.

In his apparrel he did neither affect to be gay nor coſtly, but decent; nor to ſpend time in needleſs curioſity in dreſſing. As for recreations he ſcarce uſed any; but inſtead thereof refreſhed himſelf with the Chriſtian converſe of friends; accounting time ſo precious, that he would redeem it, not only from ſports, but from ſleep alſo, ſo far as the neceſſities of nature would permit.

He was neither waſteful nor covetous, but very liberal; doing many acts of charity (beſide what hath been mentioned before) to ſuch as ſtood in need; beſtowing plenteous relief, according as he was able, both by his own hands, and the hands of others, ſo that thoſe who received it knew not oft times whence it came. And when that eminent work of charity was on foot in Cambridge, while he was fellow of Queen's college, whereby divers young ſcholars, who were forced by reaſon of the wars to fly out of Germany, eſpecially of the Palatinate, were ſent for hither and educated, partly in the univerſity, and partly under able and godly divines in the country, whereby they might be fitted to do God and their country ſervice, when God ſhould give them opportunity to return, having been here educated in the knowlege of our language, and the way of practical preaching, which hath been no where more eminent than in England, which work ſucceeded beyond expectation; he was one of the great actors therein, and did contribute liberally thereunto. The like aſſiſtance alſo he afforded to divers Hungarians, Tranſilvanians, and other ſtrangers, who came over into England for the ſame reaſon.

The time of his ſickneſs was not long; for having ſpent much of his natural ſtrength in his conſtant labours in the ſervice of God, there was the leſs work for ſickneſs to do; his deportment therein was holy and heavenly; his humility, faith, patience, and ſubmiſſion to God's will, eminently appearing from time; and his diſcourſe, full of heavenly expreſſions, till the time of his death.

Not long before his death, when one had read to him the 38th chapter of Iſaiah, (having then ſome little hopes of his recovery) and ready to go to prayer, he deſired him to ſtay a while that he might pray firſt, which he did briefly, as his weakneſs would permit, but very fully, both for himſelf, the kingdom, the church of God, and all to whom he ſtood in any relation; the heads whereof were ſoon after written, as near as might be in his own words, ſo far as the memory of thoſe that were then preſent could call them to mind.

First, bleſſing God for his goodneſs the night paſt.

'Bleſſed be God that hath been ſo good to us this night.'

Then praying in behalf of himſelf.

'Great God, heal the ſinfulneſs of my nature;
'Pardon all my tranſgreſſions;
'Take from me a heart of unbelief, that I may not depart from thee the living God;
'Deliver me from tentation;
'Accept of Jeſus Chriſt for me;
'Teach me to improve all providences;
'To live upon the promiſes:
'Let Chriſt be my life.
'O Lord, let me never ſhrink from thee.'

For the good of the public.

'Lord, turn the hearts of this nation, and all our hearts;
'Turn the heart of the king;
'Sanctify the parliament, and make them faithful;
'Bleſs the aſſembly, and make them faithful and upright with thee;
'Let not the army do unworthily, but what thou wouldeſt have them to do.
'Bleſs all the miniſters.'

For other nations.

'Lord, do good to Scotland, and the churches in France.
'Bleſs New England, and foreign plantations.'

For the places to which he was related.

'Lord, provide a faithful man for Queen's college.
'A faithful man for this place. [New church in Weſtminſter.]
'A faithful paſtor for thoſe in the country.'

For friends, and those about him.

'Lord, remember all those that have shewed kindness to me, and have taken pains with me, and recompense them. Thou hast promised, 'that he which giveth a cup of water in the name of a disciple, and he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall have a prophet's reward."

Afterwards, having forgotten to crave a blessing upon somewhat given him to take, he prayed, 'Lord, pardon my neglect and forgetfulness of thee; and deliver me from temptation, and the evil of temptation. Thou art holy, if thou shouldest forsake us. Our fathers trusted in thee, and were delivered. Lord, glorify thy name in my poor spirit; and let none of thy people ever see me shrink from thee, for Jesus Christ's sake.'

Being spoken to, to cast the burden of his sickness and pain upon God, he answered, 'I should do very unworthily, if when I have preached to others, that they should cast their burdens upon God, I should not do so myself.

In these, and many other the like Christian expressions, he did manifest the same favour of holiness, even to the time of his death, which had been constantly discovered in the time of his life.

He departed this life in the year 1647, and of his age forty-six, having served God faithfully and painfully in his generation, being a very great instrument of much good, and an excellent pattern for imitation. His body lieth interred in the New church at Westminster, and his memory yet liveth in the minds of those that knew him.

The Life of Mr John Cotton, *who died* Anno Christi 1652.

John Cotton was born at Darby, in the year 1584. his parents were persons of considerable quality, and of good reputation: their condition, as to the things of this life, competent; neither unable to defray the expences of his education in good literature, nor so abounding as to be a temptation, on the other hand, unto the neglect thereof: and God, who had then pre-determined this tender plant to be a tree of life, for the feeding of many thousands, and to be a chosen vessel to bear his name before the nations, in way thereunto, he inspired his parents with an effectual solicitude concerning the ordering of this their son in his minority.

This care in his parents was quickly above expectation answered, in the first fruits of their son's proficiency, who more and more increased great hopes concerning him, throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the grammar-school of Darby.

When he was about the age of thirteen he was admitted into Trinity college in Cambridge, where his industry was great, and his profiting in the arts and languages above his equals, so far commended him to the master and fellows, as that he had undoubtedly been chosen fellow of that college, had not their extraordinary expence about building their great hall at that time put it by, or at least deferred their election until some time longer.

From Trinity he was removed to Emmanuel, that happy seminary both of piety and learning; and in that society the Lord gave him favour, so that in due time he was honoured with a fellowship amongst them; and when he was elected to it, after a diligent and strict examination, according to the statues of the college, wherein this is not unworthy the taking notice of, That when the poser came to examine him in the Hebrew tongue, the place that he made trial of him by, was that portion of scripture, Isaiah iii. wherein the prophet declaims against the pride and haughtiness of the daughter of Sion; which text hath more hard words in it than any other place of the Bible, within so short a compass; and therefore, though a present construction, and resolution thereof, might have put a good Hebrean to a stand, yet such was his ability and dexterity, as made those hard words facil and easy, and rendered him a present respondent. And this providence is further remarkable about him, That whereas his father, whose calling was but towards the law, was but plodure, and had not many clients that made use of his advice in law-matters before; it pleased God after his son's going to Cambridge, to bless him with great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there, and to allow him full and liberal maintenance; insomuch as this blessed man hath been often heard to say, 'God kept me in the university.'

Being thus advanced, he was in the place of improvement, beset with examples as so many objects of better emulation. If he slacken his pace, his compeers will leave him behind: and though he quicken it, there are still those that are before him: but he was, not only a lover of labour, but communicative of his learning, and therefore he proved a diligent tutor, and had many young students committed to his care. He was a didactical man, both able and apt to teach: and truly ability to instruct youth argues a wise man: and to be willing to teach, argues a good man: for goodness is communicative: and such was his academical dexterity, that he could impart, as Scaliger speaks, the felicities of his wit to his hearers, so accommodating and insinuating the matter in hand, as that his pupils might both perceive their profiting, and taste the sweetness of that wherein they profited. Thus by his school stratagems, he won the hearts of his pupils both to himself, and to a desire of learning: they were each to other as the Prophets, and the sons of the Prophets: his pupils were honourers, and he was a tutor, a friend and a father unto them.

The manner of his conversion, according to his relation was thus. During his residence in the university, God began to work upon him by the ministry of Mr William Perkins of blessed memory: but the motions, and stirrings of his heart which then were, he suppressed, thinking, that if he should trouble himself with matters of religion, according to the light he had then received, it would be an hinderance to him in his studies, which then he had much addicted himself unto. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions, and inward callings which he had from God's Spirit, and did wittingly defer the prosecution of that work until afterwards. At length, as he was walking in the fields, he heard the bell tolling for Mr Perkins, who lay a dying, whereupon he was secretly glad in his heart, that he should now be rid of him, who had, as he said, laid siege to, and beleaguered his heart. This became matter of much affliction to him afterwards, God keeping it upon his spirit, with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual means of convincing and humbling him in the sight, and sense of the natural enmity that is in man's nature against God.

Afterwards, hearing Dr Sibs, (then Mr Sibs), preaching a sermon about regeneration, wherein he shewed, first, what regeneration was not, and so opening the state of a meer civil man, Mr Cotton saw his own condition fully discovered, which, through God's mercy, did drive him to a stand, as plainly seeing himself destitute of true grace, all his false hopes and grounds now failing him; and so he lay for a long time in an uncomfortable despairing way: and of all other things this was his heaviest burden, that he had wittingly withstood the means, and offers of grace, and mercy which he found had been tendered to him. Thus, he continued, till it pleased God to let in a word of faith unto his heart, and to cause him to look unto Christ for his healing, which word also was dispensed unto him by the same Dr Sibs, which begat in him a singular and constant love to the said doctor, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

That which first made him famous in Cambridge, was his funeral oration for Dr Some, master of Peter house, which was so accurately performed in respect of invention, elegancy, purity of stile, ornaments of rhetoric, discretion, and oratorious beauty of the whole, as that he was thenceforth looked at as another Xenephon, or Muse Attica, throughout the university.

Some space of time intervening, he was called to preach at St Maries, where he preached a university sermon, with high applause from the academical wits, insomuch as the fame of his learning grew greater and greater. And afterwards being again called to preach in the same place, as one oration of Pericles left his hearers with an appetite after another, so the memory of his former accurate exer-

cises,

pies, filled the colleges, especially the young students, with a freſh expectation of ſuch elegancies of learning, as made them flock to the ſermon with an Athenian itch after ſome new thing, as to the ornaments of rhetoric, and abſtruſer notions of philoſophy, but his ſpirit now favouring of the croſs of Chriſt more than of human literature, and being taught of God to diſtinguiſh between the word of wiſdom, and the wiſdom of words, 'his ſpeech, and preaching, was not with the enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in the demonſtration of the ſpirit, and of power.'

The diſappointed expectation of the auditory, ſoon appeared in their countenances, and the diſcouragement of their non-acceptance, returned him unto his chamber, not without ſome ſad thoughts of heart: where yet he had not been long; but, lo! Dr Preſton, then Mr Preſton, knocks at his chamber door, and coming in, acquainted him with his ſpiritual condition, and tells him how it had pleaſed God to work effectually upon his heart by that ſermon: after which Dr Preſton ever highly prized him, and both fully and ſtrongly cloſed with him: which real ſeal of God unto his miniſtery much comforted his ſoul, far above what the preſent leſs acceptance of the auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance had encouraged him.

His *Concio ad Clerum*, or Latin ſermon, which he preached when he proceeded batchelor of divinity, which was after he had been at Boſton about half a year, was very much admired, and commended. His text was, Matth v. 13. *Vos eſtis ſal terræ: quod ſi ſal infatuatus fuerit, quo ſalietur?* Ye are the ſalt of the earth; but if the ſalt hath loſt its ſavour, wherewith ſhall it be ſalted? In handling of which text, both the weight of the matter, the elegancy of phraſe, rhetorical ſtrains, grave, ſweet, and ſpiritual pronunciation, rendered him yet more famous. The like did his anſwering of the divinity act in the ſchools, having a very acute opponent, Mr William Chappel to diſpute with him. So that in Cambridge the name of Mr Cotton was much ſet by.

Unto this earthen veſſel, thus filled with heavenly treaſure, the inhabitants of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, made their addreſs, ſaying, 'Come and help us.' And in that candleſtic the Father of lights placed this burning and ſhining light: To whom he removed from Cambridge about the twenty-eight year of his age. At his firſt coming, he met with ſome obſtructions from the dioceſan, then Biſhop Barlo, who told him, that he was a young man, and therefore unfit to be ſet over ſuch a divided people: Mr Cotton being ingenious, and undervaluing himſelf, thought ſo too, and purpoſed to return to the college again; but ſome of his Boſton friends, underſtanding that one Simon Biby was to be ſpoken with, who was near to the biſhop, they preſently charmed him, and ſo the buſineſs proceeded without any further trouble, and Mr Cotton was admitted into the place after their manner in thoſe days.

Two things are here not unworthy our obſervation, which Mr Cotton would ſometimes ſpeak of to his friends: firſt, That in the beginning of his miniſtry, he was exerciſed with ſome inward troubles which much dejected him. And indeed, good ſpirits are much bettered by their conflicts with the worſt of ſpirits: ſpiritual preachers are often trained up in the ſchool of temptation. So true is that theological maxim, meditation, prayer, and temptation make a divine. This diſpenſation of the all-wiſe God, he afterwards found, not only to be beneficial unto him, in preparing his heart for his work: but alſo, that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable and comfortable ſettlement in that place, where the people were divided amongſt themſelves, by reaſon of a potent man in the town, who adhered to another Cambridge man, whom he feign would have brought. But when he ſaw Mr Cotton wholly taken up with his own exerciſes of ſpirit, he was free from all ſuppoſition of his being pragmatical, or addicted to ſiding with this or that party: and ſo both he and his party began to cloſe more fully with him.

Secondly, Whereas there was an Arminian party in that town, ſome of whom were witty, and troubled others with diſputes about thoſe points: by God's bleſſing upon his labours in holding forth poſitively ſuch truths, as undermined the foundation of Arminianiſm, thoſe diſputes ceaſed, and the tenets of Arminianiſm were no more pleaded for. Thus God diſpoſes of the hearts of hearers, as that generally they are all open, and loving to their preachers at their firſt entrance.

For three or four years he lived, and preached amongſt them without oppoſition. They accounted themſelves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him; both the town and country thereabouts being much bettered, and reformed by his labours. But after he was not able to bear the ceremonies impoſed, his non-conformity occaſioned his trouble in the biſhops court at Lincoln, from whence he was adviſed to appeal to an higher court: and employing Mr Leveret (who afterwards was one of the ruling elders of the church of Boſton in new England) to deal in that buſineſs, and he (like Jacob) being a plain man, yet pioufly ſubtile to get ſuch a ſpiritual bleſſing, ſo far inſinuated himſelf into one of the proctors of that high court, that Mr Cotton was treated by them, as if he were a conformable man, and ſo was reſtored unto Boſton.

After this time he was bleſſed with a ſucceſsful miniſtry unto the end of twenty years, in which ſpace he on the Lord's days in the afternoons, went over the whole body of divinity in a catechiſtical way thrice, and gave the heads of his diſcourſe to thoſe that were young ſcholars, and others in the town, to anſwer his queſtions in public in that congregation: and after their anſwers, he opened thoſe heads of divinity; and finally applied all to the edification of his people, and of ſuch ſtrangers as came to hear him. In the morning of the Lord's days, he preached over the firſt ſix chapters of the goſpel of St. John: the whole book of the Eccleſiaſtes; the propheſy of Zachariah, and many other Scriptures; and when the Lord's ſupper was adminiſtred (which was uſually every month) he preached upon 1 Corinth. 11. and 2 Chron 30. the whole chapter, beſides ſome other Scriptures concerning that ſubject. On his lecture days, he preached through the whole firſt, and ſecond epiſtles of John; the whole book of Solomon's ſong; the parables of our Saviour ſet forth in Matthew's goſpel to the end of Chapter the 16th. comparing them with Mark and Luke: he took much pains in private, and read to ſundry young ſcholars that were in his houſe, and to ſome that came out of Germany, and had his houſe full of auditors: afterwards ſeeing ſome inconvenience in the peoples flocking to his houſe, beſides his ordinary lecture on the Thurſdays, he preached thrice more in public, on the week days: viz. on Wedneſdays and Thurſdays early in the morning, and on Saturdays at three o' clock in the afternoon. Only theſe three laſt lectures were performed by him but ſome few years before he had another famous colleague.

He was frequent in duties of humiliation and thankſgiving: ſometime he continued five or ſix hours in prayer, and opening the word ſo indefatigable was he in the Lord's work. ſo willing to ſpend and be ſpent therein. Beſides, he anſwered many letters that were ſent him far and near, wherein were handled many difficult caſes of conſcience, and many doubts cleared to great ſatisfaction.

He was a man exceedingly beloved and admired of the beſt, and reverenced of the worſt of his hearers. He was in great favour with Dr Williams, the then biſhop of Lincoln, who much eſteemed him for his learning, and when he was lord keeper of the great ſeal, he went to king James, and ſpeaking of Mr Cotton's great learning and worth; the king was willing, notwithſtanding his non-conformity, to give way that he ſhould have his liberty in his miniſtry without interruption. which was the more remarkable conſidering how that king's ſpirit was carried out againſt ſuch ways. Alſo the earl of Dorcheſter, being at old Boſton, and hearing Mr Cotton preaching about civil government, he was ſo affected with the wiſdom of his words and ſpirit, and that he did ever after highly account of him, and put himſelf forth what he could in the time of Mr Cotton's troubles to deliver him out of them, that ſo his Boſton might ſtill enjoy him as formerly; but his deſires were too ſtrongly oppoſed to be accompliſhed.

About this time he married his ſecond wife, Mrs Sara Story than a widow. He was bleſſed above many in his marriages, both his wives being pious matrons, grave, ſober, and faithful. By the firſt he had no children: the

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laſt, God made a fruitful vine unto him: his firſt born was brought forth far off upon the ſea, in his paſſage to New England: ſo that he being childleſs when he left Europe, arrived a joyful father in America: in memorial whereof, he called his name ſea-born, to keep alive, (ſaid he,) in me, and to teach my ſon, if he live, a remembrance of ſea mercies, from the hand of a gracious God: he is yet living, and entered into the work of the miniſtry. A ſon of many prayers, and of great expectation.

The corruption of the times being now ſuch, that he could not continue in the exerciſe of his miniſtry without ſin and the envy of his maligners having now procured letters miſſive to convent him before the high commiſſion court, which letters a debauched inhabitant of that town undertook to ſerve upon him (who ſhortly after died of the plague.) Mr Cotton having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that nothing but ſcorns and impriſonment were to be expected from them, according to the advice of many able heads and upright hearts, (among whom that holy man of God, Mr Dod, of bleſſed memory, had a ſingular influence) he kept himſelf cloſe for a time, in, and about London, as Luther ſometimes did at Wittenberg; and Paræus ſince at Anvilla; yet was not that ſeaſon of his receſs unprofitable: for addreſſes during that time were made unto him privately by divers perſons of worth, and piety, who received ſatisfaction from him in their caſes of conſcience of greateſt concernment. And when he went into New England, it was not a flight from duty, but from evident danger, and unto duty: not from the profeſſion of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for the profeſſion of it.

When Mr Cotton arrived at New england, his manner of entrance unto them was with much bleſſing. For at his firſt coming he found them not free from troubles about ſettling the matters both of church and common wealth. At which time, being requeſted, he preached before the general court: his text was, Haggai ii. 4. 'Yet now be ſtrong, O Zerubbabel, ſaith the Lord; be ye ſtrong, O Joſhua the ſon of Joſedek, the high prieſt; and be ſtrong all ye people of the land, ſaith the Lord, and work: for I am with you ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.' And the Lord working mightily by this ſermon, all obſtructions were preſently removed, and the ſpirits of all ſorts, as one man, were excited unanimouſly, and vigorouſly in the work of the Lord from that very day.

In order whereunto, the court conſidering that all the members of that republic, were alſo church members, and therefore to be governed according to the law of God, they deſired Mr Cotton to draw an abſtract of the Judicial laws delivered from God to Moſes, ſo far forth as they were of moral, *i. e.* of perpetual and univerſal equity; which accordingly he did, adviſing them to perſiſt in their purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a theocracy, *i. e.* God's government over his people. From this time it was a uſual thing for the magiſtrates to conſult with the miniſters in hard and difficult caſes, eſpecially about matters of religion: yet ſo as notwithſtanding occaſional conjunction, religious care was had of avoiding confuſion of councils After which time how uſeful Mr Cotton was to Old England, to New England, to magiſtrates, to miniſters, to people, in public, in private, by preaching, by counſel, and reſolving difficult queſtions, all know that knew him, and conſequently ſaw the grace of God evidently manifeſted in him.

In the courſe of his miniſtry in New Boſton, by way of expoſition he went over the Old Teſtament to Iſaiah the 30. The whole new Teſtament once through, and the ſecond time in the middle of Hebrews the 7th. Upon the Lord's day, and lecture days, he preached through the Acts of the apoſtles: the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, the Revelations, Eccleſiaſtes, Canticles: the ſecond and third epiſtles of John, the epiſtle to Titus; both the epiſtles to Timothy: the epiſtle to the Romans, with other Scriptures. The preſence of the Lord being with him, and crowning his labours with the converſion of many ſouls, and the edification of thouſands. Beſides the aforementioned labours, he hath many pieces in print, which being well known, need not to be here enumerated.

His youth was unſtained, whence he was ſo much the more capable of being an excellent inſtrument in the church in his elder days. He that will do good in the church, 'muſt have a good report of them which are without, leſt he fall into the reproach and ſnare of the devil, 1 Tim. iii. 7. St. Auguſtine tells us, that 'a good life is requiſite in reſpect of ourſelves, but a good name is requiſite in reſpect of others.' We may be good men if we have a good conſcience, but we are not like to do much good, if we have not a good name.

He was a general ſcholar, ſtudious to know all things, the want whereof might in one of his profeſſion be denominated ignorance; and pioufly ignorant of thoſe things, the neſcience whereof made him more learned. Deſervedly therefore is his praiſe great in all the churches, that he not only gave himſelf to the acquiring of learning, but exceeded many that had done vertuouſly therein. He excelled in the greater part of the *Encychpaidia*.

Thoſe which beſt knew his goings out, and his coming in, cannot but give a large teſtimony to his piety. He was a ſaint (above many of the ſaints) manifeſtly declared in the conſciences of the godly amongſt whom he walked, to be the epiſtle of Chriſt, 'known and read of all men.' In his houſe he 'walked with a perfect heart.' He was an example to the flock; clothed with love and humility, amongſt his brethren: one of a thouſand in reſpect of his worth: but (as it is reported of Dr Whitaker) as one of the multitude in reſpect of his facile, and companion like behaviour. Both ability and modeſty in ſuch a degree, are ordinarily to be found in the ſame man. Others with much affection beheld the beauty of his face, whilſt himſelf was one that knew not that his face ſhined. He was a father, friend, and brother to his fellow elders, and a ſhining light unto all men.

He well knew that a biſhop ought not to be defective in the well government of his family: he muſt be 'one that rules well his own houſe:' in conſcience whereof, he himſelf riſing betimes in the morning, as ſoon as he was ready, he called his family together (which was alſo his practice in the evening) to the ſolemn worſhip of God, reading and expounding and occaſionally alſo applying the ſcriptures unto them, always beginning, and ending with prayer. In caſe of ſin committed by child or ſervant, he would call them aſide privately (the matter ſo requiring) laying the Scriptures before them and cauſing them to read that part which bore witneſs againſt ſuch an offence: ſeldom or never correcting in anger, that the diſpenſation of godly diſcipline might not be imputed, or become leſs effectual, through the intermixing of human paſſion.

He began the Sabbath, on the Saturday evening; and therefore then performed family duties after ſupper, being larger than ordinary in expoſition, after which he catechiſed his children and ſervants, and then returned into his ſtudy. The morning following, family worſhip being ended, he retired unto his ſtudy until the bell called him away. Upon his return from the congregation, he returned again unto his ſtudy (the place of his labour and prayer) unto his private devotion; where (having a ſmall repaſt carried him up for his dinner) he continued till the tolling of the bell. The public ſervice being ended, he withdrew for a ſpace into his forementioned oratory, for his ſacred addreſſes unto God, as in the forenoon: then came down and repeated the ſermon in his family, prayed, and after ſupper ſang a pſalm, and towards bed time, betaking himſelf again to his ſtudy, he cloſed the day with prayer. Thus he ſpent the Sabbath continually.

In his ſtudy, he neither ſat down unto, nor aroſe from his meditations without prayer: whilſt his eyes were upon his book, his expectation was from God. He had learned to ſtudy, becauſe he had learned to pray. An able ſtudent is a goſpel ſtudent, becauſe unable to ſtudy without Jeſus Chriſt. The barrenneſs of his meditations at ſome times, yea though his endeavour was moſt intenſe upon a good matter, convinced him: whence it was, that his heart muſing upon the ſame ſubject at another time, his tongue became as the pen of a ready writer. As he was not (comparatively) wanting in parts, learning or induſtry; ſo was he moſt careful not to truſt in them, but to fix his dependance wholly upon God. Herein he was not unlike to bleſſed Bradford who ſtudied kneeling. Another Syeſius, who was wont to divide his life between prayer and his book. Like unto Paul, 'Not ſufficient of himſelf to think

think any thing as of himself,' and profeſſing all his 'ſufficiency to be of God. But we will give ourſelves (ſay the apoſtles) continually unto prayer, and to the miniſtry of the word.) Men of labour, they were, and men of prayer.

As any weighty cauſe preſented it ſelf either in the church, common wealth, or his family, he uſed to ſet days apart to ſeek the face of God in ſecret: ſuch were the bowels of this ſpiritual father, 'The horſemen, and chariots of this Iſrael.' He might ſay with Paul, 'He was in faſting often,' his converſation upon earth was a trading in heaven. A demonſtration of the praiſes of him who hath called him. A temperature of that holineſs, ſweetneſs and love, which continually gained upon the hearts of many ſpectators. The habitual gracious ſcope of his heart in his whole miniſtry, is not illegible in that uſual ſubſcription of his at the end of all his ſermons, *tibi domine.* Unto thy honour, O Lord. A taſte of the divine ſoliloquies between God and his ſoul, you may pleaſe to take notice of from theſe two tranſcribed poems left behind him in his ſtudy, written with his own hand.

A thankful acknowlegement of God's Providence.

In mother's womb thy fingers did me make,
And from the womb thou did'ſt me ſafely take:
From breaſt thou haſt me nurſt my life throughout,
That I may ſay I never wanted ought.
In all my meals my table thou haſt ſpread,
In all my lodgings thou haſt made my bed:
Thou haſt me clad with changes of array,
And chang'd my houſe for better, far away.
In youthful wandrings thou didſt ſtay my ſtide,
In all my journies thou haſt been my guide:
Thou haſt me ſav'd from many an unknown danger,
And ſhew'd me favour even where I was a ſtranger.
In both my callings thou haſt heard my voice,
In both my watches thou haſt made my choice:
Thou giv'ſt me ſons, and daughters, them to peer,
And giv'ſt me hope thou'l't learn them thee to fear.
Oft have I ſeen thee look with mercy's face,
And through thy Chriſt have felt thy ſaving grace:
This is the heav'n on earth, if any be:
For this, and all, my ſoul doth worſhip thee.

Another made by him (as it ſeems) upon his removal from Boſton into that wilderneſs of New England.

I now may expect ſome changes of miſeries,
Since God hath made me ſure,
That himſelf by them all will purge mine iniquities
As fire makes ſilver pure.

Then what though I find the deep deceitfulneſs
Of a diſtruſtful heart?
Yet I know with the Lord is abundant faithfulneſs,
He will not loſe his part.

When I think of the ſweet, and gracious company
That at Boſton once I had,
And of the long peace of a fruitful miniſtry
For twenty years enjoy'd.

The joy that I found in all that happineſs
Doth ſtill ſo much refreſh me,
That the grief to be caſt out into a wilderneſs
Doth not ſo much diſtreſs me.

For when God ſaw his people, his own at our town,
That together they could not hit it,
But that they had learned the language of Aſkelon,
And one with another could chip it.

He then ſaw it time to ſend in a buſy elf,
A joiner to take them aſunder;
That ſo they might learn each one to deny himſelf
And ſo to piece together.

When the breach of their bridges, and all their banks arow,
And of him that ſchool teaches,
When the breach of the plague, and of their trade alſo
Could not learn to ſee their breaches.

Then God ſaw it time to break out on their miniſter
By loſs of health and peace;
Yea withal, to break in upon their magiſtrates,
That ſo their pride might ceaſe.

A diſputation is well called the ſieve of truth: ſo in his polemical labours he was a ſeeker thereof in love: his ſcope was, the glory of God, unity of the church, and the edification of men, not the oſtentation of wit. It was his holy ambition, not to ſeem to be learned, but indeed to be bettered. A ſincere ſeeker of light, not of victory. Witneſs his brotherly acceptance of Dr. Twiſs his examination of Mr Cotton's treatiſe of predeſtination, from whom he acknowleged that he received light thereby, and was ready to atteſt the great abilities of the doctor, that ſtar (if any of this age) of the firſt magnitude. It is true Mr Cotton's mind was then exerciſed about the point of reprobation. Touching the point of election, it is ſufficiently known that he was not only orthodox, but alſo clear. As there were of old that pretended the predeſtinarain hereſie to have had it's riſe from St. Auſtin, and Grevinchovius of late, bluſhed not to ſay of famous Dr Ames, who was *Arminianorum malleus; ameſius pelagianizat.* Dr Ames plays the plagian: ſo the wonder is leſs, if this ſound, and judicious divine hath not eſcaped the imputation of arminianiſm from ſome, notwithſtanding the redundant teſtimony of his doctrine, and generally of all that knew him to the contrary; yea, that occaſionally he hath been heard to ſay, by teſtimony yet alive, and above acception, that he looked at arminianiſm as another goſpel, and directly contrary to the covenant of grace. What Melanchon ſometimes ſaid to Eccius, may be here truly applied to him. Mr Cotton in his diſputations ſought not his own glory, but God's truth. So able an opponent was rare, ſo candid an opponent was more rare. He that fell into his hands, was likely to fall ſoft enough ordinarly (except through his own default) not likely to loſe any thing ſave his error.

A man's wiſdom makes his face to ſhine: he had an happy, a quick, comprehenſive, and benign underſtanding, as having received the manifeſtation of the ſpirit, for the ſervice and profit of others. To diſcover the mind of God and therewith the ſentence of judgment, in matters too hard for inferior judges, was no ſmall part both of the worth, and uſefulneſs of him that was to miniſter before the Lord. So it ſeemed good to the father of lights to make this happy inſtrument, not only to excel his brethren, but in many reſpects, upon this account, to excel himſelf: a grace ſo far acknowleged in him, that as all ſorts, both the magiſtrates and private perſons, whether learned or unlearned, exerciſed with their reſpective cales of conſcience, waited under God, in a ſpecial manner upon his lips for knowlege, 'and ſought the law at his mouth.' So equal a contention between learning and meekneſs, is ſeldom viſible in any one perſon. The conſciences of thoſe that knew him being appealed to, he will be acknowleged among the meekeſt on earth in his days.

So conſpicuous was this grace in him, that multitudes beheld it, without making extraordinary mention thereof. It is true, he had an advantage above many of his natural conſtitution, and it's influence from his education, heightened intellectuals, and moralities was not inconſiderable; but that which gave the being of meekneſs, which ſanctified and perfected all, was the grace of Chriſt. He was of an accute apprehenſion, and therefore ſenſible of, but yet ſo little in his own ſight, that he was not eaſily provoked by an injury.

Senſibleneſs of diſhonour done to God by ſin, or of what the offender had done unto himſelf by ſinning, left ſuch impreſſions upon him, as that his taking notice of any injury done unto himſelf, was not uſually taken notice of. He had well learned that leſſon of Gregory: 'It is better many times to fly from an injury by ſilence, than to overcome it by replying. It was Grynæus his manner, to re-

venge wrongs by christian taciturnity. If inferiors expostulated unnecessarily with him, he would patiently hear them, and give them a brotherly account, pacifying their minds with a gentle, grave and respective answer. Take one instance of this kind instead of many; unto one of his hearers, then sick of singularities, and therefore the less able to bear sound doctrine, following him home, after his public labours in the congregation, and instead of better encouragement, telling him that his ministry was become either dark or flat, he gently answered? both, brother; without further opening of his mouth in his own defence, choosing rather to own the imputation, than to expostulate with the imputer.

Disputations are great trials of the spirits of intelligent men. Hooper and Ridley were patient martyrs, but somewhat impatient disputers. The synod held at Cambridge in New England, as matters were then circumstanced, was unto this good man an hour of temptation, above what had originally befallen him in his pilgrimage; yet such was his eminent behaviour throughout, as argued in the consciences of the spectators singular patience, and left him a mirror for the temperament, mildness, and government of his spirit. Pious meekness fit for church society. Yet though he was so gentle, meek, and flexible, that men might persuade him above what could be expected usually from a man of his worth, in the things of God he was stedfast and unmoveable.

The sanctuary cannot want the fire that is from heaven, neither may it be touched with the fire that is from hell. Gentleness of disposition, when actuated by Christ, makes us so much the more acceptable and profitable unto man; but if the spirit withdraweth his assistance, we fall short of reaching God's ends, and the seasonable suppressing of exorbitancies. If this good man had always had that voice sounding in his heart, which one wished that mild Lantgrave of Hessen might have heard from the smith's forge: *Durescе, durescе; utinam et Lantgravius durescat.* Happily there are that think some disorders, disturbances, and irregularities might, by God's blessing have been prevented.

But ordinarily, and in matters of greatest weight, the Lord was with him. Though his forbearance was both observable, and very imitable, in things that concerned himself; yet he could not forbear them whom he knew to be evil. An experience whereof he manifested, when some heterodox spirits, by their specious discourses about free grace, and subtile concealings of their principles, so far deceived him into a better opinion of them than there was cause, as that notwithstanding they fathered their errors upon him in general, and abused his doctrine, to the countenancing of their denial of inherent grace in particular, yet was he slow to believe these things of them, and slower to bear witness against them. But so soon as the truth herein appeared to him, hear his own words taken out of his letter to Mr Davenport; 'The truth is, saith he, the body of the island is bent to backsliding into error and delusion; the Lord pity and pardon them, and me also, who have been so slow to see their windings and subtile contrivances, and insinuations in all their transactions, whilst they propagated their opinions under my expressions diverted to their constructions.' Yea, such was his ingenuity and piety, as that his soul was not satisfied without often breaking forth into affectionate bewailing of his infirmity herein, in the public assemblies, sometimes in his prayer, sometimes in his sermon, and that with tears.

He was a man of an ingenious and pious candour, rejoicing, as opportunity was offered, to take notice of, and to bear witness to the gifts of God in his brethren, thereby drawing the hearts of them to him, and of others to them, and that to the encouragement of them, and the edification of many. He did not think himself a loser by putting honour on his fellow labourers, but was willing that they should communicate with him in the love and esteem of the people.

He was not only a son of peace, enjoying continually the feast of a good conscience, with serenity and tranquillity of affections at home, but also a peace-maker, qualified by the graces afore-mentioned, to be a choice instrument, in the hand of the Prince of Peace, amongst the churches, where if any difference arose, Mr Cotton was ready, being called thereunto, to afford his help for the composing of them; and had a singular faculty and ability therein, by reason of that excellent wisdom and moderation of spirit which God in Christ had given him, whose blessing also did ordinarily crown his endeavours with good success.

He was one, the reality of whose profession gave many cause to bless God for the kindness of the Lord shewed to all sorts by him. His portion in the things of this life exempted him from being an object of envy in that behalf; yet behold *Quantum ex quantillo*, so much communicated out of so little; we may not here be altogether silent concerning the grace of God bestowed upon him, whereby, according to his power, yea, above his power, he was beneficent unto others, but especially to those of the household of faith. The gospel opened his heart, his lips, and the doors of his house. He well remembered that scripture, 'There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.' As also, 'The liberal soul shall be made fat.'

Amongst others, his fellow labourers in the ministry were entertained with peculiar contentment. By one instance see his spirit in the rest; A certain minister who had gotten into the fellowship of that eminent man Mr Arthur Hildersam, and many other good preachers, being acquainted with their secrets, betrayed them into their enemies hands. This man coming afterwards to Boston, and meeting with Mr Cotton, this Gaius had not the heart to speak to him, nor to invite him to his house, which, he said, he never neglected, to his knowledge, to any stranger before, much less to any of his own order.

Some years since there was brought unto Boston a report of the necessity of the poor saints at Sigatea, a little church, whereof the rev. Mr White was their faithful pastor, which suffered much extremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing adversaries, forcing them from Bermudas into the desart continent: the sound of whose distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the sounding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves to a speedy collection, and sending it to them, on purpose for their seasonable relief; the sum was about seven hundred pounds, two hundred whereof he gathered in the church of Boston, no man in the contribution exceeding, and but one equalling his bounty. And it was remarkable that his contribution arrived there the very day after these poor people were brought to a personal division of that little meal then remaining in the barrel, and not seeing (according to man) but that after the eating thereof they must die a lingering death for want of food; and upon the same day their pastor had preached unto them (it being the Lord's day) upon that text, Psal. xxiii. 1. 'The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.' At such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succour to them from afar.

Whilst he was in Old England, his eminent piety, the success of his labours, and his interest in the hearts both of superiors, inferiors, equals, drew upon him much envy, and his non-conformity added thereunto, so that he was delivered in a great measure to the will of his adversaries, who gave him not over till they had bereaved him of much of his livelihood, his liberty, country, and therewithal of the sweet society of lovers, friends, and many ways endeared acquaintance, more precious to him than life itself.

Yet the measure of the afflictions of Christ, appointed to be suffered by him, was not to be fulfilled; but lo! in the time of his exile, some brethren, provoked by the censure of authority, though justly, and not without some inflicted upon them, singled out Mr Cotton as the object of their displeasure, who (though above other men) declining irregular and unnecessary interessing himself in the actions of the magistrate, and, while opportunity lasted, endeavouring their healing, yet they requited him evil for good, and they, at least some of them, who were formerly companions with him in the tribulations of that Patmos, yea, respecters of him, had 'taken sweet counsel together, and they had walked in the house of God' as friends; hence was he, with tongue and pen, blasphemed by them, for

for whom he formerly entreated, and for whom, he both then, and afterwards wept, and put on ſackcloth.

As touching any tenet wherein he may ſeem ſingular, remember that he was a man, and therefore to be heard and read with judgment, and happily ſometimes with favour. St Hierom makes a difference between reading the writings of the apoſtles, and of other men; 'they, ſaith he, always ſpeak the truth; theſe as men, ſometimes err.' But no man did more placidly bear a diſſentient than he. It contributes much towards the fuller diſcovery of truth, when men of larger capacities, and greater induſtry than others, may be permitted to communicate their notions; only they ſhould uſe this liberty by way of diſquiſition, not of poſition, rather as ſearchers after ſcripture-light, than as dictators of private opinions.

But now this weſtern ſun haſtens to his ſetting; being called to preach at a neighbour church, he took wet in his paſſage over the ferry, and, not many hours after, he felt the effect of it, being ſeized upon with an extreme illneſs in his ſermon-time. This ſad providence, when others bewailed, he comforted himſelf in that he was found ſo doing. *Decet imperatorem ſtantem mori.* It is the honour of a commander to die ſtanding. St Auſtin's uſual wiſh was, that when Chriſt came he might find him, *Aut precantem, aut prædicantem*, either praying or preaching. Calvin would not that when the Lord came he ſhould find him idle.

After a ſhort time he complained of the inflamation of his lungs, and thereupon found him ſelf aſthmatical, and afterward ſcorbutical, (which both meeting in a complicated diſeaſe, put an end to his days) inſomuch, that he was forced to give over thoſe comforting drinks which his ſtomach could not want. If he ſtill uſed them, the inflamation grew unſufferable, and threatened a more ſharp and ſpeedy death. If he left them, his ſtomach forthwith ceaſed to perform its office, leaving him without hope of life.

By theſe meſſengers he received the ſentence of death, yet in the uſe of means he attended the pleaſure of him in whoſe hands our times are: his labours continued whilſt his ſtrength failed. November the 18th, he took in courſe for his text the four laſt verſes of the ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, 'Salute Priſca and Aquila, &c. Giving the reaſon why he ſpake of ſo many verſes together, becauſe otherwiſe he ſaid, he ſhould not live to make an end of that epiſtle. He chiefly inſiſted upon theſe words, 'Grace be with you all:' ſo ending that epiſtle, and his lectures together, upon the Lord's day following he preached his laſt ſermon, upon John i. 14. 'And the word was made fleſh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, as of the only begotten ſon of the father, full of grace and truth.'

Now he gave himſelf wholly to prepare for his diſſolution, making his will, and ſetting his houſe in order: when he could no more be ſeen abroad, all ſorts, magiſtrates, miniſters, neighbours, and friends afar off, and thoſe near at hand, eſpecially his own people, reſorted to him daily, as to a public father.

When the neighbour miniſters viſited him, in which duty they were frequent, he thanked them affectionately for their love, exhorting them alſo, as an 'elder, and a witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, to feed the flock;' encouraging them, that when 'the chief ſhepherd ſhall appear, they ſhould receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.'

Finding himſelf to grow weak, according to that of James, he ſent for the elders of the church of Boſton, to pray over him, which laſt ſolemn duty was performed, not without much affection, and many tears. Then, as Polycarp a little before his death, ſaid, 'That he had ſerved Chriſt fourſcore and ſix years, neither had he ever offended him in any thing;' ſo he told them, Through grace, he had now ſerved God forty years, (it being ſo long ſince his converſion,) throughout which he had ever found him faithful to him; and thereupon he took occaſion to exhort them to the like effect, that Paul ſometime did the elders of Epheſus, a little before they were to ſee his face no more, 'Take heed therefore to yourſelves, and to all the flock, over which he hath made you overſeers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.'

Particularly he lamented, that the love of many, yea, and ſome of their own congregation, was grown cold towards the public ordinances, calling upon them ſo much the more for their watchfulneſs in that reſpect; which done, he thanked them for their loving and brotherly aſſiſtance to him in their holy fellowſhip, and commended them to the bleſſing of God.

His pious conſort, and thoſe olive-plants that ſat lately about his table, now gathered together about the bed of a dying huſband, and departing father. This was his laſt ſolemn tranſaction with man in this world: ſilver and gold, tho' he wanted not, he had not much to give them, but the bleſſing of a righteous parent he left with them.

That rev. and godly man Mr Wilſon, (who excelleth in love, as Mr Cotton did in light) the faithful paſtor of that church, taking his laſt leave of him, and moſt ardently praying unto God that he would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and ſhed his love into his ſoul, he preſently anſwered. 'He hath done it already, brother.'

His work now finiſhed with all men, perceiving his departure to be at hand, and having nothing elſe to do, but only that great work of dying in the Lord, he wholly compoſed, and ſet himſelf for his diſſolution, deſiring that he might be permitted to improve that little remnant of his life, without impediment to his private devotions, and divine ſoliloquies between God and his ſoul; and for that end he cauſed the curtains to be drawn; and a gentleman and brother of that congregation that was much with him, and miniſtered to him in his ſickneſs, he cauſed to promiſe him that the chamber ſhould be kept private. But a while after, hearing the whiſper of ſome brethren in the room, he called to that gentleman, ſaying, Why do you break your word with me?

Not long after (being mindful, no doubt, of that great helpfulneſs which he received from that aforementioned brother throughout his viſitation) he left him with this farewel, 'The God that made you, and bought you with a great price, redeem your body and ſoul unto himſelf. Theſe were his laſt words; after which he was not heard to ſpeak, but lying ſome hours ſpeechleſs, he quietly breathed out his ſpirit into the hands of him that gave it, December 23. 1652, being entered into the ſixty-eighth year of his age.

The Life of Dr THOMAS HILL, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1653.

MR THOMAS HILL was born at Kingſton in Worceſterſhire, of godly parents; and David accounted it his great honour and bleſſing to be the ſon of God's handmaid, Pſal. lxxxvi. 16.

His parents dedicated him unto God from his childhood, deſigning him to the work of the miniſtry, and in order thereunto they trained him up in ſchool learning in the country: and being there well fitted, they ſent him to Emmanuel college in Cambridge, where the roſe was not cankered in the bud, his youth not corrupted nor debauched, as too many are; but this morning (like that 2 Sam. xxiii. 4) was without clouds, not ſullied with any noted miſcarriage; but, on the contrary, as it is ſaid of Sampſon when young, that 'the ſpirit of the Lord began to move him,' Judg. xiii. 25, ſo in his then ſober and ſtudious behaviour the ſun looked out betimes in that ſummer morning, and through God's grace (otherwiſe than it oft falls out in nature) he gave promiſing hopes of an after clearer day.

This being taken notice of by the governors of the college, they thereupon, after examination, had choſe him ſcholar of the houſe, he (as his Saviour) ſtill 'growing in wiſdom and ſtature, and in favour with God and man. And then, after ſome time ſpent in his private ſtudies in the college, for his further perfecting, and the more happy ſeaſoning of his ſpirit, he went and ſojourned with that man of God (now alſo with the Lord) Mr Cotton, at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, where, by God's rich bleſſing upon his moſt godly directions and example, and the ſociety he

he had with him, and other eminent Chriſtians in that place, he was much improved and furthered, as otherwiſe, ſo eſpecially in heaven's way. which happily went along with him to his journey's end.

Upon his return from thence to the college, it was not long before he was choſen fellow with general approbation, though upon a moſt ſtrict and double examination, more (I think) than ever was in that college before, or hath been ſince, though it ſtill is, and ever hath been, according to the ſtatutes, very ſtrict and ſerious, and which hath been bleſſed to be a ſpecial means of holding up true worth and learning in that happy ſociety.

And now, through God's good hand of providence leading and ſtrengthening him, he proved a diligent, painful, and ſucceſsful tutor of very many pupils, and divers of them perſons of quality, who ſince have proved great bleſſings both to the church and common wealth: and thus, as he was before a pattern to young ſcholars, ſo after he was a tutor, no diligence was wanting whereby he might be inſtrumental to God's glory, and the good of thoſe who were committed to his charge.

But this our wiſe maſter-builder ſatisfied not himſelf as a tutor in poliſhing of builders; but, as a faithful and painful miniſter, he laboriouſly endeavoured to ſquare other lively ſtones for God's temple, 1 Pet. ii. 5. And ſo, as he read to ſcholars in the college, he alſo diligently and conſcionably preached to a neighbour congregation [St Andrews] in the town, that ſo many poor ſouls long after had cauſe to bleſs God for him.

Nor was he an hireling to fly when the wolf came, but when the plague, in this time of his miniſtry, raged in the town, he ſtill continued with them in his miniſterial employment; the better ſhepherd he, who not only fed the ſound, but alſo healed and bound up the torn and weak of the flock.

This alabaſter box of precious ointment thus poured out, filled the whole houſe with its odour, and the ſweet fragrancy of it did ſpread abroad, ſo that now he came to be more taken notice of by many, both great and good men; and ſo by ſome of eminent worth and honour, he was called to the paſtoral charge of Tichmerſh in Northamptonſhire, where he laboured faithfully in God's harveſt, for the ſpace of about eight or nine years, and partly by preaching and converſing up and down with others, but eſpecially with his own parochial charge, he proved a great bleſſing, not only to that town, but alſo to the whole country. in every place where he came, ſpreading a good favour, and leaving it behind him.

During the time of his being at Tichmerſh, he ſometimes repaired to Warwick caſtle, to that noble Robert Lord Brook, who highly eſteemed him, and in whoſe family he grew acquainted with Mrs Mary Wilford, at that time governeſs to the lady Frances Rich, a young lady of rare parts, daughter to the right honourable Robert earl of Warwick, and mutual affections growing betwixt them, he was married to her, who, ſince his death, was re-married to the rev. learned, and pious Dr Tuckney, maſter of St John's college, and Regius Profeſſor in Cambridge, my much honoured friend, ſo that ſhe hath been made happy in the enjoyment of two ſuch huſbands, as few women in our times have attained to.

Whilſt he was labouring, as aforeſaid, in the work of the Lord, for more public ſervice, he was choſen by the parliament for one of that county, to attend and aſſiſt in the aſſembly of divines, called together by their authority at Weſtminſter; where being of very good uſe, he was often ordered by the parliament to preach before them at their public faſts, and upon other their more ſolemn occaſions. He was alſo choſen by them to be one of their morning week-days preachers in the Abbey at Weſtminſter, beſides his conſtant Sabbath-days labours in another great congregation, (St Martin's in the fields) where he was a bleſſing to many thouſands.

From thence he was ordered to be maſter of Emanuel college in the univerſity of Cambridge, which being not a ſphere large enough for his activity, he was after a while removed to the maſterſhip of Trinity college, where what great good he did, many that lived under him can give an ample teſtimony; and that happy change proclaimed, from that confuſion (by reaſon of thoſe diſtracted times) in which he found it, to that orderly compoſure and frame in which, through God's bleſſing, he left it. How ſolicitous he was for their beſt welfare, his frequent preaching in their chappel to them all, and his writing to their ſeniors, ſpeaks out fully; and many can bear witneſs how humble and loving he was to them in his carriage, how ſtudious he was to keep up college exerciſes, how zealous to advance piety and learning; and for that purpoſe to countenance and prefer ſuch as he obſerved to be eminent in either.

As he was a univerſity man, he was zealouſly careful,

1. Of its honour, which the parliament can witneſs, in an unkindly conteſt about it; and alſo his care in collecting the decayed antiquities of that univerſity, whoſe pains in that argument, it is pity but they were communicated to the world.

2. Of its privileges, as always, ſo eſpecially in thoſe two years together in which he was vice-chancellor, for which he ſuffered in ſome mens reputes unjuſtly.

3. Of its profit and emolument, being a ſpecial means of procuring to it, from the parliament, the Lambeth library, which of right, as it was judged, fell to that univerſity; as alſo from a worthy knight, Sir John Wollaſton, alderman of the city of London, a yearly ſtipend for a mathematic lecturer, and alſo large ſums of money for the fitting of the public library, that it might be of general uſe; for the accompliſhment whereof the univerſity is more ways than one his debtor.

4. Laſtly, Of the general good and well ordering of it. Surely it was his careful thought in private with himſelf, as appeared by his making it the ſubject of his diſcourſe with others; ſcarce was there a time wherein he met with his intimate and judicious friends, but he would be aſking or propoſing ſomething that way.

By this it appeared, that his care was to keep up thoſe univerſities, which ſome in thoſe times would have ruined; upon which occaſion Grotius pronounceth many Chriſtians to be worſe than the Philiſtines; for they, 1 Sam. x. 5. would let the company of prophets alone, even where they kept a garriſon.

As he was a divine, he was found in the faith, orthodox in his judgment, firmly adherring to the good old doctrine of the church of England; even that which in the univerſity was taught, and maintained by famous Whitaker, Perkins, Davenant, Ward, and many others, in their times: and in the other univerſity, amongſt other great names there, he was a great admirer of the right reverend and judicious Dr Abbot, biſhop of Saliſbury; and well were it, if there he had many more ſuch admirers. The doctrine of God's ſovereignty in his decrees; Of his inconditionate free-electing love; Of his free grace againſt free will, and the power of nature in ſpirituals; Of juſtification by the imputed righteouſneſs of Chriſt, againſt the perfection of inherent righteouſneſs now attainable by us in this life; Of perſeverance in grace, againſt the apoſtacy of the ſaints, and the like, were not with this pious and learned, as they are now called by ſome, ſects and notions, matters only of learning and curioſity, and of the Preſbyterian faction, but of the life and blood of faith, which at his death, as he expreſſed to a friend of his, he had ſingular comfort from; and in his life firmly believed, conſtantly preached, and by his pen endeavoured to maintain and defend, and that againſt the great daring champion of the contrary errors, whom the abuſive wits in the univerſity, with an impudent boldneſs could ſay, none there durſt adventure upon, whoſe immodeſt ſcurrility, his learned anſwer to that daring adverſary, (which he had made ſo far a progreſs in) had ſhortly confuted, had not he, by his more ſudden death, been thereby prevented.

As a miniſter of the goſpel: In his preaching he was plain, powerful, ſpiritual, frequent, and laborious; for beſides what in that kind he did, as to the univerſity of St Mary's, and in the college chappel, which was very happy in his often pains there, in the town he ſet up one lecture every Sabbath morning, in the pariſh of St Michael, performed only by himſelf, and cheerfully frequented by a great confluence, both of ſcholars and townſmen; and another in the church of All-hallows, every Lord's day in the afternoon, in which he did bear at leaſt the fourth part of the burthen, and both of them gratis: as there were many

many more ſuch lectures there performed, much about the ſame rate, weekly, by other pious learned men, and more indeed than are in any town or city, upon thoſe terms, in all England, or are like to be there again; which is mentioned, that God may have the glory in the firſt place, and then for the honour of that reformation which ſo many traduce and ſpit at; as alſo of thoſe more noble ſpirited preachers, who ſo freely offered unto God that which did coſt them ſo much, for which of men they received nothing.

But that place of Cambridge did not bound the courſe of this our laborious preacher's miniſtry, but, as it is ſaid of our Saviour, Matth ix. 35. 'That he went about all cities and villages, teaching and preaching;' and of St Paul, Rom. xv 17. 'That from Jeruſalem, and round about, and that to Illyricum' (which was in right line three hundred and thirty German miles, as Pareus upon the place computes it) 'he did fully preach the goſpel:' imitating herein, as Jerom obſerves, his Lord and Maſter, that ſun of righteouſneſs, 'whoſe going forth is from the ends of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it,' Pſal. xix. 6. In theſe their bleſſed ſteps our brother rode, and followed them in his painful miniſtry, diligently preaching, when he had occaſion to be abroad in remoter parts; but eſpecially in many towns and villages nearer hand, round about the univerſity, being a means to ſet up lectures in many of them, and very often aſſiſting in them. And as our Saviour is obſerved by ſome divines, to have preached the more frequently the nearer he was to his departure; ſo this his faithful ſervant, as it were, preſaging that his day would be but ſhort, towards his evening he made the more haſte and ſpeed in his journey towards his end, and yet more 'abounded in this work of the Lord,' and now finds, 'that his labour is not in vain in the Lord, 1 Cor. xv. 58. Thus of him as a miniſter.

And laſtly, as he was a Chriſtian, he was active for God, as his Saviour, Acts x. 38. 'Going up and down, and doing good:' and though otherwiſe modeſt, yet when the caſe required it, bold in a good cauſe. He was ſpiritual in communion, and a quickener of thoſe with whom he converſed: fruitful in diſcourſe, by which the frame of his ſpirit might eaſily be diſcovered: frequent in aſking queſtions, which was both his humility, and good Chriſtian huſbandry, thereby to improve himſelf, his time, and company.

Affable he was to others, of much humility, and low thoughts of himſelf; and of great integrity and ſingleneſs of heart towards God, his truth, ordinances, ways, and ſervants; of a very public ſpirit, and much affected with the various conditions of the ſtate, but eſpecially of the church and people of God.

He was a moſt loving huſband to his wife, and a dutiful ſon to his parents; and in his lifetime very helpful to his other relations. Many poor, both of the univerſity and town, do now feel the want of his bounty, which they taſted of in his life time; and both they and others had done more at his death, as appeared by his intentions of it in the draught of his will, had not the ſuddeneſs of his change prevented it.

In a long continued quartan God had knocked at his door, which in the interim of his recovery, awakened him to get all within ready againſt the coming of his Lord, which, though to his friends was unexpected, yet found not him unprepared.

In his ſhort ſickneſs, he expreſſed to an intimate friend his great comfort and joy in God's diſcriminate electing-love; and to a reverend doctor, about half an hour before his departure, who enquired of him about the ſettling of his outward eſtate, and inward peace, he readily, and without the leaſt heſitancy, anſwered, that through the mercy of God in Chriſt, his peace was made, and that he quietly reſted in it; whereby it ſeems (as was ſaid by one) he had his faith at his fingers ends, and having before 'given all diligence to make his calling and election ſure,' though he was ſomewhat ſuddenly called out of this life, yet had he 'an abundant entrance ſet open to him, into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt,' departing quietly in the Lord, December 18. 1653.

As to himſelf he had lived a fruitful and gracious life; and therefore, as Clemens Romanus ſpeaks of ſome of the firſt and beſt biſhops, he cloſed up all with a happy and bleſſed death; and as to others, he lived approved, and died deſired, and very much lamented.

He was a great friend to the publication of the lives of godly and eminent miniſters and Chriſtians, and aſſiſting to me in procuring information concerning the lives of ſome of thoſe worthies whom I have formerly printed.

The Life of Dr William Gouge, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1652.

William Gouge was born in Stratford-Bow, in the county of Middleſex, November 1. 1575. His father, Mr Thomas Gouge, was a godly gentleman: his mother was the virtuous and pious daughter of Mr Nicholas Culverel, a merchant in London, and ſhe was ſiſter to thoſe two famous preachers, Mr Samuel and Mr Ezekiel Culverel; ſhe had alſo two ſiſters who were married to thoſe two famous and learned divines, Dr Chaderton the maſter of Emmanuel college in Cambridge, and Dr Whitaker, the Regius Profeſſor of divinity in the ſame univerſity; ſo that by the mother's ſide he came of a ſtock of eminent preachers.

Our William Gouge, in his younger years, was firſt trained up in Paul's ſchool, London, and was afterwards ſent to a free ſchool at Felſted in Eſſex, where he was trained up three years, under the public miniſtry of his uncle, Mr Ezekiel Culverel, by whoſe labours he was much wrought upon, and if not firſt begotten, yet much built up in his holy faith, as himſelf often expreſſed. From thence he was ſent to Eaton, where he was educated other ſix years, during all which time he was more than ordinarily ſtudious and induſtrious; for when other boys, upon play days, took liberty for their ſports and paſtimes, he would be at his book, wherein he took more delight than others could find in their recreations, whereby he profited beyond many his equals.

At this time, whilſt he was a ſcholar at Eaton, he was poſſeſſed with an holy fear of God, was conſcionable in ſecret prayer, and in ſanctifying the Sabbaths, and was much grieved at the ordinary prophanation thereof by ſports and paſtimes, which were then and there too much allowed, as he did oft times in his life, with much thankfulneſs unto God, expreſs.

From the ſchool of Eaton, he was choſen to king's college in Cambridge, whither he went in the year 1595; and at the firſt entrance of his ſtudies, he applied himſelf to Peter Ramus, his logic, and grew ſo expert therein, that in the public ſchools he maintained and defended him, inſomuch, as when on a time divers ſophiſters ſet themſelves to vilify Ramus, for which end the reſpondent had given this queſtion, *Nunquam erit magnus, cui Ramus eſt magnus*, which ſome of the ſophiſters hearing, and knowing the ſaid William Gouge to be an acute diſputant, and a ſtiff defender of Ramus, they went to the divinity ſchools, where he was then hearing an act, and told him how in the other ſchools they were abuſing Ramus, he thereupon went into the ſophiſters ſchools; and upon the moderator's calling for another opponent, he ſtepped up, and brought ſuch an argument as ſtumbled the reſpondent, whereupon the moderator took upon him to anſwer it, but could not ſatisfy the doubt: this occaſioned a ſophiſter that ſtood by, to ſay with a loud voice, Do you come to vilify Ramus, and cannot anſwer the argument of a Ramiſt? Whereupon the moderator roſe up, and gave him a box on the ear, then the ſchool was all in an uproar; but the ſaid William Gouge was ſafely conveyed out from amongſt them.

When he was ſenior ſophiſter, he was choſen moderator of the ſophiſters acts in the public ſchools, which was a place of great credit, and he began every act with a ſolemn ſpeech in Latin, which was not uſual in thoſe days, and it added much grace to the act.

The ſaid William Gouge took his degrees in order, performing for every one of them all thoſe exerciſes in the public ſchools, which by the ſtatutes of the univerſity were required. And during his firſt three years, he kept the college ſo cloſe, that he lay not one night out of the walls thereof;

thereof; and at the three years end he was admitted fellow, and then went to visit his friends.

He was a very hard student; for as he was a lover of learning, so was he very laborious in his studies, sitting up late at night, and rising early in the morning.

He continued in the college for the space of nine years; and in all that time (except he went out of town to his friends) he was never absent from morning prayers in the chappel, which used to be about half an hour after five o'clock in the morning: yea, he used to rise so long before he went to the chappel; as that he gained time for his secret devotions, and for reading his morning task of the scriptures; for he tied himself to read every day fifteen chapters in English out of the Bible, five in the morning, five after dinner, before he fell upon his other studies, and five before he went to bed. He hath been often heard to say, that when he could not sleep in the night time, he used in his thoughts to run through divers chapters of the Scripture, in order as if he had heard them read to him; and by this means he deceived the tediousness of his waking, and deprived himself also sometimes of the sweetness of his sleeping hours, though by that, which administered to him better rest, and greater sweetness; for he preferred the meditation upon the word before his necessary food with Job, and before sleep with David.

The like practice he used in the day-time when he was alone, whether within doors, or abroad; for which end, as an help, he wrote in a little book, which he always carried about him, the distinct heads of every particular passage in every chapter of the Bible, that so, when in any place he meditated on the word of God, and was at a loss, he presently found help by that little book. By this means he made himself so expert in the text, that if he heard any phrase of scripture, he could presently tell where it was to be found.

Besides, he had his set times of study for the more difficult places of scripture, that he might find out the true meaning of them; by which he attained to a great measure of exactness in the understanding of the scripture.

During his abode in the university, he did not only apply his own studies, but used also to send for others whom he observed to be ingenious and willing, and instructed them in the arts, whereby he was a great help to many, and brought them also to be better proficients.

While he was a scholar in King's college, there came a Jew to Cambridge, who was entertained in sundry colleges to teach them the Hebrew tongue, and, amongst the rest, in King's college; and Mr Gouge took the opportunity of learning of him, as many other of the students also did; but most of them grew soon weary, and left him, only Mr Gouge kept close to him so long as he tarried: but when he was gone, those which before had lost their opportunity, now seeing their own folly, they came to Mr Gouge, and entreated him to instruct them in the grounds of the said language, which he accordingly did, and thereby himself became an excellent Hebreian.

And as he was expert in the learned languages, so was he likewise in the arts, and all other necessary literature, that he might have nothing of these to learn when he should come to make use of them.

Being chosen a lecturer both of logic and philosophy in the college, he made conscience of observing all the times appointed by the statute for reading, and never omitted any of them; and his readings were so exactly composed, that thereby he profited his auditors exceedingly, and procured much credit and applause from them; but withal, some envy from his successors, who by his example were now provoked to a more painful and frequent reading of their lectures, which in former times were performed seldomer, and in a more perfunctory manner. He was so cautious and strict in the whole course of his life, that thereby he got the name of an arch Puritan, which was the term then given in scorn to those who were conscientious in their ways.

In the first year of his fellowship he began his Common Place book for divinity, in which he made references of all which he read. He had also white paper bound betwixt every leaf of his Bible, wherein he wrote such short and pithy interpretations, and observations on the text, as could not well be referred to any head in his Common Place-book.

He took such pleasure in, and was so addicted to a university life, that he was resolved to have spent many more years than he did, if not his whole life therein.

But his father, after he had been two or three years master of arts, much against his mind, took him from the university, upon the occasion of a marriage which he prepared for him; and God, by his providence, turned this to the great good of his church: for, by this means, though it were somewhat late before he entred upon the ministry, yet it is very probable that he entred upon, and exercised that sacred calling much sooner than he would have done, if he had been left to his own choice.

His wife was the daugter of Mr Henry Caulton, a citizen and mercer of London, but an orphan when he married her.

Having thus changed his condition, and entered into a married estate, that he might not be distracted nor impeded in his studies, by worldly business, he committed the whole care of his family affairs to the management of his wife, and still applied himself wholly to his studies, and to the weighty business of his heavenly calling.

He lived with this his wife for the space of two and twenty years, in much love and peace, and had by her thirteen children, seven sons, and six daughters, whereof eight lived to mens and womens estate, and were all of them carefully educated, and sufficiently provided for.

It was his earnest desire, and daily prayer to God for his sons, that they might all be preachers of the gospel, so highly did he prize the function, that is so vilified and contemned by too many others; for he himself found such comfort, and content in that calling, that he thought no greater could be found in any other; and he often professed for his own part, that the greatest pleasure he took in the world was in the employments about the work of the ministry, insomuch, as he was wont to say to divers honourable persons of his acquaintance, and particularly to the Lord Coventry, keeper of the great seal of England, 'that he envied not his great place and employment.'

In the order and government of his family, he was very exemplary. His house was another Bethel, for he did not only constantly, upon conscientious principles, use morning and evening prayer, and reading the sacred scriptures in his family; but also he catechized his children and servants, wherein God gave him a singular gift for their edification; for in teaching them, he used not any set form, but so, as he brought them whom he instructed, to express the principles taught them in their own words; so that his children, as Gregory Nazianzen saith of his father, found him as well a spiritual as a natural father. Yea, never any servant came to his house but gained a great deal of knowlege therein: so likewise did divers others, who at the request of their parents were instructed by him.

He was in special manner a strict and conscionable sanctifier of the Lord's-day, and that not only in the exercise of public duties incumbent upon his office, but also in the private sanctification of it in the duties of piety in, and with his family, and secret in his closet; and for this end, as he did forbear providing of supper the Eve before the Sabbath, that servants might not be occasioned thereby to sit up late; so neither would he suffer any servant to stay at home for dressing any meat upon the Lord's-Day for the entertainment of friends, whether they were great or mean, few or many.

On the Sabbath, after his public labours were ended, divers neighbours (wanting helps in their own families) came to his house, where he repeated his sermons, after so familiar a manner, that many have professed, that they were much more benefited by them in that his repetition, than they were in the first hearing of them; for he did not use word by word, to read out of notes what he had preached, but would by questions and answers, draw from those of his own household, such points as were delivered; and his exercise being ended, his constant course was to visit such of his parish as were sick, or by pain and weakness were disabled to go to the public ordinances, with each of them, he would discourse of some spiritual and heavenly subject suitable to their condition, and after that, he prayed with them, wherein he had a more than ordinary gift, being able in apt words and expressi-

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ons to commend their ſeveral caſes unto God, and to put up petitions ſuitable to their ſeveral needs.

His uſual courſe was, to pray eight times in the public congregation, on the Lord's-Days; for, as he prayed before, and after each ſermon; ſo alſo before and after his reading, and expounding the ſcriptures, which he performed, both in the forenoon and afternoon. And, in his family, his conſtant courſe was, to pray thrice every Lord's-Day, and that in a ſolemn manner, viz. in the morning and evening, and after his repetition of the ſermons.

He was ordained miniſter in the two and thirtieth year of his age, and about a year after, which was in June, 1603, he was called to the exerciſe of his miniſtry in the pariſh of Black-Friars, London, where he continued to his dying day, which was about five and forty years, and ſix months, never accepting of any other miniſterial employment, though he had the proffers of many great places; his manner of coming to Black Friars was thus.

That pariſh being deſtitute of a preaching miniſter, Mr Hilderſam, a famous, pious and powerful preacher, being in company with ſome of the better ſort of the inhabitants of Black-Friars, who complained of their want, he told them, that there was one living at Stratford-Bow, who was out of employment, whom he judged very fit for them. Hereupon divers of them went thither on the Lord's-Day, where he frequently preached gratis, to help the miniſter that then was there; and, upon hearing of him, they liked him ſo well, that upon making report thereof to their neighbours, he was by an unanimous conſent, *nemine contradicente*, choſen to be their miniſter, which election being made known to him, he accepted of it, and ever after ſhewed a great reſpect to the inhabitants of that place.

Before Mr Gouge came to them, they had not ſo much as a church of their own to meet and hear the word of God in, nor any place where to bury their dead, but by ſuch means as he uſed, the church and church-porch, together with the miniſter's houſe, and church yard, all which they enjoyed before but upon courteſy, were bought in: ſo, as now, they all, as their proper inheritance, do belong to the pariſh of Black Friars. And five years after his coming thither, the old church being found too little to entertain thoſe multitudes that flocked thither from all parts of the city to hear him, he was the inſtrument of purchaſing in certain rooms adjoining, whereby the church was enlarged almoſt as big again as it was before. The ſum of purchaſing a new building, and beautifying of which church, amounted to above one thouſand five hundred pounds, all which was procured, partly by collections at his lectures, and partly by the voluntary contributions of his pariſhioners, without any public collections in other places.

After this, there being divers rooms under the ſaid church belonging to ſeveral land-lords, he uſed ſuch means as to purchaſe them for the benefit of the pariſh, which he did the rather to prevent all dangers that by wicked minded perſons might have befallen God's people in that church, by any contrivance in the rooms under the ſame.

Thus they who had nothing of their own at his firſt coming, have now, through his procurement, the whole church, the church porch, a church-yard, a vault to bury their dead in, a very fair veſtry, with other adjacent rooms, beſides the houſe wherein he himſelf dwelt ſo long as he lived; all which they hold as a perpetual inheritance.

They have alſo a leaſe of certain tenements of a conſiderable value for three hundred years; all which were procured by his prudence, intereſt and induſtry.

Such was his love and reſpect to this pariſh, as though he was oft proffered places of far greater value, yet he refuſed them all, oft ſaying, That the height of his ambition was to go from Black Friars to Heaven.

At his firſt coming to Black Friars, being in the thirty-third year of his age, he preached conſtantly, beſides twice every Lord's-Day, a weekly lecture, viz. on the Wedneſdays in the forenoon, which for the ſpace of thirty-five years was very much frequented, and that not only by his pariſhioners, but by divers city miniſters, and by ſundry pious and judicious gentlemen of the Inns of Court, beſides many other well-diſpoſed citizens, who in multitudes flocked to hear his heavenly doctrine; yea, ſuch was the fame of Dr Gouge his miniſtry, that when any country miniſters, and godly Chriſtians came to London about their affairs, they thought not their buſineſs fully ended, unleſs they had been at Black Friars lecture.

And it pleaſed God to give ſuch a bleſſing to his miniſtry, that many of his auditors, though living in other pariſhes, upon trial before ſundry elderſhips, have confeſſed, that the firſt ſeeds of grace ſown in their hearts, were by the bleſſing upon Dr Gouge's miniſtry: and, indeed herein, God wonderfully honoured his labours, by making him an aged father in Chriſt, to beget many ſons and daughters unto God, and to nouriſh up others in the ways of righteouſneſs, thouſands having been converted, and built up by his miniſtry.

He uſed alſo every month to preach a preparation ſermon before the communion, on the Eve before each monthly ſacrament.

He was eminently laborious and faithful in the work of his miniſtry even to his dying day, preaching ſo long as he was able to creep up into the pulpit, 'As a tree planted in the houſe of the Lord, he was fruitful even in his old age,' Pſal. xcii. 13, 14. He often uſed to ſay in his later days, that he could preach with more eaſe than he could get up into the pulpit, the reaſon whereof doubtleſs was this, becauſe as the encreaſe of his aſthma diſabled him to preach with more eaſe than in his younger days.

His preaching was always very diſtinct: firſt, he opened his text, giving the true and proper ſenſe of it, then gave he the logical analyſis of it, and then gathered ſuch proper obſervations as naturally flowed from it, and properly and pertinently improved, and applied the ſame; by which method, his miniſtry proved very profitable to his hearers. Many have acknowleged that in regard of the logical reſolution of his text he went beyond all that ever they heard, as alſo in clearing difficult and doubtful places of ſcripture as they came in his way. And, as his method was clear, ſo was his expreſſions plain, always delivering the ſolid points of divinity in a familiar ſtile to the capacity of the meaneſt.

As for his life and converſation, it was holy and exemplary, himſelf practiſing what he preached unto others, and living over his own ſermons; his doctrine and his practice concurred, and went hand and hand together.

Before theſe times of examination of perſons, before their admiſſion to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he uſed to go to the houſes of the better ſort in his pariſh, where he appointed a time for them, and their whole families to meet together, that he might examine how fit they were to be admitted to that ordinance: yea, he appointed ſundry ſmall families to meet together on a certain day, that he might make trial of their fitneſs alſo; and then his manner was, not to admit any of the younger ſort to the Sacrament, till in his judgment he found them fitted for it.

Though he addicted himſelf much to his ſtudies, and carried himſelf peaceably, yet wanted he not thoſe that did envy, and malign him, and that took all occaſions to do him what miſchief they could: as, in the caſe of Serjeant Finch, his book about the 'Calling of the Jews, which Dr Gouge only publiſhed, and the author himſelf owned it, yet for his publication of it, he was committed to priſon, and kept there for the ſpace of nine weeks together.

King James being informed, that the ſerjeant had in that book declared, and endeavoured to prove, that the Jews ſhould have a viſible kingdom, which ſhould be above all other kingdoms, which doctrine he abhorred, he thereupon grew extreme impatient: Biſhop Neal, alſo with others, provoked him againſt the publiſher of the book, which ſo incenſed him, that he would admit of no apology. Yet after a while, Dr Gouge was moved diſtinctly to declare his judgment and opinion about that point 'of the calling, and converſion of the Jews,' which he did in theſe enſuing propoſitions.

All that I can gather out of the holy ſcriptures about this point is:

1. 'That the calling of the Jews, importeth more than a ſpi-

a ſpiritual calling to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and to embrace the goſpel.'

2. 'This their ſpiritual calling, may be called an outward glorious calling, in regard of the viſibility and generality of it; to put a difference betwixt the promiſed calling of the nation, and the continual calling of ſome few perſons. For in all ages ſince the rejection of the Jews, ſome few here and there have been called. Thus the calling of the Gentiles in the Apoſtle's time, when Chriſtians had no pompous civil government, was an outward glorious calling, by reaſon of the viſible famous churches which they had.'

3. 'It is probable that at, or after their calling, they ſhall not be ſcattered as now they are, but ſhall be gathered together into churches, and be freed from the bondage and ſlavery wherein they have been many years together.'

4. 'To give them a ſovereignty over all the whole church ſeemeth to me to be derogatory to that abſolute ſovereignty which Chriſt the head of his church hath, in whom the promiſes of the perpetuity of David's ſceptre of the extent of his dominion, of the ſubjection of all nations are accompliſhed.'

5. 'To ſet down the diſtinct time, place, and other like circumſtances of their calling, needeth more than an ordinary ſpirit, and implies too much curioſity.

6. 'The point of the calling of the Jews being no fundamental point of Chriſtian religion, to be over ſtiff in holding one thing or other therein, to the diſturbance of the peace of the church, comes near to ſchiſm.'

Upon which, being examined by Archbiſhop Abbot, and his anſwer approved, he was releaſed from his impriſonment.

Ordinarily in the ſummer vocation, he was with his family in the country; but not ſo much for his own eaſe as for the further ſervice of God's church: for beſides his preaching every Lord's day in the place where he reſided, he improved his time for the publication of thoſe his treatiſes which are now in print. *viz. The whole Armour of God*; *Domeſtical Duties*; *an explanation of the Lord's Prayer*; *God's three Arrows, of the Plague Famine and Sword*, upon occaſion of thoſe judgments then raging. The *Saint's ſacrifice of Thankſgiving*, upon his recovery from a dangerous ſickneſs. To which is now added his commentary upon the whole epiſtle to the Hebrews, which was the ſubject of his Wedneſdays lectures for many years.

While he was ſettled at Black-Friars, he commenced Batchellor of divinity *anno Chriſti* 1611. which was the eight year after he had taken the degree of maſter of arts.

Anno Chriſti 1628, he proceeded doctor of divinity, at which time eight London miniſters proceeded doctors, upon which occaſion, Dr Collins, the then *regius* profeſſor, put up Mr Gouge's degree, and procured it to paſs in the Regent houſe, before he had any notice thereof, and without his conſent, whereby he did in a manner force him to take his degree; yet ſo as when he heard what was done, he readily went to Cambridge, and performed all his acts according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, as he had done at the taking of all his former degrees.

Such reſpect was generally ſhewed to him, as that in ſundry public employments he was choſen a truſtee or *Feoffee*. As in the year, 1626, he was choſen one of the truſtees for Mr Whetenhall's three lectures.

Alſo in the year 1616, he was choſen one of the truſtees for buying in of impropriations, and for many other pious and charitable uſes, wherein indeed he always approved himſelf a careful, a faithful truſtee, and in ſome caſes, by his great pains and coſt, he procured to be ſettled for ever ſuch pious donations, as would otherwiſe have been wreſted away, and alienated from their intended uſe.

The buſineſs about the buying in of impropriations was this.

There was a ſelect ſociety of thirteen perſons who joined themſelves together as truſtees, to ſtir up, and encourage ſuch as were piouſly affected, to contribute towards the buying in of impropriations, and giving them freely towards the maintaining of godly and able miniſters. And theſe were ſo faithful to their truſt, as albeit they met very frequently, and ſpent much time and pains in conſultation about that buſineſs, yet did they never ſpend one penny out of the public ſtock, for the refreſhing of themſelves; yea though they had ſundry agents, and meſſengers whom they employed about that buſineſs, and that both far and near, yet did they never diminiſh that ſtock wherewithal they were intruſted to the value of a penny; but themſelves, at leaſt moſt of them, contributed out of their own purſes for the diſcharge of all by expences. And when they had the opportunity of buying in any great impropriation, and wanted money in ſtock to go through with it, they did amongſt themſelves give, or lend ſo much as might effect it; and amongſt others, our Dr Gouge at one time lent 300 l. *gratis* for that uſe, beſides the monthly contribution which he gave. By this means in a few years ſpace, thirteen impropriations were bought in, which coſt between five and ſix thouſand pounds; into which their care was to put godly, able and orthodox miniſters; and their deſign was to plant a learned and powerful miniſtry, eſpecially in cities and market towns in ſeveral parts of the kingdom where there was the greateſt need, for the better propagation of the goſpel in thoſe parts.

Indeed this was it that raiſed up ſo much envy againſt them, and made Dr Laud, the then biſhop of London to conſult with Mr. Noy, the king's attorney general, about diſſolving this ſociety: and hereupon Mr Noy brought them all into the court of exchequer, picking this quarrel againſt them, for that they had made themſelves a body incorporate, without any grant from the king. When the caſe had been debated by learned council on both ſides the reſult was, that the court adjudged their proceeding, to be illegal, that their truſt ſhould be taken from them, and that what impropriations they had thus purchaſed, ſhould be made over to the king, and that the king ſhould appoint ſuch as he thought meet to diſpoſe of thoſe impropriations which they had bought in.

The aforeſaid attorney, that ſtrictly examined all their receipts, and diſburſements, found that they had laid out of their money, at that time when they were queſtioned a thouſand pounds more than they had received, and thereupon had received an order of the court, that thoſe debts ſhould be firſt diſcharged out of the revenues of the impropriations, before they ſhould be diſpoſed to particular uſes. Thus was their truſt quite wreſted out of their hands, and that excellent work fell to the ground.

Anno Chriſti 1653, Dr Gouge was, by the authority of parliament, called to be a member of the aſſembly of divines, wherein his attendance was aſſiduous, not being obſerved during the whole time of that ſeſſion to be one day abſent, unleſs it were in caſe of more than ordinary weakneſs, ever preferring that publick employment before any private buſineſs whatſoever, and therein he was not one to make up the number only, but a chief and uſeful member.

For he was choſen, and ſate as one of the aſſeſſors, and very often filled the chair in the moderator's abſence; And ſuch was his conſtant care, and conſcientiouſneſs in the expence of time, and improving it to the beſt advantage, that in caſe of intermiſſion in the aſſembly affairs, he uſed to apply himſelf to his private ſtudies: for which end, it was his conſtant practice to carry his Bible and ſome other books in his pocket, which upon every advantage he drew forth, and read in them, as it was obſerved by many.

Epiſcopacy alſo being voted down by both houſes of parliament, and ſo no ordinary way being left for the ordination of miniſters, the parliament thought fit to ſet up an extraordinary way by three and twenty miniſters, who for the ſpace of a year, were to ordain ſuch as tendred themſelves according to the rules preſcribed by them, with the humble advice of the aſſembly, of which number Dr Gouge was one, and acted with his brethren therein; at which time I obſerved his ſtrictneſs in keeping of faſts: for on an ordination day, which was always accompanied with faſting and prayer; in the afternoon one proffered him a piece of a candied orange pill, which (though he was then very ancient) he refuſed to accept of till the work of the day was finiſhed.

He was likewiſe choſen by a committee of parliament, amongſt

amongſt others, to write large annotations upon the Bible, being well known to be a judicious interpreter of Scripture, and how well he performed that taſk, is, and may be evident to all that read his part, which was from the beginning of the firſt book of the Kings to Job. In which the intelligent reader may obſerve ſuch ſkill in the original, ſuch acquaintance with the ſacred ſtory, ſuch judgment in giving the genuine ſenſe of the text, and ſuch accurateneſs in raiſing pertinent obſervations, that without the help of any other commentators, a man may accomodate himſelf with the ſenſe, doctrines, and uſes of moſt of thoſe Scriptures that came under his hand, in thoſe brief annotations.

Before this, when the Book allowing ſports and recreations on the Lord's days, was by public authority enjoined to be read in all churches throughout the kingdom, he as ſundry others godly and faithful miniſters refuſed to read the ſame, reſolving rather to ſuffer the uttermoſt, than to manifeſt the leaſt approbation of ſo wicked and ſacrilegious a practice, it being ſo contrary to the expreſs letter of the Scripture.

By reaſon of his ability and dexterity in reſolving caſes of conſcience, he was much ſought unto for his judgment in doubtful caſes and ſcruples of conſcience, and that not only by ordinary Chriſtians, but by divers miniſters alſo, both in the city and country, ſometimes by word of mouth, and other ſometimes by writing: and indeed he was accounted the father of the London divines, and the oracle of his time.

He was likewiſe a ſweet comforter of troubled conſciences, wherein he was exceeding ſkilful and dexterous, as many hundreds in the city have found from time to time, being ſought unto far and near to ſuch as groaned under afflictions and tentations, many of whom, through God's bleſſing upon his labours, were reſtored to joy and comfort out of unſpeakable terrors and torments of conſcience.

He was of a meek and ſweet diſpoſition; yea, ſuch was his meekneſs of ſpirit, that it ſeemeth not to be paralleled. For though he lived with his wife above twenty years, yet neither child nor ſervant, could ever ſay that they ſaw ſo much as an angry countenance, or heard ſo much as an angry word proceed from him towards her all her life long.

Some have obſerved, that towards his latter end in his visage he did much reſemble the picture that is uſually made for Moſes. Certainly he was the exact effigies of Moſes his ſpirit, and in this reſembled him to the life, that he was one of the meekeſt men that this generation hath known.

He was, a great peace keeper, ſo a great peace maker, having an excellent dexterity in compoſing of differences; he was far from doing wrong to others, and as far from revenging wrong done to him by others.

Notwithſtanding which, he ſuffered much, both by the ſpeeches and alſo by the actions of evil, and envious perſons; yet his manner was, rather to pray for them, than in any harſh manner to retaliate like for like. He always judged that revilers, and injurious perſons wronged themſelves more than him.

Sundry ſcandalous and falſe aſperſions were caſt upon him, yea, by ſuch perſons as were guilty of thoſe very crimes which they laid to his charge. For ſome who lived by the unwarrantable trade of uſury, to juſtify their own unlawful practices, have not ſtuck to charge the ſame upon him, though he was always free from it, never putting out any money to uſe, either by himſelf, or any other for him, neither directly, nor indirectly, as he hath been often heard to affirm, both in his life time, and not long before his death.

Being choſen preſident of Sion College, according to the cuſtom, when he left his office, he preached a learned, and polite Latin ſermon *ad clerum*, which he delivered by the ſtrength of his memory, without the help of his notes, which ſhewed that tho' his body was decripet, and feeble, yet his intellectuals were vivid, quick and vigorous.

He was very charitable, eſpecially to the godly poor, according to that direction of the apoſtle, Gal. vi. 10. where he exhorts us '*to do good to all but eſpecially to the houſhold of faith.*' He maintained ſome poor ſcholars in the univerſity wholly at his own charge, and contributed liberally towards the maintenance of others. Indeed he ſet apart a ſacred ſtock as he called it, a portion for the poor, proportionable to his receipts, which he faithfully diſtributed.

Yea, he was of ſuch a charitable, and bountiful diſpoſition, that tho' his father left him a competent eſtate, yet ſuch were his annual diſburſements for his kindred, and others that ſtood in need of relief, that from the time of his father's death till his children came to be of years, and ſo to call for their portions, he laid up nothing of all his comings in; whereby it may appear, that they, who out of envy cry up his eſtate to be greater than it was, do conſequently cry up his bounty and charity: for that whatſoever his eſtate was, it was wholly laid out for the relief of ſuch as ſtood in need (neceſſary expences for his family only excepted) which as it doth appear by his papers, ſo in his life time he profeſſed it to ſome of his children; and truly as in other things he excelled many others, ſo in this he excelled himſelf.

He was very conſcientious in the expence of his time, from his youth to the very time of his death. His cuſtom was to riſe very early both in the winter and ſummer. In the winter time he conſtantly roſe ſo long before day, as that he always performed all the exerciſe of his private devotions before day light: and in the ſummer time he roſe about four o' clock in the morning: by which means he had done half his work before others began their ſtudies. If he happened to hear any at their work before he began his ſtudies, he would ſay (as Demoſthenes ſpake concerning the ſmith) that he was much troubled that any ſhould be at the works of their calling, before he was at his.

He was a man of much temperance and ſobriety, both in his eating, drinking, and apparel: and for recreations, howſoever many pious perſons do ſpend time therein, and that lawfully in warrantable recreations, yet he ſpent none of his ſo, whence it was that he was never expert in any kind of ſports: he hath been often heard to ſay, that he never took any journey merely of pleaſure in all his life time. Study and pains were always, both in youth and age his chiefeſt pleaſure and delight; yea it 'was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly father,' wherein he took as much pleaſure and delight, as natural men do in their eating and drinking, or in their diſports and paſtimes.

Such was his deportment in his converſation, that there was ſcarce a lord, or lady, or citizen of quality, in or about the city, that were pioufly affected, but they ſought his acquaintance, and were ambitious to enjoy his company, wherein they took much content, and found much benefit to their ſouls thereby.

And whereas many perſons of quality out of their great reſpect to him, came to viſit him, he would ſo endeavour to order their conference as might tend moſt to their edification; and if their viſits were merely complimental, he ſoon grew weary, and accounted it a burden to him.

He was always of a very friendly, and courteous diſpoſition, in ſo much as the meaneſt, not only of his own pariſh but of the city, found eaſy acceſs to him, and he was as eaſy to be intreated, yet ready to do what good he could to all.

And amongſt other graces, his humility was very eminent and examplary: though others knew not when his face did not ſhine, yet he knew not when it did. He that readily could obſerve the leaſt glimpſes or appearances of any worth in others, would not acknowledge them in in himſelf: he was (as it was ſaid of Nazianzen) high in employments and abilities, but low in his diſpoſition, and reſentment of his own worth. He was not obſerved to be puffed up either with the multitudes that flocked into his miniſtry (which were many and great) nor with any applauſes of men; but would ſtill ſay, 'that he knew more by himſelf to abaſe him, than any could know to extol him; yea, ſo eminent was his humility, that he charged his executor, to whom he committed the care of his funeral, that there ſhould no green ſtaff be laid upon his herſe, tho' this uſual reſpect is given to thoſe who in their life time were governors of the hoſpital of Bridewell, one of which number this worthy doctor was, yea and a benefactor

nefactor too to that house: as also that he should not affix any escutcheons to his herse, tho' he was a gentleman of an antient descent, as if he had thought that the poverty of Christ was his patrimony, and coat of arms, and his interest in him, his greatest and best atchievment; or as if both living and dead he would be (as the apostle speaks) 'clothed with humility.'

He was much in communion with God, and contented not himself only with his constant daily, and ordinary holy duties, but was also frequent in extraordinary exercises. In the bishop's times, when it was not permitted to keep fasts in the public congregation, he was one of those ministers who frequently helped private Christians in their more retired humiliations. In times of fears and dangers, he with divers others had sometimes monthly, yea sometimes weekly fasts, whereof many were kept in his own house, and others of them in his vestry; which he was observed to perform with extraordinary reverence and awefulness of spirit. His confessions were accompanied with much sense of, and sorrow for sin, brokenness of heart, self abhorrency, judging of the creature, and justifying of God: his petitions were pertinent, judicious, spiritual, seasonable, accompanied with faith and fervency; like a true son of Jacob, he wrestled with supplications and tears, as resolving not to depart out of God's presence without a blessing.

But there was none like him in thanksgiving, when a man would have thought that he had spent the last drop of his spirits and strength in confession and prayer; O how would he recollect his spirits when he came to the work of thanksgiving, wherein he would be so large, particular, warm, and vigorous, that in the end of the day when mens affections grew flat, he would so revive and quicken them, as if the work had been then but newly begun, and as if that had been the only work of the day; and herein indeed he may be a pattern to all his surviving brethren in the ministry.

He was very inquisitive after the state and condition of the church of Christ, both at home and abroad, that he might accordingly order his prayers in their behalf, of whom he was never unmindful in his addresses unto God. And when he heard that it went ill with the church of God in any place, like another Nehemiah, 'he sate him down, and wept, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed, unto the God of heaven in their behalf.'

His study was as great to advance Christ, as to debase himself. He used frequently to say, 'When I look upon myself, I see nothing but emptiness, and weakness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but fullness and sufficiency. When the hand of his body was weak and shaking, that of his soul, his faith was strong and steddy. When he could not hold the cup at the sacrament, nor scarce carry it to his own mouth, by reason of his palsy hand, yet then with a firm and fixed assistance did he lay hold upon Christ, and with a strong and eager appetite applied his blood to his soul, and his manner was sweetly to breath forth joyful thanksgivings for his refreshment by the blood of Christ, when he was returned to his house after the Lord's supper; yea when he could hardly creep with his body to the place where it was celebrated, and was forced many times to make use of the help of others to support him in his passage thither, even then did his faith run swiftly, and was upon the wing to carry him to Christ. When wordly supports failed him, when health and strength forsook him, he made Jesus Christ the staff of his old age, often professing, as his great misery and impotency without him, so his holy and humble recumbency upon him.

Great was his patience under the visiting hand of God, especially in his old age, when God exercised him with painful maladies: though by reason of the sharpness and bitterness of his pains, occasioned by the stone, and acuteness of his urine, and that *Lethalis arundo*, as he oft called it, that deadly arrow in his side, which he knew could never be plucked out but by death, I mean his asthma, which he got by an excessive cold in attending upon public employments; notwithstanding, I say, by reason of these he was often heard to groan, yet never did he once grumble against the dispensations of God. Never did he complain of God for his sufferings, though oft of himself for sinning.

He never cried out, 'A great sufferer,' but oft, 'A great sinner!' and yet he would overtake that expression again, with the discoursing of, and comforting himself in 'A great Saviour!' And in the deep of his torments he would say, 'Well, yet in all these there is nothing of hell, or of God's wrath.'

His sufferings were never so deep, but he could see the bottom of them, and would say, 'Soul, be silent; soul, be patient; it is thy God and Father that thus ordereth thy estate; thou art his clay, he may tread and trample on thee as pleaseth him: Thou hast deserved much more; it is enough that thou art kept out of hell. Though thy pain be grievous, yet it is tolerable: thy God affords some intermissions, he will turn it to thy good, and at length put an end to all; none of these can be expected in hell.'

He used often to make mention of the extent of obedience, which he said was not only to endeavour to do what God requireth, but also patiently to bear what God's will is to lay upon his creature, as Christ himself, though he was the Son of God, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.

In his greatest pangs he often used this speech of holy Job, 'Shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not evil.'

He often commended his soul unto Christ, and used to say, 'I am perswaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.'

When any of his friends went about to comfort him in those gifts which God bestowed on him, and his works which he had wrought by him, he would answer, 'I dare not think of any such thing for comfort; Jesus Christ, and what he hath done and endured, is the only ground of my sure comfort.'

Many that came to visit him in his weakness, profest that they went away better than they came, by reason of those savoury and gracious speeches and expressions that proceeded from him.

Though towards his latter end his fits of the stone were frequent and sharp, having sometimes four or five of them in an hour, yet such was his desire to finish that his so much desired commentary upon the epistle to the Hebrews, that so soon as the bitter pain of his fit was over, he fell returned to his work, making some further progress therein. And thus he continued labouring in that employment, through many pains, till Tuesday the 6th of December, 1653; about which time, as his natural strength was exceedingly decayed, so now also his intellectuals began to fail; and for the following three days a drousiness seized upon him, insomuch that he could not hold up his head to look into a book, but slumbered away his time in a chair; and upon Friday, being the third day after he had given over his studies, enquiring what day it was, he cried out, 'Alas! I have lost three days. The day following, being Saturday, he had no desire to arise out of his bed, neither indeed could he, in regard of his weakness, which was such, and he was so sensible of it, that he said, 'Now, I have not long to live in this world, the time of my departure is at hand, I am going to my desired haven;' the apprehension whereof was no little joy unto him, for he had often said to such of his friends as came to visit him in his sickness, 'I am willing to die, having, I bless God, nothing to do but to die.' Indeed, sometimes he seemed to be in the same strait with St Paul, between life and death, 'having a desire to depart that he might be with Christ, which was best of all.' But yet very desirous he was to finish his commentary upon the epistle to the Hebrews, which he knew would be very useful to the church of God, and in that respect he was willing to live; and God so far answered his design in that particular, that he lived to finish it within half a chapter. But when he perceived that his time in this world could not be long, O! how sweet and joyful was the apprehension of death unto him, which he often termed his best friend, next to Jesus Christ. So that he came willingly; he was not plucked and dragged to death: death was his familiar acquaintance; it was his privilege as well as his task.

When his good sister said to him in his sickness, Brother, I am afraid to leave you alone: 'Why, sister, (said he) I shall, I am sure, be with Jesus Christ when I die.'

The

The meditation of death was not more frequent than ſweet unto him. His ſoul was upon the wing, and was haſt heaven-ward, even whilſt it was in the cage of his decrepit body.

Upon Saturday, though he kept his bed through weakneſs, yet was he more wakeful, and his ſpirit more lively and cheerful, than for ſeveral days before, which queſtionleſs was from his joyful apprehenſion of his approaching departure.

His ſpeeches that day were more than ordinary heavenly: he ſpake much in the admiration of God's free grace, and riches of his mercy in Jeſus Chriſt.

As while he led a heavenly life, ſo about the time of his death, by thoſe comforts and joys that he found in his ſoul, he ſeemed to be in heaven, even while he was upon the earth; and ſo he continued full of ſweet and divine comfort, and heavenly expreſſions, to the laſt of his underſtanding and ſpeech, which continued to Monday morning, when both of them failed him; from which time he lay breathing, yet ſhorter and ſhorter, till eight o'clock at night, about which time, in the preſence of all his children, and divers of his friends, he quietly ſlept in the Lord, making an happy change from earth to heaven, which was December 12. 1653, being ſeventy-nine years old, after he had ſerved God faithfully and painfully in his generation.

A Catalogue *of the* BOOKS *publiſhed by him.*

Of domeſtic duties on Epheſ. v. and vi.
The whole armour of God, on Epheſ. vi.
Of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, on Matth. xii. 31, 32. Mark iii. 28, 29.
Upon the Lord's Prayer, called, A guide to go to God.
God's three arrows, plague, famine, and ſword, on Numb. xvi. 44, &c. 2 Sam. xxi, 1. Exod. xvii. 8.
The extent of God's providence, November 5. on Matth. x. 29, 30, 31.
The dignity of chivalry, on 2 Chron. viii. 9.
The Saint's ſacrifice, or a comment on Pſal. cxvi.
Two treatiſes, 1. The Sabbath's ſanctification, A treatiſe of apoſtacy, on Luke xv. 31.
The Saint's ſupport: a Sermon before the Commons in Parliament, on Neh. v. 19.
Nocies memorial, November 17. on Exod. xiii. 3.
The progreſs of divine providence: a Sermon before the houſe of Lords, on Exod. xxxvi. 11.
A funeral Sermon, on Ezek. xxiv. 16.
The right Way: a Sermon before the Lords, on Ezra viii. 21.
Two Catechiſms.
A commentary on the epiſtle to the Hebrews,

My reverend friend Mr Thomas Gouge, eldeſt ſon to this famous doctor, deſired me to inſert this Life, amongſt theſe other Worthies contained in this volume.

The Life of Mr Thomas Gataker, *who died* Anno Chriſti, 1654.

Mr. Thomas Gataker, or Gatacre, (for ſo he wrote himſelf, till of later years to prevent miſcalling, occaſioned frequently by the view of the letters, he changed it into Gataker), was a branch of a very ancient family, ſo firmly by God's providence planted in Shropſhire, that the ſtock hath continued in the ſame houſe, carrying the name of its owner, and known by the title of Gatacre hall, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the time of king Edward the confeſſor.

His father, Mr Thomas Gatacre, (being a younger ſon of William Gatacre), was deſigned by his parents to the ſtudy of the law, in order whereunto he was admitted a ſtudent in the Temple: and during his abode there, he occaſionally went to viſit ſome of his kindred, who were then high in place and power, whereby he was often preſent at the examination of ſome Chriſtian confeſſors of the goſpel, in thoſe bloody times wherein Satan armed all his forces to ſuppreſs that dawning light which threatned ruin to his kingdom of darkneſs.

The harſhneſs and cruelty of thoſe proceedings, together with the conſtancy of thoſe weak, yet ſincere Chriſtians, who, with the evidence of truth, and reſolution of mind, maintained faith and a good conſcience, were very prevalent with him to facilitate his entertainment of that purer doctrine of the goſpel which began to ſhine into his ſoul.

This being apprehended by his parents, fearing his change in religion, they ſent him over to Louvaine in Flanders, and to win him to a compliance with them in religion, they ſettled upon him an eſtate in a leaſe of an hundred pounds *per annum*, in old rents: but, like St Paul, Phil. iii. 8. 'He counted all outward advantages as nothing in compariſon of the knowlege of Jeſus Chriſt.'

His father therefore perceiving how fixt and unmoveable he was in his choice of religion, in which yet he had nothing to except againſt, but only the novelty of it, he recalled him to England, and in great diſpleaſure revoked his former grant of one hundred pounds *per annum*, which yet could not be aſſected without his ſon's conſent: but this young diſciple had already learned the hard leſſon of ſelf-denial, and of forſaking all to follow Chriſt, and therefore to preſerve his conſcience pure and entire, he gave up that which was intended as a bait to apoſtacy. But the Lord, who hath promiſed to his faithful followers reparation and ſatisfaction for all their loſſes for his ſake, raiſed him up friends, by whoſe aſſiſtance and encouragement he purſued his ſtudies at Oxford; and in proceſs of time, when, not only the clouds of ignorance and ſuperſtition were diſpelled, but alſo thoſe bloody ſtorms in the Marian days were blown over, he took upon him the public miniſtry of the goſpel, and he was houſehold chaplain to that great favourite Robert earl of Leiceſter, and afterwards paſtor of St Edmund's in Lombard ſtreet, London; in which parſonage houſe, by his wife, (who was of an honeſt family of the Piggots in Hertfordſhire) amongſt other children, he had this Thomas, who was born Sept. 4. 1574.

In his childhood he was ſo addicted to thoſe means which his parents applied him unto, for the implanting in him the ſeeds of good literature, that he rather needed a bridle than a ſpur: for his love of learning, equal to that admirable capacity wherewith the Father of Lights had furniſhed him, was ſo active in the acquiring of it, that his father was fain often gently to chid him from his book. Neither were his nimble wit, ſharp judgment, and vaſt memory perverted to be the inſtruments of that debauchery wherewith the corruption of our nature doth too often ſtain and deflower our firſt days; for he had a lovely gravity in his young converſation, ſo that what Gregory Nazianzen ſaid of the great Baſil might be averred of him, 'That he held forth learning beyond his age, and a fixedneſs of manners beyond his learning.'

Having happily finiſhed his Tyrocinia of firſt exerciſes in the grammar ſchools, wherein he overcame, by his ſtrange induſtry, the difficulties which thoſe times, deſtitute of many helps which our preſent days do enjoy, conflicted withal, and outſtripped many of his fellows which ran in the ſame courſe; ſo that before he had compleated ſixteen years, viz. in the year 1590, he was by his father placed in St John's college in Cambridge.

Not long after his ſettlement there, his father (being called of God to receive the reward of his labours) left him, not wholly deſtitute, and yet not ſufficiently provided for any long continuance of his ſtudies in that place. But God, who hath engaged his truth and mercy to the upright, and even to his ſeed alſo, Pſal. cxii. 1. 2. eſpecially when the ſon doth not degenerate nor thwart the providence of God, by a forfeiture of his title to the promiſes, provided friends and means for him, who was by an hidden counſel then deſigned to be an inſtrument of doing much ſervice to the church of Chriſt. Thus the fruit was not nipped in a promiſing bud, by the froſt of want.

Now not from meer favour, but from merit, upon the proof of his learning, he was choſen ſcholar of that worthy ſociety, wherein he continued his ſtudies with unwearied diligence, and happy ſucceſs, till he, with abilities

bilities answerable to his degree, commenced master of arts.

For an instance of his industry take this, viz. That he was a constant auditor of that eminent light of learning, Mr John Boyes, who read a Greek lecture in his bed to certain young students, that preferred their nightly studies to their rest and ease. The notes of those lectures he kept as a treasure, and being visited by Mr Boyes many years after, he brought them forth to him, to the no small joy of the good old man, who professed that he was made some years younger by that grateful entertainment.

About this time was contracted that strict friendship betwixt our Mr Gataker, and that faithful servant of Jesus Christ Mr Richard Stock, which continued to the death of this rev minister, as appears by Mr Gataker's testimony given unto him at his funeral.

An evidence of that good esteem which Mr Gataker had now acquired, for his learning and piety, was this, That a college being then to be erected by the munificence of the countess of Sussex, the trustees of that foundress, being persons eminent for prudence and zeal, did chuse him for one of that society, and they transplanted him into that new nursery of arts and religion, being confident that he would, as indeed he did, by Christ's assistance, prove very fruitful both for the ornament and benefit of that seminary.

Indeed they laid hold of him before the house was fit for inhabitants, fearing lest so fair and promising a flower should be taken up by some other hand.

But while the college was in building, that he might not lose any opportunity of doing good, he retired himself to the house of Mr William Aylofes in Essex, who had prevailed with him to instruct both himself in the Hebrew language, and his eldest son in that literature which was proper to his age.

In this family, partly by his own inclination, and partly by the encouragement of the governors thereof, he performed family duties for the instruction and edification of the whole household, expounding to them a portion of scripture every morning, that the Sun of Righteousness might as constantly arise in their hearts, as the day brake in upon them.

In this exercise, whereby he laboured to profit both himself and others, he went over the epistles of the apostles, the prophecy of Isaiah, and a good part of the book of Job, rendering the text out of the original languages, and then delivering clear explications, and also deducing useful observations.

Dr Stern, the suffragan of Colchester, on a time visiting the mistress of the family, to whom he was nearly related, happened to be present at one of these exercises, at which time Mr Gataker explained the first chapter of St Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, which is known to be most pregnant of divine mysteries; but this portion of holy writ he treated upon with such happy elucidations, that the judicious doctor was much satisfied with his pains therein, and admiring the endowments of Mr Gataker, exhorted him instantly to be ordained to the work of the ministry, whereby those his gifts might be authoritatively exercised for the public good, and improved for the building of the church, and withal offered him his assistance in that business: but Mr Gataker well weighing the burden of that calling, and judging modestly of his own abilities, which he perceived disproportionable for that office, (to the full discharge whereof the apostle hath set, *Tis icanos?* "Who is sufficient?") thanked the doctor for his kind offer, but deferred the matter to further consideration. But afterwards, by the advice of the reverend Mr Henry Alvey, formerly his tutor, and whom in this business he now took for his counsellor, upon his remonstrance of divers reasons, and the importunity of Dr Stern afresh reiterated, he assented to be ordained by the suffragan.

The fabric of Sidney-Sussex college being now finished, he betook himself to the station, and employment whereunto he was before designed, and to the work depending thereon, wherein his pains in seasoning young students with principles of piety and learning, were both great and very successful: for some of them that watered their gardens at his spring, or kindled their lamps at his light, grew up to great eminency, as Mr John Hoyl, and Mr Thomas Pell, who were afterwards worthy fellows of that society.

About that time there were certain persons in the university, zealous of promoting the glory of God, and of gaining souls to Christ, that lay in a sad condition through the defect of pastors able to teach and lead the people in the ways of truth, life, and peace, especially Mr Abdias Ashton of St John's college, and Mr William Bedel of Emanuel, who set on foot a design of preaching in places adjacent to Cambridge, even to a considerable distance. These men invited Mr Gataker to be a partner in this good employment, who being drawn and encouraged by them, preached every Lord's day at Everton, (a village in the meeting confines of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingtonshire) where a decrepit man, who was reported to be fixscore and ten years old, sustained the name of vicar; *Vix magni nominis umbra.* Here a family of the Borgoines, resident in that place, deserveth this honourable remembrance, that Mr Burgoine, during that time, used Mr Gataker with great humanity and respect, which by him was construed to be an effect of his piety.

After he had thus religiously employed himself for the space of half a year, manifesting his public spirit therein, he had some causes that moved him to retire from the university, at the motion of Mr Ashton before mentioned, who had been his tutor, whereupon he removed to Sir William Cook's family, then resident in London.

This place and employment occasioned a more public discovery of his ministerial gifts, with the singular approbation of many persons of note, not only for their outward estate, but also for their affection unto, and judgment in religion. Hereupon the lecturer's place of Lincoln's-Inn falling void, some principal persons of that honourable society, who had been his auditors occasionally elsewhere, made addresses unto him, inviting him unto that place, offering their assistance, and alleging the facility of his introduction by lord chief-justice Popham's interesting himself in the business, whom they knew to have loved his father Mr Thomas Gataker, (being once his intimate friend and contemporary in the study of the law) and to favour this his son very highly, for his own worth and work in the ministry; but he, according to his usual modesty, declined the undertaking of it, and resisted the importunities even of his friend Mr Stock, till Dr Stourgue, master of Sidney college, repairing to London, and being made acquainted with the design in hand, thought he had it in his thoughts to invite Mr Gataker back to the college, that he might read an Hebrew lecture, which had a salary annexed to it by lord Harrington; yet laying that aside, he pressed Mr Gataker with arguments and authority, encouraging him against his own diffidence, and so wrought him at last to assent, that without any suit made by him, lord Popham should recommend him to that society.

Thus was he chosen preacher at Lincoln's Inn, where he spent ten years, to the great advancement of piety amongst them, and with an happy reformation of some abuses of the Lord's day, as he himself testifies in his apologetical discourse against Lilly, p 16. 17.

But notwithstanding that engagement, Mr Gataker did not totally abandon the family of Sir William Cook, to whose lady he was near by blood, and dear to them both, upon the account of his pious and profitable labours amongst them. Therefore in the vacation times, being disengaged from his attendance at the inns of court, he resided in that family, exercising his ministry, either in their chapel, or in the parish church, as occasion offered itself; and this he did with an apostolical mind, not for filthy lucre, but freely; making the gospel a burden only to the dispenser of it; yet such was the care and piety of that religious pair, that they also would not serve God with that that cost them nothing; for afterwards, in consideration of those his pains freely taken amongst them, they settled upon Mr Gataker an annuity of 20 l. *per annum*, which also he received for some few years; but afterwards he saw reason to remit it to the heir of that family, forbearing to make use of his right he had to it, and forbidding his executor to demand any arrears of that annuity.

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This is mentioned the rather to shew the generous temper of this holy man of God, who aimed at the spiritual good of others, more than at his own temporal advantages; and how infinitely he was removed from the sordid acquisition of gain, or the prostitution of his sacred function unto secular designs, which may stop the mouth of malice, and the impudent clamours of some, whose consciences being either galled or cauterized, spared not to traduce him for covetousness; but his own pen wrote the best apology, as indeed, according to that of Nazianzen, they that will give him a just character, have need of his eloquence.

Whilst he attended on that flock at Lincoln's-Inn, Sir William Sidley, a learned Mecœnas, and pious patron of the church, proffered him a fair benefice; and when Mr Gataker declined the burden of a pastoral charge, and pleaded an unwillingness to be removed from those worthy gentlemen, of whose favour he had such good experience; he endeavoured to persuade him that by taking an assistant, all those inconveniencies would be salved, and so he needed not to desert that society, which in term-time only required his labours and attendance: but Mr Gataker, who paised the burden into the balance of the sanctuary, always judged one cure of souls to be sufficient for one man, and therefore ventured the unkind resentment of the noble gentleman upon his refusal, rather than the multiplying of preferments to himself.

After ten years labours, profitably employed at Lincoln's Inn, (not only to the great benefit of the then living servants of God, but also for the behoof of posterity, especially by that his learned tractate of lots, there and then conceived and formed, wherein what satisfaction is given to conscience in many cases, let the judicious acknowlege.) Mr Gataker thence removed to undertake the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surry, of the grounds, motives, and manner whereof he himself hath largely given account to the world in his Apologetic against Lilly, p. 44. 48. of which this is the sum;

The rectory of Redrith in Surry, as it is commonly called, being void, and one of an infamous life labouring hard to succeed in it; in order to which, before the former incumbent's death, he had set on foot a transaction with the mother of certain orphans, in whose hands the patronage was supposed to rest; some of the religious inhabitants valuing the means of grace above all their other outward enjoyments, casts their eyes and thoughts upon Mr Gataker, to gain whom, to their own entreaties they added the mediation of his good friend Mr Richard Stock, who, when he had by many reasons remonstrated unto him, that God did give him a clear call to that place, whose honour and ordinances might suffer prejudice by the intrusion of an unworthy man, if he should refuse the call, he at last suffered himself to be persuaded and prevailed with to undertake the charge; which being represented to Sir Henry Hobart, the king's attorney general, by Mr Randolph Crew, afterwards lord chief justice, Sir Henry, that before favoured other pretensions, to gratify some tenants of his in that parish, yet now did readily embrace the motion concerning the settling of Mr Gataker there, according to his own contentment; and withal wrote a letter to the bishop, for the removal of all obstructions that lay in the way, or that might hinder his acceptance of the presentation of Mr Gataker, which, being signed with all the hands of the three brethren, who had right to that advocation, was tendered on his behalf.

The report of this his removal was no welcome news to many of that honourable society, who would fain have retained him, and some of them offered an enlargement of his maintenance, for an argument to keep him, and others of them represented the consistence of both employments by the help of an assistant; but he that made not his ministry a mere trade of living here, as Gregory Nazianzene complained that some did in his time, and too many do in our times, would not multiply his burdens, when he deemed himself unfit for the least, and would not suffer himself to be wrought to any other resolution.

Therefore in the year 1611, commending his former charge to the grace of God, he betook himself to the sole attendance of that flock, of which now the Holy Ghost had made him the overseer; and his industry in the discharge of his duty there was both constant and great, notwithstanding that he was almost perpetually troubled with the head ach, wherewith God had exercised him from his very youth, and for which he had only this poor comfort from his physician, Dr Goulston, his singular good friend, with whom he continued his studies upon Galen, and to whom he contributed his assistance for the edition of some parts of Galen, who often told him, that the incurable disease of age would be the only remedy of his distemper, because together with the abatement of natural heat, his indisposition would grow less vigorous and violent.

To the work of his ministry in public upon the Sabbaths, he added a catechetical weekly lecture on Fridays, in the evening, which was designed by him to lay the foundation of saving knowlege in the hearts of children, of whom a certain number, every lecture day, did give an account of their knowlege, by set answers, to questions delivered out to them aforehand for their instruction. This course of holding a form of sound words, agreeable to the doctrine of the gospel consigned in holy writ, of what importance it is, we may gather from that ignorance, and those errors which have invaded the church in these our times; which mischiefs can hardly be imputed to any thing so much as to the neglect of that useful duty of catechising. But this exercise was performed by him with such an accurate and methodical explication of the whole body of divinity, that Christians of riper years, and of long standing in Christ's school, did resort to be partakers of those discourses, wherein their well-exercised senses did find not only milk fit for babes, but also solid meat, suitable to grown men in Christ.

This course he continued till he had compleated a perfect summary of divinity, and gave it over when he saw that the least part of his auditory consisted of those for whose sakes he principally intended this work; his parishioners being grown at last to a neglect of his free labours in that kind.

Mr Gataker's constant retirement in his study caused him to make choice of an help meet for him, that might oversee his family, which was a necessary act of prudence; and therefore not long before he left Lincoln's-Inn, he married the widow of Mr William Cupp, to whose two daughters he was so providentially kind in their education, that he disposed of them in marriage to two divines of note in the church, and continued such a fatherly love to them and theirs, that the world mistook them for his own children. That wife died of child-bed of a son that did bear the father's name, who after that he had seen the most remote parts of the world wherewith we keep commerce, returned home to his father, and died in peace.

The same motive still being in force, he, after a decent interval of widowhood, chose for himself the daughter of a rev. minister, Mr Charles Pinner, who was brought up in the worthy and religious family of Mr Ellis Crisp, brother to Mrs Pinner; and it pleased God to give him a son by her, whom in process of time he dedicated unto God in the work of the ministry, but immediately to take away the mother, so that the mother's funeral and the child's baptism were celebrated together. Thus our wise and gracious Father tempers the cup for his children, lest they should surfeit upon earthly enjoyments, as they might easily do, if they were unmixed with occasions of sorrow.

Then did Mr Gataker remain for many years in a disconsolate condition, till at last he adventured and married a gentlewoman of a very considerable family, being sister to Sir George and Sir John Farwells, and of a good esteem for knowlege and piety. By her he had three children, whereof a son and a daughter were carried to the ground before their mother, but the third yet lives to walk by the light of her father's life and doctrine. This his third wife being of a contemplative mind, fell into a consumption, which so wasted her body, that her soul took its flight from thence to heaven.

Last of all, he took to wife a citizen's widow, whose comfortable conversation he enjoyed for the space of twenty-four years, but without any issue by her. His love to her was one motive that induced him to remove out of his parsonage house into another habitation of his own reve-

nue: for ſuppoſing that ſhe might ſurvive him, he would make a convenient proviſion for her, that ſhe might not be ſubject to the courteſy of another for her removal; and that affection extended itſelf in his great liberality to many of her kindred, that were in need of help and ſupport from him, and that both in her lifetime, and ſince her deceaſe.

He ſurvived her within a few days of two years; and becauſe he numbered his days with wiſdom, and thereupon preſumed that the time was approaching wherein his ſoul ſhould be married to the Lamb, he would not endure to liſten to the motion of ſome, who would have adviſed him to a new entanglement in the world.

Having thus related his ſeveral marriages in a continued narrative, let us now ſtep back to take notice of ſome paſſages in time that went before the laſt of them.

In the year 1620, having a juſtifiable curioſity to ſee our neighbour churches in the United Provinces, and ſomething of the Spaniſh provinces in the Netherlands, he took advantage of the truce between the king of Spain and the Hollanders for a free paſſage between both countries. Thereupon, with his entire friend captain Joſhua Downing, and an old acquaintance, Mr Roger Hughs, (his Mnaſon) whoſe houſe he frequented at London, he took his voyage; taking alſo along with him a nephew of his, who was a young ſtudent, to be a partner with him in his travels.

His mother being then alive, had ſome fears, leſt he, being a known and noted adverſary to the popiſh cauſe, (which he had mortally wounded with many and ſharp weapons) ſhould ſuffer inconvenience from that generation of vipers, whoſe violent and virulent malice often prompts them to baſe courſes of ſecret revenge; but God was his guide, his ſun, and his ſhield, and ſo proſpered his voyage, that within a month's ſpace, (for they took boat July 13. and returned ſafe Auguſt 14.) he had viewed the moſt conſiderable places in the low countries.

In this his travel he gave better ſatisfaction to the Engliſh church in Middleburgh, where he gave way to the importunity of friends, who were deſirous to hear him, as well as glad to ſee him, than he did to the Engliſh papiſts in Flanders, with whom he had divers debates, wherein he drove ſome to a confuſion whom he could not draw to a converſion.

In the year 1642, a violent fit of the cholic aſſaulted him, and brought him to the very brink of the grave; but it pleaſed God to bring him back again, that he might do him further ſervice. For the year enſuing, before he had well recovered his ſtrength, he was called by the parliament to ſit as one of the aſſembly which was ſummoned to be conſulted with about religion; where his endeavours for promoting truth, and ſuppreſſing error, were ſincere and ſerious. And his ſtudy of peace with modeſty was in this remarkable, that when his reaſons delivered concerning Chriſt's obedience in order to our juſtification (wherein he differed from his brethren) could not obtain aſſent from the major part, which determined the queſtion contrary to his ſenſe, his great love of unity impoſed upon him ſilence, and wrought likewiſe upon him reſolutions not to publiſh his diſcourſes upon that ſubject, (from Rom. iii. 28) that ſo he might not publicly diſcover diſſent from the votes of that Rev. Aſſembly. I wiſh there had been the like prudence and modeſty in ſome others, who profeſs themſelves to differ but in circumſtantials.

During his attendance upon the work of that convention, the earl of Manchester being acquainted with his great worth and fitneſs, in regard of his learning of all kinds for academical tranſactions, offered him the maſterſhip of Trinity college in Cambridge, which is the greateſt preferment in that univerſity; for that noble lord being intruſted by the parliament with the reformation of that academy, was not paſſionately tranſported with a blind partiality of mens perſons, upon any ſiniſter reſpects, but deſired to prefer them whom he judged moſt worthy, and moſt hopeful to do Chriſt ſervice in that place; and therefore being perſuaded that Mr Gataker might (both in regard of his gravity and moſt ſcholaſtical abilities) be a choice ornament to that univerſity, and a fair copy for others to write by, he was very deſirous to place him there. But this good man, though often importuned by many friends to accept of the motion, according to his accuſtomed modeſty, with many thanks to the noble earl, refuſed to undertake that place, though of much honour, ſervice, and outward advantage; pleading, together with his unworthineſs, the weakneſs of his body by reaſon of age, and thereupon his inability to take journeys. And becauſe he looked upon himſelf as having one foot in the grave, he humbly deſired, that a younger man might be thought upon, more likely to be longer ſerviceable than himſelf, in a place of ſo great eminency and truſt.

And indeed the ſenſe of his own weakneſs was not a vain preſage of his decays; for not long after he was again ſuprized by the cholic, which before had ſhaken him, and made his crazy body leſs able to endure new conflicts, and theſe were ſo ſharp, that his recovery appeared deſperate, not only to his other friends, but even to the phyſicians alſo. Yet it pleaſed God, though he chaſtened him ſore, not to give him over unto death; for his ſtudies, which ſeemed to be his meat and drink in his health, were his phyſic alſo when he was ſick: for whilſt he was confined to his chamber, he prepared for the preſs his diſſertation *De tetragrammato*, and a grammatical diſcourſe *De hinc olibus*; and though this for the ſubject be not comparable to the other, yet it may be averred, that what he did by the by, and for the refreſhment of his languiſhing body and mind, was of more worth than the main work of many ſtudents.

After a long time that he had been priſoner in his own houſe, he, by God's aſſiſtance, recovered ſo much ſtrength as that he was able to go to God's houſe; and now he believed himſelf bound to employ his miniſterial gifts in God's ſervice, and therefore he again adventured into the pulpit, where he ſpent himſelf ſo far that he ſtrained a vein in his lungs, for which, being then about ſeventy three years old, he was let blood, by which, and other good means, God was pleaſed to carry him through that danger.

When he had recruited his veins and ſinews with freſh abilities, he being unwilling to fall under that woe, 1 Cor. ix. 16. for not preaching the goſpel, acted more according to the willingneſs of his ſpirit, than was proportionable to the weakneſs of his fleſh, whereupon he fell into a relapſe of ſpitting blood, for which he again permitted a vein to be opened, which laid on him a neceſſity of forbearing the pulpit; yet would he never forego the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, nor his uſual ſhort diſcourſe at funerals, ſuitable to the preſent occaſion, whenſoever he was ſolicited thereunto; though even theſe ſhort exerciſes of his lungs were painful to him, and waſted that oil, which, like a burning light, he ſpent for the enlightening of others.

The main part of his time was now ſpent in his ſtudy, and that was not deſigned as a meer entertainment of himſelf in quiet privacy, but for the public benefit of the church for the preſent, and for poſterity, as appears amongſt other works, by thoſe exquiſite annotations upon the propheſies of Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lamentations; and we ſhould have gained more by his latter induſtry, if the malicious ſlanders of the enemies of the truth had not diverted his time and ſtudies to ſome neceſſary apologies.

Neither did he, when he was by the hand of God diſabled to preach, betray his flock into the hands of wolves, that would make a prey of precious ſouls, nor deſert it: for being troubled, leſt the foundation that he had laid (after the example of the wiſe maſter builder St Paul) ſhould either not be built upon, or deſtroyed, he retained the title of rector, with a charge beyond the revenue, (as it was ſometimes proved) till proviſion might be made of a faithful and orthodox miniſter, to whom he might comfortably devolve both the burden and the benefit.

To his care of feeding his flock in public, very agreeable was his diligence in inſtructing his family in private; for on Friday nights, (weekly) after ſupper, he uſed to expound that ſhort catechiſm which he had publiſhed for the uſe of his pariſhioners; in which courſe he ſo laid forth the nature and attributes of God; the ſtate of man, both entire and corrupt; the means of his fall and recovery; the nature of faith and repentance, with the doctrine of the ſacraments, that his parlour was one of the beſt ſchools for

for a young ſtudent to learn divinity in; and indeed his houſe was a private ſeminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and far more for foreigners, who did reſort to and ſojourn with him, to receive from him direction, and advancement in their ſtudies; and many who afterwards were eminent in the churches, both here and abroad, were brought up under his eye, at leaſt, as Paul was at the feet of Gamaliel.

Perſons of note that had been his aſſiſtants, were Mr Young, Mr Goodal, Mr Symonds, of whom yet in theſe latter times of diviſion, Mr Gataker hath been heard to ſay, 'It was pity that our church had loſt him,' (intimating his turning aſide to ways of ſeparation.) Mr Grayle, and others who are yet living labourers in God's vineyard.

Of foreigners that ſojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him, as if they had been admitted unto a univerſity, theſe were ſome, Mr Thylein who was afterwards a reverend paſtor of the Dutch church in London (whoſe ſon was brought by his mother but a fortnight before Mr Gataker's deceaſe, entreating the ſame good office in the behalf of him, which the father had with much comfort enjoyed.) Mr Peters, Mr Andrew Demetrius, Mr Hornbeck, Mr Rich, Mr Sword, Mr Wittefrangle, Mr Severinus Benzon, Mr George de Mey, Dr Treſchovious, &c.

The ſtrength of Mr Gataker's memory was extraordinary as may appear by this, that tho' he uſed no common place book, yet had he in readineſs whatſoever he had read, as is manifeſted by his manifold quotations in all his works.

His gifts for edification may be conjectured by his works which are extant, in which he hath ſhewed himſelf like the ingenious and induſtrious bee for his rare extraction of all manner of knowledge from almoſt all authors, and the ſolid digeſtion of it firſt, and then ſtoring it up for the public good. His polite literature was admired by the great lights of learning abroad, as the excellent Salmaſius, and others with whom he held correſpondence. And the exerciſe of it, with condeſcenſion to children, hath been enjoyed with wonder and pleaſure at his viſitation at Tunbridge ſchool with the right worſhipful company of Skinners, the worthy patrons thereof; and that which made all his knowlege both uſeful and grateful, was, that he was neither vain in oſtentation, nor moroſe, or illiberal in reſervation of it. But beyond all, he ſacrificed his talents to God, while he made Hagar ſerve Sarah, and contributed the Egyptian ſpoils, all his foreign learning towards the building of the tabernacle: for with a ſtrange felicity, he made his human literature (both his moral and critical ſtudies) to become ſubſervient to religion, and inſtrumental to the explication of heavenly truths.

His graces of ſanctification were very eminent in every condition, to all purpoſes, and towards all his relations. In the private courſe of his life, his piety, humility, and charity were very remarkable.

His piety appeared not only by his diligence in preaching but alſo by his own frequenting God's ordinances diſpenſed by others; in order whereunto he did once a week at leaſt repair to ſome lecture in London, ſo long as he had liberty to look beyond the bounds of his own pariſh: he manifeſted his piety by his ſtrict, careful, and conſcientious obſervation of the Lord's days, which he wholly conſecrated (except the ſeaſons of the repaſt) unto holy duties and employments; and beſide, he was free in his contributions upon divers occaſions to the maintaining of the Lord's houſe of prayer: and becauſe there is a connection between ſacred perſons and things, his love to godly and and faithful miniſters may be looked upon as an act of piety, as well as of charity.

Another evident inſtance of his zeal for God's glory, was his conſtant conſideration of the ſtate of God's churches abroad, with a diligent enquiry how it fared with them, and a tender ſenſe of their affliction, which begat his meditation on Amos vi. 9. entituled, *Sorrow for Zion.* As alſo his earneſt deſire of a reformation of things amiſs amongſt ourſelves, was doubtleſs acceptable unto God, tho' this ſinful nation is yet unworthy to have it accompliſhed. One ſpecial effect and property in his piety was that holineſs of life expreſſed in a conſtant tenor of good duties, with the abridgment of his liberty in things indifferent eſpecially of recreations (for he underſtood no recreations beſides ſtudy, and made the pleaſanter part of his ſtudy, the ſauce to the more ſevere) that he might give no ſcandal to the good, nor encouragement to the bad: alledging often thoſe two golden rules of St. Paul, 'All things are lawful, but all things are not convenient or expedient; and all things are lawful, but all things edify not, 1 Cor. ix. 6. and x. 23.

His humility appeared,

1. In that low eſteem he had of his own gifts, which yet all others that knew him admired: he was a true Moſes, that took not any notice of that ſhining luſtre of his own countenance. Like a fair ear of corn loaden with grain, he bended his head downwards: for he had nothing of the phariſaical temper, either to advance himſelf, or to vilify his brethren of meaner gifts.

2. In his freedom from ambition of outward advantages. For he declined not only large means in the country, but alſo both eccleſiaſtical dignity and courtly preferments. For he ſtudiouſly waved the counſel of ſome who had given notice of him to that hopeful prince Henry (whom God only ſhewed to this land, and then ſnatched him away to himſelf) and had it in their deſign to make way for his being admitted chaplain to his highneſs; and for the ſame reaſon he conſtantly declined public appearances, inſomuch as he could not, without much reluctancy, be drawn by thoſe who had moſt intereſt in him unto more ſolemn aſſemblies.

3. In his meek converſation with, and condeſenſion to the meaneſt Chriſtians: for he refuſed not familiarity to converſe with the pooreſt Chriſtian that repaired to him for counſel or ſatisfaction in their doubts.

His charity was large, tho' for the moſt part ſecret, both in giving and forgiving to poor perſons: for he would not permit it to blaze, only allowed it to ſhine when his example was requiſite to lighten and lead others to glorify God, and gratify men. In redemption of captives, relief of poor proteſtants, eſpecially of the miniſtry; to the repairs of public and common loſſes, and general calamities, and to the ſetting forward of any good work he was ſtrangely liberal, the fruit whereof the Lord returned into his own boſom, according to that promiſe, 'The liberal ſoul ſhall be made fat.' Yet did he not ſo exhauſt himſelf in his life, but that in his laſt will and teſtament he did alſo bequeath unto the poor of the pariſh of Redrith 50 l. To ten of his brethren in the miniſtry, whoſe wants and neceſſities, eſpecially if occaſioned by the iniquity of the times, he gave 50 l. *i. e.* to each of them 5. l. and to eight miniſter's widows 5 l. apiece, in all forty pound to them. Thus his good works both went before him, and followed him alſo unto heaven, whereby alſo he hath left behind him the perfume of a good name, for the imitation of them that ſurvive.

Juſtice is preſuppoſed unto charity: for God hates robbery for ſacrifice, Iſa. lxi. 8. And Mr Gataker was exactly juſt in giving every man his due, tho' very frequently he remitted his own right, ſo that he was according to the Hebrew phraſe, a juſt man, that is, a kind, equitable perſon, of a mild diſpoſition, no ſevere exacter of his own, and a free diſpenſer of God's gifts, ſo that his 'righteouſneſs endures for ever,' both to his honour upon earth, and to his happineſs in heaven.

In, and about his death, to which the courſe of his declining days led us, his patience and faith were very eminent; the latter attended with a deep ſenſe of his own ſins, which he acknowleged unto God, and to him only was that confeſſion needful: for as to men, his converſation was, as a biſhop's ought to be, irreproveable, 1 Tim. iii. 2.

The firſt ſtep to his deceaſe (for *morbus eſt via ad mortem*, ſickneſs is the rod way to death) was a fainting fit that ſurprized him on Friday night, July the 7th, or rather on Saturday morning, July the 8th. yet of this he made no great account (for he diſturbed not the reſt of a ſervant by calling for aſſiſtance) becauſe he had at ſundry times ſuch faintings, wherein he gave nature leave to work out her victory over thoſe vapours, or viſcous humours that oppreſſed him. Yet thus far he made uſe of it, that he compared his infirmity to that of Seneca, which according to his relation, the phyſicians of that age called *meditati-*

tationem mortis, and wiſhed that it might prove to him a preparation to his diſſolution. The indiſpoſition, not ceaſing with the fit, diſcovered itſelf in a ſhort time to be a Tertian ague, which how gentle ſoever, yet falling upon a perſon of his age, and crazy temper, who had long ſupported a weak frame with a very regular courſe of diet) made his condition doubtful to his phyſician, who was one of learning and worth, that employed his beſt care and skill about the patient, whom he looked upon as a conſiderable perſon to the whole church.

July the 17. having publiſhed his will, and taken ſuch order as he thought fit for the ſettlement of his outward eſtate, he compoſed himſelf to God; his Tertian growing too ſtrong both for nature and art, reſolved itſelf into an almoſt continued fever, the extream heat whereof was very painful unto him; yet during theſe conflicts he ſhewed a ſweet calmneſs of mind, a heart weaned from the world, to which he had no affection, tho' his memory exactly ſerved him for ordering his charity even to the laſt; and in one word, he repreſented a ſoul wholly ſubmitting to God's good pleaſure.

He profeſſed more than once, that no outward thing troubled him ſo much, as the condition of that reverend miniſter, Mr Sainthill, who had but lately undertaken that charge at Redrith upon the uncertain title of Mr Gataker's life, which now failing ſo ſoon, beſides the expectation of his friends, that miniſter he foreſaw was like to be unſettled, and thereby to ſuffer ſome inconvenience.

Tho' friends and phyſicians gave him encouraging words at their viſits, yet he, being ſenſible of his inward decays, could not be flattered into vain hopes of long continuance here, earneſtly contending that he was not to expect miracles. His expectation of God's diſmiſſing of him hence, was ſo fixed, that being conſulted whether he would appoint any one perſon to perform the laſt office for him? He not ſtartled at the queſtion, appointed that Mr Aſh ſhould be entreated to do that work, becauſe he had done the ſame at his laſt wife's funeral; and one opportunity caſually offered itſelf to ſet forward that deſign. For July 18. Mr Aſh, out of his kind reſpect to Mr Gataker ſent him two funeral ſermons preached by him, one at Mr Whitaker's, the other at the interment of Dr Spurſtow's only child. This gave occaſion to Mr Gataker, in the return for that favour, to requeſt the laſt that he could be capable of.

Upon the receipt of a letter to that purpoſe, Mr Aſh on the Saturday following, viſited his dear and dying friend, who then told him, that he found him conflicting with his laſt adverſary; and that tho' he knew the ſting was pulled out, yet nature would ſtruggle. Theſe, and other of his expreſſions, Mr Aſh preſently wrote down, and related them at the end of his ſermon.

That day in the afternoon being July 22. he called for ſome papers of Mr Baxters which were ſent to him by the author, with a deſire of his judgment concerning them. He wiſhed ſome ſhort notes (for the peruſal of them had been his laſt work) to be read over to him, in which he altered ſomething: and having dictated a letter to that his learned and reverend friend, he appointed that that, with the animadverſions incloſed, ſhould be ſent to him. So vigorous was his mind in a body drooping, and dropping into the duſt.

He had now given over the uſe of phyſic, as to any prolongation of his life: for he ſaid that he would ſtruggle no more, becauſe he found that what was preſcribed for the refreſhing of nature did rather oppreſs it, and therefore he reſolved to wait the Lord's pleaſure.

An antient ſervant that waited on him, deſiring leave to rectify the bed-cloathes, and ſaying withal, Sir, your head doth not ly right; he anſwered, 'It will ly right in my coffin.'

July 62. at one o'clock in the morning, death began to ſeize on his left foot, from which the ſpirits retiring, he felt the deadneſs of that part, and a very ſharp pain in the part of the leg adjoining to it; hereupon he called for his ſon, and told him, He feared he ſhould have a difficult death. He then commanded two ſurgeons to be ſent for, to look upon his leg, whom he required to tell him, whether or no his foot were any way diſcoloured. It ſeems he had conceived ſome fear of a gangrene, but being ſatisfied by them that there could not be any ground for ſuch an apprehenſion, he reſted with patience.

In the evening of that day, being viſited by Mr Sainthill, and lying in great anguiſh, by reaſon of the violence of his heat, he prayed for pity and patience; ſupport here, and a comfortable iſſue.

July 26. Early in the morning, being full of pain, gaſping and panting, he cried out, 'How long, Lord? how long? come ſpeedily.'

But though death had made an encroachment on his outward periſhing part, yet his inward man felt no decay; for, with a full uſe of reaſon, he that morning ordered the continuance of a weekly relief to certain poor perſons, as alſo of ſome ſmall monthly penſions to ſome widows for a ſeaſon: he alſo cauſed his phyſician to be conſulted with, about taking ſomething that might procure reſt, and was erected to a more cheerful diſpoſition: he alſo enquired after news, and diſcourſed freely, yet confeſſed himſelf to be in pain.

About three o'clock that afternoon, feeling ſome great change, after the putting forth of nature, he called his ſiſter, ſon, and daughter, to receive his laſt charge; and when they were come, he thus ſpake unto them, 'My heart fails, and my ſtrength fails; but God is my fortreſs, and the ſtrong rock of my ſalvation. Into thy hands there ore I commend my ſoul, for thou haſt redeemed me, O God of truth.' Then turning his diſcourſe to his ſon, he ſaid, 'Son, you have a great charge, look to it: inſtruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and diſcharge your miniſtry conſcientiouſly.' To his ſiſter, (a gentlewoman two years older than himſelf) he ſaid, 'Siſter, I thought you might have gone before me, but God calls for me firſt; I hope we ſhall meet in heaven; I pray God bleſs you.'

His daughter he admoniſhed 'to mind the world leſs, and God more; for that all things without piety, and the true fear of God, are nothing worth.'

He adviſed alſo that his ſon Draper (being a man of means) ſhould entertain ſome godly miniſter into his houſe, to teach his children, and inſtruct his family. He exhorted them all to love and concord, which, he ſaid, he hoped the rather, becauſe he had clearly ſettled his eſtate, ſo as to prevent differences.

He enlarged himſelf on each of theſe a little, wiſhing them all to lay to heart the words of a dying man. After this, he deſired that all ſhould withdraw, and leave him to his reſt, which he hoped was at hand; but all his conflicts were not yet accompliſhed.

July the 27th, His voice began to be leſs intelligible, the putrid preternatural heat having furred up his mouth, as is uſual in fevers; yet both his underſtanding and ſenſes were very quick and active: about ſix of the clock in the evening, he called for his ſon to recommend his ſoul unto God by prayer, and endeavoured to expreſs what he deſired, but could not do it ſo clearly as to be well underſtood; yet by his geſtures he gave aſſurance that he underſtood perfectly, and concurred fervently with the devotions uſed on his behalf. Within an hour after, nature being quite ſpent, he gave up the Ghoſt, and was tranſlated into that reſt which he ſo often and earneſtly had deſired to find in another world, becauſe he could obtain none in this.

Thus, after forty years inſpection of this pious and diligent paſtor of Redrith, he left his flock, returning to the 'great and chief ſhepherd of our ſouls,' from his gracious hands to receive an 'incorruptible crown of glory,' having almoſt completed fourſcore years.

For his perſon, the expreſt whereof, though he was often importuned by his dear friends, he would never allow to be taken either by pencil or ſculpture. He was of a middle ſtature, of a thin body, and of a lively countenance, of a freſh complexion, and looked young when he came to preach at Lincoln's-Inn, and yet was grey headed, which made him to be thought elder than he was, becauſe he had long appeared ancient in the eyes of the world; of a choicely temperate diet; of a free and cheerful converſation, addicted much to ſtudy, yet not ſecluding himſelf from fit company. He was of a quick apprehenſion, ſharp reaſon, ſolid judgment, vaſt memory, which

which, through God's mercy, continued fresh to the last of his days. He was *Helluo librorum*, one that did not vainly encrease his Library for ostentation, but those books for use, which also he made of them so happily, that he had conquered a strong portion of learning, which he made to serve him upon all occasions. He was not so great a treasurer, as a free dispenser of those riches of the mind, which he did communicate readily, expeditely and clearly. He was an ornament to the university, and of that society designed for the study of the law; a light of the church, the salt of the place where he abode; a loving husband; a discreet parent; a faithful friend; a kind neighbour; a stout champion for the truth, yet a lover of peace, preserving the unity of charity even where there was a difference of judgment; an adversary to novel fancies, as well as to antiquated superstitions in religion; of a Christian magnanimity in despising the world, and therefore resolute, through bad report as well as good, to maintain a clear conscience. In brief he was a faithful shepherd, and a fit mirrour for pastors, as well as an exact pattern for people; who having almost completed eighty years departed full of days; but being dead, yet speaks in his living monuments of sound learning.

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Adversaria Miscellanea, in quibus sacræ scripturæ & aliorum scriptorum lux redditur. Edente Carolo, Thomæ Gatakeri filio,

A pious EPIGRAM *of Mr* GATAKER, *being a just Expression of the intimate Frame of the Soul: which was made by him not long before his Death.*

I thirst for thirstiness, I weep for tears;
Well pleas'd I am, to be displeased thus:
The only thing I fear is want of fears;
Suspecting I am not suspicious.
I cannot chuse but live, because I die;
And, when I am not dead, how glad am I!

Yet, when I am thus glad for sense of pain,
And careful am lest I should careless be;
Then do I grieve for being glad again,
And fear lest carelessness take care from me.
Amidst these restless thoughts this rest I find,
For those that rest not here, there's rest behind.

Many EPITAPHS *were made for him after his Death: amongst which I shall make choice only of one or two.*

On the Death of that reverend and eminently learned Divine, Mr THOMAS GATAKER.

Who's this that lyes thus breathless? Doleful sight!
The worthy Gataker; that beauteous light
Hath left our Hemisphere. Ah! he is gone,
Who was the glory deem'd of Helicon.
The muses joy is fled; a magazine
Of learning's here blown up. The sisters nine,
Could they but rate their loss (such hath it been)
With tears, they'd make an other Hippocrene.
Poor house of clay? Oh, how it empty lyes!
The furniture's remov'd to Paradise.
Angels have hence conveigh'd the jewel-mind;
Nought but the cabinet is left behind.
Adieu young Nestor; seldom have we seen
A head so gray, and parts so fresh and green.
His speech to deck, such flowers he could bring,
In age's Winter, one would swear 'twere Spring:
But now for Florid language, we may find
Dumb Rhetoric with silence cries her mind.
Oh! mind your latter ends; death's sometimes late;
But, who could ere his life perpetuate?
We thought his Preaching done, but here we have
One Sermon more, and for his text, The grave.
Be faithful, you, who Sion's walls do keep,
Watch-men themselves must once be laid to sleep

W. Tyne, Fellow of St John's College in Cambridge.

'Ad Tumulum Tho. Gatakeri, Londinatis, S. S. Theol. Bacc.'

'Exuviæ cujus? GATAKERI, plura referre
Haud opus: ad laudes vox ea sola satis.'

'Guil. Dugard, Scholæ Merc. Scilo. Moderator.'

The Life of Mr JEREMY WHITAKER, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1654.

JEREMY WHITAKER was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire, in the year 1599, in which place alſo he was trained up in the grammar ſchool; and it ſeems that the Lord betimes did draw forth his love towards himſelf; for even whilſt he was a ſchool boy, his affections did flow out towards thoſe who were moſt religiouſly diſpoſed, in whoſe company he uſed frequently to go eight or ten miles to hear a wakening ſoul ſermon; he uſed alſo to join with them in prayers, and other holy exerciſes and duties; and being able to take ſermon notes, both underſtandingly and largely, he was very helpful to thoſe private Chriſtians, in repeating what they publicly heard, being from his child-hood full of affections, in whatſoever buſineſs he undertook. Thus this plant of God's own ſetting, did both bloſſom, and put forth quickly, which Providence did afterwards make a very fruitful tree.

Whilſt he was at the grammar-ſchool, though his father endeavoured often, and earneſtly, to divert his thoughts from the office of the miniſtry, yet was he unmoveable in his deſires to be a miniſter, and he never afterwards repented of this his choice; but would all his life long, upon all occaſions, magnify that his office, inſomuch as he hath often been heard to utter this ſpeech, 'I had much rather be a preacher of the goſpel than an emperor.' And when a motion was once made to him to be the head of a college in the univerſity, he readily returned this anſwer, 'My heart doth more deſire to be a conſtant preacher, than to be the maſter of any college in the world.'

When he was ſixteen years old, being well grounded at the grammar ſchool, he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, and admitted a ſizar in Sidney-Suſſex college, where he ſoon diſcovered, and was taken notice of, and much valued for his pregnant parts and ſcholarſhip.

At twenty years of age, he commenced batchelor of arts, and a while after he was ſent to Okeham, the chiefeſt town in Rutlandſhire, there to teach the free ſchool.

At that time there was one Mr William Peachy, the miniſter at Okeham, a godly man, and a painful preacher of the goſpel, and eminent for his ſkill in the ſacred languages, who dearly loved, and highly valued our Mr Whitaker from his firſt acquaintance with him; which he manifeſted by proffering to him his daughter in marriage, as Mr Whitaker hath ſince told ſome of his friends; he was the rather inclined to accept of the motion, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of a pious, painful, and learned miniſter of the goſpel; and occaſionally hath told his friends, that he was the better pleaſed with his choice, becauſe of that relation.

About four years after his coming to Okeham he married Chephzibah, the daughter of the ſaid Mr Peachy, by whom God gave him four ſons, and three daughters. All his ſons he deſigned for the miniſtry, but it pleaſed God in his life time, to take one of them away whilſt he was a ſtudent in Cambridge; the other three ſurvived, and he lived to ſee two of them ordained, and ſet apart for the work of the miniſtry; the third he appointed to be educate for the ſame work.

Having ſtayed about ſeven years at Okeham, he was removed to a paſtoral charge at Stretton in the ſame county, where he continued about the ſpace of thirteen years.

Whilſt he continued ſchool maſter at Okeham, he undertook and preached a weekly lecture there, beſides many ſermons which he preached occaſionally in neighbouring congregations: and during his abode in Stretton, beſides his paſtoral employment, wherein he preached twice every Lord's day, he alſo conſtantly preached his weekly lecture at Okeham, and was a principal prop to hold up ſome other lectures in the neighbourhood. His manner alſo was to ſet apart every holy-day (if there were but one in the week) as a day faſting God in reference to the neceſſities of the times, and no man was more ſtrict, and frequent in aſſiſting in days of humiliation in private, both in Rutlandſhire, and in the adjacent counties whenſoever he was called and invited thereunto.

Such was his love to Chriſt, that his public employments (though many and great) did not take him off from attending his family duties, nor from more private exerciſes of communion with God: his ordinary courſe in his family was together with prayers, to expound ſome part of the holy Scriptures, and that twice every day, beſides other parts of Scripture which he daily read in ſecret, ſo that uſually he read all the epiſtles in the Greek Teſtament twice every fortnight; yea, when by reaſon of extremity of pain, and weakneſs, he could not read himſelf, he herein employed others for his help. Hence it came to paſs that he was a man mighty in the Scriptures, like unto Apollos. Acts xviii. 24. as was obſerved by all that converſed with him, or that heard him preach or pray, and this courſe he earneſtly commended to the practice of his dearly beloved eldeſt ſon, as an excellent means to make him both a ready and a profitable preacher.

Whilſt he lived in Rutlandſhire, came forth the book allowing ſports on the Sabbath, which he refuſed to read tho' it was with commands and threatning preſſed upon him. And afterwards when he was called to give in his anſwer about a contribution among miniſters to maintain the war againſt the Scots, he openly told the biſhop of his chancellor, that his conſcience would not permit him to do it. This his anſwer expoſed him to the hazard of loſing both his living and miniſtry, as the times then were; whereupon one of his neighbours, through miſguided love, (compaſſionating him and his family) payed the money required, and ſubſcribed Mr Whitaker's name without his knowledge. This was long concealed from him; but when he came to the knowledge of it, he expreſſed his diſlike with many complaints, and much grief of heart.

As he had early, ſo he had conſtant vigorous workings of heart towards the calling and work of the miniſtry, and that upon this ground, becauſe he always conceived, that therein a chriſtian might enjoy moſt fellowſhip with Chriſt, and have opportunities of doing him the beſt ſervice, and he often conſidered Chriſt's ſpeech to Peter, 'If thou loveſt me, feed my ſheep; feed my lambs, John xxi. 15, 17.

He was never ſo well pleaſed with any employments when he was about the works of the miniſtry: in the pulpit he was (as it were) in his own eſteem, like a fiſh in the water, or a bird in the air. Tho' many times he went thither halting and full of pain, yet did he not manifeſt any ſenſe of diſtemper whilſt he was in the pulpit.

When an aſſembly of divines was to be choſen to conſult and adviſe the parliament about eccleſiaſtical affairs, he was, for his eminent piety and learning, nominated for one, and how uſeful and advantageous he was to their affairs, is well known to all that were members of that aſſembly; and when providence had thus brought him to London, he was (as Paul 2 Cor. xi. 23.) 'in labours more abundant,' than many, yea, than moſt others.

Not long after his coming to London, he was called and choſen to the paſtoral charge of Mary Magdalen Bermondſey in Southwark, about which he conſulted with many godly and judicious miniſters, and with their conſent and approbation accepted of it, after which, for the moſt part, his taſk was to preach conſtantly four ſermons every week, two in his own charge, one at Weſtminſter, and one at Chriſt's Church London; and after he had laid down his Chriſt-Church lecture, at the importunity of the inhabitants, he took up one at Stepney, beſides his preaching two lectures quarterly at Michael's Cornhill. Add to theſe his preaching monthly at the morning exerciſes, or elſe he aſſiſted on the faſt days in the concluſion of thoſe exerciſes; beſides his many occaſional ſermons, as for preparation to the ſacrament in his own church, and at funerals both at home and abroad; yea, it is truly reported of him, that he would never deny any request for preaching and praying, if God gave him bodily ability or other unavoidable occaſions did not neceſſarily hinder him.

Many week days he preached twice, even then when he attended the work of the aſſembly of divines, to wit, the morning exerciſe, either at Weſtminſter, or elſe where, and upon ſome other occaſion in the afternoon of the ſame day. This may mind us of the commendation which St. Paul

Paul gave of Epaphroditus, Phil ii. 30. 'For the work of the Lord he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life. So it is well known to multitudes, that this might fitly be applied to painful Mr Whitaker; yea many conceived that his painful diſeaſes, which haſtened his removal from us, were occaſioned, and encreaſed by his many conſtant and indefatigable labours in this kind.

And tho' he preached ſo often, yet were not his ſermons jejune, wordy, empty ſermons: but always full of ſcripture ſtrength, ſavoury, and affectionate, as his auditors can well teſtify.

Neither is this to be wondered at, if we conſider that he was an univerſal ſcholar, both in the arts and original languages: by much ſtudy he had digeſted the whole body of divinity; he was well acquainted both with the fathers and ſchool men: an acute and ſolid diſputant, exactly verſed in caſes of conſcience, and ſecond unto none in his acquaintance with the ſacred Scriptures.

Since our times of woful deſertion and apoſtacy, both from goſpel truths and practices, he would undauntedly both in private conferences, and in his public miniſtry expreſs his diſlike, yea his deteſtation thereof, to the ſins of them, how great ſoever, who too much favoured herſies, errors, and ranting courſes, tho' he knew that thereby he did run the hazard of procuring many frowns to himſelf.

He refuſed to ſign and ſubſcribe the late engagement tho' thereby he was in danger of loſing his lecture at Weſtminſter; and if his ſermons preached there upon Eph. ii. 1, 2. concerning mens 'walking according to the courſe of this world, &c. Fulfilling the luſts of the fleſh,' &c. could be collected, and publiſhed, it would thereby appear that Mr Whitaker, out of his zeal for God's glory, and love to his Lord Chriſt, was of an undaunted courage, full of Chriſtian magnanimity. One further teſtimony whereof we have in the following ſtory.

Since theſe ſtormy times began, wherein the liberty and livelihood of miniſters hath been ſo much maligned and ſtruck at, as he was riding with one of his intimate friends by Tiburn (which he had not ſeen nor obſerved before) he aſked what that was? and being anſwered, that it was Tiburn, where ſo many malefactors had loſt their lives; he ſtopped his horſe, and uttered theſe words with much affection, 'Oh what a ſhame is it that ſo many thouſands ſhould die for the ſatisfaction of their luſts, and ſo few be found willing to lay down their lives for Chriſt! why ſhould not we in a good cauſe, and upon a good call, be ready to be hanged for Jeſus Chriſt? It would be an everlaſting honour, and it is a thouſand times better to die for Chriſt, to be hanged or to be burnt for Chriſt, than to die in our beds'.

He did often, and zealouſly defend the office of a goſpel-miniſtry both in public and in private, and that eſpecially amongſt thoſe perſons, and in thoſe places, where, as he conceived, there was moſt need. In one of his morning lectures at Weſtminſter, this paſſage came from him with much affection, 'Though, ſaid he, I have read, and heard of of ſome good men, who unadviſedly in their paſſion, have perſecuted the perſons of ſome godly miniſters, as Aſa was angry with the prophet, and caſt him into priſon, yet I never knew, I never read, nor heard of any godly perſon who durſt oppoſe the office and calling of the miniſtry' And, whereas at the end of his ſermon, a ſoldier expreſſing himſelf to be diſſatisfied with what he had ſpoken, came to him in private, and aſked him, whether he meant this of the miniſtry of England as now conſtituted? he returned him this anſwer, 'Altho' I will not juſtify the calling of every individual miniſter in the Church of England, as you dare not juſtify the ſainting of every member in your Independent congregation, yet I will be ready, when, and where you pleaſe, to maintain the office and calling of England's miniſtry at this day.'

And that he continued unmoved and unchanged in his judgment, and eſteem of the miniſterial calling to the laſt, may be manifeſted by this paſſage in his laſt will and teſtament, which is here ſet down in his own words, and written with his own hand, 'For my ſon Jeremiah, my deſire is, that he be bred a ſcholar, and that the Lord will ſpiritually incline his heart, freely to give up himſelf to the Lord, to ſerve him in the work of the miniſtry, which calling and employment, though now deſpiſed, I do eſteem above all others in the world, and do commend it to all mine, that if the Lord bleſs them with ſons, they would commend this calling to their poſterity.'

And truly this deſerves ſeriouſly to be conſidered, whether there be not herein much to credit and encourage the miniſtry of the goſpel, that a learned man, and ſo eminent for piety, who alſo had thoroughly ſtudied the controverſy of the times, and had heard and read what could be ſaid againſt the miniſtry, ſhould yet upon his death-bed give ſuch a teſtimony unto it, when he daily expected to make up his account before God, and alſo give ſuch great encouragement to his poſterity, to addict themſelves to this calling now, even now, when ſuch diſgrace is caſt upon it, and when the miniſters ſettled maintainance is threatened to be taken from them: and may not thoſe men, who knew Mr Whitaker's worth, be hereby awed and moved to take heed how they oppoſe or ſlight that calling of men, whom he, living and dying, judged to be ſo highly honoured of God himſelf?

To this alſo add, that it was an ordained miniſtry which he thus valued; which appears by theſe two lively teſtimonies: 1. In that he joined with the Claſſis, whereof he was a member in ordaining of miniſters. 2. In that he had an hand in the book not long ſince publiſhed by the province of *London*, in the defence of ſuch a miniſtry, not only by his aſſent to it, but alſo by his aſſiſtance in drawing it up.

As Mr Whitaker loved God dearly ſo God loved him, which he manifeſted by thoſe graces wherewithal he enriched him; and truly love-tokens are real meſſengers of his love that ſendeth them: and what ſurer ſigns can we have of God's love, than when he beſtows upon us the graces of his Holy Spirit? Now of theſe the Lord had given him a more than ordinary meaſure. And beſides what hath been ſaid before, there were five graces more, which were very orient and ſhining in his crown.

1. His tenderneſs of heart: Who ever knew a man of a more melting frame of heart before God, whether in confeſſions, petitions, or thankſgivings? Is there any one living that can ſay, that I have at ſometimes joined with him in prayer, and ſhed no tears? How did his own ſinfulneſs (though it was no more than the ordinary imperfections of the faireſt ſaint upon earth), the evils of the times, and the teſtimonies of God's diſpleaſure breaking out upon us, break his heart into pieces? We may truly believe, that for the ſpace of many years, he did never come off from the ſerious conſideration of theſe things with dry eyes; and how many thouſands be there of God's children, that would account it a ſign of much love from Chriſt, if they could find ſuch thawings in their frozen breaſts?

2. His meekneſs of ſpirit, with which precious jewel he was richly adorned: Who ever ſaw him tranſported by paſſion, on a fire through fooliſh anger, or diſguiſed by content? Though his zeal would wax hot, and burn in him, for God and his glory; yet he was a man of a cool ſpirit, and meek like Moſes, in all his own concernments; and this he hath often manifeſted in remarkable manner, when diſputing with men of diſſenting principles and opinions; yet his ſpirit was ſo even, that their unhandſome provocations could not diſcompoſe him, and drive him into paſſion.

3. For his patience, he may well be called a ſecond Job. Many who ſaw him under thoſe racking pains in his laſt ſickneſs, ſo frequently reiterated, and ſo long continued, were confident that God did put him, and keep him in his furnace, to be a pattern of patience unto poſterity. It is confeſſed, that he did roar many times till his throat was dry; but whoever heard him ſpeak one word of murmuring or diſcontent, becauſe of God's afflicting providence? He himſelf would indeed, ſometimes, through tenderneſs of conſcience, charge himſelf of impatiency, becauſe he made a noiſe in his extremity; but that expreſſed only nature's ſenſibleneſs, not ſinful forwardneſs; and when (accuſing himſelf cauſelеſſly) he was minded of Chriſt's roarings, yet free from all ſin, he would be ſilent.

I confeſs indeed, that in his deſires to be diſſolved, he would take up Job's complaint, 'Wherefore is light given to him that is in miſery, and life unto the bitter in ſoul? which long for death, and it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treaſure,' &c. 'For my ſighing cometh before I eat, and my roarings are poured out like waters,' Job iii. 20—24. But he always concluded with ſubmiſſion to the good pleaſure of God.

When he had been aſked how he did? this was frequently his anſwer, 'The buſh always burning, but not conſumed; and though my pains be above the ſtrength of nature, yet they are not above the ſupport of grace.'

4. The Lord was pleaſed to vouchſafe him ſuch a meaſure of the Spirit of grace and ſupplications, that his ſoul was never out of tune for that ſervice. Moſt of his words when he was under torment, were holy complaints and prayers to God. It will not be impertinent or unprofitable if I here ſet down ſome of them.

'O my God, help! Father of mercies, pity! Do not contend for ever! conſider my frame, that I am but duſt! My God, that hath made heaven and earth, help me! Oh, give me patience, and inflict what thou wilt! If my patience was more, my pain would be leſs. Dear Saviour, where are thy bowels? why doſt thou make me an aſtoniſhment to myſelf and others? why doſt thou cover thyſelf with a thick cloud, that our prayers cannot paſs? Bleſſed is the man that endureth temptation. Lord this is a ſad temptation; ſtand by me, and ſay, It is enough. Am I not thy ſervant? conſider, Lord, that I am thy ſervant. O theſe bitter waters of Marah! Lord, drop ſweet comfort into theſe bitter waters of Marah. O the blood of ſprinkling: Lord, the blood of ſprinkling! Lord! that blood, which extinguiſheth the fire of thine anger, O that it might allay my burning pains! I am in a fiery furnace; Lord, be with me as thou waſt with the three children, and bring me out refined from ſin. When I have ſailed through the ocean of theſe pains, and look back, I ſee that none of them can be wanting. I fly unto thee, O God, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings till theſe terrible ſtorms be overpaſt.

5. God added humility as a crown to all his other graces, which yet ſhone bright in the eyes of all that were acquainted with him. Indeed he was cloathed with humility: and hence it was that he could converſe ſo familiarly with the pooreſt Chriſtians, and with them who were of the loweſt parts for knowlege, even with babes in Chriſt. This his ordinary expreſſion of himſelf before God, did clearly demonſtrate his great humility, 'Poor worm! ſinful wretch! O pardon my tranſgreſſions, for they are very great.'

Hereupon he would weep much, when he was told how much he was prayed for, wondering at God's goodneſs, that ſo ſinful a wretch, and worthleſs a creature, ſhould have ſo much intereſt in the hearts and prayers of the people of God. And his language in his will ſpeaks how little he was in his own eyes; the words are theſe, 'I deſire that at my funeral there may be no pomp; but that ſo poor a worthleſs wretch may be privately laid in the ground.'

And as his graces were many, ſo were his comforts many and great, which God vouchſafed as ſingular manifeſtations of his love to this his dear ſervant and child. O what kiſſes of Chriſt's mouth, and what embraces from the arms of his love, were beſtowed upon this ſaint of the Moſt High.

He enjoyed all along, in his afflicted condition, an uninterrupted aſſurance of God's fatherly love in Chriſt. In his addreſſes unto God he conſtantly claimed propriety in God, calling him, My God, and My Father.

His inward peace and joy were the ſupport of his heart under all his grievous and grinding pains. He was confident of mercy's mixtures with all his greateſt diſtempers, not at all doubting of the ſanctification of them to him, through grace.

Thus he ſpake many times in his applications unto God, 'Conſider, and ſave me, for I am thine. How long, how long, Lord, ſhall I not be remembered; yea, I am remembered, bleſſed be thy name. This is a fiery chariot, but it will carry me to heaven. Bleſſed be God that hath ſupported me hitherto; and he that hath delivered, will yet deliver. Thou, Lord, never forgeteſt them that put their truſt in thee.'

Always, when the extremity of pain was over, he would with ſmiles ſpeak of God's mercies. Though trembling took hold upon him when his violent pains began, yet would he with confidence ſay, 'Now, in the ſtrength of the mighty God, I will undergo theſe pains. O my God, put under thine everlaſting arms, and ſtrengthen me.'

Many times he told a boſom friend of his, that notwithſtanding all his rentings and roarings, from which he expected no deliverance but by death, he would not for a thouſand worlds change eſtates with the greateſt man on earth, whom he looked upon as in a way of ſin, and enthralled thereto. And this much beſpeaks God's fatherly indulgence towards him, that Satan could never ſhake his confidence, nor aſſault his hopes, all the time of his ſore diſtemper. And this was further very remarkable, that he counted all theſe inward cheerings, the fruits of prayers that was made for him, though God ſaw cauſe to deny that eaſe and recovery to his body which was ſo much begged; and withal, he valued thoſe ſpiritual cordials and refreſhings, far beyond deliverance from the gout, and the ſtone, yea, and death itſelf.

Theſe things are the rather mentioned, to prevent that diſcouragement or offence which ſome may be too apt to take at the violence and continuance of his waſting and tormenting pains, notwithſtanding his own godlineſs, and the inceſſant prayers, both ordinary and extraordinary, which were made unto God in his behalf; for he found the ſweet fruits of them in his own boſom, even when he felt the continuance and increaſe of his bodily grief.

Another thing very remarkable in holy Mr Whitaker, was his love to his fellow Chriſtians; he was a man made up (as it were) of love. His delight was in the ſaints upon earth, whom he eſteemed moſt excellent, and their ſociety was a conſtant cordial to his ſpirit. His frequent viſits of them that were in trouble, and his ſtirring up of others to the like practice, were teſtimonies of this his cordial love; which indeed was not verbal but real. He was alſo abundant in works of charity, few men of his eſtate did equalize him therein. He would often ſay, 'It is a brave thing when a man, together with a full eſtate, hath a charitable heart. Sometimes, upon ſpecial occaſions, he hath given away all the money that he had in the houſe. It was not unuſual with him to give 20s. to a poor ſaint; and he had many experiences of God's gracious returns in ſuch caſes. By his laſt will he gave 20l. to the poor of his own pariſh.

There were two caſes wherein his love was moſt enlarged to the people of God, whereof you may take theſe two inſtances; The one when the ſufferings were public. He often told an intimate friend of his, that England's late breach with Scotland, and the blood that was ſhed, together with other ſad conſequences thereof, had taken ſuch impreſſions upon his heart, that the ſorrow would never be removed till his death; and the ſufferings both in Holland and in England, in our late ſea fights, were a heavy burden upon his ſpirit.

The other caſe was in reſpect to the inward perplexity of ſuch as were afflicted in mind; having moved a ſpecial friend of his, the week before his death, to beſtow a viſit upon one in that condition, the very morning before his death (when ſpeech was grievous to him, in reſpect of his great weakneſs, he aſked him, whether he had remembered the party that was troubled in ſpirit? which was a remarkable evidence of his ſtrong love to ſuch.

And beſides what hath been already mentioned, I might here ſet down his many wreſtlings with God to prevent the flood of troubles which he apprehended the proteſtant churches were now in danger to be overflowed with; as alſo his compaſſionate reſpect to congregations in the country, which were like ſheep wandering upon the barren mountains without a ſhepherd.

And as his love flowed forth to the ſaints, ſo was theirs no leſs towards him; not to ſpeak of the many frequent and friendly viſits of godly men and women in the neighbourhood round about him; there was ſcarce ever heard of any man that was ſo much prayed for, both in public and

and in private; both upon ordinary and extraordinary occaſions, as he was. There was no particular caſe ſo frequently, ſo affectionately ſpread before God, in moſt of the congregations about London, as his. Three days were ſet apart by miniſters, and many other praying friends, to ſeek God in his behalf, one in private, and two in public, which alſo were obſerved much better than ſuch days uſually have been of late; yea, in remote countries, beſides the ordinary prayers made for him, there were ſome faſts kept alſo, with ſpecial reference to his afflictions.

The multitude of people that came to his funeral, with the many weeping eyes, did clearly ſhew how much he was beloved.

Here might alſo be remembered the readineſs of the London miniſters to ſupply his place at home, and his lectures elſewhere; as alſo the willingneſs of his fellow-lecturers at Weſtminſter to preach for him there, when he himſelf, by reaſon of weakneſs, could not poſſibly do his own work, but it is needleſs; for ſtill, every where, upon the naming of Mr Whitaker, love is ſome way diſcovered by ſuch as had any knowlege of him.

Whilſt he was able, he never neglected his miniſterial ſervice; he hath often gone upon crutches unto the congregation of his own people, to fulfil his miniſtry; yea, once at leaſt he adventured to preach at Michael's Cornhill, when he was ſcarce able to get into the pulpit, and his friends, with much difficulty helped him out of the church homewards; and at other times, when his legs would not ſerve him, he uſed to ride to church. And when he was, by extremity of pains, taken off from his miniſtry, he would ſometimes profeſs to ſome ſpecial friends, that the pain felt was not ſo grievous to his ſpirit as his inability, by reaſon thereof, to manage his wonted work. Indeed it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father. Many times theſe were his words, 'If I could but preach, I ſhould be much better.' And he would rejoice, with cheerfulneſs and thankfulneſs, when, in the times of his weakneſs, he found not himſelf more diſtempered by his preaching, and would mention ſuch experiences, as arguments to move and induce his friends to yield to his preaching, when they diſſuaded him from it, as a prejudice to his health.

In the year 1654. about the beginning of November, the violent pain of the ſtone did in ſuch a manner and meaſure arreſt him, that from that time he continued God's priſoner, confined to his bed chamber, till he was ſet free by a long expected and much deſired death. Moſt phyſicians in the city were conſulted with, and were from time to time very ready to ſerve him with their advice, who did unanimouſly conclude, that his ſharp pains proceeded originally from an ulcer in the kidney, but immediately from an ulcer in the neck of the bladder, cauſed by a continual flux of ulcerous matter dropping down upon that part; and by reaſon of the acuteneſs and quickneſs of the ſenſe there, his pains were almoſt continually in that place, though the fountain of them was from the kidneys.

About two months before his death, his pains grew more extreme, yet divine indulgence vouchſafed at ſome times ſome mitigation of them, and intermiſſion both in the night and day; but notwithſtanding the long continuance and extremity of them neither his faith nor patience did abate; yea, they much encreaſed, and grew higher; and as he grew nearer his end, ſo his longings for death were much encreaſed, yet accompanied with holy ſubmiſſion to the good pleaſure of his gracious Father.

Theſe were ſome of his expreſſions:

O my God, break open the priſon door, and ſet my poor captive ſoul free; but enable me willingly to wait thy time. I deſire to be diſſolved: never did any man deſire life more than I do death.

When will that time come, that I ſhall neither ſin more, nor ſorrow more?

When ſhall mortality put on immortality? When ſhall this earthly tabernacle be diſſolved, that I may be cloathed upon with that houſe which is from heaven?

'Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, and follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth.'

So great was his love to his God and Saviour, that he maintained and expreſſed high eſtimation and honourable thoughts of his Majeſty, when he was under the moſt tormenting providences. He feared nothing more than leſt he ſhould do or ſpeak any thing that might redound to the diſhonour of his name

Theſe were ſome breathings of his large love, when through pain he was as in the fire, or upon the rack:

'Good Lord, keep me from diſhonouring of thy name by impatience! Oh! who would not even in burnings have honourable thoughts of God? who that knows thee would not fear thee, O Lord, love thee, and honour thee?

'Lord, thou gaveſt me no occaſion to have any hard thoughts of thee! Bleſſed be God, there is nothing of hell in all this! Bleſſed be his name for Jeſus Chriſt, and the revelation of the everlaſting goſpel!

'Who knows the power of thy wrath? if it be ſo heavy upon thy ſervant here, how heavy ſhall it be to all thoſe who ſhall endure it without mixture?

'Bleſſed be God for the peace of mine inward man, when my outward man is full of trouble?

'This is a bitter cup, but it is of my Father's mixture, and ſhall I not drink it? Yea, Lord, through thy ſtrength I will: this is my burden, and I will bear it.'

Upon any abatements of his excruciating pains, he was conſtantly much in bleſſing God, uſing theſe, and ſuch like expreſſions; 'O! what a mercy is it that there is any mitigation, any intermiſſion! Lord make me thankful. And turning himſelf towards thoſe that ſtood by, he would beſpeak them thus; 'O help me to be thankful! O lift up a prayer for me, that I may be thankful! O what a mercy is this! How much worſe might this affliction have been? I might have been diſtracted, or laid roaring under diſquietneſs of ſpirit.'

By theſe, and many ſuch like expreſſions and workings of his ſpirit, who perceiveth not the ſparklings of his love to God? And to a dear friend he often ſaid, 'Brother, through mercy, I have not one repining thought againſt God.'

The Sabbath ſe'night, before God releaſed him, though his pains were very ſharp, yet he beſtowed moſt part of the time of public ordinances in prayer, together with thoſe that were about him, and his petitions were moſt in the behalf of miniſters, that God would cloath his ordinances with his own power, and enable his miniſters to ſpeak to the ſouls of his people. Then did he alſo, with many tears, bewail his detainment from the ſanctuary, and Sabbath opportunities of doing and receiving good, which had been his delight: Profeſſing alſo, that his being taken off from ſervice was a greater affliction to him than all his bodily pains. And becauſe this apprehenſion, viz. Of his preſent unſerviceableneſs, did much afflict him; this therefore was often ſuggeſted to him, (which the Lord pleaſed to make a relief to his ſpirit) viz that now by the practice of faith, patience, contentment, and ſpiritualneſs, which he had formerly preached to, and preſſed upon others, he was very profitable unto them who viſited him, and might alſo prove very advantageous unto others who might be acquainted therewith, through God's grace, by Chriſt.

So great was his tender reſpect to his friends, that when his pains were coming with violence, he would entreat them to withdraw from him, that they might not be grieved with his roarings; and he uſed often to bleſs God, that his compaſſionate friends were not neceſſitated to abide within the reach of his doleful lamentation.

As his death drew nigh, ſo his fits of pain were more frequent, either every half hour, or many times every quarter, yea, two or three in a quarter of an hour, which did exceedingly abate his ſtrength.

The night before God took him out of this vale of tears, Mr Aſh hearing that he was not likely to live another day, went early in the morning to take his leave of him whom his ſoul loved, at which time he found his bodily ſtrength much decayed; and perceiving that he could not ſpeak without much difficulty, Mr Aſh ſpake the more unto him

in reference to the approach of his happy hoped for change: and his discourse, through God's mercy, was very refreshing to his spirit. He told him also, that many of his friends intended to set apart that day in seeking the Lord for him, and asked him, in what things especially he desired to be remembered before the throne of Grace? his answer was, 'Do not complain, but bless God for me, and intreat him to open the prison door.' Then Mr Ash, laying his hand upon his cold hand, covered with a clammy sweat, took his farewel of him with an aking heart; and upon his departure from him, the last words which Mr Whitaker spake to him were these; 'Brother, I thank you, I pray God bless you, and I bless God for you.'

That day was spent in addresses to God for him at Peter's Cornhill, where Mr Newcomen quickened and guided our prayers in his sermon upon John xi. 4. 'Lord, behold he whom thou lovest is sick:' and Mr Jenkin endeavoured to moderate and regulate our sorrows from Luke xxiii. 38. 'Weep not for me.'

Thus his friends having, by prayers and praises on his behalf, given him to God, and having prepared their hearts for the loss of him, the Lord was pleased that evening to take him to himself, June 1654, being above 55 years old.

After his death, Mr Hollard opened his body in the presence of Dr Cox, Dr Micklethwaite, and Dr Bevoir; (some other more antient doctors would have been there, if, either their being out of town, or present urgent occasions had not hindred) being opened, they found both his kidneys full of ulcers, and one of them was swelled to an extraordinary bigness through the abundance of purulent matter in it. Upon the neck of his bladder, they found a stone, (which was about an inch and an half long, and one inch broad, weighing about two ounces when it was first taken out) and withal, they found an ulcer which was gangrenized, and this was judged to be the cause of his death. All other parts of his body were found firm and sound.

He was so humble, that he feared lest God's people praying for him, should speak too well of him before the Lord.

He was a self denying man, never daring to look after great matters in this world; whereby he condemned many whole self seeking in earthly advantages renders them very offensive and unsavoury in the church of Christ.

Mr Calamy speaking of him, saith, 'If I should enter upon his commendations, I might truly say what Nazianzen doth of his sister Gorgonia, that I have more cause to fear, lest I should speak below than above the truth, for he was a burning and a shining light in this our Israel; a messenger and an interpreter, one amongst a thousand; a Bezaleel in God's tabernacle; a true Nathaniel, that by his integrity, humility, constancy, charity, publickness, and peaceableness of spirit, and by his diligence and faithfulness in preaching the gospel, made his life both amiable and desirable. I will say of him as it was said of Athanasius, that he was *adamus kai magnetes*, an adamant and a loadstone. To all that conversed with him he was as a loadstone to draw their hearts to love him; but in the cause of God, and in reference to the truths of Christ, he was as an unconquerable adamant. He was a Jeremiah, both in mourning for, and in witnessing against the sins of the times. He was a second Whitaker, tho' not so eminent in learning, as to be what is said of him. *Mundi miraculum, academiæ oraculum*, The miracle of the world, and the oracle of the university; yet he was (which is also said of him) sound in the faith; one that had no private opinion, that did not *in veteri via novam semitam quærere*, seek out new paths of his own, but kept the old way, and the old path. That had a great wit, without any mixture of madness.

He preached no less by the heavenliness of his doctrine, than by the holiness of his life; yea, he preached as effectually by his death, as by his life or doctrine: for so great was the patience which God measured out to him, that though in his extremity of torments he groaned, yet he never grumbled. Though he often mourned, yet he never murmured; nay, though he often roared, by reason of the greatness of his pain, yet he always justified and magnified God therein; and this he did so constantly, and in such a measure, that, as it is said of Job, so it will be said by the saints that succeed us for their mutual consolation and encouragment, 'Ye have heard of the patience of Whitaker. He had indeed an ulcerated flesh, but a sound and whole spirit, and that enabled him to bear his infirmity. He had a stone in the bladder, but a very soft and tender heart: he had a gangrene in his body, but a sound soul, unstained by sin. I heard him often say, with thankfulness, that under all his bodily sufferings he had a blessed calmness and quietness in his spirit, that God spake peace unto him; that though he roared for pain, yet the devil was chained up from roaring upon him.'

On the Death of my dear Friend Mr Jeremiah Whitaker.

If death be but a servant, sent to call
The souls of saints to their original;
Dear saint, thine was a noble soul, to whom
Three messengers were sent to call thee home;
A stone, an ulcer, and a gangrene too,
Three deaths to hasten that which one should do!
'Twas not because thy soul was deeper set
Than ours, within its house of clay; nor yet
Because thou wert unwilling to depart
Thither, where long before had been thine heart.
They were not sent to hale, by violence,
A soul that ling'red when 'twas called hence.
God shew'd how welcome one death was to thee,
Who didst so meekly entertain all three.
Thus many deaths God's Israel did inclose,
The sea before, behind a sea of foes;
On either side the jaws of mountains high:
No way from death, but unto death to fly:
Not to destroy them, but to let them see
The pow'r of love, which then would set them free.
Thus Job's four messengers, which did relate
The doleful story of his ruin'd state;
And his three friends, which acted Satan's part,
(He on his flesh, and these upon his heart)
Who by disputing him into a curse,
Would make his spirit's torment far the worse,
Were, by God's wise disposal, sent to show
The strength he on his champion would bestow.
Thus painters put dark grounds where they intend
To overlay with finest gold, and lend,
By deeper shadows, lustre to that face
On which they mean their choicest skill to place.
Thus workmen season much with sun and wind
Those greatest beams which must the building bind,
While smaller pieces, happ'ly, are put in
When they come bleeding from the wood, and green.
Oft where is greatest grace God's pleas'd to send
Great conflicts, those great graces to commend.
As the six finger'd giant's sword did bring
The more renown to little David's sling.
The vanquish'd lion, and the conquer'd bear,
Prepar'd that holy head a crown to wear.
The angel wrestled first, and then did bless,
And made the greater servant to the less.
Pain was too great for thee, God's grace for pain,
And made the greater serve the less again:
Thy pains serv'd thee for glory, and did fit
The head, on which a crown of life must sit.
This is God's method to fetch joy from grief,
To turn our sorrows unto our relief:
To save by killing, and to bring to shore
By the ship's planks, which was quite broke before.
And thus a barren womb first took the seed,
Which did six-hundred-thousand people breed;
That seed too must from knife and altar rise,
And be before a fire a sacrifice.
Great preacher of thy heav'nly Father's will,
Thy tongue did many years with manna fill:
Thy life out preach'd thy tongue, O blessed strife!
Thy sickness the best sermon of thy life.

Before

Before each doctrine must be prov'd anew,
Thine end was one great proof that all was true.
Before thou preach'd by weeks, but now by hours,
Each minute taught the morning auditors;
Each patient groan, and each believing eye,
Was a new sermon in *brachygraphy*.
When nature roars, without repining words;
Grace in the mouth, when in the bowels swords;
In midst of torments to triumph o'er hell;
To feel God's arrows, yet his praises tell;
Through thickest clouds to see the brightest light;
In blackest darkness to have clearest sight;
And with our Lord to cry, 'My God, my God,'
Upon a cross, under the sharpest rod;
This is indeed to preach: this is to show
Faith triumph's over nature's greatest woe.
Then welcome fiery serpent's scorching sting,
Which did thee thus to th' brazen serpent bring:
Then welcome whale, which, though it first devour,
Renders at last the prophet to the shore.
Well might thou bear the stone which death did throw,
Who had the *white stone*, the *new name* to show:
Well might thou be with such an ulcer calm,
Whose soul was heal'd before with heaven's balm.
When spirits wounds are cur'd, though nature groan,
An heart of flesh can heal a back of stone:
Let conscience have her feast, and let flesh roar,
This pain shall make the other's joy the more;
As many times those flowers most fragrant smell,
Which nearest to some noisome weeds do dwell.
Thus have you seen the forge most clearly glow,
On which the smith doth drops of water throw;
Keen frosts make fire the hotter, and deep night
Causeth celestial lamps to shine more bright:
And by a dear *antiperistasis*,
The child's distress sweetens the father's kiss:
A wounded body yields to a sound soul;
The joys of this do th' other pains controul.
As in the day that the sun beams appear,
All other lesser stars do disappear.
When heaven shines, and divine love doth reign,
The soul is not at leisure to complain;
Internal joys his heart so well composes,
That they have judg'd their flames a bed of roses.

On Mr Gataker and Mr Whitaker.

But what shall England do, from whence are lopt
Two of her richest acres, to heav'n dropt?
By loss of these two acres she's more poor,
Than if she'd lost an hundred lordships more.
'Twere a good purchase to gain these again,
By giving to the sea all Lincoln fen.
Two little mines of gold do far surpass
Huge manors, where th' whole vesture is but grass.
Learn we by them, what all men once will say,
One perch of heav'n's worth the whole globe of clay.

ED. REYNOLDS, D. D.

The Life of JAMES USHER, *Doctor of divinity, Arch bishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, who died* Anno Christi 1655.

ALEXANDER the Great, commanded that no man should draw his picture but Apelles, the most exquisite painter in the world; and that his statue should not be made in brass by any one but Lysippus, the most excellent workman in that kind: so truly, the life and death of this great and good man is fit to be written only by the ablest pen that be can found.

Reverend and learned Dr Bernard, who was of my acquaintance above forty years ago in Emanuel college in Cambridge, hath written his life and death excellent well. Yet as there can never too much be spoken or written of him, whom all the Christian world did admire for his religion and learning, so give me leave out of him, with some other helps to set him forth, though not to the life in his native colours as he deserveth, yet according to my ability, that his name may be enrolled amongst those many other worthies both ancient and modern, men famous in their generations, burning and shining lights in the church, and very instrumental to God's glory, which I have formerly, and now also collected and published.

James Usher was born in Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, in the parish of St. Nicholas, January the 4th. *Anno Christi* 1580. His father Mr Arnald Usher, was a student in the law, one of the clerks of the chancery in that nation, and a person of excellent parts and endowments. His mother was Mrs Margaret Stanihurst, who in her later time was seduced by some of the popish priests to the Roman religion, they taking the opportunity, whilst this her son was upon occasion in England; and they, by their subtilty, had engaged her in such vows, that when her son came back he could not possibly reclaim her, which they have often boasted of in print; yet her son's hope was, at least upon her death-bed, to have prevailed for the reducing of her to the truth: but it pleased God, that she died suddenly at Drogheda, when he was absent at Dublin, whereby, to his no small grief, those his hopes were frustrated and disappointed.

His grandfather by his mother's side was James Stanihirst, whose Christian name he bore, who was chosen three times Speaker of the House of Commons in the Irish parliaments; in the last whereof, he made the first motion for the founding and erecting of a college and university in the city of Dublin. He was also Recorder of that city, one of the masters of the chancery, and a man of great wisdom and integrity.

His uncle was Richard Stanihirst, a man famous in France, and other nations for his great learning, which he manifested in several books published by him, one of them, when he was eighteen years old, between whom and this reverend person there passed many learned letters.

His uncle, by his father's side, was Henry Usher, who was trained up at Cambridge, and proved a learned and prudent man: he was afterwards arch bishop of Dublin, at which time he was first sent over into England to Queen Elizabeth, and the council, with a petition for preserving the Cathedral of St. Patrick's, Dublin, from being dissolved, wherein he prevailed, the fruits whereof this his nephew reaped afterwards, being Chancellor of it, and receiving his subsistence from it for many years. The second time he was sent over by the council of Ireland to Queen Elizabeth, to procure the patent for founding of a College and University in Dublin, wherein he prevailed also: so that the College, of which this worthy person was the first fruits, had its being from his grandfather's motion, and his uncle's industry.

He had a brother named Ambrose Usher who, tho' he died young, yet was a man of excellent parts, very skilful in the oriental languages, who had translated the Old Testament from the beginning to the Book of Job, out of the Hebrew into English, which is still preserved under his own hand, but upon the coming forth of the new translation in King James his time, he desisted from making any further progress therein.

Our James was taught first to read by two of his aunts, who were blind from their cradles, and so never saw letters, yet were they admirably versed in the sacred Scriptures, being able suddenly to have given a good account of any part of the Bible. At eight years old, he was sent to the Grammar-school, where he had the happiness to meet with two excellent school masters, Sir James Fullerton, afterwards Leger Embassador in France, and Sir James Hamilton, afterwards Lord Viscount Clandeboise, who was usher of the school. These two learned men were sent over by King James out of Scotland upon another design, though they were disguised in this employment: and, indeed, they came very opportunely by the good hand of God's providence for this youth's founding in learning, at such a time when there was a great defect of learned school masters which he often acknowleged as a special mercy of God to him therein.

At ten years old was the first time that he could remember to have found in himself any evidences of his saving conversion unto God, which was instrumentally wrought by a sermon which he had heard preached, upon

Rom.

Rom. xii. 1. 'I beſeech you, brethren, by the mercies of God,' &c. About the ſame time alſo meeting with ſome notes taken from famous Mr Perkins' works, (being not then printed) concerning the ſanctification of the Lord's day, proved, through God's bleſſing, ſo effectual with him, that ever after he was the more ſtrict in the obſerving of it.

About the ſame time alſo he read over St Auguſtine's Meditations, which ſo affected him, that he often wept in the reading of them.

This young, yet hopeful plant, thus inuring and accuſtoming himſelf to ſecret duties in his tender years, the devil, that grand enemy of our ſalvation, thinking to nip him in the bud, aſſaulted him with divers terrors and affrightments, both ſleeping and waking, hoping thereby to diſcourage and take him off from the ſame; but he, with St Paul, betook himſelf to prayer, with earneſtneſs, to be delivered from theſe Satanical deluſions and aſſaults, and at laſt was heard in that which he feared, by being freed from them, and ſtrengthened againſt them with more than ordinary courage and comfort; which made ſuch an impreſſion in him, as that he could not forget it to his old age.

The devil now finding that he could not be affrighted out of his courſe of godlineſs, made uſe of another engine, which was to allure him with the bait of pleaſure; ſome of his friends teaching him to play at cards, wherewith he was ſo much delighted, that it began to prevail over his love to his book; yea, it came in competition with his love to God, and care to ſerve him, which being ſeaſonably, by God's ſpirit, diſcovered to him, he preſently gave it over, and never played afterwards.

At twelve years old he was ſo affected with the ſtudy of chronology and antiquity, that reading over Sleidan's book of the four empires, and ſome other authors, he drew forth an exact ſeries of the times wherein each eminent perſon lived; and during the time of his abode at ſchool, which was five years, he was thoroughly inſtructed in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, wherein he ſo excelled, and with which he was ſo much delighted, that he was fain to take himſelf off, leſt it ſhould have hindered him from more ſerious ſtudies.

At thirteen years of age he was admitted into the college of Dublin, being the firſt ſtudent that was initiated into it: and, as it ſeems, it was ſo ordered upon deſign by the governors thereof upon their obſervation of his pregnancy and rare parts, that it might be a future honour to the college to have his name recorded in the frontiſpiece of their admiſſion book, and ſo accordingly he was the firſt graduate, the firſt fellow, the firſt proctor, &c.

At the ſame time Sir James Hamilton, hitherto uſher of the ſchool, was choſen fellow of the college, and thereby became his tutor, who oftentimes admired his acuteneſs and proficiency, whereby in a ſhort time he equalized his inſtructers.

Here he firſt began to ſtudy the Greek and Hebrew languages, in both which he afterwards excelled, and made himſelf in a little time maſter of the arts, moſt of which he modelled in a method of his own, eſpecially that of muſic.

At this time the education and helps which that college afforded were very eminent; for though at firſt there were but four fellows, yet the tongues and arts were very exactly taught to all the ſtudents, who were divided into ſeveral claſſes: each tutor read Ariſtotle in Greek to his pupils; yea, each fellow read three lectures a day, at each of which there was a diſputation maintained either upon the preſent, or the precedent lecture, and ſometimes they were ordered to diſpute *More Socratico*.

On Saturdays, in the afternoon, each tutor read a divinity lecture in Latin to his pupils, dictating it (as they did all their other lectures, ſo deliberately, that they might eaſily write after them, to their great benefit and advantage.

At fourteen years old he was judged fit, and admitted to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; and his uſual cuſtom was, the afternoon before, to retire himſelf in private and to ſpend it in a ſtrict ſelf-examination, and deep humiliation for all his ſins; wherein he had ſuch enlargements of heart, that a ſtream of tears flowed from his eyes, which afterwards he oft recalled to mind, both as a provocation, and cenſure of himſelf: when he was of elder years, there was a certain place, by a water ſide whither he oft reſorted, ſorrowfully to ſurvey his ſins, and with floods of tears to confeſs, and bewail them: wherein he found ſo much ſweetneſs and communion with God, that he thirſted for ſuch comfortable opportunities, and it was his uſual cuſtom to ſpend Saturdays in the afternoon in human learning, which made him as glad when Monday came, that he might renew his ſtudies, as he was when Sabbath day came, wherein he was to apply himſelf to the ſervice of God; and it coſt him many tears, that he could not be more heavenly-minded at that age.

At fifteen years old, he made ſuch a progreſs in the ſtudy of chronology, that he drew up in Latin, an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as to the books of the King's, which did not much differ from that of his late annals, excepting his enlargements by ſome exquiſite obſervations, and the *Syncreniſms* of heathen ſtory. About this time alſo he was much afflicted with a ſtrong temptation, which moved him to queſtion God's love to him, becauſe he was ſo free from afflictions, which was occaſioned by ſome inconſiderate paſſages, which he met with in ſome authors, and long was he under ſome trouble before he could get rid of it.

Before he was batchellor of arts, he read Stapleton's *Fortreſs of the Faith*, and therein finding how confidently he aſſerted antiquity for the popiſh tenets, withal, branding our church and religion, with novelty, in what we diſſented from them, he was much troubled at it, not knowing but that his quotations might be right; and he was convinced that the antienteſt muſt needs be beſt, as the nearer the fountain the ſweeter and clearer are the ſtreams; yet withal, he ſuſpected that Stapleton might miſreport the Fathers, or wreſt them to his own ſenſe; and therefore he took up a ſettled reſolution, that in due time, if God prolonged his life and health, he would truſt only his own eyes, by reading over all the fathers, for his ſatisfaction herein; which work he afterward began at twenty years old, and finiſhed that vaſt labour at thirty eight, ſtrictly tying himſelf to a certain portion every day, what occaſions ſoever interveened.

Whilſt he was batchellor of arts, he read divers of the works of the fathers, and moſt authors which had written the body of divinity both poſitively and polemically in confuting the popiſh errors, and had read many of their authors alſo, by which means he was ſo well acquainted with the ſtate of theſe controverſies, that he was able to diſpute with any of the popiſh prieſts, as he often did with the principal of them.

Anno Chriſti 1568. The earl of Eſſex newly coming over lord lieutenant of Ireland, and being choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin, there was a ſolemn act appointed for his entertainment, and Mr Uſher being then batchellor of arts, anſwered the philoſophy act with great applauſe and approbation.

About this time, his father's intention was to ſend him over into England to the inns of court, for the ſtudy of the common law, which was a great trouble to him, yet in obedience to his father's will he aſſented, and reſolved upon it; but it pleaſed God that his father ſhortly after died, *viz.* Auguſt the 12th. *anno Chriſti* 1608, ſo that then he being at liberty to make choice of his ſtudies, devoted and applied himſelf wholly to divinity, and thereupon was choſen fellow of the college, being before incapable of taking the oath which was required of all fellows at their admiſſion, *viz.* that the preſent intent of their ſtudies ſhould be for the profeſſion of divinity, unleſs God ſhould afterwards otherwiſe diſpoſe their minds.

And here again, was another occaſion of diſturbance to his mind, miniſtred to him. For his father left him a good eſtate in land; but finding that he muſt have involved himſelf in many ſuits of law, before he could attain to the quiet enjoyment of it, to the interruption of his other ſtudies, he gave up the benefit of it to his brothers and ſiſters, ſuffering his uncles to take up letters of adminiſtration for that end, reſolving to caſt himſelf upon the good providence of God, to whoſe ſervice in the work of the miniſtry, he had wholly devoted himſelf, not doubting

but

but he would provide for him; yet that he might not be judged weak, or inconſiderate in that act, he drew up a note under his hand, of the ſtate of all things that concerned it, and directions what to do about it.

When he was nineteen years old, he diſputed with Henry Fitz-Simonds, a Jeſuite in the caſtle of Dublin, as himſelf acknowlegeth in his preface to his book called *Britannomachia miniſtrorum*; the occaſion of which diſpute was this; the jeſuite by way of challenge, as it was interpreted, gave forth theſe words, 'That he being a priſoner was like to a bear tied to a ſtake, but wanted bone to bait him: whereupon this eminent man (for ſo he was, tho' very young) was thought fit, and able to encounter him, tho' at their firſt meeting he deſpiſed his youth, as Goliah did David's. Mr Uſher proffered to diſpute with him about all Bellarmine's controverſies, for which a meeting was appointed once every week, and it fell out that the firſt ſubject propoſed was *De Antichriſto*, about which they had two or three ſolemn diſputations, and Mr Uſher was ready to have proceeded further; but the Jeſuite was weary of it, yet gives him a tolerable commendation, and much admired his abilities in ſuch young years: concerning which he ſaith, 'There came once to me a youth of about eighteen years of age, one of a too ſoon ripe wit, ſcarce you would think that he could have gone through his courſe of philoſophy, or that he was got out of his childhood, yet was he ready to diſpute upon the moſt abſtruſe points of divinity.

And afterwards the ſame Jeſuite living to underſtand more of him, ſaith, that he was A *catholicorum doctiſſimus*, the moſt learned of ſuch as were not Catholics; being (as it ſeems) unwilling, or aſhamed to call him heretick.

Anno Chriſti 1600. when he was about twenty years old he commenced maſter of arts, and anſwered the philoſophy act, and was choſen catechiſt of the college; in which office, he went through a great part of the body of divinity in the chappel by way of common place; and miniſters being ſcarce at that time, there were three young men of the college choſen out, and appointed to preach in Chriſt-church before the ſtate: one was Mr Richardſon, afterwards biſhop of Ardah, who was appointed to preach an expoſitory lecture upon the prophecy of Iſaiah, every Friday. Another was Mr Welch, afterwards doctor of divinity, who was deſigned to handle the body of divinity on Sabbaths, in the forenoon; the third was our learned Uſher, who was to handle the controverſies, for the ſatisfaction of the papiſts, on the Lord's days, in the afternoons; which he did fully and clearly, always concluding with ſome emphatical exhortation, that it tended much to the edification and confirmation of the proteſtants in their principles, as many of them in their elder years have acknowleged.

Having thus preached for a while as a probationer, he refuſed to continue it any longer, having not as yet received ordination: he alſo ſcrupled to be as yet ordained by reaſon of his defect of years, the canons requiring twenty four, and he being but yet twenty one: but by ſome grave and learned men he was told, that the Lord had need of his labours; and ſo upon their perſuaſions and importunity, his age being diſpenſed with, according to ſome former preſidents, he was ordained at the uſual time, the Sabbath before Chriſtmaſs day, *anno*, 1601. by his uncle Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other miniſters.

The firſt text, that he preached publicly upon before the ſtate, after his ordination, was Rev. iii. 1. 'Thou haſt a name that thou liveſt, and art dead,' which fell out to be the ſame day, upon which was fought the battle of Kinſale, which being a day eſpecially ſet apart, by prayer to ſeek unto God for his bleſſing and aſſiſtance in that engagement, and being his firſt fruits after his entrance into the office of the miniſtry, God might in a more than ordinary manner make his labours efficacious and prevailing; the reſt of that epiſtle to the church of Sardis he finiſhed afterwards.

It was well known that if the Spaniards had gotten the better that day, the Iriſh papiſts had deſigned to murder the Engliſh proteſtants both in Dublin and other places, but eſpecially the miniſters. Hence (ſaid he) 'aroſe a motion in me to have deferred my ordination till the event of the battle had been known, that ſo I might the better have eſcaped their fury; but I repelled that ſuggeſtion, and reſolved the rather upon it, that dying a miniſter, and in that quarrel, I might at leaſt be the next door to a martyr.

The Spaniards being (as was ſaid before) overthrown at Kinſale, and the hopes of the Iriſh, as to that deſign, being fruſtrated, they began generally to ſubject themſelves to the ſtatute, which was now put in execution, in their coming to Church; and that it might tend the more to their profit, the lord lieutenant, and his council, deſired the miniſters at Dublin, ſo to divide themſelves, (that in imitation of what he had already begun at Chriſt Church) there might be a ſermon on the Lord's days in the afternoon at every church upon thoſe controverſies. St. Katharines (a convenient church) was aſſigned for Mr Uſher, who removed accordingly, and duly obſerved it; and his cuſtom was, that what he had delivered in one ſermon, he drew it up into queſtions and anſwers, and the next Lord's day, ſeveral perſons of note voluntarily offered themſelves to repeat thoſe anſwers, before the whole congregation, which made them more clear and perſpicuous to the popiſh party.

It pleaſed God by his, and the labours of others of his brethren in the miniſtry, not only in Dublin, but in other parts of the kingdom, that the papiſts came ſo diligently to church, that if they had any occaſion to abſent themſelves, they uſed to ſend in their excuſes to the church wardens, and there were great hopes in a ſhort time to have reduced the whole nation to proteſtantiſm: but on a ſudden, the execution of the ſtatute was ſuſpended, and the power of the high commiſſion court (then erected, and uſed only againſt the papiſts) was taken away; whereupon the papiſts preſently withdrew themſelves from the public aſſemblies, the miniſtry was diſcouraged, all good mens hearts were grieved, and popery from that time forward encreaſed, till like a great deluge, it had overflown the whole nation.

Upon this, the ſpirit of this holy man (like Paul's at Athens) was exceedingly ſtirred in him, inſomuch as preaching before the ſtate, at Chriſt Church upon a ſpecial ſolemnity, he did with as much prudence, courage and boldneſs, as became his young years, give them his opinion of that abominable toleration of idolatry; making a full and clear application of that paſſage in Ezekiel's viſion, Chap. iv. 6. where the prophet, by lying on his ſide, was to bear the iniquity of Judah for forty days, 'I have appointed thee (ſaith the Lord) each day for a year.' This (ſaid he) by the conſent of interpreters, ſignifies the time of forty years to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and of that nation for their idolatry; and ſo, (ſaid he) will I reckon from this year the ſin of Ireland, and at the end of the time, thoſe whom ye now embrace, ſhall be your ruin, and you ſhall bear this iniquity; wherein he proved a prophet: for this was delivered by him, *Anno Chriſti* 1601. and *anno* 1641, was the Iriſh rebellion, and maſſacre; and what a continued expectation he had of a great judgment upon that his native country, I, ſaith Dr Bernard, can witneſs from the year 1624. at which time I had the happineſs firſt to be known to him; and the nearer the time approached, the more confident he was of the event, tho' as yet nothing that tended towards it was viſible to other men.

The body of divinity which is printed in his name, is highly commended by Mr Downam, who ſet it forth, and ſo it is by a ſtranger, Ludovicus Crocius, who much deſired that ſome Engliſhman would turn it into Latin for the benefit of foreign churches, but it was not intended by him for the preſs. It was begun by him in public, but finiſhed ſome years after in private in his family, conſtantly inſtructing them twice a week, into which perſons of quality and learning reſorted, and divers of them took notes, whereby ſeveral copies were diſperſed abroad, ſome imperfect and miſtaken, and many paſſages are in it which were not his, neither is the whole ſo poliſhed as his other pieces, which were publiſhed by himſelf; and indeed, he was diſpleaſed that it came forth without his knowlege, yet underſtanding how much good it had done, he connived at it.

Shortly after the forementioned defeat given to the

Spaniards at Kinſale, the officers of our Engliſh army, gave 1800 pounds to buy books for the college library at Dublin (then ſoldiers were advancers of learning) their ordering of which, was committed to Dr Challoner, and this lord primate, who made a journey into England on purpoſe to buy books with it. He then met with Sir Thomas Bodly, who was buying books for his library in Oxford, and they were very helpful each to other, in procuring the rareſt pieces. In his journey he viſited Mr Chriſtopher Goodman, who had been profeſſor of divinity in Oxford, in king Edward the ſixths days, then lying on his death bed at Cheſter, and he would often repeat ſome grave and wiſe ſpeeches that he heard from him.

After this he conſtantly came over into England once in three years, ſpending one month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, in ſearching the books, eſpecially the manuſcripts, in each univerſity (among which, thoſe of *Corpus Chriſti's* college in Cambridge, he moſt eſteemed) the third month he ſpent at London, intending chiefly Sir Robert Cotton's library, and converſing with learned men, among whom, even in thoſe his younger years, he was in great eſteem. In his after years he was acquainted with the rarities in other nations: there was ſcarce a choice book in any eminent perſon's library in France, Italy, Germany or Rome itſelf, but he had his way to procure it, or what he deſired tranſcribed out of it; ſo that he was better acquainted with the pope's vatican than ſome that daily viſited it. The *Puteani fratres*, two learned men in Paris, holp him much with many tranſcripts out of *Thuthanus*, and others, between whom and him, many letters paſſed.

Now, tho' the reading of the fathers all over was a vaſt work, yet the pains he took out of the common road of learning in ſearching of records, and all the manuſcripts he could get throughout Chriſtendom, together with the knotty ſtudy of chronology and antiquity, was equal with if it did not exceed the other. Many volumes he alſo read only to attain to the knowlege of the uſe of words in ſeveral ages, as Galen, Hipocrates, *&c.* and moſt of the records in the tower of London; beſides, there was ſcarce the meaneſt book in his own library, but he remembred it even to admiration, and had in his head readily whatſoever he had read.

The firſt church preferment which he had, was given him by archbiſhop Loftus, a little before his death, which was the chancellorſhip of St. Patricks Dublin, unto which he took no other benefice. In that place Mr Camden found him when he was writing his *Britannia, anno Chriſti* 1607. and in his obſervations concerning Dublin, ſaith of him, 'Moſt of theſe I acknowlege to owe to the diligence, and labours of James Uſher, chancellor of the church of St. Patricks, who in various learning, and judgment, far exceeds his years.' In this preferment, tho' the law required not his preaching, but only in his courſe before the ſtate, yet would he not omit it in the place from whence he received his profits, and tho' he endowed it with a vicarage, yet went he thither in perſon, *viz.* to Finglas a mile from Dublin, and preached there every Lord's day, unleſs he were detained upon ſome extraordinary occaſions; and the remembrance that he had been a conſtant preacher, was a greater comfort to him in his old age, than all his other labours and writings.

His experiments in prayer were many, and very obſervable, God often anſwering his deſires in kind, and that immediately, when he was in ſome diſtreſſes; and God's providence in taking care, and providing for him in his younger years, as he often ſpake of it, ſo it wrought in him a firm reſolution to depend upon God in his latter days, whatever extremity he might be brought into.

Anno Chriſti 1607. when he was twenty ſeven years old he commenced batchellor of divinity, and immediately after he was choſen profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Dublin: at firſt he read twice a week, and afterwards once a week without intermiſſion throughout the year going through a great part of Belarmine's controverſies. In this employment he continued thirteen or fourteen years and was a great ornament to his place. Three volumes of thoſe his lectures written with his own hand he hath left behind him, and it would be a great honour to that univerſity where they were read, and benefit to many others, if they were publiſhed.

When he performed his acts for his degree, Latin ſermon, lectures, poſition, and anſwered the divinity act, he wrote nothing but only the heads of the ſeveral ſubjects, putting all upon the ſtrength of his memory, and preſent expreſſions, as alſo he did his Engliſh ſermons. His readineſs in the Latin tongue was inferior to none in theſe latter times, which after ſeventeen years diſuſe, from the time that he left his profeſſor's place, appeared when he moderated the divinity act, and created doctors to all mens admiration.

The proveſtſhip of the college of Dublin falling void he was unanimouſly elected thereto by all the fellows, he being then about thirty years of age, but foreſeeing, that upon the ſettlement of lands belonging to it, and the eſtabliſhing of other matters, he ſhould be much impeded and diſtracted in his ſtudies, he refuſed it, and ſo another was ſent out of England to fill it. The revenues of it were very conſiderable, whereby we may ſee how mean and little the things of the world ſeemed in his eyes, even in thoſe his younger years.

About this time the Iriſh prelates, eſpecially Dr Hampton, his predeceſſor in the ſee of Armagh, had obtained of king James his grant for reducing Ireland to the ſame eccleſiaſtical government of the church of England; the principal occaſion whereof was this, the Engliſh prelates a little before had uſed a great deal of ſeverity againſt the non conformiſts, their high commiſſion, and other courts, and canons, had driven many worthy and learned men into other countries, and ſome of them into Ireland; the Iriſh biſhops being weary of this reſort, as deſirous to advance their power to the ſame height with the Engliſh hierarchy, combined together, and obtained king James his commiſſion to Sir Arthur Chicheſter, earl of Belfaſt, a famous ſoldier and prudent governor, who was at this time lord deputy, and bore the ſword there eleven years together with very much honour, and eſteem in that nation. For the effecting of this, a great aſſembly of the Scots nation was convened.

In the commiſſion the king required them to conſult with Mr Uſher, whoſe learning, judgment, and eſteem would much conduce to the promoting of that work: but if he approved it not, the king required that they ſhould proceed no further, for that he would not be the author of any innovation among them.

This reſerve troubled the Prelates exceedingly, and therefore they reſolved to carry it cloſly; the king's letter to them, they tranſmitted from one to another, but acquainted not Mr Uſher, with them, intending to ſurprize him when the aſſembly was met; they ſhould come prepared and fortified, he would be taken on the ſudden. Howbeit God, that intended him for ſo great a good at that time in croſſing their deſign, that many faithful labourers in his vineyard might not by this their power be diſplaced, by a ſpecial providence gave him ſome light (though but very little) into the matter; and the manner was thus.

Mr Uſher going to viſit one of them, found him peruſing the king's letter; but upon his coming, he laid it down in his window, cloſed at both ends, only there was an open place in the middle, and as they were diſcourſing together, Mr Uſher glancing his eye upon it, eſpied his own name, and ſome other words about himſelf, of which he could not pick out the meaning; but yet he judged them to be of importance, as diſcipline, Ireland, England, *&c.* Mr Uſher thought it not prudence for him to take notice of thoſe hints, neither could he handſomely fiſh out the buſineſs from the biſhops, wherefore he went another way to work: and indeed the ſureſt way, by ſeeking counſel from God, communicating the matter to dear and a very godly man, whom he requeſted, that with ſome others, they would ſeek unto God for his aſſiſtance: for he believed that ſomething was in brewing that he might not know of. Herein imitating the practice of wiſe Daniel chap. ii. 17, 18.

This done, he ſtudied the rights of the Iriſh church, ſome fruits whereof we have in that learned piece of his called, "The religion profeſſed by the ancient Iriſh and Britiſh."

Britains." Yet he heard nothing till the assembly was summoned, and himself the next day was to be present at it; then went he to the lord deputy, to know the occasion of their meeting. The lord deputy would not believe at first that he could be a stranger to it; but afterwards, when Mr Usher had assured him that he had no information from the bishops about it, he was much displeased, and told him, that without him all the rest were but cyphers, for that the king had referred the whole business to his judgment, whether the power of the hierarchy should be established there as it was in England.

The next day the king's commission and letters were read in the assembly, and speeches were made concerning the excellency of the king's intention, to reduce that kingdom to one uniformity with England in ecclesiastical government; they also told him what honour the king had put upon him, whose esteem, learning, and judgement, the king so much depended upon for the promoting so great and good a work. Mr Usher replied, that he believed, that in a business of so great concernment, wherein he was so far interested, the king's intentions were, that he should have convenient time to consider of it before he delivered his opinion, which he also humbly desired.

The bishops answered, that his judgment was sufficiently known by his practice, and that they expected no more from him but his consent and concurrence with them. He replied, that the matter concerned more than himself, 'For (said he) if I had all mens consciences in my keeping, I could in these disputable cases give laws unto them, as well as unto myself; but it is one thing that I can do, and another thing what all other men must do.'

Then they asked of him, if he had any thing to say why they should not satisfy the king's desire? He, after a short pause, wherein he lifted up his heart unto God for direction, told them, that if they would grant him no longer time, he would, as well as he was able, give them his judgment, if that honourable assembly would grant him three requests; 1. A free hearing without interruption. 2. Liberty for him to answer any man that should be unsatisfied. 3. That there might be a final determination of the business at that meeting. These being all granted, Mr Usher undertook to prove, that such a jurisdiction could not be introduced into that kingdom, neither by the laws of God, nor by the civil or ecclesiastical constitutions of that kingdom, nor yet without the violation of the king's prerogative in that nation. All which he performed to admiration: but before he descended to particulars, he shewed the difference between conformity, as it was set up in England, and as it would be, if it were set up in Ireland.

'The kings (saith he) and queen of England, imposed their ceremonies, that thereby they might decline the charge of schismatics, wherewith the church of Rome labored to brand them, seeing it did appear hereby, that they left them only in such doctrinal points wherein they left the truth. Again, Hereby they would testify how far they would willingly stoop to win and gain them, by yielding to meet them, as far as they might, in their own way. But (saith he) the experience of many years hath found, that this condescension hath rather hardened them in their errors, than brought them to a liking of our religion. This being our usual saying, 'If our flesh be not good, why do you drink of our broth.'

'As for Ireland, wherein the English canons were never yet received, and the generality of the inhabitants were popish recusants; and even in popish kings times, there was no reception of the pope's ecclesiastical constitutions, because he encroached upon their temporals, if such laws now should be set up under so religious a protestant king, this would be to set the pope on horseback amongst them, which needed not.

The lord deputy, when he had finished his speech, and observed what was objected against it, told him, that he was much affected with every part of his learned speech; but that he was more especially concerned in that which touched upon the king's prerogative part, wherein he had discovered such hidden flowers of the crown, as he thought the king himself knew not; and therefore he said, as he would endeavour to preserve his majesty's right therein whilst he was his deputy, so he would present them to the king, and take care, that it should be very hard for any that came after him to rob him of them.

By this we may easily see that he was far from a prelatical spirit, that, on the contrary, he was an advocate for, and patron of godly and conscientious non conformists.

In the year 1612, he proceeded doctor of divinity, being created by archbishop Hampton, his predecessor: one of his lectures for his degrees was upon the seventy weeks to the slaying of the Messias, mentioned Dan. ix. 24. the other out of Rev. xx. 4. concerning the meaning of the prophesy, 'that the saints should reign with Christ a thousand years,' which in these times would be very seasonable, but it is lost.

Dr Hoyle, who died professor of divinity in Oxford, after he had many years been the like in Dublin, said, that when he went out doctor of divinity, he thought Tully himself could not have excelled him in eloquence, had he been alive, not only in his composed speeches, but in those which occasionally fell from him.

In the year 1613, he published his book, "De ecclesiarum Christianarum successione, et statu," magnified so much by Casaubon and Scultetus, in their Greek and Latin verses before it. It was solemnly presented by archbishop Abbot to king James, as the eminent first fruits of that college at Dublin. Indeed it is imperfect, for about three hundred years, from Gregory XI. to Leo X. viz. from the year 1371 to 1513, and from thence to this last century, which he intended (after the finishing of a book which he was now about) to have compleated, but the Lord prevented him.

In the year 1615, there was a parliament in Dublin, and consequently a convocation of the clergy, at which time those learned articles of Ireland were composed and published; and Dr Usher being a member of that synod, was appointed to draw them up: they were highly approved of by the most orthodox divines. They determine, according to St Austin, against the doctrine of the Pelagians; prove the man of sin, spoken of 1 Thess. ii. to be the bishop of Rome; and for the morality of the Sabbath; of both which this most learned doctor was very confident, and oft wished that some of our learned men of late had spared their pains, when they went about to prove the contrary. In defence of the last of these he wrote a most excellent and learned letter to Dr Twiss, who had desired his judgment about it.

He wanted not enemies, who sought to scandalize him to king James, under the title of a puritan, which was very odious to the king in those days, seeking hereby to prevent his further promotion; but God so ordered it that it proved an occasion of his advancement; for king James being jealous of him upon that score, by reason of the eminency of his learning, fell into serious discourse with him, and therein received such abundance of satisfaction, both of the soundness of his judgment and piety, that notwithstanding the opposition made by some great ones, without his seeking, he made him bishop of Meath in Ireland, which just then fell void whilst he was in England, and the king often boasted that he was a bishop of his own making.

Whilst he was thus bishop elect, he was chosen to preach before the house of commons, February 18. 1620. in Margaret's Westminster. The sermon, by order of the house, was printed, and is a most learned one.

Upon his return into Ireland, he was consecrated bishop of Meath, at Drogheda, by archbishop Hampton, with the assistance of two suffragan bishops, according to the custom; at which time there was given him an anagram of his name, as he was then to write himself, which was this, JAMES MEATH, 'I am the same;' and he made it good ever afterwards.

His preferment did not cause him to grow slack in his constancy of preaching, as it did too many, who having caught the fish, laid aside the net: but as Possidonius saith of St Austin, he was still the same; which he bound himself the rather unto by the motto of his episcopal seal, *Væ mihi si non evangelizavero*, 'Woe is me if I preach not

not the gospel,' which he continued in the seal of his primacy also.

He had many papists in his diocess, whom he endeavoured to reclaim by private conferences, and at length they were willing to hear him preach, so it were not in a church, which he condescended to, and preached in the sessions house, and his sermon wrought so much upon some of them, that their priests forbad them hearing him in any place ever after.

In the year 1622 there were some papists censured in the star chamber for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, at which time he was called thither to inform them of it, before the sentence passed, which occasioned that learned speech of his upon that subject, since printed with his English works.

Whilst he was bishop of Meath, he answered a challenge sent him by the Jesuit Malone; and his going over into England to print it, occasioned another learned tractate of the universality of the church of Christ, and the unity of the catholic faith, in a sermon preached before king James, on Eph. iv. 13. 'Till we all come in the unity of the faith,' &c. And God's providence so ordered it, that whilst he was thus busied in England, archbishop Hampton dying, he was made his successor primate of Ireland in the year 1624; and he was the hundredth bishop of that see.

Being thus promoted to the highest preferment his profession was capable of in his native country, he was so far from being puffed up with pride, that he was more humble and frequent in preaching; and it so fell out, that for some weeks together, over-toiling himself in the work of the ministry, to the overwailing of his spirits which he did at the request of some Essex ministers, who importuned him to preach on the week days, because they could not come to hear him on the Sabbaths, he fell into a quartane ague, which held him three quarters of a year.

After his recovery, lord Mordant afterwards earl of Peterborough, being a papist, and desirous to draw his lady to the same religion, he was willing that there should be a meeting of two eminent persons of each party to dispute what might be in controversy between them. The lady made choice of our lord Primate, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered from the aforesaid long sickness, and scarce able to take such a journey. The Jesuite chosen by the earl, went under the name of Beamond, but his true name was Rookwood, brother to Ambrose Rookwood, one of the gun powder traitors. The place of meeting was at Drayton in Northamptonshire, where there was a great library, so that no books of the antient fathers were wanting, upon occasion, for their view. The points to be disputed on, were concerning transubstantiation, invocation of saints, worshipping of images, and the visibility of the church. Three days they were in this disputation, three hours in the forenoon, and two hours in the afternoon, each day; and the conclusion was this, After the third day of meeting, the lord primate having been hitherto opponent, now the tables were to be turned and the Jesuit, according to his desire, was to oppose and the lord primate to answer; but when the time came, and the Jesuit was expected, instead of coming, he sent his excuse to the lord Mordant, which was, that all the arguments which he had framed in his head, and pre meditated, so that he thought he had them as perfect as his Pater Noster, were now slipt from him, and he could not possibly recover them again; and that he believed it was a just judgment of God upon him, for undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning, without a licence from his superior. The lord Mordant seeing his tergiversation, upon some further discourse with the lord primate, was converted and became a protestant, and so continued to his death.

One Challoner, a secular priest, afterwards writing a book against this Beamond, by way of scorn, bids him beware of coming any more to Drayton, lest he meet with another Usher to foil him again, to the dishonour of his profession, and himself.

The Lord having made his labours so successful, the countess of Peterborough had him always in great respect, and upon his losses in Ireland, and other distresses here, she took him home to her own house, with whom he lived about nine or ten years, and then died there.

In the year 1626, in August, he went back into Ireland, where he was entertained with all the expressions of love and joy that could be.

The discourses which daily fell from him at his table in clearing difficulties in the scripture and other subjects, (especially when learned men came to visit him) tended exceedingly to the edification of the hearers, so that it might well be said of him, as the queen of Sheba said to Solomon, 'Happy are these thy servants that stand continually about thee, and hear thy wisdom' And such was his humility withal, as that he would in practical subjects, apply himself to the capacity of the poorest and weakest Christian that came to him for information and satisfaction of their doubts. Nay, sometimes, he was more propense to communicate himself to such, than to others that were more learned; which strangers have wondered at, as the disciples marvelled at our Saviour's talking with the poor woman of Samaria, John iv. 27 and answering her questions, rather than taking notice of them. Indeed he was a mirror of humility: for though he was higher than any other from the shoulders upward, yet might many of his inferiors learn humility of him, as may appear in these few amongst many other examples.

1. In his public preaching no man more denied himself to preach Christ, insomuch as some that affected that fashion way of preaching by strong lines, as they call them, were much ashamed after they had heard him preach in Oxford, wherein he reproved and decried the Corinthian vanity in this kind. Also in one passage of his at the court before the king, he taught the bishops and doctors that then heard him thus; 'Great scholars said he, possibly may think that it stands not with all their credit and reputation to stoop so low, &c. But let the learnedest of us all try it when we will, and we shall find, that to lay this ground work right, that is, to apply ourselves to the capacities of a common auditory, and to make an ignorant man to understand these mysteries in some good measure, will put us to the trial of our skill, and will trouble us a great deal more, than if we were to discuss a controversy, or handle a subtile point of learning in the schools.' He was indeed another Paul, who determined 'to know nothing but Christ, and him crucified.' Nether was his speech or preaching 'with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power,' 2 Cor. ii. 2. 4.

2. In his private conversation he framed himself to the capacity of the meanest that conversed with him. He had an excellent gift of expressing himself both in Latin and English; and as he could soar with the eagle in polemic discourses, when he met with giants, so he would stoop to the lowest pigmies in practical subjects, and would apply himself to the poorest and weakest Christians. He was no dictator, nor would impose upon other men's judgments or consciences, but was as ready to receive from others, as to impart to them; and would much incline to vulgar Christians, rather than unto others that were more learned.

3. In his demeanour and behaviour he had high thoughts of others, and as low of himself; and that in every condition of his life, both in prosperity and adversity. Godly persons, of what rank soever, had great power with him; he would put them in his bosom, visit them in their sickness, supply their wants, beg their prayers, and countenance their cause and persons.

In his passage for Ireland, he sometimes lay at Neston for wind, where sundry times he preached to a plain country auditory: and whereas there were in that part of the country (where I lived about five years, when I first began my ministry) divers plain Christians, which were never called but by their Christian names; yet indeed were such as had not a bare form, but the life and power of godliness in them, so that I was never acquainted with more knowing Christians, for men and women of their rank; these he grew into familiar acquaintance with, would entertain them in his chamber, discourse with them, answer their questions, and satisfy their doubts. And when he was made archbishop, some of them told him,

him, that now they muſt know their diſtance, and durſt not be ſo familiar with him as formerly: to whom he anſwered, That he was the ſame man ſtill, and they ſhould be as welcome to him as formerly, and accordingly uſed the ſame familiarity with them as he had wont to do. And when he lay at Cheſter, he would as ſoon preach at the requeſt of Mr Aſhbrook and Mrs Kirkman, (a godly woman of the meaner rank, whom I well know) as at the intreaties of the mayor and aldermen of that city, whereby he demonſtrated, 'that his delight was in the ſaints,' and that he was a 'companion of all them that feared God;' and this indeed was one reaſon that he roſe ſo high, he honoured God, and therefore God honoured him, 1 Sam. ii. 30.

Whilſt I lived in Warwickſhire, not much before the long-parliament begun, myſelf with two neighbour miniſters, made a journey to Oxford, where he then was, on purpoſe to deſire his judgment in ſome caſes, wherein we could not ſo well ſatisfy ourſelves; we found him at his lodgings in Chriſt church, where, before he would admit any ſpeech with us, he cauſed us to put on our hats, to ſit down by him, and then to ſpeak our minds; when I told him that we were come to requeſt his judgment in ſome difficulties, he preſently ſtopped me, ſaying, 'Mr Clarke, I ſhall freely tell you my judgment in any thing but about the *Et cætera* oath, concerning which I did ſpeak occaſionally, declaring my mind about it, and I have newly received a letter from two doctors, (whoſe names I forbear to inſert out of reſpect to them) who take me up as if I was a ſchool boy, (and withal he pulled the letter out of his pocket) adding, that in that regard he would ſay no more about that matter, &c. I replied, that we were ſufficiently ſatisfied about that oath, but the queſtions we had to propound were of another nature, wherein he gave us very full and clear ſatisfaction.

His cuſtom was to pray four times a day in and with his family; in the morning at ſix o'clock, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and ſupper in his chappel, at each of which he was always preſent.

On Friday, in the afternoon, there was conſtantly an hour ſpent in his chappel, in catechiſing upon the principles of religion, for the inſtructing of his family; and on Sabbaths, in the evening, the ſermon which he had preached in the forenoon, was repeated in his chappel by one of his chaplains.

In winter evenings, his conſtant manner was to ſpend two hours in comparing of old manuſcripts of the Bible, in Greek and Latin; in which work five or ſix aſſiſted him, and the *variæ lectiones* of each were taken by himſelf with his own hand.

In the year 1626, in Michaelmas term, there were ſome propoſals made, and offered to be aſſented to by the Iriſh papiſts, upon condition of a more full toleration of their religion, for the raiſing and maintaining of five hundred horſe, and five thouſand foot; wherein the proteſtants alſo muſt have born ſome ſhare. To conſider hereof, a great aſſembly of papiſts and proteſtants, of the whole nation, was appointed in lord deputy Faulkland's time: the place of their meeting was in the hall of the caſtle in Dublin; at which time the biſhops, by our lord primate's invitation, met at his houſe, where he and they drew up, and unanimouſly ſubſcribed a proteſtation againſt the toleration of popery: a copy whereof, becauſe it deſerves perpetual remembrance, is here inſerted.

The Judgment of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of Ireland, concerning the Toleration of Popery, which is applicable alſo againſt the Toleration of other Hereſies.

"The religion of the papiſts is ſuperſtitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in reſpect of both, apoſtatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to conſent that they may freely exerciſe their religion, and profeſs their faith and doctrine, is a grievous ſin, and that in two reſpects: For,

"1. It is to make ourſelves acceſſary, not only to their ſuperſtitions, idolatries, hereſies, and in a word, to all the abominations of popery, but alſo (which is a conſequent of the former) to the perdition of the ſeduced people, which periſh in the deluge of the catholic apoſtacy.

"2. To grant them a toleration, in reſpect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them, is to ſet religion to ſale, and, with it, the ſouls of the people, whom Chriſt our Saviour hath redeemed with his moſt precious blood. And as it is a great ſin, ſo alſo a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence, the conſideration whereof we commend to the wiſe and judicious; beſeeching the zealous God of truth, to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, reſolute, and courageous, againſt all popery, ſuperſtition, and idolatry." Amen.

(Signed)

Ja. Armachanus,	Rich. Cork, Cloyne, Roſſes,
Mal. Caſhlen,	And. Alachadenſ.
Anth. Medenſis.	Tho. Kilmore, and Ardagh,
Tho. Herneſ. and Laghlin,	Theo. Dromore,
Ro. Dunenſis, &c.	Mic. Waterford, and Lyſm.
Geo. Derenſ.	Fran. Lymerick.

This judgment of the biſhops, Dr George Downham, biſhop of Derry, at the next meeting of the aſſembly, which was April 23. 1627, publiſhed at Chriſt church, before the lord deputy and council, in the midſt of his ſermon, with this preamble, viz.

"Are not many amongſt us, for gain and outward reſpects, willing and ready to conſent to a toleration of falſe religions, thereby making themſelves guilty of a great offence, in putting to ſale (not only their own ſouls, but alſo) the ſouls of others? But what is to be thought of toleration of religion, I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgments of the archbiſhops and biſhops of this kingdom, which I think good to publiſh unto you, that, whatſoever ſhall happen, the world may know that we were far from conſenting to thoſe favours which the papiſts expect."

After he had publiſhed it, the people gave their votes with a general acclamation, crying, Amen.

The judgments of the biſhops prevailed ſo much with the proteſtants, that now the propoſals drove on very heavily; and after much debate of things, the lord deputy finding the diſcontents of both parties encreaſing, deſired our lord primate, as the fitteſt perſon, both in regard of his eſteem in the aſſembly, and being a member of the council, and therefore concerned in promoting of the king's buſineſs, to ſum up the ſtate of things, and to move them to an abſolute grant of ſome competency that might comply with the king's neceſſities, without any ſuch conditions; with which, upon their anſwer, he would ceaſe moving any further; which, upon very little warning, he did, with much prudence, according to his double capacity of a privy councellor and a biſhop: a copy of which ſpeech deſired of him by the lord deputy, was immediately tranſmitted into England; but it not being prevalent with the aſſembly to induce them to ſupply the king's wants, it was diſſolved.

Not long after, the lord deputy Falkland being called back into England, when he was to take boat at the water ſide, he reſerved our lord primate as the laſt perſon to take his leave of, and fell upon his knees on the ſands, and begged his bleſſing; which reverend reſpect ſhewed to him, gained a greater reputation to himſelf both in England and Ireland; and indeed from his younger years, the ſeveral lord deputies had always a great eſteem of him.

It was no ſmall labour to him to anſwer thoſe many letters which came to him from foreign parts, and our own nations, upon ſeveral occaſions; ſome for reſolution of difficulties in divinity, others about caſes of conſcience, and practical ſubjects.

Twelve of the moſt eminent divines in London, (who at his being here, were wont to apply themſelves to him as to a father, as Dr Sibs, Dr Preſton, &c. between whom and him there were moſt entire affections) wrote to him for his directions about a body of practical divinity, which he returned them accordingly.

He much endeavoured the augmentation of the maintenance of the ministry in Ireland, and for that end he had obtained a patent for impropriations to be passed in his name, for their use as they should fall, but it was too much neglected by themselves, whereby his desires were frustrated.

He preached every Lord's day in the forenoon, never failing unless he was disabled by sickness, in which he spent himself very much: In the afternoons, his directions to Dr Bernard his assistant were, that before public prayers he should catechise the youth, and that after the first and second lesson he should spend half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the public catechism; and therein he directed him to go, first through the creed at once, giving but the sum of each article, the next time to go through it at thrice, and afterwards to take each time one article, as they might be more able to bear it; and to observe the like proportionably in the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the common people upon their coming to the communion, at which time, by order, the receivers were to send in their names, and some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it.

His order throughout his diocess to the ministers was, that they should go through the body of divinity once a-year, which he had accordingly drawn out into fifty heads.

When any public fast was enjoined, he kept it very strictly, preaching always first himself, and therein continuing at least two hours, in a more than ordinary manner enlarging himself in prayer. The like was done by those that assisted him in the duty.

His expences for books was very great, especially whilst he enjoyed the revenues of his archbishopric, a certain part whereof he laid aside yearly for that end, but especially for the purchasing of manuscripts and other rarities, as well from remote parts of the world, as near at hand. He was the first that procured the Samaritan Bible (which is only the pentateuch) to the view of these western parts of the world. It was sent him from Syria, by the way of Aleppo, in the year 1625. He had four of them sent him by a factor, whom he employed to search for things of that nature; and these were thought to be all that could there be had. One of these he gave to the library of Oxford; a second to Leyden, (for which Ludovicus de Dieu returns him public thanks, in a book that he dedicated to him); a third he gave to Sir Robert Cotton's library; and the fourth, after he had compared it with the other, he kept himself. The Old Testament in Syriac, another rarity also, was sent him from those parts not long after.

It might happily seem incredible unto some, to relate how many years ago he confidently foretold the changes which since are come to pass in Ireland and England, both in church and state, and of the poverty which himself should fall into, which he oft spake of in his greatest plenty.

In his book, called, "Ecclesiarum Britannicarum antiquitates, p. 556. he hath this remarkable passage, after he had largely related the manner of the utter destruction of the British church and state by the Saxons, about the year 550, as he found it in Gildas, he gives two reasons why he was so prolix in setting it down, 1. That the divine justice might the rather from thence appear to us, the sins of persons of all sorts and degrees being then come to the height, which occasioned not only shaking of the foundations of the British church and state; but the very destruction, and almost utterly overturning of them. 2. That even we now might be in the greater fear that our turn also is coming, and may be minded of that of the apostle, Rom. xi. 22. 'Behold the goodness and severity of God: On them which fell severity, but towards thee goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: other wise thou shalt be cut off.

He often acknowleged that sometimes in his sermons he hath resolved to forbear speaking of some things, but it proved like Jeremiah's fire shut up in his bones, that when he came to it, he could not forbear unless he would have stood mute, and proceeded no further.

He was very bold and free in the exercise of his ministry, sparing sin in none, yea, 'even before kings he was not ashamed to do it.'

He often, to his utmost, stood in the gap to oppose errors and false doctrines; he withstood to the face any toleration of popery and superstition, by whomsoever attempted. He was so fervent in his preaching, that that of the Psalmist might be applied to him, 'the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.'

In the year 1624, he spake before many witnesses, and often repeated it afterwards, that he was persuaded that the greatest stroke to the reformed churches was yet to come; and that the time of the utter ruin of the Roman Antichrist should be when he thought himself most secure, according to that text, Rev. xviii. 7. 'When he shall say, I sit as a queen, and shall see no sorrow,' &c. His farewel sermon, in, or very near the place where he had lived in England, was then much observed, upon Jam. i. 25. 'Sin when it is finished brings forth death;' wherein he spake of the fulness of the sins of this nation, which certainly would bring great destruction; adding, that the 'harvest of the earth was ripe,' and the 'angel was putting in his sickle,' Rev. xiv. 18. applying also that of the Epha in the vision, Zech. v. when it was filled with wickedness, and that of the Amorites, who when their iniquities were come to the full were destroyed. He often also hinted the same in his private discourses, and many that heard them, laid these his sayings up in their hearts, and by what hath already fallen out, do measure their expectations for the future.

At the last time of his being in London, he much lamented, with great thoughts of heart, the woful divisions, and the deadly hatred which he saw kindled in the hearts of Christians one against another, by reason of their several opinions in maters of religion; and observing how some opposed the ministry, both to office and maintenance: Others raised and spread abroad damnable doctrines, heresies and blasphemies: upon which considerations he was confident, that the enemies which had sown up and down the nation, were Priests, Friars and Jesuits, and such like popish agents, sent out of their seminaries from beyond the seas in sundry disguises, who encreasing here in number in London and elsewhere, do expect a great harvest of their labours; and he was persuaded, that if they were not timely prevented by a severe suppressing of them, the issue would be either an inundation of popery, or a massacre, or both; adding withal, how willing he was, if the Lord so pleased, to be taken away from that evil to come, which he confidently expected, unless there were some speedy reformation of these things.

Anno Christi 1634. A little before the parliament began in Ireland, there was a letter sent over from the late King to the Lord-deputy and council; for determining the question of the precedency between the Primate and Archbishop of Dublin; the question was nothing as to their persons, but in relation to their sees. This good man out of his great humility, was hardly drawn to speak to that argument; but being commanded, he shewed in it a great deal of learning, and rare observations in matters of antiquity, so that the business was determined on his side, who afterwards by another letter, procured without his seeking, had the precedency given him of the Lord Chancellor. These things took little with him, but were rather burdens to him who was not in the least elated, or puffed up thereby. At that parliament, he preached the first day of it before the Lord-deputy, and the Lords and Commons, in St. Patrick's, Dublin. His text was, Gen. xlix. 10. 'The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet till Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be.'

At the beginning also of the parliament *Anno Christi* 1639. he preached before the same auditory on Deut. xxxiii. 4. 5. 'And Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob, and he was a king in Jesurun, when the heads of the people, and the tribes of Israel were gathered together.' Both which texts, as they were pertinent, so were they handled with rare judgment and eminent learning.

The Lord was pleased to make his labours very successful, some few instances whereof I shall here set down some

ſome of which I had from my reverend friend Mr Stanly Gower, the laſt from my own knowlege.

A Lord's eldeſt ſon, who from his cradle had been trained up in popery, but was of excellent parts and learning, was at laſt prevailed with by his father, to ſojourn for a while with this learned prelate in Drogheda; the prudent prelate ſtudied nothing more than how he might take him by craft, as the apoſtle did the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xii. 16. and therefore did not preſently fall into diſcourſe with him about his religion, but recreated himſelf for a time in diſcourſing with him about ſome philoſophical queſtions and ſchool-points, in which ſtudies he perceived the gentleman was well verſed, and took much delight in them: this, he continued, till at laſt he gained ſo far upon his affections, that of his own accord he moved ſome diſcourſe about matters of religion; and then finding him ſtudious, he did not preſently go about to inſtruct him in the truth, but fought to puzzle him with doubts about his own religion; by this means the gentleman's conſcience began to be awakened; nor were his ſcruples removed, though he had recourſe to a monaſtery hard by, where they were debated; ſo that at laſt, he came with tears to the learned primate for ſatisfaction, and he promiſed to deal faithfully with him; 'But, ſaith he, thoſe whom you truſt do not ſo, for they will not ſuffer you to ſee with your eyes, nor to underſtand the Scripture, but according to their churches commentaries.' Then did he adviſe him to go amongſt them, and to aſk them, whether he that underſtood the originals might examine their interpretations, and to bring him word what they ſaid. And, accordingly he did ſo, and brought him word, that they were divided in their judgments.

Then did the learned prelate wiſh him no longer to continue in implicit faith, and he would demonſtrate to him how much they perverted the ſenſe of the Scriptures, and abuſed the writings of the ancient fathers, whilſt they ſought to make the world believe, that the fathers and councils were wholly for them and againſt us: 'And if, ſaith he, you diſtruſt your own learning and reading, and will make choice of any other, who you think can ſay more, I will make this good which I have ſaid before the beſt of them all.'

This was an introduction to much confidence which the gentleman had in him; and it pleaſed God after much temptation which he had to the contrary, as he confeſſed, to direct him to betake himſelf to prayer; after which time he acknowleged, that he underſtood more of the way of truth, both when he conferred with the primate, and when he meditated apart, than ever he could attain to before; and the iſſue was, that he came into the church unlooked for of the primate, and after ſermon, made a confeſſion of his faith, offering to ſeal the truth of it, if they pleaſed to admit him, by receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's ſupper, which was then to be adminiſtred.

The papiſts, eſpecially the prieſts were ſo enraged thereat, for loſing ſuch an one of whom they conceived ſo great hopes, that they made ſuch diſturbance, inſomuch as the gentleman for ſafety was ſent over into England to Oxford, that he might decline their fury; and the lords of the city were raiſed to prevent the preſent danger: and the Lord deputy hearing of it, ſent a troop of horſe, and, as it was ſaid, thereupon diſſolved one of their monaſteries. Another was this,

The Lady Falkland, about the time of the late Queen's coming out of France to be married to King Charles, turned recuſant, and on a time was gotten into the company of Father Fiſher, Father Sweet, and Father Sweetman in Drury-lane, and by ſome means or other, Dr Featly, and Mr Gataker, were procured to meet them there; the Lord Savil, brother to this Lady, as he alſo was going that way, accidentally met with Dr Uſher, and entreated him to go along with him to this meeting; the biſhop conſented, and by the way requeſted the Lord Savil at their firſt entrance privately to give notice to his ſiſter the Lady Falkland, that ſhe ſhould take no notice of him, and ſaith he, 'I will do the like to the miniſters, and as for the Jeſuits, I believe, they know me not at all.

At their firſt entrance, they found them engaged about image worſhip; the Jeſuits denied that they gave them divine worſhip; the miniſters were proving, that they were no fit mediums to worſhip God by. After they had tugged at it, and were wearied, and ready to give over that queſtion, Biſhop Uſher ſaid, 'But, gentlemen, pray you tell me, do not you give them divine worſhip? they anſwered, no: How then, ſaith he, will you be tried? They anſwered, by the council of Trent. Indeed, ſaid the biſhop, that council doth require the giving of worſhip to them, but who ſhall expound what that honour and worſhip is, and aſſure us that it is not divine? Will you be determined by Thomas Aquinas? They ſaid, yes. Then was the book ſent for, and he turned preſently to the place where he concludes, that the ſame reverence is to be given to the image of Chriſt, as to Chriſt himſelf, and by conſequence, ſeeing Chriſt is adored with the worſhip of Latria, his image alſo is to be adored with the ſame worſhip. Now, ſaid the biſhop, have you any higher worſhip than the Latria that you give to God? Upon this one of the Jeſuits whiſpered to the Lady Falkland, to know his name that thus diſputed? She anſwered, that he was a country miniſter. No, quoth the Jeſuit, there is more in him than in both the other. Try him, ſaid ſhe, further.

That queſtion being laid aſide, that of free-will was taken up; the biſhop ſat ſilent as before, whilſt the ſtate of the queſtion was canvaſſed between the Miniſters and Jeſuits, and much ado there was about it, ſo that they had like to have broken off without coming to any iſſue; the biſhop ſeeing that, ſaid, 'Gentlemen, if you will give me leave, I will bring you to the point in difference preſently by this ſimilitude. If you make free will to be the horſe, I will make grace to be his rider. Now, true it is, my horſe can go of himſelf, but he knows not whither I intend to go: beſides, he is dull and tired, and I ſpur him on; my ſpur doth not properly go, but it makes my horſe to go.' You may eaſily apply it; but the Jeſuits had enough, and liſted not to encounter him any farther, pretending a neceſſity to be gone, and ſo left the place: ſo mightily it pleaſed God by him to convince them.

Another was this: A proteſtant Knight in Ireland, had prevailed ſo far with his Lady, who was then a papiſt, as to admit of a parley about their religion, and ſhe made choice of one for her, that was called amongſt them, The rock of learning. The Knight made choice of this our Primate to encounter him, and upon the day appointed many perſons of note were there aſſembled: the learned and prudent Primate before the diſputation began, ſpake thus to the Lady, 'Madam, ſaid he, let us know the end of our meeting. Is it that this Gentleman and I ſhould try our ſtrength before you? If ſo, then it is like we can ſpeak languages, and quote authors which you do not underſtand, how then will you know who gets the better? Therefore this is not our end: If this Gentleman deſires to ſhew his learning and reading that way, if he pleaſe to come to the College of Dublin, where there are men that will underſtand us both, and can judge between us, I ſhall willingly deal with him at thoſe weapons, but now our buſineſs is ſomething elſe: it is ſuppoſed, that we two, whom your huſband and you have choſen, can ſpeak more for the defence of our religion, and your deſire is to know by hearing our diſcourſe in your own language, how to rectify your judgments. Now therefore I will give you a rule, which if you pleaſe to remember, you ſhall be able to diſcern which of us two have the truth on our ſide, and it is this:

The points we will diſcourſe of ſhall be ſuch, without ſome knowlege whereof no man can in an ordinary way attain to the end of his faith, the ſalvation of his ſoul. In theſe you may eaſily loſe yourſelves, not only by hereſy, which is a flat denying of them, but by ignorance alſo, by a bare not knowing of them. The word of truth contained in the Scriptures, is the rule of faith and life, common to ſmall and great concerning theſe things: Now, whilſt we keep to the true ſenſe of the ſcriptures in theſe points, you may underſtand both; but when we ſhall fly to ſubtle diſtinctions to evade plain texts, or fly from the ſcriptures to take ſanctuary in authors which you know not, aſſure yourſelves that we are at a loſs, and ſeek victory rather than truth. Keep this rule, Madam in your mind, for this Gentleman dares not deny it to be a true one, and then you will be the better for our meeting. 'And now, Sir, ſaid he to the Jeſuit, her champion, I am ready to engage with you in any ſuch points.'

The

The diſpute was begun, and after a ſhort encounter, the Jeſuit was driven to thoſe ſhifts; whereupon the Primate ſaid, 'Madam, do you underſtand my argument that I propounded to this Gentleman? She anſwered, Yes. and do you, ſaid he, underſtand this Gentleman's anſwer? No indeed, it is too high for me: But, ſaid the Primate, I do, and can anſwer him in his own way. but then you would not underſtand me neither: Therefore, Sir, ſaid he to the Jeſuit, I pray you help the Lady to underſtand your anſwer as ſhe doth my argument, then I will further reply.' But it pleaſed God within a while, ſo to diſable the Jeſuit from proceeding, that he left the place with ſhame; and the Lady by this and ſome further endeavours, became not only a good Proteſtant, but a very gracious woman.

The laſt inſtance I ſhall give of the ſucceſsfulneſs of his labours, is this, about twelve or thirteen years ago, we had an ordination of miniſters in our ſeventh claſſis: at which time, according to our cuſtom, we called in the young men that were to be ordained one after another, and examining them about the work of God's grace in their hearts, three of them acknowleged that they were converted upon the labours of this our Lord Primate, whilſt he preached at Oxford, where they then were ſtudents about the beginning of the parliament.

Anno Chriſti 1640. He came out of Ireland into England, being invited thereto by ſome eminent perſons, wherein the ſpecial providence of God, did manifeſt itſelf for his preſervation, it being the year before the rebellion brake out in Ireland; as if, according to the Angel's ſpeech to Lot, nothing could be don there till he was come hither, and eſcaped to this his Zoar.

His library, which was very great, in the firſt year of the rebellion, viz. 1641. was in Drogheda, which place was beſieged four months by the Iriſh rebels, and they made no queſtion of taking it, and ſome of their prieſts and friars talked much what a prize they ſhould gain by that library; but the barbarous multitude ſpoke of burning it. But it pleaſed God to hear the faſtings and prayers of his people within and in a wonderful manner to deliver them, and ſo all the books and manuſcripts were ſent him that Summer to Cheſter, and from thence were brought very ſafe to London.

The ſufferings he lay under were many and great. All his perſonal eſtate was loſt, and that which belonged to his primacy in Ireland was deſtroyed, only for the preſent he was preacher in Covent Garden.

Anno Chriſti 1641. The great buſineſs of the Earl of Stafford came in agitation, upon which a ſcandal was raiſed upon him, by a raſh if not a malicious in his vocal forreſt, as if he had made uſe of a pretended diſtinction of a perſonal and political conſcience, to ſatisfy our gracious King, that he might conſent to the beheading of the ſaid Earl, telling him, that though he firſt reſiſted, yet he might do it by the ſecond; but to clear him of this, a perſon of quality affirmed under his hand, that ſome years ago a rumour being ſpread of the death of this reverend Prelate, whoſe loſs was much lamented at Oxford; when this concerning the Earl was then by one objected againſt him, the King anſwered that perſon in a very great paſſion, and with an oath proteſted his innocency therein. Beſides, he left under his own hand a relation of that whole buſineſs, a true copy whereof followeth.

"That Sunday morning wherein the King conſulted with the four Biſhops, viz. London, Durham, Lincoln and Carliſle, the Arch biſhop of Armagh was not preſent, but then preaching, as he then accuſtomed to do every Sabbath in the church of Covent Garden, where a meſſage coming to him from his Majeſty, he deſcended from the pulpit, and told the meſſenger, that he was then, as he ſaw, employed in God's buſineſs, which as ſoon as he had done, he would attend upon the King to underſtand his pleaſure: but the King ſpending the whole afternoon in the ſerious debate of the Lord Stafford's caſe with the Lords of his council, and the Judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted to the King's preſence."

"There the queſtion was again agitated, 'Whether the King in juſtice might paſs the bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of Stafford?' For that he might ſhew mercy to him was no queſtion at all no man doubting but that the king without any ſcruple of conſcience might have granted him a pardon, if other reaſons of ſtate, (in which the biſhops were made neither judges nor advifers) did not hinder him. The whole reſult therefore of the Biſhops determination, was to this effect; That herein the matter of fact, and the matter of law were to be diſtinguiſhed; that of the matter of fact, he himſelf might make a judgment, having been preſent at all the proceedings againſt the ſaid lord; where, if upon hearing all the allegations, on either ſide, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged, he could not in juſtice condemn him. But for the matter in law, what was treaſon, and what was not, he was to reſt in the opinion of the judges, whoſe office it was to declare the law, and who were ſworn therein to carry themſelves indifferently betwixt him and his ſubjects, &c.

Upon his loſſes in Ireland, and the ſtraits he was brought into here, two offers were made unto him from foreign nations; the one from Cardinal Richlieu, only in relation to his eminent learning, with a promiſe of large maintenance, and liberty to live where he pleaſed in France among the proteſtants. The other from the eſtates of Holland, who proffered him the place of being *Honorarius* profeſſor at Leiden, which had an ample ſtipend belonging to it; but he refuſed both.

And now by reaſon of the diſturbance of the time, he was perpetually removed, having with St. Paul, no certain dwelling place, and ſome of thoſe evidences mentioned by that great doctor of the Gentiles to prove himſelf to be the miniſter of Chriſt, were applicable to him. 2 Cor. vi. 3 &c. In much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in tumults, or toſſings to and fro; in labours, in watchings and faſtings. By honour and diſhonour: by evil report, and good report: as deceivers, and yet true: as unknown, and yet well known: as dying, and behold we live: as chaſtned and not killed: as ſorrowful, and yet always rejoicing: as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, and yet poſſeſſing all things, &c."

Anno Chriſti 1642. he obtained leave of both houſes of parliament, to go to Oxford for his ſtudy in that library. *Anno Chriſti* 1644. the late king coming thither, he preached before him on the fifth of November. His text was Neh. iii, 11. 'And our adverſaries ſaid, they ſhall not know, neither ſee, till we come in the midſt among them, and ſlay them, and cauſe their work to ceaſe.' In his ſermon he adviſed his hearers to put no repoſe in the papiſts, who (ſaith he) upon the firſt opportunity will ſerve us here, as they have done the poor proteſtants in Ireland, which much offended ſome that were then preſent.

In March following he went from thence into Wales to Cardiff in Glamorganſhire, where for a time he bode with his daughter: but September. 16. *Anno Chriſti* 1645, he removed from thence to St. Donnets, (the lady Stradlings,) and by the way meeting with ſome ſoldiers, they uſed him barbarouſly, plucked him off his horſe, and broke open two of his trunks full of books, taking them all away: among thoſe he loſt two manuſcripts of the hiſtory of the Waldenſes, moſt of his books he recovered again; but theſe manuſcripts, tho' the meaneſt clad, he could never hear of, which gave ſuſpicion that ſome prieſt or jeſuite had lighted upon them. The loſs of them grieved him much, they being of uſe to him for the finiſhing of that book, *De Eccleſiarum Chriſtianarum ſucceſſione, & ſtatu.*

Not long after he fell into a painful ſickneſs, wherein he bled four days together, ſo that he ſwooned, and all hope of life was paſt, and a rumour was ſpread abroad that he was dead, which occaſioned grief to many; and it was ſo far believed at court, that a letter came over for a ſucceſſor in his primacy in Ireland: but it pleaſed God that he recovered, and June 11. *anno Chriſti* 1646 he came to London, where the counteſs of Peterborough gladly received him.

After a while, he was choſen to be preacher to the honourable ſociety of Lincolns Inn, where he continued divers years with great honour, and reſpect from them, till at the laſt, loſing his ſight, ſo that he could not read

read his text, and his ſtrength decaying, he was adviſed by his friends to forbear, and to reſerve himſelf, and the remainder of his ſtrength for the writing of books, which were yet expected from him. No ſpectacles could help his ſight, only when the ſun ſhone he could ſee at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room in the houſe of his abode: in winter the caſement was often ſet open for him to write at. This ſummer he conceived would be the laſt, wherein he ſhould make uſe of his eyes; the winter following he intended to have an *Amanuenſis* to write for him, and a competent ſalary was intended for him whom he ſhould chooſe to that work: but the Lord was pleaſed to prevent it by taking him to the ſight of himſelf.

After he had left Lincolns Inn, he was prevailed with to preach in ſeveral places, as in Grays Inn, Nov. 5. *anno* 1654. which he then thought might have been his laſt ſermon, and it was taken as an honour by that honourable ſociety, whereof he had been admitted a member at a reading above thirty years before: he preached alſo at the temple at Mr Selden's funeral, and at two other places in the city, both which the Lord was pleaſed to make very effectual in the converſion of divers that were his hearers: and indeed ſeldom did the ſword drawn by him, return empty. The laſt ſermon which he preached was about Michaelmas, *anno* 1655. at Hammerſmith.

He complained that he was much troubled, finding himſelf unable to continue his miniſtry; his thoughts were on it in the day, and his dreams in the night; and tho' he had been a preacher about fifty and five years, and ſo like the Levites might well be excuſed from this ſervice of the ſanctuary, and have employed himſelf (as his manner was) in directing of others, yet he reſolved, if God continued his life the ſummer following, to return to it again in ſome ſmall church or chappel.

He ſought no great things for himſelf: in the time of his diſtreſs by reaſon of his loſſes in Ireland, the parliament for ſome years was bountiful to him; but the two laſt years of their ſitting, it fell out to be ſuſpended. But after they were diſſolved, the care of him was renewed by the lord protector, by whoſe order a conſtant competent allowance was given him, which was continued till his death, beſides very conſiderable ſums extraordinary.

All that knew him, found him very communicative, not only of his ſtudies for the advantage of their minds, but of part of his ſtipend, for the relief of their bodies; and indeed in works of charity he more needed a bridle, than a ſpur.

He was not ſo ſevere in his judgment about Epiſcopacy, as to diſown other reformed churches, but declared that he loved and honoured them, as true members of the church univerſal, and was ready for the miniſters of Heſſen, France, *&c.* to teſtifie his communion with them.

He was a man of moſt examplary moderation, meekneſs, humility, and ingenuity. *Anno* 1641, he drew up an expedient to accomodate ſome of our differences in eccleſiaſtical affairs, which ſome moderate men of both parties were ready to ſubſcribe. But in matters of doctrine for the ſubſtantials, it was often his charge, that miniſters ſhould not preach any thing, as to pleaſe men, but God, who hath put them in truſt, 1 Theſ. ii. 4. For ſuch as ſeek to 'pleaſe men, are not the ſervants of Chriſt,' Gal. i. 10. And in defence of thoſe truths, no man was more reſolute and conſtant than he, 'not giving place by way of ſubjection, no, not for an hour,' Gal. ii. 5. but in circumſtantials, he thought it to be our duty with St. Paul, 'to pleaſe all men, and not ourſelves,' in all things, 1 Cor. x. 31. to edification and concord,' he was in thoſe things always the ſame; 'holding faſt the form of ſound words in doctrine' and practice to the laſt.

The night before he left London, oh! the humble expreſſions he uſed of his own unworthineſs, demeaning himſelf as if he had been the leaſt of ſaints, which he uttered with many tears: he wiſhed thoſe about him to prepare for afflictions and trials, which he was perſuaded, were not far from them. Having abode at London one and fifty days, for ſo it was punctually noted by himſelf in a book, it being his cuſtom, with David ſo to number his days, both for the place where, and the manner how he ſpent them, he returned to Rygate Feb. 13. 1655. to the counteſs of Peterſboroughs.

March the 20 following, was the firſt day of his ſickneſs, upon which day (as every day) he had been well buſied. Moſt part of it, as long as he had light, he had ſpent at his ſtudy, proceeding in his *Chronologia ſacra*, clearing all the doubts in his annals of the Bible, in which he had gone ſo far as to the book of Judges, where the laſt words he wrote were theſe, *Hic præterea notandum*, but returned not to make any further progreſs. From his ſtudy, he went to viſit a ſick gentlewoman in that family, and preſcribed to her moſt excellent preparatives for death, with other moſt holy advice in practical matters, in which he ſpent three quarters of an hour, but in ſuch an heavenly manner, as if, like Moſes upon mount Nebo, his eyes had been ſtrengthned to take a propect of the heavenly Canaan.

That night about eight o'Clock, he firſt complained of his hip, judging it to be a ſpice of the *Sciatica*, which he had been troubled with about five and thirty years before, contracted by ſitting up late in the college library at Dublin; but by the application of an ointment, he was preſently eaſed of that pain, ſo that he took ſome reſt that night. In the morning he complained of a great pain in his ſide, whereupon a phyſician was ſent for, who uſed ſuch means as he judged fit for him; but the pain continuing, and his ſpirits decaying, he wholly addicted himſelf to prayer, only upon the abating of the torment, he adviſed thoſe about him in health to prepare for ſickneſs, and death, that then they might have nothing elſe to do but to die; and after a ſhort ſettlement of the things of this world, he took great content in his approaching death.

A miniſter there preſent aſſiſted him with his prayers, but afterwards he deſired to be left to his own private prayers. The laſt words he was heard to utter (which was about one o'Clock in the afternoon, and a little before his death) were theſe; praying for the forgiveneſs of his ſins, he added, 'But Lord in ſpecial forgive my ſins of omiſſion: herein he had his wiſh, which he often uſed, that he might die as holy Mr Perkins did, who expired with crying for mercy and forgiveneſs.

But tho' he did pray for pardon of his ſins of omiſſion; yet he was a perſon that was never known to omit an hour, but was always employed in his maſter's buſineſs, either in preaching, reading, writing, or hearing others (as of late) to read to him; either reſolving doubts, or exhorting, inſtructing and counſelling ſuch as came to viſit him; yet did he die with this humble expreſſion, 'Lord forgive my ſins of omiſſion.' A ſpeech that may give us all matter of ſolemn meditation, and imitation.

March 21. *anno Chriſti* 1655. this glorious ſun ſet and from earth was tranſlated to heaven, having been primate of Ireland juſt one and thirty years, and a preacher five and fifty years, and having lived about ſeventy five years. What he had to leave was only his library, and diverſe imperfect copies of his intended works, which death prevented his finiſhing of.

The lord protector (as he was then called) gave him an honourable burial at the publick charge, in the chappel of Henry the ſeventh at Weſtminſter, and extended to his, what was before intended for himſelf in the grant of ſome of the lands belonging to the primacy of Armagh for the term of one and twenty years.

He was highly admired, and much honoured by all the famous lights of his time through the chriſtian world, Spanhemius, divinity profeſſor at Geneva, *anno Chriſti* 1639. in his epiſtle dedicatory to him, before his third part *Dubiorum Evangelicorum*, ſpends above two leaves in extolling him: ſome of the expreſſions are; 'Your very great parts, moſt excellent Uſher, are known, not only within your own country, but in ours, and wherſoever elſe there is honour given to piety, or price ſet upon learning, *&c.*' He ſpeaks much of his charity to ſtrangers, his humility, piety, works, his library, of which he made ſuch uſe for the public good, that it was not ſo much his own as the library of all learned men: in a word, ſaith he, the name of Uſher with us is a name of piety and vertue, it is of great renown at our Geneva.

Gerard Vossius frequently admires him as a man of vast learning, worthy of an everlasting monument. 'The high merit, saith he, of this most excellent and throughout most learned man, both of the church and of the whole common-wealth of learning, deserve an everlasting grateful memory: a man so excellent in the knowlege both of human and divine things, that I cannot speak any thing so high of him, but his worth doth surpass it.'

Bochartus and Simplicius, calls him frequently, *Magnum Usherium*: Usher the great.

Morus in his oration at Geneva dedicated to him, stiles him, 'The most excellent servant of God; the most reverend man of God; the Athanasius of our age. Thy breast, saith he, is a breathing library: thou art to Britain as Austin was to Hippo: Farewel Britain's great honour.'

Ludovicus *de Dieu* in his animadversions on the Acts dedicated to him, entitles him, 'To the excellent prelate worthy of an eternal memory,' *&c.*

Paulus Testardus Blesensis stiles him, *Seculi, & Ecclesiæ decus eximium*, the greatest honour of the church and age.

Arnoldus Boetius, saith of him, That he did excel with a most singular judgment in the Oriental languages, and in all other abstruse, and deep learning: venerable to all Europe, whose authority prevails much with all men, *&c.*

Mr Selden saith of him, 'The most reverend prelate James Usher, a man of great piety, singular judgment, learned to a miracle, and born to promote the more severe studies, *&c.*

Dr Prideaux calls him, 'The most rich magazine of solid learning, and of all antiquity.

Dr Davenant speaks thus of him, 'A man of singular piety, abounding with all manner of learning.

Sir Roger Twisden acknowledging the assistance he had from him in his history, saith thus, 'This we owe to the most worthy archbishop of Armagh, in whom with incredible learning, and rare knowlege of antiquity, his most courteous conversation, and wonderful sweetness, in instructing the unskilful, mixed with a certain serious episcopal gravity, were seen to strive one with the other, *&c.*

There was an eminent character given of him by the whole university of Oxford, in the year 1644. by solemn order in the convocation, which was given in charge to sixteen eminent persons, of whom seven were doctors chosen with the vice chancellor and proctors, to see his effigies cut, and an elogium worthy of him, to be prefixed to his annotations on Ignatius his epistles (there then in the press) and at the charges of the university, and in the public name of it. Indeed it was omitted to that book, but was afterwards affixed to his book *De Symbolis*; the elogium is this, 'James Usher Arch-bishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the most skilful of primitive antiquity, the unanswerable defender of the orthodox religion, the maul of errors, in preaching frequent, eloquent, very powerful, a rare example of an unblameable life.'

Yea for his learning, his very adversaries being judges, those of the church of Rome have acknowleged. A certain Jesuite in a book called *Hybernia Vindicia*, writing against Dempster, a Scots man, who had undervalued the Irish for learning, after he had reckoned up many learned men of his own, and other orders of that nation, at length he adds this of our Primate, 'And if I should put in men of a different religion, I might truly say, Scotland never saw another Usher, whose sublime wit, and most courteous behaviour, I wish that unlucky education amongst sectaries had not been his step-mother. Divers others of his popish adversaries might be mentioned, but I forbear, and shall add only the testimony of Dr William Chappel, sometime fellow of Christ's college, in Cambridge, and afterwards provost of Trinity-College, Dublin, who was very judicious, and a great learned man: he gave three reasons why he thought our primate to be the greatest scholar in the Christian world.

1. Because of his rare natural parts, having a quick invention, a prompt wit, a strong memory, a clear understanding, piercing judgment, and a ready utterance. Seldom, said he, do all these meet in an eminent degree in the same person; but in him they so concurred, that it is hard to say in which of them he most excelled.

2. Because few men had made so rich an improvement of these parts; nor indeed had such means, by reason of the choice libraries which he had the use of, viz. his own, Dr Chaloner's, the university library at Dublin, which he had frequent access unto, besides the university libraries, and Sir Robert Cotton's in England. He had also taken indefatigable pains in studying, and that for many years together, which few other men's bodies and brains could bear.

3. Because in these, and in the university beyond the seas, he was so esteemed; and whosoever conversed with him, found him a skilful linguist, a subtile disputant, a fluent orator, a profound divine, a great antiquary, an exact chronologer; and in brief, a living, and walking library; insomuch that the greatest professors admired the concatenation of so much learning in one person.

A CATALOGUE *of the* BOOKS *Published by him.*

'De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione & statu in 4to.'
'Epistolarum Hybernicarum Syloge, in 4to.'
'Historia Gotescalci in 4to.'
'De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britanicarum,' in 4to.
'Ignatii Epistolæ cum annotationibus,' in 4to.
'De anno Solari, Macedonum, 8vo.
'Annales Veteris Testamenti,' in Fol.
'Annales Novi Testamenti,' *&c.* in Fol.
'Epistola ad Cappellum de variantibus textus Hebraici Lectionibus.' in 4to.
'De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum versione Syntagma, in 4to.
Sermon before the house of Commons, Feb. 18. 1618.
A declaration of the Visibility of the Church, in a sermon before king James, June 20. 1624.
A speech in the castle of Dublin the 22 of Nov. 1622.
An answer to Malon the Jesuite, in 4to. 1631.
The religion professed by the antient Irish and British, in 4to. 1631.
Immanuel, or the incarnation of the Son of God, in 4to. 1639.
A Geographical description of the lesser Asia, in 4to. 1644.
Confessions and Proofs of Dr Reynolds, and other protestant divines about Episcopacy, in 4to. 1644.
A discourse of the originals of Bishops, and Archbishops, in 4to. 1644.
His small Catechism reviewed, in 12mo. 1654.
His body of Divinity, in part his, but published without his consent, in Fol.
A Method for Meditation, or a direction for hearing the word,
Annals of the Old and New Testament, with the Synchronisms of heathen story, to the destruction of Jerusalem, in Fol.

The Life and death of Mr RICHARD CAPEL, *who died* ANNO Christi, 1656.

MR RICHARD CAPEL was born in the city of Glocester, *anno Christi* 1586. of good parentage descended from an ancient family of the gentry of his own name, in Herefordshire, and of alliance to the lord Capel, (but he had learned with brave Philpot, to tread that under his feet) his father was a stout man, and an alderman of that city: a fast friend, first to Mr Thomas Prior, and afterwards to Mr John Workman, (having had a principal hand in drawing of him thither) both of them men of great sufficiency for the preaching of the gospel, and instruments that the Lord made much use of, for the advancement of the true saving knowlege of himself, and for the setting up of the real, and substantial power of godliness in that city, during the time that they exercised their ministry there. His elder brother yet lives, and is an alderman in that place.

After

After he had been trained up at ſchool, and well fitted for it, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, where his diligence and proficiency was ſuch, that he was choſen fellow of Magdalen-College, and had the breeding up of ſome there, who afterwards proved excellent and eminent ſcholars: as Dr Frewen (who was always a thankful man to him for his education) and famous Mr Premble, who ended his days at his houſe, *&c.* His attendance at court upon the chiefeſt favourite (in the days of that learned king James) gave him opportunity of advancement, if his thoughts had been bent that way: but he ſought not great things for himſelf; yet continued at court till the death of Sir Thomas Overbury, that learned knight and his very good friend, and then he bad adieu to that courſe of life.

As for his inward ſtorms they were very many, and exceeding bitter, (which alſo were accompanied with many bodily infirmities, which attended him in his younger years) but it was well for him that he bore the yoke in his youth: and there were none that knew ſo much of his temptations and deſertions, as that eminent and learned divine, Dr Harris, by reaſon of that intimate acquaintance he had with him in thoſe days (being his kinſman) which alſo was occaſioned the more, by the often recourſe he had then into thoſe parts, for the fetching of ſome ſpiritual refreſhing from that man of God, Mr John Dod, who was both able and willing, 'to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon to a broken and contrite heart.

For the eminency of his parts, there were very few that could match him. The moſt, even of our moſt high-flown eagles, have commonly ſome peculiar gift wherein they moſt excel, and by it do very good ſervice to Chriſt, and his church; but this man has graſped all good learning, and made every thing his own ſo evenly to ſee to, that he was very expert in the ſame, and would (with Cato the elder) be up in the height, in all that ever he was to act in.

Melanchthon uſed to ſay, that Pomeranus was the grammarian: that himſelf was the logician: that Juſtus Jonas was the orator: but that Luther was all in all: here was one that was not inferior to Luther. If he pleaſed to turn to the ſchool, or to caſe-divinity: to Auguſtine, or Chryſoſtome: to Galen, or Hippocrates: to Ariſtotle, or Tully: to hiſtory, or philoſophy, to arts or tongues, who could tell but himſelf, which of them he was beſt verſed in? he was a very living library, a full ſtore-houſe of all kind of good literature, no leſs than a little univerſity, the mirror of thoſe parts, and above the envy of the moſt.

The leaſt draught of his pencil, would have told any Protogenes, he had been the Apelles. He excelled in all that ever he would ſet his hand to, unleſs it were in his utterance in the public congregation, and therein indeed he had a great defectiveneſs.

God gave him great underſtanding of the times, to know what Iſrael ought to do. He ſtood upon the watch-tower, and ſaw what was hid from moſt men's eyes; and being quick of ſcent, in the fear of the Lord, he gave timely notice to ſome that ſtood in place, which had it been heeded, we had never been ſo fearfully peſtered with thoſe hydras heads that are now ſtarting up afreſh daily, to the great diſturbance of our people.

Sleider ſaid of Melanchthon, at his going from the univerſity of Tubing, that none of the learned men there, how many ſoever they were, had ſo much learning as to know the great learning that was in that man. Too, too many amongſt us were even ſick of the ſame diſeaſe, that knew not the depth that was in this man's breaſt. There were many men in this one man, even all ſcholarſhip epitomized in this profound Clerk: and yet for all this, he had that great bleſſing, which he himſelf obſerved as a ſingular favour vouchſafed to Dr John Reynolds, that great oracle of Oxford, that he never ſet on foot any manner of new opinion.

The like is obſerved of learned Dr Whitaker, ſtiled the oracle of Cambridge, and the miracle of the world. A mercy that moſt men of ſuperlative parts uſe not to be too rich in.

There is ſcarce any ſtrong brain without ſome ſtrong fancy. If the great wits of our times had kept themſelves cloſe to the ſteps of theſe rare divines, we had never ſeen the ſorrows that we now ſigh and groan under, and would be glad to be rid of if we knew how.

For the excellency of his preaching he excelled moſt men: he was 'an interpreter, one of a thouſand:' his underſtanding was ſtrangely opened, for the underſtanding and opening the ſcriptures: he would bolt out that out of the holy book of God, that would not come into any other man's conſideration; yet it ſhould be genuine, and evidently appearing to the drift and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt.

An intelligent man could never ſit at his feet, or be in his company, but he ſhould meet with that there, that would never fall from any other man's mouth, nor ever drop from any other man's pen. His words were 'as goads, and as nails faſtened by the maſter of the aſſemblies. They were edged with ſo much reaſon, re-enforced from the lively oracles, that they could not fall to the ground in vain. It is no marvel therefore that the cream of the whole country where they lived, as they could have opportunity, would hang upon his miniſtry.

Yet he uſed to be very plain in all his expreſſions. He would not deliver what he had from God in an unknown tongue, nor yet in words and phraſes which were too ſpruce and trim. He had learned his leſſon well of that great apoſtle and doctor of the Gentiles, who 'came not with enticing words:' nor with any other, but ſuch as the very *catechumeni*, the youngeſt beginners, might underſtand.

He kept cloſe to the footſteps of our choiceſt worthies; as famous Mr Dod (who uſed to ſay, that ſo much Latin was ſo much fleſh in a ſermon) Mr Cleaver, Mr Hilderſam, and ſuch other holy men of God, led by the ſelf-ſame ſpirit. He would deliver the whole and wholeſome truths of God in ſuch an holy and wholeſome way, that it bred very good blood in the hearts of his hearers. He would ſtoop ſo low as to ſpeak to the poor country people in their own proper dialect, ſo as they could not but even ſee and feel, and find out God, and be occaſioned to ſpeak of him all the week after.

If he met with a deep myſtery, he would make it plain to the ſhalloweſt capacity. Whatever ſubject he fell upon, he would handle it ſo divine like, that the hearts of his auditors would be wrapt into heaven, whilſt they heard him winding and turning a point of divinity, like a 'workman that needed not to be aſhamed.'

Whereas now a-days, whilſt ſome of our great divines ſeem to be too much taken up with quaint and hiſtorical flouriſhes, there is a ſenſible decay of the power of God amongſt us. An exotic, or ſtrange tongue, in the public congregation, what ever men think of it, is ſet out as a ſign of God's diſpleaſure, 1 Cor. xiv. 21. 22. It feeds ſuch humours as ſhould rather be purged out. It had no good effect in the church of Corinth. Mens wits will wax wanton, when they be not overawed by the plain power of God's word. When preachers keep not cloſe to the very words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1 Tim. vi. 3. and to the 'doctrine that is according to godlineſs,' but love to be tampering with another doctrine, though not with another in the main; but even in the manner of delivery only, as when it ſavours too much of the pomp of human eloquence, ſaith Calvin; when it differs from the ſtile of the Holy Ghoſt, ſaith Danæus; the people be in danger of turning aſide to vain janglings, to perverſe diſputings, deſiring to be teachers, and ſuch like matters. The gold upon the pill may pleaſe the eye, but it profits not the patient; the paint upon the glaſs may feed the fancy, but the room is the darker for it. The ſword of God's ſpirit can never wound ſo deep, as when it is plucked out of theſe gaudy ſcabbards. Nakedneſs deforms too many in theſe days; but it is the beſt garniſhing and ornament the truth can have. A ſober dreſs beſt becomes a grave matron. There be words as well as things which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth, 1 Cor. ii. 13. The arrows fetched out of God's own quiver will pierce the deepeſt, and make the people fall the ſooneſt under Chriſt. 'The weakneſs of God is ſtronger than men.' Paul's weapons were mighty. The 'ſincere milk of God's word' will make Chriſt's babes to grow beſt.

This

This curious age is too much given to the affectation of words, phraſes, and cadencies: and holy Dr Sibs was wont to ſay, That great affectation and good affections ſeldom go together. The ſwelling words of vanity may tickle the ear, tip the tongue, and pleaſe in matters of diſcourſe; but when it comes to puſh of pike, they afford but little comfort.

Mr Capel had another manner of wiſdom than that of words, 'He was an able miniſter of the New Teſtament, not of the letter, but of the ſpirit,' that hath given, doth give, and will give life, 2 Cor. iii. 6. Having this hope then, he uſed great plainneſs of ſpeech; and by the manifeſtation of the truth, 'he commended himſelf to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God,' and thereby hath ſo well ſeaſoned the country where he lived, that the fruit of it, without doubt, will remain, and be ſeen many years after.

His prayers were lively and fervent: he was a man that had a very large meaſure of the ſpirit of grace, which is a ſpirit of ſupplication. He was ſo well fitted with abilities to open his mind to God, as if (with bleſſed Bradford) he had been almoſt ever upon his knées. He could tell his own errand, or any other man's, at the throne of grace, with as good freedom, and to as good purpoſe as any man living. He would not be raſh with his mouth when he came before God, nor ſet out what he had to ſay there with painted eloquence, or court like compliment, but his mouth uſed to be filled with ſuch ſavoury arguments, as very well became an humble ſupplicant. He was far from thoſe tautologies and miſerable extravagancies that too many prayers are ſtuffed with. He would pour out his ſoul to God at all manner of times, upon all manner of occaſions, with all manner of prayer and ſupplication, and with that variety of all ſorts of quickening and feeling meditations, that it would even ravith the hearts of thoſe who had the happineſs to be partakers with him therein.

Yet, for all this, he was clear in his opinion for the lawfulneſs of the uſe of ſet forms of prayer, according to the tenet of all our beſt and moſt judicious divines, and according to the practice of all churches, even the beſt reformed, ſaith Mr Rogers, now, and in all former ages: ſo ſaith Mr Hilderſam; yea, and Mr Smith himſelf ſaith upon the Lord's prayer (though as then he was warping, and afterwards wandered far in the ways of ſeparation) that it was the practice of the antient church, and of all the reformed churches in Chriſtendom; of the churches immediately after the apoſtles: nay, ſaith he, of the church in the time of the apoſtles, as may probably be gathered out of 1 Cor. xiv 26. This hath alſo been the practice of the beſt lights that ever were ſet up in the churches of Chriſt. It is very well known that the flower of our own divines went on in this way, when they might have done otherwiſe, if they had pleaſed, in their prayers before their ſermons. Nay, Mr Dod himſelf would ſeldom end his devotions in his own family but with the uſe of the Lord's prayer. Nay, yet more, Mr Cartwright (hiſt. Chriſt, p. 3. 535.) thinks it very probable that Chriſt his own ſelf made uſe of a ſet form at meals.

It is not good to caſt ſtones of offence in the way of our weak brethren, who being of meaner parts, want ability, memory, and audacity to conceive prayer, eſpecially before others, that they be not taken off from, nor diſheartened in this ſo comfortable and neceſſary a ſervice of God; nor may we lay a trap or ſnare for our own feet. Who knoweth what times may paſs over him? If God ſhould plunge us into the ditch, and leave us labouring in the nooſe, the loftieſt of us all may be fain to take relief from, and to make uſe of theſe poor contemptible props and crutches; (as ſome deem and call them). When the ſoul is ſo troubled that it cannot ſpeak, but chatter only like a crane and ſwallow, Pſal. lxxvii. 4.; when it is ſo full of grief that it can do no more than ſigh and groan, and make a confuſed noiſe, as Pſal. lv. 2. it will then be glad to catch at any thing to give itſelf vent by. Dr Harris tells us of a ſecond Bradford, that, in time of his diſtreſs, was fain to adopt Mr Bradford's words, and to ſpread them before God as his own, becauſe he had ſaid more for him, as he thought, than he could ſay for himſelf.

I knew, ſaith mine author, a rare and eminent divine indeed, that would be as often upon his knees as any man that ever I converſed with, that would ſometimes be in ſuch damps, that he had no more to ſet before God to give his heart eaſe by, than the words of David in the fifty-firſt Pſalm. Well might then this knowing divine of ours, that had been ſo toſſed with tempeſts, be tender of that that might be ſo uſeful for poor trembling hearts in a ſtormy day.

Get to God therefore as thou canſt. Sad judgments be upon our people. Spiritual judgments are the ſoreſt judgments. What if thou haſt but the ſame words as Chriſt, Mat. xxvi. 44. thou mayeſt be heard as he was, Heb. x. 11. The ſong of Moſes was a new ſong, becauſe tendered to God with new affections, Rev. xiv. 3. and xv. 3. What if thy petitions be broken and confuſed, as Exod. xiv. 10. 11. 12. 'This poor man cried,' ſaith David, Pſal. xxxiv. 6. when he was in a poor caſe indeed, like a Bedlam, 1 Sam. xxi. 13. and yet he was heard.

The little liſping children have ſometimes a grant of their requeſts, when thoſe that are of greater maturity ſeem to be ſet aſide. Whilſt Moſes held up his hands, though in a poor way, Iſrael prevailed. Who can tell what God may do? Abraham left aſking, 'ere God left granting, even for a filthy Sodom. Remember Mr Latimer's, 'once again, once again.' Tugg and wreſtle; we may come to ſee, and our people be made to know that their hearts is turned back again to the God of their fathers, 1 Kings xviii. 37. But to return to Mr Capel:

He was of a ſound and ſettled judgment: he pitched at firſt upon a good foundation, and being 'nouriſhed up in the words of faith,' he continued in the things he had learned; and being well aſſured of, 'knowing from whom he had received them, as 1 Tim. iv. 6. He was well grounded in his opinion; one that ſtood like a brazen wall, as firm as a very rock, in the midſt of all the diſhings and claſhings of tempeſtuous times. He ſaw, with a clear eye, through all the painted gloſſes of thoſe that were given to change, and therefore was not moved at all with any thing that was ſaid or done in that kind; he was true to his religion, and clave cloſe all along to his firſt principles, 'holding faſt the faith that was once,' and (as he himſelf would often expreſs it) but once 'delivered to the ſaints.'

He lived and died a true orthodox divine, according to the known doctrine of the church of England. He knew full well, for all the great talk of the goſpel, as though it were but newly dropt out of the clouds, that there is not any other goſpel but the 'everlaſting goſpel,' Rev. xiv. 8. that was preached before unto Abraham, Gal. iii. 8. and hath been entertained all along ſtill by God's faithful people, and ſhall be ſo continually to the end of the world. Yet ſome there be that are no mean pretenders to the goſpel, and, notwithſtanding the ſame, are in great danger of perverting the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, Gal. i. 7.

This conſtant and ſtable man was ſet up as a ſure landmark: let us ſtand to his ſteps, though we ſtand alone. God and a good conſcience are always good company. Elijah was but one, and yet he did very good ſervice. One Athanaſius in the eaſt, and one Hilary in the weſt, was of mighty great uſe in a ſtaggering time. What if we meet with ſtorms? it is a poor religion that is not worth ſuffering for. It will turn to a teſtimony, Luke xxi. 13. When the wild humour is ſpent, men will return home again. A ſtatue of Mercury will be looked upon then.

Thoſe poor ſilly ſouls that be toſſed to and fro, and whirled about, and about again, 'with every wind of doctrine,' Eph. iv. 14. will be glad of ſuch a ſight in the day of their viſitation; whereas they which know, or ſhould know more of God, be not ſteddy in their ſteering, but vary in their courſe, poor bewildered hearts will be at their wits end, not knowing which way to turn, nor to whom to go, nor whom to walk after.

As there is but one God, ſo there is but one faith and one baptiſm, and one way to eternal life, and one rule for us all to walk by, why be we not then all of one heart; why walk we not all in one tract?

So

So many men as we ſee,
So many minds there be.

Every month almoſt produceth a new faith. It is eaſy to ſwim with the tide; to perſuade the heart of the rectitude of that which is favoured by the times, and yet to pretend ſtill that it is from more light.

We may talk of the Spirit, but it is certain that 'ſchiſm is a fruit of the fleſh. The old way is the good way, Jer. xviii. 15.: he ſhall ſtumble and enſnare his feet that ſwerves from the antient paths. What is got by gadding? Men itch for change ſtill, and there is no reſt but with our firſt huſband, Hoſ. ii. 7. It is good to be all of one mind in God. Where there is not unity in judgment, there is ſcarce unity in affections.

We are too fierce againſt ſuch as cloſe not with our notions. It was bell, book, and candle once; it is not much better now. Wild fire flies amain: we cannot all cut to a thread; there will be ſome variation in the compaſs; but whilſt we aim at the white, the odds is to be paſſed by without bitterneſs.

Why ſhould there be ſuch huge rents and diviſions in the church? where is our mutual forbearance? We have not yet learned our leſſon well, to wait one for another till God ſhall reveal it, Phil. iii. 15. Whilſt we be ſo ſharp in our conteſts, Saran makes his markets; religion goes to wrack; our differences are widened. Some are ready to give up all, ſeeing there is no better harmony: others could well wiſh themſelves out of the world, that they might be delivered, as Melanchthon ſaid, from the implacable difference even amongſt ſome divines. Oh! that we could hearken unto God, who would have the truth followed but in love, Eph. iv. 15. If the word will not prevail, the croſs will come, and make a Hooper and a Ridley embrace one another.

Let us fall upon that one, and only ſolid way for God, it will ever be our glory. Get to God, he can ſtabliſh our unreſolved hearts, 2 Cor. i. 11. See that the judgment be ſo rightly ſet, Iſ. xxxiii. 6. and the heart ſo firmly knit to God and his truth, and then we ſhall not waver. Tamper not with opinions, 2 Pet. iii. 17. nor with opinionative men, 1 Tim. v. 6. Rom. xvi. 17. 18. nor yet with books that ſcatter tares.

This grave and prudent divine gives a very good caution to this purpoſe in his Treatiſe of Temptations, from famous Mr Dod, a man of vaſt experience; 'An honeſt heart may be ſorely puzzled with a forked argument.' The martyr could die for Chriſt, that could not diſpute for him.

Some pretend that they muſt try all things; but they ſpeak beſides the book. Who will try rats-bane, or a ſharp ſword, whether it will pierce into his bowels. Some think that they can withdraw when they ſee danger; but ſin is ſubtile: venom will get in before we be aware, and error will ſtick, and eat like a gangrene. What gets the fly that plays with the candle? They that nibble at the bait ſhall hardly eſcape the hook.

Again, Gingle not with terms that be improper in matters of religion; they favour of ſingularity, breed rents and diviſions between preachers and people, and take off the mind from things more eſſential.

Learned men have obſerved, that heretics gat great advantage by the unwary ſpeeches of the fathers. Some of Calvin's expreſſions, that were not ſo well pondered, have done no great good to ſome in our times. Neſtorius fell into his hereſy by defending an improper ſpeech of his; and Eutyches, thinking to mend it, fell into the other extreme.

Dr Thomas Taylor ſpeaks much to this point to very good purpoſe, in his Progreſs to Holineſs, p. 134. 135. 154. and concludes, that if we will keep the faith of our fathers, we muſt keep the words of our fathers.

Our Mr Capel was a man of a ſingle heart; he was, with Jacob, Gen. xxv. 27. a plain man, i. e. A down right honeſt man, as the original ſignifies; a very Nathaniel; 'an Iſraelite indeed,' John i. 47. 'in whom,' (tho' there was ſome infirmity) yet 'there was no guile.' He had much of the 'wiſdom that is from above,' and was as far from hypocriſy as moſt men living. If all others were of his temper, Momus had no need to complain of the want of a window into any man's breaſt. He was what he was, indeed, and in truth, without diſſimulation: he was very high in his conformity to thoſe primitive Chriſtians, Acts ii. 46 and left a brave preſident to all what they ſhould be in this particular.

We of this doubting and deceitful generation had need to look about us, and ſee what was here ſet before us in very legible characters, that we may learn to be more above board in our dealings. We are fallen into an age, like that of the prophets, wherein every one hath too much of the hypocrite; we may well cry, 'Help, Lord, for the faithful fail: with a double heart and double tongue do they ſpeak.' The moſt be for all tides and times, as mutable as the weather cock; for any manner of mode, ſo as they can ſerve their own turns by it. Some can be any thing but what they ſhould be. We have need to beware of men where every brother will ſupplant. 'The hypocrite with his mouth deſtroys his neighbour,' Prov. xi. 9. It is indeed good to be 'wiſe as ſerpents,' but withal, we ſhould be 'innocent as doves.' Though it be juſt with God that the deceiver ſhall be deceived, and ſome like it well, yet it is not juſt in thoſe that do it. They that 'turn aſide to crooked ways,' ſhall be 'led forth with the workers of iniquity,' Pſal. cxxv. 5.

Plain dealing is a jewel; yea, though it be in ſin. as this acute man tells us in his Tentat. part. 3. It is a dainty fine thing in our confeſſions, repentance, and in all wherein we act: he that uſeth it (whatever men ſay or think) ſhall neither live nor die a beggar. Downright honeſty is the beſt policy. It is delightful to God, Prov. xii. 22. and it will be a comfort to us, 2 Cor. i. 12. 'This is our rejoicing;' and we never eat our meat with more gladneſs, than when we do all with ſingleneſs of heart, Acts ii. 46.

Mr Capel was a very uſeful man in his life; he was, with Melanchthon, born for the common good, and lived for the public benefit of the whole country.

Whilſt he was at his paſtoral charge, he gave himſelf fully and wholly to reading, to exhortation, and doctrine; and his profiting appeared unto all men; ſo that he was generally, and that juſtly, reputed a man approved of God, rightly dividing the word of truth. It is well known what pains he took, and to how good purpoſe, during the whole time of his abode there, which was about twenty one years.

He preached conſtantly twice every Lord's day, and beſides, preached a lecture conſtantly every week, though he had but an infirm body, till by reaſon of ſickneſs he was taken off: and then beſides his Sabbath days work, he preached only upon the feſtival days: his lips were 'touched with a coal from the altar.'

It may truly be ſaid of him, as it was of Muſculus, that his words pierced like a two edged ſword. he could, when he pleaſed, be a Boanerges, a ſon of thunder; but his bent was moſt to be a Barnabbas, a ſon of conſolation: he was a true evangelical preacher, and comforted many a drooping heart by his labours in public, and gave abundance of ſatisfaction in private to many troubled ſpirits that uſed to reſort to him out of all countries, both far and near.

He alſo ſhewed himſelf to be a tree of God's own planting, by bringing forth more fruit ſtill in his age. When the times were ſuch (ſome flying ſo extremely high, the ceremonies being preſſed with rigour, and grievous penalties inflicted) that he, being tender in matters of conformity, muſt needs quit his paſtoral charge, which was Nov. 27. 1634. He betook himſelf then to his little cell, as Samuel did to his Ramah, that had never been looked upon if he had not come thither, (no more than Iſlebium and Bretta, if not for Luther and Melanchthon); and there he had more health and cheerfulneſs of ſpirit than formerly, which he improved well for the public advantage: For,

There he fell upon the practice of phyſic: he had indeed beat his ſtudies that way before hand, foreſeeing what would follow, yet would he do nothing in that kind, it not being his calling, ſo long as that great work of the miniſtry lay upon him; but when he had quit the more ſpecial tye of the care of mens ſouls, he then betook him-

ſelf to be at more freedom; and having a licence ſent him by the biſhop of Glouceſter to authorize him, he fell upon the cure of mens bodies; and being of great ſufficiency, his fame was quickly ſpread abroad.

He was looked upon as a very Triſmegiſtus, or a ſecond Aeſculapius: he could do much at the diving into a diſeaſe, and in applying ſuch medicines as were proper and fit. Not like ſome that will be tampering with that profeſſion, and give their doſes at a venture. He was quick, yet in caſes of difficulty and danger he would weigh things well.

In deſperate diſeaſes, he would adventure far, according to the rules of reaſon, what he gave ſhould be ſafe: he mixed all with his own hands, he would ſtoop to the meaneſt, and ſerve all at an eaſy rate: his receipts amounted not to the half, nay, not to one quarter of a common apothecary's bill.

He was bleſſed by God with great and good ſucceſs, and had reſort, eſpecially towards his latter end, out of his own and other countries, ſo that he had not leiſure to ſit at his own meals in quiet. Yea, many times he was tired out, till God called him to reſt.

His words were ſeaſonable and ſavoury; his tongue was a tree of life; his lips fed many. Whoſoever came near him ſhould have ſomething dropping, if he did but heed it, that was worth carrying away with him. It is true, he would be pleaſant, and jeſt more freely than many did, or could well like. Some of his beſt friends wiſhed that it had been otherwiſe, but there will be ſome thing of human infirmity cleaving to us all in this world. Yet the times are to be conſidered, and the nature of many with whom he had to deal, that could no more away with a downright blow, than ſome can away with ſound doctrine: yet there was never a prudent heart but it might have picked ſweet out of that which ſome did moſt of all diſtaſte.

It is ſaid, that Eraſmus did more hurt to the pope by his jeſting, than Luther did by his ruffling: ſo this man gave a deadlier blow to the iniquity of the times, in his jocular way, than moſt others can do in their moſt ſerious undertakings; yet would he be as ſerious as any man living, upon a juſt and fit occaſion, and would be as tender to trouble the ſpirits of the meaneſt as heart could deſire. Urbanus Regius having one day's diſcourſe with Luther, ſaid, That it was one of the ſweeteſt days that ever he had in his life. Some can ſay as much of this rare man, when they had him, as all might have had him, in the right vein.

He was ſingular in that faithful advice and counſel which he uſed to give to all ſorts, upon every emergent occaſion. It was ſaid in old time, 'They ſhall aſk counſel of Abel,' 2 Sam. xx. 18. 'and ſo they ended their matters. The common conflux of almoſt all in thoſe parts was ſtill to his houſe. 'Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart,' Prov. xxvii. 9 ſo did the ſweetneſs of this man by his hearty counſel.

To ſome he was as another Neſtor: others found him ever a moſt faithful Achates, and ſuch made him (as Tully did his Atticus) their conſtant aſylum; and his dexterous counſel, like Ariadne's thread, led them out of many a perplexed labyrinth.

He was, as that famous Augur in Homer, one that could ſee things paſt and preſent, and gueſs ſhrewdly alſo at thoſe that were to come. 'Old mens counſels,' they ſay, 'are young mens lances. Mr Calvin's were very profitable, ſo were Mr Capel's. Many a young begionner, and tired conflicter, did fetch all their beſt weapons out of this man's armoury.

He preached the goſpel freely, for the moſt part of his laſt twenty years. 'Freely he had received, and freely he would give.' Not that he thought it unlawful for a miniſter to take maintainance, or to take that maintenance by tithes, which hath been publicly ſet aſide in this land; for his tithes he paid himſelf, and that freely and duly too, all the whole time of his preaching thus freely, and that to one who did not much in the work of the miniſtry; and he did it upon this ground, becauſe he knew it to be his due.

I will not diſpute this point at this time, with thoſe that be hampered in their opinions, but heartily wiſh them, with all thoſe that in theſe times are ſuch enemies to tithes, and are ſo extremely defective in making conſcience to pay them, to conſider what hath fallen from the pens of holy men, that have been far enough off from being this way intereſted. Mr Cartwright ſaith plainly, that they that take away the tithes of the miniſters, and turn them to their own uſe, would doubtleſs crucify Chriſt again, if he were here upon earth. Beza ſpeaks of ſome, that leave Chriſt as the ſoldiers did which crucified him, either ſtark naked, or but ſorily clad; and ſo to do, ſaith he, is not to love God, but the goods of God more than God. Dr John Reynolds ſaith, Our anceſtors provided houſes, glebe lands, tithes, and other profits for the maintenance of paſtors. And a little after he ſaith, The churches goods allotted to the maintenance of paſtors and teachers, are not profane, but ſacred, and therefore the ſin of them that purloin them is ſacrilege, not theft, wherein God is ſpoiled, Prov. xx. 25. 'It is a ſnare to devour that which is holy, and after the vows to enquire.' Ananias and Sapphira were made a dreadful ſpectacle, for filching of a little of that which was ſet apart for God. The eagle firſt her whole neſt by one poor piece of fleſh plucked from the altar. The people of this land are curſed with a curſe, and they will not ſee the cauſe of it, viz. 'their robbing of God,' Mal. iii. 8. 9. 'in tithes and offerings.' When ſhall we prove God, and ſee if he will not pour us out a bleſſing, as he hath promiſed, Mal. iii. 10.

It would be a great joy to ſome that will get nothing by it, to hear God's Iſrael once again turning it out before the Lord, as Deut. xxvi. 13. 14. 'I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine own houſe, I have not taken away ought thereof, for any unclean or common uſe,' as Junius reads it: for then they might ſay, with heart and hope, 'Lord, look down from thy holy habitation, and bleſs thy people, and the land that thou gaveſt us, Deut. xxvi. 15.

The practice of this judicious man will ſway with ſome who was ſuch a burning and ſhining light, the more to be admired that it blazed ſo long, and ſo clearly too, without any of this ſublunary oil. His mind was ſo fully ſatisfied with his ſmall gain in the practice of phyſic, together with what he had of his own temporal eſtate, that he would accept of nothing for his preaching of any man living, tho' tendred, and never ſo much preſſed upon him. He took not himſelf bound (as the caſe ſtood) to labour in the work of the miniſtry, there being another incumbent in that place. What he did was merely in love to God and mens ſouls. Indeed he meet with many diverſions, as the tempeſts of the times, his own domeſtic troubles, age creeping on, ſtore of ſick and ſad people, and recourſe of all ſorts, ſo that he had ſcarce an hour freely for ſtudy; yet nothing would take him off from this employment, till God took him off from all his labours.

As he preached, ſo he lived down the iniquities of the times. He did not only cry them down by his public miniſtry, but gave them a more deadly blow by his conſtant walking. Noah condemned the world more by what he did, than by what he ſaid, Heb. xi. 7. The way which Mr Capel took, put ſome to a ſtand, cauſed others to relent and repent, and encouraged others in the good and right way, whilſt they had his pattern that could not be contradicted: now ſince he is gone, ſuch have a harder taſk; but God will carry on his own work.

He was eminent for ſelf-denial: Indeed ſelf-denial is in every man's mouth, but hardly to be found in any man's practice. Self hath ever been, is, and will be, the great Diana, notwithſtanding all mens fair pretences. We read of him that could give ſmooth and golden words, Ruth iv. 4.—6. but when it came to the point, he would not mar his inheritance. Self hath too great a ſtroke in the beſt of us all, both preachers and profeſſors, both in church and common-wealth. It began to work betimes. St Paul tells us in his days, that 'all ſought their own things,' Phil. ii. 21, and it is now grown to a greater head in our age, when we neither eat nor drink, nor ſell, nor pray, nor do any thing to ſpeak of, but too apparently we ſeek ourſelves therein. How much then was this brave man to be admired, ſeeing all that knew him can bear witneſs, how far he excelled in this rare grace; he could

could deny himſelf in his own underſtanding, and go after God in a way that he knew not, as Abraham, Heb. xi. 8. he could deny himſelf in his own will, when he that is above would lead him in a way that he would not, as John xxi. 18. He could deny himſelf in his own affections alſo, when he came to be croſſed in what he could have moſt deſired, ever ruling them by reaſon and religion, as a wiſe man ſhould do, ſubjecting himſelf to bear with quietneſs what could not be helped, without raiſing too much duſt. It is ſtrange to ſee how far he could deny himſelf in apparel, diet, attendance, and what not.

He was very exemplary for his contempt of the world; he had gotten the ſtart of moſt men in that particular: he uſed to be beating upon this point mainly, both in his public preaching, and in his private conference, and ſhewed the reality of what he preſſed when he came to act himſelf. Indeed he could not ſay as Luther did, that he never had been tempted unto covetouſneſs, but he kept himſelf from any noted taint in that kind; nay, from the leaſt ſuſpicion of that foul crime, with famous Dr Whitaker. When he had things under his hand, he ſtill charged his ſervants to do what few men practiſe, that they ſhould never ſet up corn, nor bring home cattle, but take as the market would afford. All that knew him, knew that he was far enough from encreaſing his eſtate by any indirect means; and never was there any man more willing to part with money upon a juſt and fit occaſion.

It is well known that he gave over a living of good value, one of the beſt in thoſe parts, above twenty years before his death, and betook himſelf to a poor little corner, from which he would never be withdrawn, no more than Muſculus from his Berne. And even there he might have picked mens purſes, if he had been that way given; but many, and many a time he put back money, and took but a ſmall matter from thoſe that were able, and would have been willing to have given more; they ſought to force him to take it, but he would utterly refuſe it.

He was no leſs exemplary for his great humility. This was the grace that graced all the good that was in him: he would be often ſpeaking of what he had heard concerning Dr John Rainolds, that he was as learned a man as any was in the world, as godly as learned, and as humble as godly. Mr Capel loved and reverenced this doctor, and trode in his ſteps.

He could ſpeak with tongues more than moſt men, yet would he never make uſe of them in the public congregation.

He uſed to honour all men; to acknowlege the gifts and parts of thoſe that were far below him, and to rejoice in them, as Hooper did in the blind boy.

He would not meddle in things that were too high for him, nor intrench upon that that was beyond his ſphere: he would not ſtand in the place of great men; he could refuſe honours as Muſculus did, and contented himſelf with plain and mean things.

It is obſerved by Cajetan, the flower of the cardinals, that he would never be in his ſilks and braveries, but kept his old faſhions to his life's end. Melanchthon would not diſdain to do that which his meaneſt ſervant would ſcarcely have put his hand to.

So it was with Mr Capel; and he would bear things that went awry, without diſtempering himſelf about them. Moderation he profeſſed, and moderation he practiſed.

Sanpicius told Luther concerning his behaviour, that in the firſt three years, he did all things according to the utmoſt rigour, and that would not do. In the next three years he did all according to the laws and counſels of the ſtatutes, and that would not hit: And in the laſt three years, he did all according to the will of God, and yet neither would that ſucceed; and then he was fain to be content with what he could have.

Thus you have a taſte, and but a little taſte, in this that hath been ſaid, of the precious liquour that was poured into this earthen veſſel. To which might be added the quickneſs of his apprehenſion, the ſtrength of his memory, his ſenſe of the public evils, his paſſing by of wrongs and offences; his ſpecial regard to ſuch as loved their wives and miniſters, and the like. But where ſhould I make an end? Theſe, and his other eminent parts, virtues, and graces, deſerve to be laid in oil-colours by the moſt ſkilful pencil.

Towards his latter end he met with ſome pinching griefs, which he did bear with invincible patience and fortitude: he willingly ſubmitted, becauſe it was God's will to have him ſo exerciſed. All of us muſt expect to drink of the ſelf ſame cup; our laſt days uſually are our worſt days, as Mollerus obſerves; the clouds will then be returning after the rain.

We muſt be taught to know, and ſpeak it out, that we are but pilgrims; we muſt be more truly and thoroughly taken off from the world; more ripened, and mellowed, and ſeaſoned for God, and be made more ſerious in all our undertakings. Melanchthon uſed to ſay, That if he had no cares, he ſhould have no prayers. Our comfort is, our time is but ſhort; the moſt and beſt of our treaſure is gone before: our hope is laid up in heaven.

Get we more communion with God, more faith, more patience; and let us put on the whole armour of God, and then we ſhall be able to ſtand, and to withſtand in the evil day; and in the end, ſhall be 'more than conquerors through him that loved us.'

This clear-ſighted and underſtanding man foreſaw ſtorms approaching, and rejoiced that he ſhould be in his grave before they fell, whither alſo he came as a ſhock of corn gathered into the barn in due ſeaſon.

The Sabbath day was the laſt day of his life, the ſtrict obſervation whereof he often preſſed: he would ſay that we ſhould go to ſleep that night, as it were, with meat in our mouths.

That Sabbath day, being September 21. 1656, he preached twice, taking his leave of the world by preſſing faith in God. That evening he repeated both his ſermons in his family, ſomewhat more largely than ordinary. He read his chapter alſo, went to prayer, and ſo to bed, and died immediately, by that the words were well out of his mouth, being threeſcore and ten years old.

Who can deſire to die better than Stephen did, calling upon God: he would often ſay, That if God ſaw it fit, one had better to die of a quick, than of a lingering death; and God anſwered his deſires.

The Life of Dr Robert Harris, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1658.

Robert Harris, was born in a dark time and place at Broad-Cambden in Gloceſterſhire, *Anno Chriſti* 1578: his father had the repute of a very wiſe and underſtanding man; his mother a very devout and charitable woman, under whoſe wings he ſpent his childhood; but he acknowleged it as a matter of grief to him all his life, that he preferred his play before reading the Scriptures to his parents at their call. So ſoon as he was fit for it, he was ſet to a free-ſchool at Chipping-Cambden, where he met with a double diſcouragement; the firſt was from the often change of his ſchool-maſters, by reaſon of the ſmall ſalary that came to them. The ſecond proceeded from the fierce and cruel carriage of others, which, as he uſed often to ſay, was the bane of many young ſcholars; and though for his own part, he remembered not that he had ſmarted under a rod in any ſchool, yet the ſight of the ſeverity uſed to others, brought ſuch a trembling and ſadneſs upon his ſpirit, that he could not ſhake it off to his dying day.

From thence he was removed to the ſchool at Worceſter, under the care of Mr Bright, and on the Sabbaths, he heard that reverend and learned Dr Robert Abbots; and being furniſhed with ſchool-learning, he went from thence to Magdalen-Hall in Oxford, being allied to the principal Mr Lyſter.

There he ſhewed a more than ordinary deſire of learning, and having but little help from the principal or his tutor, he followed his private ſtudies with the more earneſtneſs; yet all this while he enquired little into the truths and ways of God.

His tutor not long after leaving the hall, he earneſtly ſolicited the principal, that he might be committed to the care of one Mr Goſſe of Magdalen-college, who was noted for a very good logician and diſputant, but withal he was accounted

accounted a puritan, which made the principal, who was popishly affected, to dissuade his choice; but he, not out of love to religion but learning, persisted in his desires, and prevailed.

Mr Goffe having thus received him into his charge, required him, that with the rest of his fellow pupils, he should join in reading the Scriptures, repetition of Sermons and Prayer; which new course, he being unaccustomed to, was somewhat troubled at it, observing, that none of the Seniors embraced that way, and yet it was such as he knew not how to contradict. This caused him oft to betake himself to his private prayers, wherein he begged of God, either to discover to him the falshood, if his tutor had any design upon him to corrupt him, or if this course were pleasing to God, that then he would confirm him in it: and it pleased God after a while so to resolve him, that he bought a Bible, and with indefatigable pains he applied himself to the reading of that and other good authors in divinity.

Shortly after Mr Goffe refuseth to continue his tutor, only agrees, that they would conjoin their studies together, Mr Goffe reading Philology to Mr Harris, and Mr Harris reading Greek to him, and from Greek they proceeded to Hebrew, in which study some other of the fellows joined with them, whereof one afterwards was president; and, besides these studies, his tutor and he agreed to read Calvin's Institutions by turns, which course they continued as long as their other occasions and exercises would permit.

Having for a while been batchelor of arts, he was willing to try his fitness for the ministry, because otherwise his father would have him to the study of the law; and having prepared a sermon, he proffered his pains at Chipping-Camden; but such was the woful ignorance of those times, that in the greater town he knew not where to procure a Bible to carry with him into the pulpit; yet at last being directed to the vicar there, he indeed had a Bible, but it could not be found, having not been seen of some months before; yet search being made, he was furnished with a Bible, and after prayer made, he took for his text those words. Rom. x. 1. 'Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.' And his sermon was highly commended, and yet himself would say, that he was a loser by the bargain. 1. Because his heart swelled upon it. 2. Because his carnal friends hereupon called on him to give over university studies, and to come amongst them, as having learning enough.

His father also having many other children to provide for, was willing to ease his charge, and therefore applied himself to some persons of eminency both in church and state, to get some preferment for him; but he, being willing to decline public employment for the present, humbly entreated his father, that what he would hereafter bestow upon him for a patrimony, he would be pleased for the present to allow it him for his maintenance in Oxford, that he might perfect his studies there, which his father at last condescending to, he returned with joy to Oxford. But indeed by God's providence! he had not been long at Oxford before a fearful plague brake out in that place, which so scattered the university, that few were left remaining, in which case he was again put to his shifts; loath he was to return home, and whither else to betake himself he knew not; till at last, by a special providence, he was invited to the house of one Mr Doyly, five miles from Oxford, a Gentleman of a very ancient family in that county, and a great friend to the gospel, whose wife was also eminent for knowlege and piety, to them therefore Mr Harris goes for the present.

Coming to Mr Doyly's, he met with one Mr Prior, a prudent godly man, and of an excellent spirit, who being much weakened by two racking diseases of the stone and gout, and overburdened with preaching both on the Sabbaths and Fasts, enjoined upon the occasion of the plague, in meer pity, Mr Harris help'd him a turn or two, which he performed with so good approbation, that presently he was set upon both by Mr Doyly, Mr Prior, and some others, that he could not withstand their importunity, but was necessitated to preach with them, at least during the continuance of those extraordinary Fasts. Mr Harris pleaded, that he was not an ordained minister, and therefore durst not meddle with any thing but preaching; neither with that but till he could be ordained. This they assented to, and during his abode amongst them, he met with ample requitals from the good Gentleman and his wife, and great encouragement from the people.

About this time there was a fearful eclipse upon the church; many eminent ministers were suspended from their office and benefices, and amongst them those three bright shining stars, Mr Dod, Mr Cleaver, Mr Lancaster. Upon this occasion Sir Anthony Cope, who had formerly placed, and now lost Mr Dod at Hanwell, and Mr Cleaver at Drayton, became a suitor to his brother Doyly, for so he was by marriage, for the enjoyment of Mr Harris. Mr Doyly entertained this unwelcome motion with great regret, as being wholly unwilling to part with one whom he so much prized; yet, after a long debate, it was judged most beneficial for the public, and therefore could not be resisted.

Mr Harris went to Hanwell with much grief and fear, where he found the temper of the country to be this: Preach he might, and welcome, but they would own no man for their pastors but those who were ejected: at last it was concluded, that Mr Harris should preach to both congregations, whilst authority would permit; and so long as there was any hope of recovering their former pastor, this gave some satisfaction, yet it was not sufficient, because Mr Harris was not fully of their former pastor's mind.

Just at the same time it fell out, that Mr Whately came to Banburry, and met with no less a share of the people's displeasure, who though they could not except against his ministry, he being endowed with excellent parts, yet they quarrelled, because his judgment about ceremonies was not the same with that of their former teachers; and the truth is, they both had a sad time of it for a great while, notwithstanding all the prudence and moderation which Sir Anthony Cope and Mr Dod shewed to the quieting of them.

After a while, archbishop Bancroft finding that the silenced ministers would not yield, presented two chaplains to Hanwell and Drayton, upon pretence of a lapse; but Sir Anthony Cope sitting then in parliament, took one or two of the house with him, and presented his two clerks to the arch bishop, who after a long contest, was content to admit his presentation; but Sir Anthony having spoken in that parliament against insufficient ministers, not without reflection upon the archbishops, and bishops, archbishop Bancroft could not but resent this, and therefore referred his clerks to be strictly examined by his skild chaplain. The chaplain, having as it seems, his lesson beforehand, brings in the clerk designed for Hanwel, which Mr Harris had declined as altogether insufficient, though a grave and discreet divine. Mr Harris was returned, *mediocriter doctus*, moderately learned. The archbishop being not satisfied with this last account, desires Bishop Barlow, who was present with him to make farther proof of Mr Harris, and the bishop being an active and witty man, was glad of the opportunity, and deals with Mr Harris, first in divinity, but most in other learning and Greek, wherein the bishop's excellency lay; and both of them so long greeked it, till they were both gravelled for want of words, whereupon they both laughed, and so gave over. The bishop going into the archbishop in his report, as Mr Harris expressed it, set him up as much too high, as the chaplain had set his fellow too low. The archbishop hearing the bishop's testimony, was content to admit Mr Harris, but upon condition, that he might have Hanwell, which was easily assented to by Sir Anthony, having before designed it for him, and Mr Dod also was present to testify his concurrent desire; the only stick with Mr Harris was, that he was fearful to succeed so famous a divine; which answer was not pleasing to the archbishop, though at present he courted Mr Dod.

A new pastor being thus placed at Hanwel, and withal, Drayton being furnished with a godly prudent man, Mr Scudder, there were now three neighbours, who were linked together, not only in judgment and affection, but also in affinity; for Mr Harris married Mr Whately's sister, and Mr Scudder his wife's sister, and these three met for a while weekly together, and by turns translated and Analysed, each his chapter, till multitudes of public employments caused them to desist.

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Not long after, there befel Mr Harris his wife, upon the birth of her first child, a long and sore affliction, (as Mr Dod told him) but to season, and fit him for his work; and Mr Harris himself would oft say, that he had been quite spoiled, had he not been thus taken down; for young ministers know not what ground they tread on, till God lays them flat.

This and some other clouds being blown over the weather seemed now to clear up, and his people began to relish his ministry, and much comfort he found in the neighbourhood of many godly ministers; on one side he had Mr Cleaver, a very solid text-man; and the other, Mr Lancaster, a very humble, and self denying man, who tho' by birth he was a good gentleman, and had sometime been fellow in King's college in Cambridge, where he read sundry public lectures, and made many speeches, and (as Dr Collins that master of language used to say) delivered himself in as pure Latin as ever Tully spake, having no other notes to help him, but he wrote upon his own nails; yet this good man, thus accomplished with all learning contented himself with a living that was not worth 40 l. *per annum*, and in his preaching made no noise of any learning at all. When I was young I knew this Mr Lancaster, he was a very little man of stature, but eminent, as for other things, so especially for his living by faith. His charge being great, and his means so small, his wife would many times come to him when she was to send her maid to Banbury market to buy provision, and tell him that he had no money; his usual answer was, 'Yet send your maid, and God will provide; and tho' she had no money, yet she never returned empty, for one or other that knew her to be Mr Lancaster's maid, either by the way or in Banbury town meeting her, would give her money, which still supplied their present wants.

But above all his neighbours, Mr Harris still much respected Mr Dod, and concerning him was fully of Mr Cartwright's mind, that he was the fittest man in England for a pastoral office; he was able to speak to any man's capacity; he was never out of the pulpit; for all his discourses were sermons, which he intermixed with such variety of delightful expressions and similitudes, as would suit with any man. The truth is, he was a very eloquent man both in English and Latin, and so facetious and pithy, that Mr Harris used to say often, 'That if all his apothegms were gathered together, they would exceed all that Plutarch had written in Greek, and others since his time in Latin had published. For some years Mr Harris had the happiness to live with, and near this man of God, and that in such a conjunction as greater could not be.

During the time of their converse, they studied together, and daily read a chapter in the original together, and after Mr Dod was restored to the liberty of his ministry in another diocese, he would not expound a text, preach a sermon, answer a case of conscience (whereof many were daily brought to him) without the concurrence of Mr Harris with him; so highly did that eminent divine prize him, and would often blame him for his reservedness and unwillingness to put forth himself.

Mr Dod being (as was said before) removed into Northamptonshire to Frosley, God was pleased to supply his want by the resort of sundry young students from Oxford to Hanwell, so that Mr Harris his house was a little academy; and among others, he took much comfort in Mr Pemble (who would do nothing, especially in divinity, without his advice) as also Mr Capel, who oft resorted to him in his grievous conflicts and temptations for advice and succour, and also, in his well known treatise of *Temptations*.

Whilst he was at Hanwell he had frequent calls to London, sometimes to Paul's cross, sometimes to preach before parliaments, and other sometimes at country feasts, which occasioned many invitations to places there: but of all the auditories that of Saviour's in Southwark was most grateful to him, and there he could have spent the remainder of his days if his voice would have reached so great an assembly. From thence he was invited to some lesser churches, but God had not yet finished his work by him at Hanwell, and therefore something or other still interposed. Probably he had closed with Aldermanbury, had not the then bishop of London complimented him out of it, commending his *Concio ad Clerum* at Oxford, and promising him better preferment than he thought he should merit. Some other offers were made to him, but still he met with some cross providence, which made him come to a resolution to end where he began.

At Hanwell he went over many Scriptures, but his people found least good from that which cost him most pains, *viz.* his sermons upon the Collosians, which epistle he preached throughout. Indeed at that time he thought he could not speak too highly to a people who had been so taught, but upon further trial, he found that he could not go too low, so that, (as some of his hearers after told him) his pains upon that epistle was wholly lost as to them. His sermons upon historical Scriptures, best pleased most of his auditors; but with himself, and the more spiritual sort, his labours upon the book of the canticles prevailed most, the notes whereof he was often pressed to make public, which he refused upon a double account.

1. Because a great part of them were lost, and died with Dr Preston, to whom he had lent them, and whom he used to call, 'A needless engrosser of other men's notes.'

2. He less satisfied himself in his elder years, in divers passages of that mysterious book. Yet if the world were at leisure to hear old men speak, it might be very useful to collect those dispersed papers, and it is hoped that some of his near relations (who best know his hand, and method in writing) may take some pains therein for the public good.

At Hanwell Mr Harris continued preaching for about forty years, a constant, painful, and faithful preacher, both upon the Sabbaths, and other occasions which fell out often; for when he came thither, he found that there had been an accustomed course of preaching upon such festival days (then so called) which might not interfere with the lecture or market at Banbury, which he also kept up, especially on Easter and Whitsun Mondays, unto which multitudes of Christians resorted far and near, 'as the doves to the windows, without any superstition. And on the morrow, they were entertained with the like feasts at Banbury by Mr Wheatly. O what a fair of souls was then held at Hanswel and Banbury by these two brothers? how did religion then flourish, and professors thrive, like the calves in their stalls? the truth is, these preachers carved out sound and wholesome food, and their hearers came with good stomachs, expecting what they found, viz. 'milk for babes, and strong meat for strong men, and accordingly did grow thereby.

In those days godly preachers stuffed not their sermons with airy notions, and curious speculations, but sought out profitable matter, which they delivered in sound words, and in a plain method of doctrine, reason and use, accomodating themselves to every man's capacity, and God gave them a plentiful harvest in that country.

These his employments at home (together with his natural bookishness) made him less foward to engage in lectures abroad onely, he was one in a combination at Deddington Oxfordshire; and for sometime he kept a lecture alone at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire every other week, unto which there was a great resort both of the chief gentry, and choicest preachers and professors in those parts, and amongst them, that noble and learned knight, Sir Thomas Lucy of Charcolt had always a great respect for him.

About this time a great living in the country was offered him, about which he was very indifferent, and indeed was but very indifferently dealt with in it, which occasioned him to say, 'That he never bore any thing more impatiently than the abuse of religion to base and private ends; and, that carnal policy, would render profession despicable at least, whilst some men took such a liberty to themselves in equivocating and daubing; and the reason of such mens success was, not because they had more wit than others, but more boldness to say and do what others durst not.

All this while he continued at Hanwel in much prosperity, and the neighbours thereabouts frequented his sermons, amongst whom he received the greatest seals of his mini-

ſtry: but tho' he found ſo much encouragement from abroad, yet we muſt not forget his people at home, who were ſo far brought into a conformity, that at ſometimes there was not a family in the town where God's name was not in ſome meaſure called upon, nor a perſon that refuſed to be prepared by him for the Lord's ſupper.

And as the Lord was pleaſed to bleſs and ſucceed his labours, ſo he cauſed him to thrive in his outward eſtate likewiſe, which himſelf could not but take notice of; for tho' his means was not great, and his children many (for whoſe ſakes he kept a ſchoolmaſter) and the reſort of friends to his houſe not ſmall, both on Sabbath days, and lecture days, yet was he in a thriving condition; which occaſioned him to ſay, 'That there was a ſecret bleſſing attending on houſe-keeping'. For, ſaid he, 'I am not able to give an account of my expences and of God's ſupplies.

But now began thoſe cloudy times, and his ſadder days, when troops and armies marched into thoſe quarters, about Edge Hill, where was fought a bloody battle, Octob. 23 1642. upon the Lord's day, in the vale of the red horſe, being diſtant about four miles from him; yet it pleaſed God ſo to order it which he took for a great mercy) that he heard not the leaſt noiſe of it, (the wind ſitting contrary) till the public work of the day was over; nor could he believe the report of a battle, till a ſoldier beſmeared with blood and powder came to witneſs it. From this very time his troubles encreaſed: now was he threatned by this, then by the other gariſon; one while he was a round-head, and then a malignant; frequently oppreſſed with ſoldiers that were quartered upon him, yet ſtill he kept his ſtation, and ſome of his gueſts would join with him in family duties, which he intermitted not when others would ſcoff at them, becauſe not mingled with book prayers.

Every Sabbath he held on the courſe of his miniſtry, and moſt of thoſe which quartered with him, being commanders and officers, they ſhewed themſelves civil to him, and his, only at one time there was a company who were ſo outragious in ſwearing and blaſphemy, that he could not forbear preaching upon that text, James v. 12. Above all things my brethren, ſwear not, &c. which ſo nettled ſome of them, that they damned themſelves to hell if they did not ſhoot him in caſe he preached again upon that text which they judged to be purpoſely choſen againſt them; the next Sabbath he proceeded purpoſely upon the ſame text, wherein he backed what he had ſaid before, and as he was preaching, he ſaw a ſoldier take his carabine, and fumble about the cock as if he was preparing to ſhoot; but Mr Harris, apprehending that he did it only to diſturb him, went through his work, and heard no more news of his ſoldier.

Thus he continued his labours in thoſe ſad times, and tho' he was choſen a member of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, yet becauſe upon ſerious thoughts, he judged his preſence leſs needful there than in the country, he continued his ſtation there, till he ſaw his tenements in the neighbourhood fired, wood, and nurſeries of wood deſtroyed, himſelf threatned, at laſt enforced by a Scotiſh commander, to ſhift for himſelf; yea ſome of his own neighbours were now ready to betray him, whereupon he went to London, and by God's good providence came thither in ſafety, tho, a ſad man.

When he came to London he went to the aſſembly, where he found much more undone than done: indeed he meet there with many excellent and learned men; but his thoughts were ſolicitous for his people, his wife and children, whom he had left behind: and indeed he found little reſt in his ſpirit, till the ſame good hand of providence had ſafely brought them unto him. Then went he with more comfort to the aſſembly, where he did *Antiquum obtinere*, hear all, and ſay little.

Upon his remove from his houſe, both his books and his notes (ſome few only accepted which he had carried away before hand) together with all his remaining goods, were ſeized upon, and his living given to another; but that might ſoon have been ſupplied, many offers being made to him, from ſeveral places, and country committees.

The firſt motion that he hearkened to was the temple; but upon trial, he found that church too large for his voice, and thereupon refuſed, and at laſt he was fixt to Buttolphs Biſhopſgate, where, though the congregation was too large for him, yet being neceſſitated to do ſomething for the maintenance of his family, he remained there, during his attendance upon the aſſembly.

After his continuance there for ſome time, himſelf with four more divines were commanded down to Oxford, which was then under ſuſpenſion by the parliament; which employment, he often profeſſed, that he did earneſtly decline, and that principally for two reaſons.

1. Becauſe the committee for Hampſhire, had given him a free call to Petersfield, and thither he would willingly have gone.

2. Having long diſcontinued from the univerſity, he looked upon himſelf as very unfit for ſuch a ſervice; but in concluſion he was plainly told, that ſuch as would not be entreated, muſt be commanded, and ſo he was ordered to prepare for his journey. This much troubled him, and therefore he firſt goes to Petersfield, and acquaints them how the caſe ſtood with him; and becauſe he could not come ſuddenly to them, he deſires them, either to pitch upon ſome other miniſter, or elſe to take the care upon themſelves, to provide ſupplies for both the churches (for two they were) and to pay the preachers out of the revenues of the place. The people liked neither of the offers, yet were content to wait a while in hopes, that he might come to ſettle with them, requeſting him in the mean while to provide them ſuch ſupply as himſelf ſhould approve of. This proved a troubleſome work to him, tho' for a time he ſent them help from Oxford, and thereabout; for preachers were now hard to be gotten, their being more want of miniſters, than of places; yet at laſt two were procured, the one of whom gave no good content. At laſt he was put upon it, either to relinquiſh Oxon, or Petersfield; the former he could not decline, and therefore he left the latter, tho' with great regret, becauſe he could not ſeal up ſuch reſpect and thanks, as he conceived was due from him to that country. Neither had he leſs trouble in providing for Buttolphs Biſhopſgate (it being no eaſy matter to pleaſe citizens) yet at the laſt they were ſupplied to their content.

About this time many libels were caſt abroad in Oxford againſt other preachers, and one among the reſt reflected upon Mr Harris, reckoning up his ſeveral livings, and great revenues, wherein they mentioned what was paſt, preſent, and to come, and happily if they had heard of the reſt, which at ſeveral times were offered him, they would have put them alſo into that catalogue: Mr Harris being informed hereof, he wrote to ſome friends (which letters are yet extant) wherein he vindicated himſelf in the main; yet withal he profeſſed unto others, that it would, and ſhould be to him matter of humbling, and caution to him whilſt he lived, that he had given the leaſt advantage to ſuch as ſought it; for tho' he ſtood clear in his own and others conſciences, who beſt knew him, that he was far from allowing non reſidency, and plurality of livings, yet for ſuch as were ignorant of all circumſtances, there was ſome appearances of evil; which alſo he took the more to heart, becauſe from that time forward he found the afflicting hand of God both upon him, and his.

The preachers that were ſent to Oxford found but ill entertainment; on the one hand they were aſperſed, and libelled againſt by their own mother's ſons; and on the other hand, they were challenged to a public diſputation by one Mr Erbery, a ſectary, and his aſſociates. Mr Harris was unwilling that his challenge ſhould be entertained, having obſerved that diſputes of that kind, ſend away each party more ſtrengthened in their opinions, than when they came thither; yet gave his concurrence, at leaſt ſo far with them, as to begin the work with prayer. This he condeſcended unto, and the diſputation proceeded; and the iſſue was, that all were cenſured, ſome for ſpeaking others for their ſilence, in which latter rank he was willingly placed.

Not long after, came the chancellor of Oxon (the earl of

of Pembroke) to visit the university, who, according to the custom, bestowed degrees upon some of the scholars, and amongst others, Mr Harris was admitted doctor of divinity, who yet, neither thought himself the better scholar, nor the better preacher for this new honour; and had it not been, that he was loth to slight the favour from his betters, he had refused it: having learned, 'that an empty hand from a prince, and a naked title from his chancellor, must be counted an honour.

At this time many headships of colleges (before made void) were now to be supplied, and Dr Harris professed, that seeing it was noised abroad, that the reforming preachers, came thither to play their own game, viz. to thrust out others, and to invest themselves with their places, he therefore resolved to keep to his old course; namely, to stand silent without opening his mouth for any headship at all, and presently the best places were all disposed of; neither was any thing spoken of for Dr Harris, till a nobleman, of the other university made mention of him, as not fit to be forgotten; whereupon Trinity college was assigned to him. This some of his friends much wondered at, considering that tho' he was the meanest in his own eyes, yet was he the oldest man, and one that had suffered more by the times than any, if not than all the rest; yet he himself said little to it, only he enquired who was the head that was ejected, and what was the nature of the place: for he was unwilling to entertain the profer, if the former head could find favour to hold it, and thereupon he forebore as long as he could be permitted; and as for the place, the smallness of the college, and the situation of it, gave him great content, who desired no more than what would keep him from distractions in his studies; and the only thing that he stuck at was, because there was a personage annexed to the college.

But when he understood that its distance from Oxford was not great, and the conditions easy, *viz.* that he was required to preach but eight sermons *per annum* at it, he the more willingly inclined to it, tho' after acceptance he could not satisfie himself under two sermons a week; and so at last there he sat down, and took much content in the fellows of that college, betwixt whom and him, there was ever a very fair correspondence.

At the personage, he found most of the people, (tho' they had been long taught) very ignorant, and much addicted to their old customs, (and which he looked upon as a sad prognostic to the place) no sooner did any there look heaven-ward in any special manner, but the Lord presently took him away, some few, and those very few excepted.

About this time a motion was made by the committee at Oxford of removing him to New college, which was now void; but as the motion began without him, so it was stifled by him, the rather, when he heard that some exception was taken above against him as being uncapable of that place, because he was not a Winchester scholar. The truth is, as he professed to some of his friends) he rather desired a little, than a great college, being one who was very much addicted to privacy and his book, which made him often say, 'That if Trinity college were a competency without the personage, he would not leave it for any place, except it were an hospital:' so much had he seen into the vanity and troublesomeness of the world.

In his latter days journies began to be tedious to him, which occasioned some well affected citizens in Oxford, who were moved thereunto by a sermon which Dr Cheynell preached unto them, to make some overtures to him of reading a catechism lecture, or of preaching upon the principles of religion, (which liked him best) in one of their churches; in consideration whereof, they would maintain him an assistant at his personage. The motion was good, the exercise needful: the only question was, how such a work would be accepted in such a place amongst the wits and scholars of the university; yet because he had bemoaned himself to God in private, bewailing that his comfort was little in the place where he preached, and made it his humble suit that God would not lay him aside, but find some employment for him, whilst he had ability to perform it; because, I say, he had prayed thus, and this motion presently ensued, he durst not reject it, but set upon the work, wherein the Lord assisted, giving him strength, even beyond what could be expected from a man of his age, and caused his labours to find great acceptance with his auditors: and thus he continued preaching once every Sabbath at his personage, and once in the week this lecture; besides which, he preached, when his turn came, in the university, and that both in English and in Latin also.

Yet we are not come to the end of his labours; for having now freed himself from worldly affairs, disposed of all his children, and having left himself nothing else to do, but to prepare himself and his wife for their graves, who had lived about fifty years together, it pleased God to exercise him in this strange manner.

His wife, who was born of parents eminently pious, had been religiously educated, and herself a constant worshipper of God all her time, who seldom rose from her prayers with dry eyes, was delivered up by God to Satan's buffetings, and to such hellish temptations and horrors of mind, as struck a grief and terror unto all the spectators, which occasioned him often to say, That God made it appear to all beholders, that the best man is no more than the Lord makes him hourly. For as the receiving of grace, so the keeping, using, the comfort and enjoyment of it, is all from him, which is not only true in supernatural graces, but in the gifts of nature also; our wits, senses, fancies, all are in God's hand; nor are the wisest men any thing longer than he pleases to continue them so.

This good woman was a sad instance of all this, whose temptations were so violent, so horrid, and withal so subtile, that they put the ablest and most experienced men to their wits end to answer them, and her poor self even beyond herself.

Whilst she was in this perplexed condition, sundry eminent preachers and professors visited her and her husband, who had been a happy instrument of satisfying many others, could give her no satisfaction.

One day as she was complaining that she could find no comfort, O! saith he, What an idol do some make of comfort, as if their comfort were their Christ?

In the midst of these trials, he yet took notice of these comforts and mercies; 1. That she was kept from blaspheming the Highest, (for so she called God) and from hurting herself and others. 2. That this affliction awakened him and his children; for they esteemed her the most conscientious and innocent amongst them all. 3. It put him upon more work than his age could well bear, that so he might call out his thoughts upon business, and not eat up his own heart with grief and care. And lastly, It wrought in him an holy despair of all creature comforts; for now he could neither enjoy child, nor friend, nor food, nor sleep, having her continually before him in his eye, ear, and heart; and all friends fearing to come in sight, lest they should wound themselves, or trouble her; only continual prayers were offered up for her upon all occasions, which gave hopes that the Lord might yet make her end comfortable, and conquest glorious.

However, her husband would often say, That the difference was not great, whether comfort came at death, or an hour after, since comfort would come assuredly. But leaving her under a general expectation of a blessed issue in the best time, we return once more to her husband now ready to enter into his haven of rest.

After a long and laborious life, which could not but be painful to him that underwent it, we come at length to his last, long, and painful sickness, which is the usual harbinger of death.

In the summer he began to droop, and finding his decay, he sent for two physicians, Dr Bathurst and Dr Willis, who were well known to him and his, by former experiences, and eminently known in the university; to whom he professed, that he used means merely in obedience to God, but for his own part he could live and durst die.

His physicians, as himself confessed, had proceeded so far as art and learning could carry them, but herein they would lose of their worth, that they had to deal with complicated diseases, which were seldom removed; but most of all with old age, a disease which was never cured. His first encounter was with a vehement pleuritical pain in his left side, which was attended with a fever, as also with a great

a great defluxion of rheum, and oppreſſion of his lungs with phlegm: and when, after divers weeks, all theſe aſſailants ſeemed well nigh vanquiſhed, through the tender care of his ſkillful phyſicians, yet then that enemy which had ſo long lodged in his boſom, brake forth into an empyema, which he expectorated daily in ſo great a meaſure, for the ſpace of two months, or more, that hereby (together with ſome fits of his old diſeaſes, the ſtone and ſtrangury, he was not able to ſpeak much to thoſe that viſited him.

And herein, indeed, it fell out according to what he had often foretold in his beſt ſtrength, viz. That little was to be expected from him on his death bed; which occaſioned him to write, fearing that his tongue might not then be able to utter it, his advice and counſel to his family many years before his death. The truth is, he the rather forbore to ſpeak, becauſe he perceived that ſome had a deſign to make his ſpeeches public, which he was utterly averſe to, neither would he conſent that any thing of his life or death ſhould be written: nay, he could never be perſuaded, at any time, to ſit that his picture might be drawn; ſo deſirous was he that all of him might be buried with him.

And albeit he ſpit up thoſe lungs which he had waſted in the pulpit, yet could not that light of grace be ſo ſmothered under a buſhel, but that oft times the beams thereof would ſhine forth, and himſelf would breathe forth himſelf in pithy ſpeeches and ſavoury diſcourſes.

In the beginning of his ſickneſs, being deſired to admit of company, he anſwered, 'I am alone in company; it is all one to me to be left alone, or to have friends with me; my work is now to arm myſelf for death which aſſaults me, and I apply myſelf, as I am able, for that great encounter.' And accordingly he ſpent his whole time in meditation, prayer, and reading the holy ſcriptures, eſpecially the book of Pſalms, the prophecy of Iſaiah, and St John's goſpel, taking exceeding delight in the 10. 14. 15. 16. and 17 chapters of that evangeliſt.

After which time his nights were long, and ſleeps ſhort; and when he could neither ſleep, nor ſit up in his bed to read, his manner was to command others to read to him, and then himſelf would collect the moſt uſeful things that were contained in the chapter, explaining ſuch things as were difficult, and ſweetly feeding upon the reſt.

His conſtant practice was, to exhort ſuch as either viſited, or attended upon him, above all things to get faith: 'It is (ſaith he) your victory, your peace, your life, your crown, and your chief piece of ſpiritual armour: how beit, get on all the other pieces, and then go forth in the Lord's might: ſtand to the fight, and the iſſue ſhall be glorious; only forget not to call in the help of your General, do all from him, and under him.

On the Lord's days, he would not hinder any from the public ordinances, for any thing that was to be done about him, till ſermons were ended, and then he would ſay, Come, what have you for me? (meaning ſomething of repetition) unto which he would attend with ſuch diligence, as that he would ſum up the heads of every ſermon, and ſay, 'O what excellent truths are theſe! lay them up carefully, you will have need of them.'

When friends came to viſit him, he uſed to ſay, I cannot ſpeak, but I can hear. And when he was aſked, Where his comfort lay? his anſwer was, 'In Chriſt, and in the free grace of God.'

One telling him, Sir, you may take much comfort in your labours, you have done much good, &c. his anſwer was, 'All is nothing without a Saviour; without him my beſt works would condemn me. Oh! I am aſhamed of them, being mixed with ſo much ſin! Oh! I am an unprofitable ſervant, I have not done any thing for God as I ought; loſs of time ſits heavy upon my ſpirit. Work, work apace; aſſure yourſelves nothing will more trouble you when you come to die, than that you have done no more for God who hath done ſo much for you.'

Sometimes he uſed thus to breathe out himſelf, 'I never in all my life ſaw the worth of a Chriſt, nor taſted the ſweetneſs of God's love in that meaſure as now I do.

When he was aſked, What ſhould be done for him? his anſwer was, 'Do not only pray for me, but praiſe God for his unſpeakable mercy unto me, and in particular, that he hath kept Satan from me in this my weakneſs. Oh! how good is God? entertain good thoughts of him, how ever it be with us, we cannot think too well of him, or too bad of ourſelves.

And this ſenſe of God's goodneſs was very deeply imprinted upon his heart to his very laſt; and therefore in all his wills, this legacy was always renewed, Item, I bequeath to all my children, and to their childrens children, to each of them a Bible, with this inſcription, 'None but Chriſt.'

Being upon a time viſited by two reverend doctors, his choice friends, who before they prayed with him, deſired him to tell them what he chiefly requeſted? he anſwered, 'I praiſe God he ſupports me, and keeps off Satan. Pray that I may hold out: I am now in a good way home, even quite ſpent. I am now at the ſhore, I leave you toſſing on the ſea. Oh! it is a good time to die in.'

Yet when his end approached nearer, being often aſked how he did? he anſwered, 'In no great pain. I praiſe God, only weary of my unuſeful life. If God hath no more ſervice for me to do here, I could gladly be in heaven, where I ſhall ſerve him better, freed from ſin and diſtractions. I paſs from one death to another, yet I fear none; I praiſe God I can live, and I dare die. If God hath more work for me to do here, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weak.'

Deſiring one to pray with him, and for him, that God would haſten the work, it was aſked, Whether pain, &c. put him upon that deſire? he anſwered, 'No: but I now do no good; and I hinder others, which might be better employed, if I were not: Why ſhould any deſire to live but to do God ſervice? Now I ceaſe from that, I do not live.

By this time the violence of his diſtemper diſabled him, and the advice of his phyſicians was, that he ſhould forbear ſpeech, yet he called upon thoſe which attended him, to read ſome part of the ſcriptures to him conſtantly; eſpecially he put one of his ſons that was with him to pray frequently; and whilſt his life and ſpeech laſted, he uſed to conclude all the prayers with a loud, Amen.

The nearer he approached to his end, the more he ſlumbered. Once when he awoke he found himſelf very ill; whereupon calling for his ſon, he took him by the hand, and ſaid, Pray with me; it is the laſt time in likelihood that I ſhall ever join with you. And complaining to him of his wearineſs, his ſon anſwered, There remains a reſt: to whom he replied, My Sabbath is not far off, and your's is at hand, 'ere that I ſhall be rid of all my trouble, and you will be eaſed of ſome.

At length his ruinous houſe, which only in obedience to the will of God had held out beyond his own deſires, and all mens expectations, from the heighth of ſummer till the depth of winter, comes to be diſſolved. About Saturday in the evening he began to ſet himſelf to die, forbidding all cordials to be adminiſtered, upon what extremity ſoever; and gave his dying bleſſing to his ſon, who only of all his children was preſent with him, and, upon his requeſt, enjoined him to ſignify, when he had opportunity, to that county where he had lived longeſt, That he had lived and died in that faith which he had preached and printed; the comfort whereof he now found. Something elſe he began to ſpeak, but his diſtempers interrupted his purpoſe, and from that time he never entertained any diſcourſe with man, only he commanded the eighth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans to be read to him; and herein God was exceeding good to him, in the return of thoſe petitions which had been put up for him that afternoon by thoſe two eminent divines, and his deareſt brethren before mentioned: for whereas his great diſtempers gave occaſion to fear his death would be exceeding painful, yet did it prove ſo eaſy, that his ſon and other attendants could but gueſs at the particular time of his departure: his breathings were eaſy, and even his eyes open and full of water; till at the laſt, having lifted them up towards heaven, they cloſed of themſelves, and his ſoul, without the leaſt motion of reſiſtance from the body, entered into everlaſting reſt, whilſt thoſe whom he left behind were entering upon the day of their reſt. For then he began a perpetual Sabbath in heaven, when they began theirs on

earth, betwixt twelve and one on Saturday night, Dec. 1658.

He died in a good old age, and full of days, having near lived fourſcore years: his loſs was much bewailed by the college, by the city, and whole univerſity of Oxford. He was, as all that knew him confeſſed, a man of admirable prudence, profound judgment, eminent gifts and graces, and furniſhed with all qualifications that might render him a compleat man, a wiſe governor, a profitable preacher, and a good Chriſtian.

Firſt, Look upon him as a Chriſtian, for that was his, and is every man's greateſt ornament: he was a man that had much acquaintance with God, much communion with him in private meditation and prayer, accounting thoſe his beſt days wherein he enjoyed moſt converſe with him.

In the time of his ſickneſs, one aſking him how he did? 'Oh! ſaith he, this hath been a ſweet day; I have had ſweet communion with God in Jeſus Chriſt.'

He was not like them who are all for promiſes and privileges, though in the mean time they neglect duties: he made them his exerciſe, but not his Chriſt: he was much in thoſe ſeverer parts of religion, as private humiliation, mortification, and ſelf denial, whereby he gained the conqueſt over himſelf. The truth is, he was (as far as is conſiſtent with human frailty) maſter of his corruptions, paſſions, reaſon, appetite, language, and all.

The Lord was pleaſed to work upon him in the primroſe of his life, though he certainly knew not either the preacher or ſermon whereby he was converted. His courſe was, in the days of his ſtricteſt examination, to ſet down in writing his evidences for heaven, ſometimes in propoſitions from ſcripture, other ſometimes in ſylogiſms, and theſe he often ſubſcribed to, in a book that he kept for that purpoſe.

But theſe evidence were beſt read by others in the courſe of his life, by his exact walking with God in piety, charity, humility, patience, and dependance upon him. He was far unlike to thoſe who ſit in Moſes's chair, and teach what themſelves practiſe not. He had well digeſted that father's precept to preachers, 'Either preach not at all, or live as you preach.

His life was a commentary upon his doctrine, and his practice the counterpan of his ſermons. What was ſaid of that precious biſhop Jewel was true of him, That he adorned a heavenly doctrine with a heavenly life. In a word, he did *vertere verba in opera*, he lived in religion, whilſt many only make it the ſubject of their diſcourſe. He was much more than he ſeemed to be, not loving to make a noiſe in the world, but accounting it better to do than to ſpeak.

In his works of charity to the poor, he was no leſs diſcreet than private. When he met with fit objects, his hand was more ready to give, than his tongue to proclaim it. Indeed he was no friend to idle, lazy, canting perſons, who live on the ſweat of other mens brows. Theſe he looked upon as the peſts of the common wealth, nor could he think it charity to relieve ſuch to the prejudice of the public, and to their own deſtruction. But God's poor, and the 'houſhold of faith' lay near his heart. Whoſoever ſhall ſurvey his large bills of weekly and quarterly allowances, beſides conſiderable ſums given to the poor miniſters, and eſpecially to their widows and orphans, who never knew whence it came, and ſhall add thereunto his legacies bequeathed in his will to charitable uſes, cannot (whatever others thought of him) but judge that his charity exceeded the ordinary proportion of his revenues.

Naturally he was of a ſtout and maſculine temper, yet through grace he attained a great meaſure of humility: he was mean and low in his own eyes, and had more undervaluing thoughts of himſelf than all the world beſides had of him.

He was very ſenſible of that enemy which he often complained of, viz. diſcouragement, which he uſed to ſay, The child of pride and unbelief. It muſt needs be acknowledged a great meaſure of humility that could keep a man lowly under ſuch abilities, attainments, and ſuch general applauſes as he met with in every place.

His uſual ſaying was, That he valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility under them: neither ſhould he expect much from any man, were his parts never ſo great, till he was broken with afflictions and temptations.

It was his obſervation, That the humbleſt preachers converted moſt ſouls, not the choiceſt ſcholars, whilſt unbroken.

He would ſometimes uſe this ſpeech, which though a ſeeming contradiction, yet hath it much truth in it, 'It is better to be an humble devil than a proud angel.'

He never affected popular applauſe, variety of pulpits, printing, &c. as one conſcious to himſelf of I know not what unworthineſs; neither ever came he thus abroad, but when by importunity he was called to it.

II. Conſider him as a man in his morals, whether in the government of himſelf in particular, or of his family, or his greateſt truſts; and in all you ſhall find him like himſelf, excellent, and almoſt without a parallel.

In regard of himſelf he was exactly temperate, confining himſelf to hours for diet, ſleep, &c. He would often ſay, That he would rather pour liquor into his boots, than into his mouth between meals.

He was a ſtrict obſerver of thoſe laws of ſobriety which St Paul had preſſed upon miniſters, and which himſelf, in his Drunkard's Cup had taught others. He uſed to eat ſeaſonably and ſparingly, which, without queſtion, was one great means of preſerving ſuch vigorous ſpirits to ſo great an age.

His only play time was Saturdays in the afternoon; then he uſed to unbend and diſburden himſelf by ſome innocent recreations, but only *ad ruborem*. He was a man of an excellent deportment and ſweet behaviour, whereby he won much upon all with whom he converſed. Grave he was without affectation, pleaſant without levity. Indeed he never loved to hear himſelf talk, and therefore by ſome was judged too reſerved; but when he knew with whom he had to do, he was communicative enough. No man was more candid, or fuller of civility; none more open or free to entertain or return diſcourſes. He was very cautious before he ſtruck a league of intimate friendſhip with any man; but when he had once choſen, he was cordial, firm, and conſtant; his head, hand, tongue, pen, feet, purſe, all were now no longer his own, but his friends.

It is ſaid of the French, that whatſoever cloaths they wear, whatſoever garb they accoſt you in, becomes them ſo well as if nothing elſe did; and a great critic in men, as well as in books, uſed to ſay of our doctor, that whatſoever he did or ſpake became him.

It was a rare thing to ſee him angry. If at any time the folly of others had diſcompoſed him, or their ſin had provoked, yet could he quickly command himſelf, and convert his paſſion into wholeſome inſtruction.

Tho' himſelf had great parts, both natural and acquired, yet would he never ſlight or undervalue, much leſs contemn, or diſcourage any whom he judged to be right in the main. He was very ſparing in his cenſures of others, gentle to all, and ſevere only to himſelf.

He had a ſpecial gift of forgetting injuries, but would offer none. His memory was never more faithful than in retaining civilities received, to which he would induſtriouſly make what proportionable returns lay in his power. He much feared leſt he ſhould give any occaſion of ſuſpicion that he either forgot, or neglected any, becauſe he could not readily recal mens names, which occaſioned him to ſay, 'That if he lived long he ſhould forget his own name, with him in Valerius.'

At meals his manner was to be ſociable and facetious; yet ſtill he took occaſion to enquire of the public, and how it fared with particular towns and families, whence he would always extract ſomething for matter of prayer or praiſe in his thankſgiving after meat.

In his family he had that qualification of a good biſhop mentioned by the apoſtle, 'That ruled well his own houſe.' He had an excellent method in the education of his children, which was this:

In general, his care was to maintain his authority over them; yet even that authority was equally tempered with

lenity and gravity. He loved them without fondneſs, and ruled them without rigour. In particular, ſo ſoon as they could uſe their tongues, they were made acquainted with the hiſtorical part of the ſcriptures. As ſoon as they could uſe their legs they were ſet to ſchool, and when they could remember any thing of a chapter read, or bring home any part of a ſermon, his care was to inſtruct them in the fundamentals of religion.

Their childhood being paſt, he would call upon them for the practice of religion, and was a diligent obſerver of their private performance of religious exerciſes, wherein their mother was no ſmall help to him.

When they grew up to more maturity, he diligently obſerved their capacities, inclinations, but eſpecially their conſtitutions, when he could gueſs at that ſin which was like to prove their *dilectum delictum*, their darling corruption: he accordingly ſuited their callings, ſo as that ſin might be leaſt nouriſhed, and moſt beaten down. The rule which he gave them was this, 'When you are youths chuſe your callings; when men chuſe your wives; only take me along with you: it may be old men may ſee further than you.' Thus, whilſt he condeſcended to them, and they ſubmitted to him, both parties were gratified.

Though he had a numerous iſſue, yet (through God's bleſſing upon his eſtate) he diſpoſed of them to no mean employments. Many he ſent to the univerſity; ſome to merchandize, &c.

To his ſons whom he bred in the univerſity, his rule was, 'Study work more than wages.' To thoſe whom he bred in the city, he would ſay, 'Do not waſte a halfpenny, and you will not want a penny.' And truly ſo well did they all improve, both his advice, and their own time and parts, that they became maſters of their particular callings, which miniſtered unto him no ſmall comfort.

He acknowleged it a great mercy to his dying day, that none of his children were blemiſhed, either in their bodies, or in their reputations. He was one of them in whoſe children that popiſh ſlander concerning the ungraciouſneſs of the children of the married clergy received a real confutation.

Many of his ſons he buried in their prime, ſome at home, others in foreign parts, and ſome died ſhortly after himſelf; yet all of them gave comfortable hopes to conclude, upon a rational charity, both by the pious letters of thoſe which died abroad, and from that particular account which they gave of themſelves who died at home, that they all meet in heaven; they which ſurvive need not this atteſtation.

Amongſt the dead there was Mr Thomas Harris of Magdalen college in Oxford, who was eminently learned beyond his age, an ornament to that noble foundation whereof he was a member; once the joy of his friends, and ſtill their ſorrow; and probably this arrow from God's hand ſtuck deep in the father's heart to his dying day.

For his ſervants; there are ſome yet living that ſerved him in his younger days, who ſtill bleſs God that ever they came under his roof, where they received the beginnings of grace, and ſuch a meaſure of knowlege, as kept them from warping in the late giddy times.

Whilſt he remained with his antient flock, his conſtant manner was, to keep a religious faſt before his adminiſtration of the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. And after he came to his ſmall college, he ſo prudently managed all his affairs, that he was both feared and loved. Indeed his government there was ſuch as cauſed a wonder; for whereas that college before was famous for factions, during his time there was never any complaint made to any viſitors; and no marvel, for the foundation there honoured him as a father, and he looked upon, and loved them, as his children, and accordingly he ſealed up his love to them in his laſt will and teſtament.

He called gifts, bribery, and hated the very ſhadow of it. Examples are known in the college of gratuities, refuſed long after fair and free elections.

But look upon him as a ſcholar, and there we have him in his proper element. Though he left the univerſity early, and preached conſtantly, yet being of a retired diſpoſition, a conſtant ſtudent, and endowed with great parts, he became maſter of all manner of learning to qualify a diviне in the ſacred languages, eſpecially in the Hebrew, he was very exact.

His 'Conciones ad Clerum,' declare him to have been a pure and polite Latiniſt: his firſt, which was preached and printed long ſince, hath undergone the teſt, and gained the approbation of all knowing men in that language; the younger, by full forty years, is of as good a complexion, and of as vigorous a conſtitution as its elder brother; and it is hoped that in due time it may be made as public.

What his abilities in diſputations were, hath upon ſeveral occaſions been made to appear in the college exerciſes in the chappel, where oft-times, in the unexpected abſence of the opponents, himſelf would, *ex tempore*, take up the cudgels, and make good their ground: in which exerciſes he approved himſelf a ſubtile, clear, and ready diſputant, without any grains of allowance either for his age or diſcontinuance.

Indeed his chiefeſt learning lay where he made leaſt ſhew of it in public, viz. in chronology, church hiſtory, councils, caſe divinity, and his inſight into the fathers: but his parts were beſt ſeen in the pulpit.

His gifts in prayer were much more than ordinary, wherein his affections were warm and fervent, his petitions pithy and ſubſtantial, his language pertinent, unaffected, and without tautologies. Oh! how would he raiſe up a dull and ſinking ſpirit! how would he warm a cold and frozen heart! how would he carry a man out of himſelf, and by degrees mount the ſoul heaven ward.

His ſermons in print are well known to the world, and 'his works praiſe him in the gates.' The particular excellencies of Nazianzen, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, Auſtin, Ambroſe, Bernard, ſeemed all to concenter in him. He taught rhetoric, to ſpeak in our mother tongue, and without falſehood or flattery, he may be ſtiled the Engliſh orator. His doctrines carried light with them, and his uſes heat; his reproofs were weighty, and his exhortations powerful. But enough of this, leſt we hear as he did, who ſpake much in commendation of Herculus, *Quis unquam vituperavit?* whoever diſpraiſed him? Yea, what either Chriſtian or ſcholar, but approved and commended him? If you would know the worth of his ſermons read them, though read, they come ſhort of what they were when preached; yea, read them again and again, endeavour to read them with the ſame ſpirit they were preached, and you cannot but acknowlege an excellency in them.

Amongſt his other excellencies in preaching, which were many, theſe were not the leaſt, that he could ſo cook his meat that he would make it reliſh to every palate: he could dreſs a plain diſcourſe, ſo as that all ſorts ſhould be delighted with it. He could preach with a learned plainneſs, and had learned to conceal his art. He had clear notions of high myſteries, and proper language to make them ſtoop to the meaneſt capacity.

His way in contriving and penning his ſermons was this.

1. He ſo contrived the parts of his text, and points of doctrine, as might afford him moſt ſcope in his application, wherein his, and indeed a ſermon's excellency, doth conſiſt; and therefore he uſed to ſay, 'That in a ſermon he contrived the uſes firſt: he did often handle the ſame texts, and the ſame points, and yet ſtill would pen new applications, which might be moſt ſuitable to the quality and condition of the auditory.

2. In penning: When he once began he would never take pen from paper, nor turn to any book, till he had written all. All his younger days, for about twenty years together he wrote all, and could without much difficulty preach the ſame *verbatim*. He was wont to ſay, that he had a fluid and wateriſh memory. 'I can, ſaid he, quickly remember any thing of my own, and as quickly forget it again.' Yet queſtionleſs his memory was vaſt and tenacious; for though ſometimes he had but ſhort notes in his Bible, and that but ſeldom, yet did he never uſe them, except when he preached a Clerum of late years, in which he ſometimes glanced upon his papers. His cuſtom was, preſently after he had heard a ſermon to write down the heads thereof, and he ſcarce either forgot or miſplaced any of them.

Upon

Upon faſt nights he would, by the ſtrength of his memory, repeat two, ſometimes three ſermons, that he had heard that day, in the ſame order as they were delivered.

Speaking with a friend about memories, he ſaid, that his memory never failed him; 'For, ſaid he, I durſt never truſt it.'

He uſed to ſay that a preacher had three books to ſtudy, 1. the Bible; 2. himſelf; 3. the people.

He looked much to the ordinance, and relation between paſtor and people, and would ſay, 'That preaching to them was but one part of the paſtor's duty: he was to live and die in them, as well as for and with them.

He complained much of ſome mens too large inſiſting upon the doctrinal parts of their point, whereby they left little or no room for application; and found that few, either in the cities or univerſities, bended themſelves to enlarge upon their uſes, which made their ſermons to differ little from divinity lectures; and though all preachers could not enlarge themſelves therein, yet he would often call upon them to accuſtom themſelves to it, as being moſt profitable.

He would often relate a paſſage of Mr Dod's concerning Mr Cartwright, who often in his days preached occaſionally at Hanwell, 'Me thought, ſaid Mr Dod, when I heard the doctrinal part of his ſermon, I was in heaven; but when he came to apply it, I ſometimes thought, that if I had been in his place, I could preſently have applied his point more cloſely. *Non omnia poſſumus omnes.*

Many young preachers reſorted to Dr Harris for counſel, both for direction in their private ſtudies, and in their ſermons; and he uſed to perſuade them, for many reaſons, to pen largely, and to keep their notes for all emergent occaſions, often commending Mr Dod's words to them, who profeſſed, That he would rather preach an old ſermon ten times, than ſpeak any thing new without preparation.

He would ſay, That he would have a preacher to exceed himſelf upon juſt occaſion, and not always to keep the ſame pace: yet did not that always hold in his own practice; for generally his hearers commended thoſe ſermons moſt, which coſt him leaſt; and himſelf would ſay, That he never came off with leſs comfort, and worſe content to himſelf, than when he was in appearance beſt provided for it: And he gave this reaſon, Not becauſe he had uſed ſuch diligence in preparing, for that was his duty; but becauſe he was then apteſt to depend upon himſelf, and to neglect his dependance upon God.

Many ſought to him for advice in chuſing divinity books, to whom he would open himſelf freely. Some he perſuaded to read Ames his Medulla, Tileni Syntagma, Bucanus, and ſuch like. To ſome others he would commend Aquinas his Sums, which Dr John Reynolds uſed to call, That abſolute body of divinity; Melchior Canus, and of late, Mr Bowles his Paſtor Evangelicus. But above all, he would call upon every one to read the text in the originals, and to analyſe chapters. This he perſuaded Mr Pemble to, and ſet him to practiſe it in the book of the preacher, or Eccleſiaſtes, which he accounted a very hard book, till he met with that brief, but pithy expoſition of that incomparable divine, Dr Edward Reynolds, and after that upon Zachary.

When any conſulted with him about writers, he would aſk what they aimed at in a writer, for ſeveral men had their ſeveral excellencies. For acuteneſs he uſed to commend Dr Bains, and his ſecond Dr Ames, Mr John Ball, Mr Capel, &c. If they aimed at the ſpiritual part of divinity, he would leave them to Dr Sibs; if the rational, to Dr Preſton; if the hiſtorical, to biſhop Uſher. For ſolid preachers, he much prized Dr Sanderſon's firſt works, to his latter he was a meer ſtranger. Mr Randal, Mr Hildersham, Dr Reynolds, &c. And for all the requiſites for a preacher, both for method, matter, elocution, pronunciation, he would often ſay, that he ſeldom met with an abler man than his brother Whatley of Banbury.

When his judgment was aſked about commentators, he uſed to anſwer, that he was now more of Dr John Reynolds his mind, than ever concerning Mr Calvin; for upon experience, ſaith he, 'I find, that the moſt of the late writers do but deſcant upon his plain ſong; and the Jeſuits are very plagiaries, who firſt rob him, and then rail upon him.

Next to Calvin, he uſed to commend ſundry late writers, as Pareus, Rivet, Mr Cartwright eſpecially, together with ſome popiſh writers, as Maldonate, whoſe wit and learning he preferred before his ſpirit, learned Maſius, modeſt Ribera, and for ought he found by him honeſt Eſtius. And being aſked about the beſt editions, his anſwer was, that what was ſaid of Homer, was true of the fathers, and the firſt popiſh writers, viz. 'That was ever the beſt editions which was leaſt corrected.' Of the ancient fathers he would ſay, 'That unleſs it were for their polemical and hiſtorical parts, their writings were more for devotion and affection, than for their judgment and underſtanding.'

About modern authors this was his opinion generally, That what Engliſh men did *ex profeſſo* undertake, they did beſt perform it. No men excel them in expounding ſcriptures, in anſwering Papiſts, Armenians, &c. And he held Cambridge very happy in her Whitakers, Downams, Davenant, Perkins, beſides many others. And for Oxford, he would lay one John Reynolds, to paſs in ſilence, younger Reynolds, and his ſon in law born a ſchoolman in the ballance with hundreds, as a man never ſufficiently admired for his humility as well as for his learning.

For the ſchoolmen, he liked many things in them, but not their aukward and ignorant quoting of ſcripture, nor their multiplying of uſeleſs queſtions with needleſs obſcurities.

For Lutherans, he commended divers of them for their learning and induſtry, but diſliked their tartneſs.

For Arminius, though he were none of the beſt, yet he liked him better than his diſciples and ſucceſſors, who were more deſperate and dangerous in the five controverted points, than many of the Papiſts.

As for Socinianiſm, he accounted it to be but a kind of blancht Mahometiſm. And this he obſerved in general, that thoſe Papiſts, who were moſt converſant in the Scriptures, come neareſt to us; the like he ſaid of the Lutherans, as Chemnitius, Gerard, Hemingius, &c.

He was ſparing to deliver his judgment about our condition at home, yet ſome things lay ſadly upon his ſpirit; as,

1. He complained, that the power of godlineſs, and exerciſe of love and ſelf denial, were much abated in thoſe latter days; and he much bewailed the vaſt difference, both in garb and practice, betwixt new and old profeſſors.

2. That the indulgence that was ſhewed to tender conſciences, was much abuſed to prophaneneſs, whilſt men of no conſcience moſt pleaded that liberty of chuſing their own churches and teachers; and, indeed on the matter abandoned all.

3. That the liberty of prophefying which ſome pretended to, was abuſed to meer licentiouſneſs and confuſion, whilſt ſome would have none, and others all prophets and preachers.

4. That, in the univerſity, few could be called conſtant ſtudents, but the moſt made a ſhort work of it, and poſted into the pulpit before they underſtood their grounds, ſo that few were able to encounter our growing errors.

5. That the church men were in their extreams, ſome preaching nothing but law, others preaching but the goſpel and Chriſt.

6. He complained of the want of catechiſing, and inſtructing youth in the principles, the want of which, he ſaw by experience was a great occaſion of the peoples giddineſs.

7. But moſt of all, he bewailed the readineſs of many to ſide and make diviſions. He loved not either to uſe or to hear uſed, dividing names and titles; upon which occaſion, he often related Mr Greenham's anſwer to the Lord treaſurer Cecil, who being aſked on which ſide the blame lay in that great rent between the biſhops and their antagoniſts, anſwered, 'That the fault was on both ſides, and in neither ſide: for, ſaid he, the godly wiſe on both ſides bear with each other, and concenter in the main; but then there be ſelfiſh, peeviſh ſpirits, on both ſides ſome, and theſe be they that make the quarrel. This

This he applied to our times, by reaſon of the diſtinction of Preſbyterians and Independents, ſaying, 'Men of humble and ſincere hearts, though differing in opinion, can, and do walk together, pray together, and love one another; but men who wholly look at their own intereſts, blow the coals, and make a ſtir, as if the opinions were irreconcileable, and as every one was diſaffected to Chriſt's cauſe that goes not their pace and path.'

He profeſſed freely, that for his part he was not convinced of ſome things that were earneſtly preſſed about Church-government; he did not conceive any one external form to be ſo eſſential to a church, but that it might ſtill deſerve that name, though under a Preſbyterian, or Independent, or Epiſcopal form, ſo long as it was kept within the bounds of thoſe general rules laid down in Scriptures. It is true, ſome of theſe had been abuſed to tyranny, and the reſt of them might be abuſed alſo; but the uſe and abuſe of things are far different, and he would not commend either the one or the other, in their rigid exactions in ſome caſes.

For Preſbytery, though he thought that Biſhop Bilſon could never (with all his learning) diſprove the being of Lay Elders in the apoſtles times, yet he thought withal, that it was not ſo eaſy a thing to prove the perpetuity of ſuch an ordinance to the world's end, eſpecially ſo clothed and attended with all thoſe perquiſites which ſome heretofore call'd for. He thought, that there was ſome reaſon in the diſtinction of *Jure Humano*, and *Juris Humani*, whatever his application was who firſt uſed it: but for the thing itſelf, ſith it is not altogether diſproved but allowed, yea, once commanded, and not ſince retracted (for ought he knew), he ſaw no reaſon why any man ſhould *eo nomine*, be aſperſed, becauſe a Preſbyterian, by any diſſenting brethren.

For the other of Independency, he confeſſed that it was a politic way, and free from much trouble and oppoſition: For who ſhall oppoſe the miniſter, when all are of the mind before they are admitted? Yet could he never ſatisfy himſelf, though upon occaſion he often deſired it in ſome particulars; as,

1. What warrant men have to take out of another's flock, his beſt ſheep, and to entertain them without their conſent or teſtimony. He aſks, whether any man would willingly be ſo ſerved? Whether this would not open a gap, that ſo ſoon as a member is offended with his own paſtor (happily upon deſerved reproof) preſently to fly to another congregation.

2. To leave the cullen ſheep in a hard condition: For how ſhall they be looked upon? The anſwer muſt needs be little better than heathens: For the miniſter may preach to ſuch, and what more may he do to theſe, when the chief are gone?

3. This way ſeemed to him, to be very deſtructive to that relation between paſtor and people.

4. He conceived this way of gathering of churches into private places and companies, to be prejudicial to the public worſhip of God: Experience declaring, that in many places of late the public ordinances are grown into diſuſe, preaching only excepted, which might be afforded to Canibals, if they would hear.

5. Laſtly, For congregations, to conſiſt of members at ſuch a diſtance, as that one ſhould live in the North, and another in the South, &c. many miles aſunder, whereby inſpection cannot be performed on the paſtors part; and on the peoples part, they can enjoy little communion and edification one from another; this, he uſed to ſay, that he did not underſtand, nor could he find any precept for it in the word, nor any preſident or practice of it in antiquity, if we ſpeak of churches conſtituted, and out of perſecution, baniſhment, &c. Theſe things he neither wrote, nor ſpake, but with much fear and grief.

Amongſt other things, he did very much bewail the great ſlighting of ſolemn ordination of Miniſters, the office being ſo ſacred, the work of the miniſtry ſo important, and the Miniſter of ſo public concernment. He wondered that when, as in all other offices, there is ſuch ſolemnities at the officers inſtalments, that a Miniſter, and embaſſador of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould be ſilently admitted without faſting, prayer, and ſome public ſolemnity.

As to private paſſages, it were endleſs to write all his obſervations: only take theſe few.

He obſerved, that ſuch as often changed their principles and faith profeſſedly, uſually fell from Scepticiſm to Atheiſm.

That ſo much humility as any man had, ſo much grace and worth he had, and no more.

That nothing was to be accounted good in, or to any man, but that which was his proper fruit, and done by vertue of his calling, from a principle of God, and for God.

That the beſt man hath no ſecurity from any one ſin, or fall, or temptation, any further, or longer, than he was held up by God's hand, and Chriſt's mediation.

That God doth oftentimes leave us to own Satan's ſuggeſtions for our own, becauſe we do not own God in his holy motions and breathings.

That it is juſt with God, to deny us the comfort of our graces, when we deny him the glory of them.

In himſelf he obſerved, that what he forgat in the week would unſeaſonably preſs in on the ſabbath; ſo that he could, if he durſt, contrive more wordly buſineſs on the Sabbath, than he could diſpatch all the week.

That he found no greater enemy than diſcouragement, which he called, 'The child of pride and unbelief.'

He uſed to ſay, that ſome duties which were oft in mens mouths, he found very difficult to him: As,

1. To deny himſelf in all his ſelfs, was a work to be learning whilſt he lived.

2. To live only by faith, and a bare promiſe without a pawn, is a great work.

3. To give all to free grace, and to Chriſt alone, is a mighty work.

4. To love where we meet with unlovingneſs, and contempt, is no eaſy matter.

5. To do ones proper work without ſome preſent pay, and countenance from God and man is a hard task.

6. That it's far harder to adopt others comforts, than their ſorrows, and to hold one's ſelf exalted in another's exaltation.

7. That to die in cold blood, and to be active in it, as an act of obedience, is the work of a Chriſtian.

In his ſickneſs he would occaſionally vent himſelf thus:

It's a hard thing to think ill of ourſelves, and well of God at the ſame time.

It's a hard thing for a ſaint to forgive himſelf ſome faults when God hath forgiven them.

It's hard to think holy thoughts long, and to confine them to another's prayers.

We know but little of Chriſt's love, till all be perfected, and ſpread before us in heaven.

For his children he referred them to an old will which he had made, *Anno Chriſti* 1636, when they were many and ſmall, which becauſe it may be of uſe to many others it's here inſerted.

The advice and counſel of DR HARRIS *to his Family annexed to a Will made by him,* Anno Chriſti 1636.

To my dear Wife and Children.

My dear ſelfs, I know not what kiſure I ſhall have to ſpeak unto you at my death, and I am not, you know, very free in ſpeech, eſpecially in ſickneſs and ſadneſs, and therefore now I will ſpeak my heart to you, and I would have you to hear me ſpeaking whilſt you live, in this my writing which I divide among you all.

Firſt for you, my dear wife, you ſhall find the ſubſtance of that I would ſay to you, printed to your hand in the book of martyrs, vol. 2. p. 1744. to wit, in John Careleſs his letter to his wife; keep the book, and often read the letter; only one thing I add, if you marry again, remember your own obſervation, *viz*, that ſecond husbands are very uxorious, ſecond wives very prevalent, and therefore take heed that you do no ill office in eſtranging your huſband from his natural children or kindred; you ſhall thereby draw upon him a great ſin and judgment, if you kill in him natural affections: I have ſaid, and do withal the ſtrength and power that is in me, thank you for your faithfulneſs, and reſign you to the huſband of huſbands, the Lord Chriſt.

Now

Now my poor children, let me pour out my heart to you, and ſpeak to your ſouls firſt.

For your Souls.

Triffle not in the main point; the ſoul is immortal, you have to deal with an infinite majeſty, you go upon life and death, therefore here be ſerious; do all to God in a ſerious manner. When you think of him, ſpeak of him, pray to him, any way make your addreſſes to his great Majeſty, be in good earneſt, 'and have God, and have all.'

1. More particularly, get your pardon in Chriſt: It is not impoſſible to get it aſſured to you, if you will learn, 1. To deny yourſelves. 2. To live by faith. 3. To underſtand the nature of the new covenant. Settle your judgment in theſe points, and the thing is feaſible.

2. Having gotten it, be ſtill adding to your evidences, and enjoy your preſent aſſurance; do all to God as to your Father.

Next to this, think how you and I ſhall endure the light, the thought one of another at the laſt day, if you appear in the old Adam: much leſs ſhall you ſtand before Chriſt, unleſs you ſhew the image of Chriſt, in you, and therefore never ceaſe till you be made new creatures, and ſtudy well what that is.

In the laſt place ſtrive for thoſe graces moſt, which concern your places and conditions, and make head againſt thoſe ſins which moſt threaten you: as firſt hereditary ſins. I was naturally melancholly, that is a humour that admits of any temptation, and is capable of any impreſſion and diſtemper. Shun as death this humour, which will work you to all unthankfulneſs againſt God, unlovingneſs to man, and unnaturalneſs to yourſelves. 2. Of your times and habitations. 3. Of your tempers and age. 4. Of your callings.

I have made my own peace, my ſins ſhall not hurt you, if you make them not yours; you need not fear the ſucceſs if you will oppoſe to ſin; Chriſt is made ſanctification to you, he came to diſſolve the works of Satan; he hath overcome for you, and hath made as many promiſes for your ſanctification, as your juſtification: gather thoſe promiſes as they be ſet down eſpecially in the covenant with an oath, Luke 1. Preſs theſe to God, 2 Cor. vii. 1.

In ſhort, do not talk and make a noiſe to get a name of forward men, but do the thing; be conſtant in ſecret duties, and act religion in your callings; for it is not a name, or notion; it is a frame of nature and habit of living by divine rule. What it is, you will then know, when you have it in truth firſt, and in power next, and not before. Only this for the preſent; it is that you muſt live and die by, that you muſt riſe and reign by; therefore, my children, I give you that advice, which I gave your brother, now with God; be more than you ſeem: do more than you talk of in point of religion: ſatisfie your own conſciences in what you do; all men you ſhall never ſatisfie; nay, ſome will not be ſatisfied, though they be convinced.

For your Bodies.

I was troubled with ſtraitneſs of breath and breaſt, which was alſo hereditary, and therefore you muſt fear it the more.

The remedies are, 1. Diſclaim hereditary ſins. 2. Keep hands clean, feet warm, and hearts cheerful. 3. Be more frequent than I and your brother, in exerciſe 4. Shun late drinking and ſtudying. 5. Uſe lighter ſuppers.

For your Callings.

1. Chooſe well, 1. A profitable calling for the public, 2. A full employment. 3. A calling fit for your parts and means. It is better to be a rich cobler, than a poor merchant.

2. Uſe a calling well. 1. Make it an help, not a ſnare to your ſouls. 2. Be 1. Diligent. 2. Skilful. Any honeſt calling will honour you, if thus you honour it; and therefore you may be hopeful, becauſe my ſelf (who had not your parts and helps) never found any thing too hard for me in my calling, but diſcouragement and unbelief.

For your Company.

Abandon all infectious, flattering, ſelf-ſerving companions; when once you have found them falſe, truſt them no more. Sort with ſuch as are able to do, or receive good. Solomon gives you the beſt counſel for this in many places. Read the Proverbs, and remember him in this; 1. Forſake not an old friend. 2 Be friendly, and faithful to your friends. 3. Never trouble or truſt friends unleſs there be a neceſſity. 4. and laſtly, Be long in cloſing with friends, and loath to loſe them upon experience of them.

For your Marriages.

In marriage you lay the foundation of your preſent woe, or weal; therefore here be not raſh, go not alone, yet remember Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 2. Firſt ſtudy whether you have a calling to marry yea or no, and adviſe well of that. If none, forbear; if ſo, adviſe with friends, before your affections be engaged, In your choice, 1. Aim at grace. 2. Good nature and education; The beſt woman is not ever the beſt wife. 3. Good parts of underſtanding, houſewifery, &c. As for portion, be it more or leſs, be upon certainties, and truſt not to words; and for parentage, let not the diſtance be too great, leſt you deſpiſe, or be deſpiſed: however be ſure that the perſon likes not your fancy, but your judgment.

For your Children.

Make it your chiefeſt work to make them, 1. Godly. 2. Uſeful. Beſtow moſt of their portions in good education; and if grace make no difference, do you make none in your affections, countenances, portions; partiality, this way ends in nothing elſe but envy, ſtrangeneſs, &c.

For your ſelves within your ſelves.

My deſire hath been to carry an even hand over you all, and have laboured to reduce you, as near as I could (all circumſtances conſidered) to an equality, and therefore my laſt requeſt and charge is, that you will live together in an undivided bond of love; you are many of you, and if you join together as one man, you need not want any thing: what counſel, what comfort, what money, what friends may you not help your ſelves unto, if you will contribute your aids? wherefore, my dear children, I pray, beſeech, command, adjure you, by all the relations and dearneſs that hath ever been betwixt us, that you know one another, viſit (as you may) each other, comfort, counſel, relieve, ſuccour, help, admoniſh one another. Whilſt your mother lives, meet there (if poſſible) yearly. When ſhe is dead, pitch upon ſome other place; if it may be, your eldeſt brother's houſe; or if you cannot meet, yet ſend to, and hear from one another yearly. And when you have neither father nor mother, be ſo many fathers and mothers each to other, ſo you ſhall underſtand the bleſſing mentioned, Pſal. cxxxiii.

For your Eſtates,

Be not troubled that you are below your kindred; get more wiſdom, humility, goodneſs, and you are above them; only this do. 1. Study work more than wages. 2. Deal with your hearts to make them leſs. 3. Begin below. 4. Join together to help one another. 5. Reſt upon the promiſes, which are many, and precious this way. 6. Sow mercy. Take of your mother (to this end,)---a piece: give that in works of mercy, and if all other means fail you, that ſhall maintain you; I know I know, I ſay, and I am confident in it, that if ye will be humbled for my barrenneſs, and will truſt God in his own way, he will make comfortable proviſion for you. Object no more, but truſt him.

For the Public.

Bleſs God that ye are born Engliſh men, and bear your ſelves dutifully, and conſcionably towards authority, See God in the magiſtrate, and hold order a precious thing: and for the church, neither ſet her above her husband Chriſt, nor below her children; give her that honour, obedience and reſpect that is her due; and if you will be my children, and heirs of my comfort in my dying age, be neither authors, nor factious of any, either faction, or novelty. It's true, this is not a riſing way, but it is a free, fair, comfortable way for a man to follow his own judgment without warping to either hand. Perhaps you may hear variety of judgments touching my walk, when I ſleep in ſilence; ſome taxing me with too much, ſome for too little conformity; but be not ye troubled: I did

what in my circumſtances ſeemed beſt to me, for the preſent; howſoever the event hath not in ſome points anſwered expectation, yet I have learned to meaſure things by another rule than events, and ſatisfy my ſelf in this, that I did all for the beſt, as I thought. Sure I am, my Saviour Chriſt is perfect, and never failed ſo much as in circumſtance. To him I commit your ſouls, bodies, eſtates, names, lives, deaths, all; and my ſelf waiting when he ſhall 'change my vile body, and make it glorious' like unto his own, 'Amen even ſo come Lord Jeſus, Amen.'

On the Memory of that famous and godly Miniſter Dr ROBERT HARRIS, *my late worthy Friend.*

'AS once Elias in John Baptiſt came
Back to the Jews, in that triumphant flame
Of light and zeal, wherein he did before
Without death's help up into glory ſoar;
And by this tranſmigration of his grace,
Prepared paths before his maſter's face:
Even ſo in thee (bleſt ſoul) did breathe anew
Great Chryſoſtom, yea great Apollos too;
To thee thoſe mighty orators did give
Their tongues to ſpeak, to thee their life to live:
Nay, thou thy ſelf didſt in thy ſelf renew,
Thy forty's vigour in fourſcore we knew
When all thy ſtrength decay'd, thy gifts did thrive;
The man is dead, the preacher ſtill alive;
Alive in his own ſermons, in our love,
His name alive below, his ſoul above.
And may the younger prophets ſtill inherit
A double portion of the father's ſpirit;
That by a ſacred Metempſychoſis,
The gifts may now be theirs, which once were his;
That every ſermon which we hear, may be
(Rare preacher) a true portraiture or thee;
Yea, may it of each following age be true,
The former are exceeded by the new;
Viſions of young ſurpaſs old prophets dreams,
The Father's lights, outſhin'd by childrens beams,
That in their meaſures we may more, and more,
Th' unmeaſur'd fulneſs of our Lord adore.

E. REYNER.

The Life and Death of Mrs JANE RATCLIFFE, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1638.

MRS JANE RATCLIFFE was born of good parents, who were morally civil, and moderately religious, according to the temper of the times wherein they lived: her uncle was Mr Edward Brerewood, a learned profeſſor in Greſham college London. In her younger years ſhe was rather civil than religious, and ſometimes rather merry than civil; yet lightſome without lightneſs, or immodeſty: though too much delighted with dancing, ſtage-plays, and other public vanities, according to the cuſtom of young folks, eſpecially in thoſe times when theſe things were ſo thought of, that they were admitted to be acted in the churches. But it pleaſed God, according to the election of grace, in due time to call her by the miniſtry of Mr Nicolas Byfield, who was a powerful, and a profitable preacher of God's word at that time in the city of Cheſter; which alſo was ſeconded by the afflicting hand of God, who took away her firſt child (which ſhe much took to heart) but God made it an occaſion to make her his own child by adoption and grace. For from that time the means of grace had a more kindly operation upon her, which made her ever after more to mind her Father in heaven, than any child ſhe had upon earth.

Yet at firſt, ſhe rather feared God than loved him, whence were engendred many perplexing ſcruples in her ſoul, which for the preſent were very grievous unto her: for her ſpirit was ſore wounded, and 'a wounded ſpirit who can bear?' Prov. xviii. 14. The truth is, the pangs of her new birth were ſo painful, and bitter, and ſometimes ſo terrible, that it was a difficult thing to faſten any comfort upon her. But after the Lord had chaſtned her ſoul with his ſevere diſcipline, and thereby had prepared her for a cure, he ſhewed himſelf her moſt favourable and effectual phyſician, according to that, Job. v. 18. 'He maketh ſore, and bindeth up; he wounds, and his hands make whole. For he quieted her troubled ſpirit, and ſettled it in the aſſurance of his love.

Being thus, through God's goodneſs, converted, and comforted, it pleaſed him to beſtow many excellent endowments upon her, both intellectual and moral. For by her frequent, and attentive hearing of ſermons, and reading good books, the Bible eſpecially (unto which ſhe was addicted with an incredible deſire and delight) and by moving queſtions to ſuch as ſhe thought beſt able to anſwer them, ſhe became an excellent proficient in the moſt ſound, and uſeful points of religion: yet took ſhe not upon her to teach any but her own children and ſervants, though an Apollos might not have diſdained to learn of ſuch a Priſcilla, Acts xviii. 22.

She meddled but little in worldly matters, and when ſhe did, ſhe little minded them: yet, (ſhadowing her ſelf from acquaintance with the world) ſhe ſhined gloriouſly in her knowlege of God, and heavenly matters.

As ſhe had occaſion to converſe with others, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf a very prudent Abigail: 'The word of God as St. Paul preſcribeth) dwelt richly in her in all wiſdom, which appeared in her ſpeech, in her ſilence, in her carriage, and in her actions.

In her ſpeech, for as the ſame apoſtle requireth, 'being enriched both in knowlege and utterance, 1 Cor. i. 5. 'She opened her mouth with wiſdom, as that rare woman,' Prov. xxxi. 26. having, (as St. Jerome dictated to Celantia) thought beforehand what ſhe ſhould ſpeak: and while ſhe was yet ſilent, forecaſting that ſhe might ſay nothing which afterwards ſhe would wiſh to be unſaid again; and ſo ſhe was fitted, and well prepared either to counſel or to comfort: to reprove, or to plead for, as there was occaſion.

Yet ſhe was not (as ſome women would have been, with her abilities, and ſome without them have been) obſtreperouſly talkative, nor affected by her words to make any oſtentation of her wit, or other good parts: but very ſparing of her ſpeech, ſo that ſhe was as much obſerved for her ſilence, as for her diſcreet diſcourſe when there was juſt occaſion, and opportunity. For ſhe had learned, That 'in multitude of words there wants not ſin, Prov. x. 19. That 'whoſoever keeps his mouth and his tongue, keeps his ſoul, Prov.' xxii. 23. That 'death and life are in the power of the tongue,' Prov. xviii. 21. That 'tatling women' are condemned by the apoſtle, 1 Tim. v. 13. That 'of every idle word, account muſt be given at the day of judgment,' Mat. xii. 36. And that they who profeſs religion, and 'refrain not their tongues, their religion is vain,' James i. 26. This moved her with David, to reſolve, that her 'mouth ſhould not offend,' Pſalm xvii. 3.

Certainly ſuch ſilence as ſhe uſed, (in thoſe that know how to ſpeak) is an argument of wiſdom: For 'a wiſe man, ſaith Solomon, and it is as true of a woman, holdeth his peace, Prov. xi. 12. And 'he that refrains his lips is wiſe,' Prov. x. 19. And ſo far was ſhe from ſpeaking ill, eſpecially of the abſent, or of her betters, that St. Jerom's precepts to Celantia, was ſet forth in her practice, which was rather to look to her own life, than to carp at anothers. And ſhe well knew, that where corrupt communication is reſtrained, there that which is good to the uſe of edifying is required: yet was ſhe ſo wiſe, and wary even in the uſe of good words, as to obſerve when and where, and before whom to uſe them, and the ſeaſon when to give over, as well as when to begin her diſcourſe.

She gave further proof of her prudence in her carriage and behaviour, and biſhop Hall in his contemplations makes this a very good proof of wiſdom. 'There are ſome, ſaith he, whoſe ſpeeches are witty, while their carriage is weak; whoſe deeds are incongruities, whilſt their words are apothegms. It is not worth the name of wiſdom that may be heard only, and not ſeen. Good diſcourſe is but the froth of wiſdom: the pure, and ſolid ſubſtance of it is, well framed actions. And according to this we may commend her converſation for prudence in practice

practice, above that which she shewed either in the use, or restraint of her tongue; for, as St Jerom saith, 'She taught others more by her example than by her speech,' much more then by her silence. She was a woman of a well composed spirit, discreetly advised, framing her affairs by good direction of grace and reason, without any direction of humour and passion, which bare no sway over her at all, and very seldom had any shew or appearance in her; but when discretion told her it was fit to make use of them for due advertisement to others, then she would order it with such moderation, as that neither her words, nor her looks, nor her gestures, carried any colour of contradiction to her prudence and piety: so that her wisdom was a protection to the reputation of her piety against all scornful reproaches; yea, it was a promotion of the Christian profession to more estimation in her person, and for her sake.

And though she was singularly gifted, yet was she far from their disposition, who think they do nothing well unless they be singular: and though she had less to do with worldly matters than most would have had in her condition, yet therein also she gave that proof of prudence which Solomon observeth, Prov. xiv. 1. 'A wise woman, saith he, builds her house:' for she was very provident in managing her family affairs, both whilst she was married, and when she was a widow also.

Now from her intellectual parts, let us pass to her moral, and we shall find, that though she had a very good head, richly stored with ingenious and religious notions, yet she had a far better heart more abundantly furnished with excellent graces, whereof we will single out some.

1. For her faith, which is the hand that turneth the key to un lock the store house of divine beneficence: this appeared by a paper written with her own hand, wherein she did set down the articles of her own faith, in full, plain, and perspicuous terms, with pertinent proofs of scripture to every point, and then she maketh particular application thereof to herself, as thus:

I Do believe the scriptures to be the very word of God, 2 Tim. iii 16. 2 Pet. i. 21 and I have found them true me by the witness of God's Spirit, which I have felt testifying of them, and by the unutterable comfort which I have received by them, wonderfully refreshing my heart when it was in the deepest distress, whereby God hath made them so good unto me, that I account them 'better than thousands of gold and silver,' Psal. cxix. 72.

I do believe that God made man at first 'after his own image,' Gen. i. 26. which image did chiefly consist in 'knowlege and holiness,' Eccles. vii. 29. Eph. iv. 24. and out of admiration of this image, I do long for that time when I shall be satisfied with it, Psal. xvii. 15.

I do believe that all mankind hath sinned, 1 Kings viii. 46. and that the nature of man is stained with sin from the birth, Psal. li. 5. I know, and must acknowlege, that the cause of all the afflictions which do befal me in this life, is in myself, and I know no cause to murmur at my crosses when I look upon my sin.

I do believe that Jesus Christ is God, and my God, Psal. lxviii. 20. for he is full of grace to supply my wants; a counsellor to direct me in my doubts; almighty to defend me; and an everlasting Father, to love, pity, and bear with mine infirmities, and to spare me; a Prince of Peace, to perform reconciliation with his Father for me, and to fill me with the 'peace which passeth all understanding,' and that he will establish and order me henceforth and for ever.

I do believe that the passion of Christ was by the eternal decree and appointment of God, Acts ii. 23. and that his sorrows were sustained for our sins, and for our sakes, so as he bore all our iniquities, 1 Pet. ii. 24. and that in his own person he fulfilled and finished all sufferings needful for our salvation, 1 Pet. iii. 18. and that his passion, so grievous as cannot be imagined, is a sufficient price for the sins of the world, John ii. 29. Therefore why should not I be willing to suffer any thing for his sake, that hath suffered so great things for me: and say, with St Paul, 'God forbid that I should rejoice in any thing but in the cross of Christ.' I will for ever trust in him; and rely upon him as the life of my life, and as to me both in life and death, advantage. And having such a proof of the infinite love of God to me, in not sparing his own son, but giving him up to death for me, shall I ever doubt of my freedom from condemnation, such a price being paid for the discharge of my debts by such a surety?

I do believe that Christ overcame sin, death, the grave, and hell, and rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God in majesty, Rom. i. 4. and that he hath purchased his church by his blood, and that he is a lawgiver to his church, Jam. iv. 12. which is gathered by his voice, John xvii. 9. separaten from sinful society with the world; for she is an holy church, Eph. v. 25. yet dispersed over the world, for she is catholic, Eph. i. 10. And though catholic and dispersed, yet but one, Eph. iv. 4. knit unto Christ by an undissolvable union, Col. i. 18. And I am sure that I am a member of this church, for I am called out of sinful communion with the world by the voice of the ministers of Christ, who are in his stead, and separated from it by the power of the word; and I do rely upon Christ's merits for righteousness and salvation. I do not delight in the society of the wicked, but in theirs who fear him, whom I love with sincere affections, as the most worthy people of the world. And whatsoever I want of an holy life, yet I do not live after my old evil conversation, but I constantly endeavour to be more and more holy. What thanks shall I give unto God, who hath 'called me out of darkness into his marvellous light,' and saved me from the common condemnation of the world? O the depth of the love of Christ unto me!

I do believe that there shall be a general judgment, Psal. ix. 8. that Christ shall be Judge, a visible Judge in his human nature, Acts xvii. 13. That it shall be at the last day; but the precise day and hour is not known to any man, or angel, Matth. xxiv. 36. That then every man shall be judged, Jude 15. and every secret thing shall be brought to light, Rom. ii. 16. and that the judgment will be most just, and so confessed by all, Rom. ii. 5. 6. Why then should I fear the last judgment, seeing he shall be my Judge, who is my Brother, Advocate, and Redeemer? He that was willingly judged for me, will give no hard sentence against me; yea, he hath already absolved me from my sins, and given me the earnest of his Spirit, and the seal of the sacraments; and I have judged myself that 'I may not be condemned with the world,' 1 Cor. ix. 32.

I do believe that the glory of heaven is unspeakable and incomprehensible by us on earth, 1 Cor. ii. 9. That it is eternal, Matth. xxv. 45. and that it is the gift of God, proceeding only from his free grace, not our merit, Luke xii. 32. his free gift, bestowed only upon the elect, Rev. xxi. 27. O! that I could, by the effectualness of contemplation, behold the greatness of this felicity which is provided for me! Yet, as I can conceive it, I cannot chuse but long to be absent from hence, that I may be 'present with the Lord,' 2 Cor. v. 8. whose admirable beauty I shall clearly see, and 'know as I am known,' and that with a perfection both of holiness and happiness; such holiness as will not only free me from all sin, but from all possibility of sinning; such happiness, as that ceasing from all labour and sorrow, I shall enjoy an eternal Sabbath, and shall be free to all the treasures of heaven; and, with the fruition of God's glorious presence, shall enjoy the sweet society of all the glorified saints and angels. And all this, as it is unutterable, so it is unalterable; for, as I cannot be disappointed of it, because it is certain, so I cannot be deprived of it, because it is eternal. How then should the hope of the future life, but swallow up the afflictions of the life present? and why should I fear death, when being dead I shall be so blessed?

Yet was not her faith elevated so high, but that she could readily apply it to promises of an inferior degree; for as she trusted 'in God at all times,' as David teacheth, Psal. lxii. 8. so did she in all things, whether temporal or eternal.

In

In ſtraits and difficulties for the affairs of this life, ſhe had this ready at hand, 'Commit thy way unto the Lord; truſt alſo in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs,' Pſal. xxxvii. 5.

If at any time ſhe was ſiniſterly cenſured by any one, her faith applied that promiſe to her heart, 'He ſhall bring forth thy righteouſneſs as the light, and thy judgement as the noon day,' Pſal. xxxv. 6. And whatſoever it were that came upon her as a croſs, her faith was either as a wreath betwixt her ſhoulders and it, that it did not pinch her, or a remover of it from herſelf, to him who was beſt able to bear it, by virtue of that warrant, Pſal. lv. 22. 'Caſt thy burden upon the Lord, and he ſhall ſuſtain thee:' and that done, her faith, which teacheth to keep an even pace with the promiſes, not making haſte, Iſ. xxviii. 16. by anticipating the time of accompliſhment, taught her ſoul to wait upon God, as David's did, Pſal. lxii. 1. to effect his own work at his own time, in his own way and manner, wherein ſhe would not preſcribe any thing at all.

By this daily exerciſe of her faith ſhe gained a great deal of freedom and lightſomeneſs of ſpirit, which admirably appeared in her deportment upon great diſappointments of that which was her own due, and unexpected payments unto others. When ſhe hath ſeen no way of ſupply for the preſent occaſions, ſhe hath believed that God's providence would effect what her forecaſt could not, when ſhe was not wanting in the uſe of means, and that he could furniſh her with that which ſhould be ſufficient, albeit for the preſent ſhe ſaw not how, nor by what means it would come to paſs; and therefore, when ſhe had done what belonged to her duty, in the affiance of her faith, ſhe reſted quiet, and remained cheerful, and ſlept neither the leſs, nor the worſe for it. And that which confirmed her confidence the more, was, that ſhe ſtill found, by experience, that God was moſt worthy to be truſted.

That her faith was good as it was great, appeared by the effect of it in her devotion and piety, which was ſuitable to her knowlege of God, and her faith in him; by both which, as ſhe had a clear apprehenſion of him, ſo none had more dear and devout affections to him, or more aſſured ſigns of ſuch than ſhe, as appeared in theſe particulars:

She was frequently and fervently converſant with God, (beſides the public) in her private ſupplications, and therein was he moſt favourably familiar with her; for he ſent forth his Spirit into her heart, whereby ſhe cried, 'Abba Father,' Gal. iv. 6. 'The Spirit of grace and ſupplication, Zech. xii. 10. which enabled her in an extraordinary manner and meaſure to pour out her ſoul into his boſom. And though ſhe duly eſteemed of the ſolemn prayers of the ſacred aſſemblies, (whereof a learned and pious divine ſaid, that never any one prayed well privately, who condemned or neglected the public prayers of the church) and never ſlighted or cenſured ſet forms of prayer; yet could ſhe, and that excellently well, conceive prayer, and vary her petitions as the preſent occaſion did require.

Yea, in this devotion ſhe was ſo abundant in apt and pertinent expreſſions, that indeed it was admirable, that one ſo ſilent in her common converſation with the world, ſhould be ſo fluent and eloquent in her intercourſe with God.

Nor was ſhe more copious in ſpeech than fervent in ſpirit; for ſuch was her holy violence in prayer, as that ſhe ſeemed not to knock at heaven's gate for another to open it, but to make a battery upon it herſelf, and to break in by the powerful importunity of her ſupplications.

Her ſervice alſo of God in this kind was not dry devotion, but ſteeped and drenched in ſhowers of tears; and though her prudence uſed as much privacy as might be herein, yet ſuch a ſingular gift could not be hid from her ſervants, and ſome ſecret friends, who ſometimes, when they were ſick, or poſſeſſed with fears, or pains of child-birth, they would move her with importunity to pray with them, and when ſhe yielded to them, and God to her, by anſwering her requeſt, they were apt, as there was cauſe, to impute the good effect to her fervent ſupplications. A female friend of hers, who was her bed-fellow in London for many weeks together, and thereby was a partaker of her daily devotions, profeſſed, that ſhe was ſo plentifully furniſhed for utterance of her requeſts to God, that ſhe never wanted variety of meet words to be preſented unto him, but when a ſurcharge of ſighs and tears put her prayers to a pauſe.

When the heart is full of love, the mouth is filled with praiſe of a perſon moſt deſervedly, and moſt dearly beloved, whereof we have an example in this virtuous gentlewoman, who, when time, company, and occaſion did invite her, to communicate to others the good matter which her heart endited of God, ſhe uſed her 'tongue as the pen of a ready writer,' Pſal. xlv. 1. And when ſhe had that great king for the ſubject of her ſpeech, ſhe ſpake of him with ſuch hearty and ſavoury reliſhes of ſacred delight and reverence, and with ſuch an affectionate force, as if her ſoul were ready to leap out at her lips into the ears of others, to kindle the ſame holy fire in their hearts who heard her, which burned in her own boſom; longing, as David did, that others might 'taſte and ſee the goodneſs of the Lord,' Pſal. xxxiv. 8. that they might be rivals with her in religious love; and glad ſhe was when any ſinner was converted, or any already called, better enabled to promote the glory of God, and that was the end which ſhe principally aimed at in all her godly diſcourſe of him.

In giving vent to her heart in this duty, ſhe could ſpend her ſpirits with great delight, both to herſelf, and to thoſe choice friends who had opportunity to hear her, when juſt occaſion was miniſtered unto her: and yet when ſhe had ſpoken beſt, ſhe found matter of complaint in her own expreſſions, as being too faint and too flat, and ſo far below that which was meet for the majeſty of the great God, inſomuch as all the acceptation which ſhe deſired of him, was but to pardon her preſumption, as the error of her love, for taking upon her to ſpeak of his excellency, and the weakneſs of her ſpirit and ſpeech, which made her fall infinitely ſhort of doing him right in the publication of his praiſe.

Another evidence of her dear affection unto God, was the great love which, for his ſake, ſhe bore to whom, or whatſoever had any near relation to him, according to that, 1 John iv. 21. 'He that loves God muſt love his brother alſo;' and he muſt love him rather in a direct than in a collateral line, as God's child, rather than as his brother, more for God's ſake than for his own: the neareſt degree of love belongs to thoſe perſons and things which are neareſt to him, and to ſuch ſhe bore a ſincere and ſingular good will. As to his ſaints, with David, Pſal. xvi. 3. and to his true religion and worſhip, both at home and abroad, the happy progreſs and proſperity whereof was with her, as Jeruſalem with David, 'preferred above her chiefeſt joy, Pſal. cxxxvii. 6. And it was a great affliction to her heart, to hear any ill tidings of any good man, or any good cauſe.

She highly prized God's word, and in the bleſſed ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper ſhe felt ſuch a ſweet refreſhing as might make amends for the ſeverity of her frequent faſting, ſo that for her part and portion of it, in reſpect of the common ſort of communicants, ſhe might ſay, 'I have meat that ye know not of,' John iv. 32. Dainties, which infinitely exceed whatſoever delighteth or pleaſeth a ſenſual pallate.

For the houſe of God, ſhe ſhewed herſelf juſt of David's mind, when he ſaid, 'I have loved the habitation of thy houſe, the place where thine honour dwelleth,' Pſal. xxix. 8. And, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hoſts; my ſoul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord,' Pſal. lxxxiv. 1. 2.

If by any imperious judgment ſhe were kept from the church, as by ſickneſs in her body, &c. her ſoul was love-ſick, by her longings, to be there; and whereas many women take a little occaſion to abſent themſelves from it, ſhe would many times force her feeble body to carry her ſoul to the ſanctuary, though the day before ſhe were confined, not only to her chamber, but to her bed; whereby, though ſhe hazarded her health, yet it pleaſed God ſo graciouſly to accept of her zeal to his houſe, that ſhe was never the worſe for thoſe pious adventures.

She

She kept a great distance from doting on the world, which St James condemns as 'enmity to God,' Jam. iv. 4. though, while she lived, she could not chuse but be in the world, yet did she so love her dear Lord Jesus Christ, that for his sake she was exceedingly estranged from the world, which appeared,

1. By her estrangement from sensual delights, which she shewed by her frequent fasting from meats and drinks; by her abstinence from such sports and pastimes, as before her conversion she had been too immoderately addicted unto; and by her firm resolution to forbear marriage after her widowhood, and to rest in that condition wherein she might best attend upon the service of God.

Indeed, her love and delight in communion with God, made her mindless of meat, and careless of provision for the flesh. Well she knew, that though fasting makes the body weak, as David saith. 'My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness, Psal. cix. 20. yet it strengtheneth the spirit, and maketh it vigorous in conflict, and victorious in the event; yea, fasting and prayer make a potent combination, which is able to drive the strongest devil out of his usurped possession, as Matth. xvii. 21. These two she used, not only as weapons against the devil, but as wings to elevate her soul God-ward and heaven-ward; yet herein was she observant of our Saviour's rule, Matth. xvii. 18. that she fasted without an appearance of fasting, only the next day it might be discerned by her faintness, she having spent her spirits in spiritual exercises the day before.

For those sports and pastimes wherein formerly she had taken too much contentment, she not only abstained from them, but much complained of her vanity in them; her eyes, which before were used to behold them with delight, now shed tears of shame and sorrow, that formerly she had set her mind so much upon them, and now she employed them in the more frequent and affectionate reading of the holy Scriptures, wherein she took more delight than she had done before in the most pompous spectacles, set out to take the eyes with gazing, and the mind with wonder.

And as for marriage, her heart was so devoted to her Lord Christ, that though she had divers fair invitations to it, by such, as both for profit and credit, and other considerable respects, were worthy rather to be desired than denied, yet she resolved not to change her condition in that kind, and that not only in love and loyalty to her former husband, but that she might be more free to serve God according to that of St Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 34. 'The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.

2. She had so chosen God for her portion, and set up her rest in the riches of his love, that she had but little mind of the world's riches. She knew that riches may be had, and well used of the religious; and that poverty alone commends no man unto God, as St Jerom speaks; yet did she not dote upon them. But though she was competently careful and frugal, as Christ prescribeth, John vi. 12. 'Gather up the broken meat, that nothing be lost;' and though she was provident, as the apostle requires, 1 Tim. v. 8. 'If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel;' yet withal, believing that of the prophet David, Psal. xxxvii. 16. 'A little that the righteous hath is better than the riches of many wicked;' and as conforming herself to that of St John, 'Love not the world, nor the things of the world,' 1 John ii. 15.

She often besought of almighty God rather to make and keep her poor, than to suffer her heart in any sort to sink down from her Maker to dote upon mammon.

She was one that could very well find in her heart to 'honour God with her substance,' as Prov. iii. 9. She was as cheerful in her layings out for him, as any miser could be in his layings up for himself; and when she heard of the irreligious parsimony of some towards the maintenance of the public ministry in that city of Chester, she hath professed, that she had rather bear all the charge of all the common contributions herself, if her estate would bear it, than that God should be grumbled at, or his service poorly prized, or the wages of his work unwillingly paid,

Another undoubted testimony of her true love to God was, in that she much desired to die out of a fervent affection to him, insomuch, that she feared a long life would keep her too long from the enjoyment of him, being therein like unto David in those ardent aspirations of his. 'As the Hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God: my soul thirsteth for God, for the living God, when shall I come, and appear before him,' Psal. xlii. 1, 2.

That which worldlings are most afraid of, that she so much wished for, that her friends were fain to plead with her to be pleased with life, though she not being contented with their arguments, contended against them by contrary reason, shewing first why she did desire to die. Secondly, why she was not afraid of death, and hoping that it would not tarry long, she had in readiness more special matters to be remembred at her death, which she left in writing under her own hand, and are as followeth:

First, 'Why I desire to die:'

"I desire to die, because I want while I live here the glorious presence of God, which I love and long for, and that sweet fellowship of Angels and Saints, who would be glad of me as I am of them, and would entertain me with unwearied delight."

"I desire to die, because while I live, I shall want the perfection of my nature, and be as an estranged and banished person from my father's house."

"I desire to die, because I would not live to offend so good a God, nor to grieve his holy Spirit: 'For his loving kindness is better than life itself:' And he is abundant in mercy to me, and it doth lie as an heavy load upon my heart many times to think of displeasing him."

"I desire to die, because this world is generally infected with the plague of sin, and some have this plague-sore running upon them, and I myself am tainted with the same disease, so as whilst I live here, I can be in no place, nor in any company, but I am still in danger of being infected, or to infect others, and if this world doth hate me because I endeavour to follow goodness, how will it rejoice if my foot do but slip? Therefore how woful would my life be unto me, if I should give occasion to the world to triumph or blaspheme in respect of me? I cannot chuse but desire to die, when I consider that sin, like a leprosy hath so corrupted me, that there is no soundness in me, my mind, my memory, my will and affections, yea, my very conscience is still impure; in every faculty of my soul, there is a miserable mixture of vile infection, which makes me aweary of my life; and all this is the worse, because it is incurable, and an inseparable companion of my life, so that I can go no whither to avoid it; there is no business that I can dispatch that concerns my happiness without a mutiny in mine heart; though God's works be all fair, yet there are in my nature many defects, insufficiencies, mistakings and transgressions; so I may say with David, 'Innumerable evils have compassed me about; mine iniquities have taken hold on me, so that I am not able to look up,' Psal. xl. 12. I therefore desire Heaven for holiness rather than for happiness, that I might sin no more. I desire that condition wherein I might glorify God."

"I desire to die, because of the devil's malignant and incessant assaults: I can stand no where before the Lord on earth, but one devil or other is at my right hand, and must of necessity enter into conflict with them, and their temptations, and be buffetted and gored by them, which is a thousand fold worse than Death; more easy it is to wrestle with flesh and blood, than with those principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses, and great rulers of the world; for they are subtle and cruel; and like 'roaring lions they go about seeking whom they may devour,' 1 Pet. v. 8.

"I desire to die, because by death I shall rest from the hard labours of this life."

"I desire to die, because nothing in this world can give me solid and durable contentment: I am less in liking of life, and have more desire of death when I consider the misery that may come both on my body and estate, and fearful alterations may come, and wars may come, and

all the desolations and terrors which accompany them, and I may be left in the hands of the sons of violence: besides, I daily suffer the loss of my friends, who were the companions of my life, and means of much contentment unto me; and those whom I lose by my life I shall find by my death, and shall enjoy in another world unto all eternity: And for my children it doth not trouble me; for that God which hath given life and breath, and all they have, while I am living, can, without me, provide for them whe I am dead; my God will be their God, if they be his; if they be not, what comfort would it be for me to live? My life would be exceeding bitter unto me if I should see them dishonour God whom I so much love."

When she enjoyed the greatest portion of temporal or spiritual comfort, yet would she never say. 'Master it is good to be here,' as Matth. xvii. 4. but making that but a step for an higher ascent, she rather inferred, it is good going hence: For if on earth there be so much good, how pleasant and desirable is Heaven: the joys on earth to those that are there, are but as the earth is to Heaven, little and low, dark and heavy.

'Why I do not fear Death.'

"I fear not death, because it is but the separation of the body from the soul, and that it is but a shadow of the body of death, Rom. vii. 24. whereas the separation of the soul from God by sin, Isa. lix. 2. and of soul and body for sin, is death indeed."

"I fear not death, because death is such an enemy as hath been often vanquished, and because I am armed for it, and the 'weapons of my warfare are mighty through God,' and I am assured of victory."

"I do not fear death for the pain of it; for I am persuaded I have endured as great pains in life, as I shall find in death, and death will cure me of all sorts of pains; and because Christ died a terrible and cursed death, that any kind of death might be blessed to me; and that God, who hath greatly loved me in life, will not neglect me in death; but his Spirit will succour and strengthen me all the time of the combat."

"I do not fear death for any loss: For I shall but lose my body by it, and that is but a prison to my soul, an old rotten house, or rotten garment; nay, I shall not lose that neither: For, I shall have it restored again at my Saviour's second coming, made much better than now it is: For this vile body shall be like the body of Christ, and by death I shall obtain a far better life."

And as an incentive of divine love, she prepared a breviate of God's principal benefits to herself for meditation on her death-bed, and for thanksgiving to God, which was this:

"How shall I praise God, 1. For my conversion. 2. For his word, both in respect of my affections to it, and the wonderful comforts I have had of it. 3. For hearing of my prayers. 4. For godly sorrow. 5. For fellowship with the godly. 6. For joy in the Holy Ghost. 7. For desire of death. 8. For contempt of the world. 9. For private helps and comforts. 10. For giving me some strength against my sin. 11. For preserving me from gross evils both before and after my calling, &c."

She shewed her holy love to God, by conforming her practice to his precepts, according to that, John xiv. 15. 'If you love me, keep my commandments.' She thought nothing too much that she should stick at, if God commended or forbad it, nothing so small, but his word was able to give it weight enough to bow down her neck to the obedience of it. If it was a greater matter that he required of her, she considered, that he was a God infinitely both great and good, and that unto her, who had and would do for her ten thousand times more and greater things than she could do for him: If it were a little thing, she conceived that the contempt or neglect of it would aggravate her guilt, as Naaman's servants said to their master, "If the Prophet had bidden thee do some great matter, wouldst thou not have done it? How much rather when he saith unto thee, wash, and be clean?" 2 Kings v. 18. The less the duty is, the more is the disobedience if we do it not; for thereby we extenuate the authority of the Almighty, and such as slight it in a little thing, will not regard it in a greater: She was therefore very precise in every point which God required the performance of.

By this means she still encreased in holiness and sanctification, and kept a greater distance from greater offences, according to that of St Jerom, *Non cito ad majora progreditur, qui parva formidat*, whoso is afraid of a small sin, will not easily grow bold on those that are greater. Her love to God was 'strong as death,' Cant. viii. 4. yea, and much stronger, so that death could not affright her; for she desired daily to look death in the face, nor could it hurt her more than she was content to endure; for though it was not likely that she could go through the narrow wicket of death, and not be pinched in her passage, yet was she well contented with it, seeing it was the ready way to come to God, whom she so much longed to behold.

Her charity was very chary of the credit of the absent, towards them she would not suffer either her tongue, or her ears to be guilty of any wrong or robbery of their reputations. She never imposed false crimes, or feigned faults upon others; she never discovered their secret sins, or aggravated those that were known; she never denied, dissembled, nor diminished the virtue or good parts of any. Though her hatred of sin was much as became a sincere Christian, yet knew she how to distinguish betwixt sin and the sinner, and setting a severe dislike on the one, she reserved, as charity required love, or compassion for the other.

Her charity was regular according to the rules of scripture, which she set down in a paper with quotations of texts for her direction in some particulars, 1st. 'I must give readily, Job xxxi. 16. Prov. iii. 28. 1 Tim. vi. 18. 2dly, 'I must give secretly,' Matth. vi. 3. 3dly, 'I must give liberally,' 2 Cor. viii. 12. and ix. 6. 4thly, 'I must give cheerfuly. 2 Cor. viii. 12. It was answerable also according to her own ability, and others necessities: she had rather give a little to many (since the number of the needy is very great) than a great deal to a few; and she so ordered her charity, that she might still be able to exercise her hand that way; and not as some, who give so much, that after a while they can give no more. And upon extraordinary occasions if she were not magnificent, the let was not in her mind, but in her means.

Her charity was vigorous, and so cordial, that what she gave was always without grudging, knowing that God loves 'a cheerful giver, 2 Cor. ix. 7. yea she was so cheerful herein, that she bestowed nothing upon her self with more readiness, than she did upon others, whether it were towards the maintaining of the ministry, or in giving alms to the poor: and yet herein did she follow the rule of our Saviour, Mat. vi. 3. 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth;' for she was many times as close in giving her own, as a thief would be in taking away of some others; so that none did more good deeds with less shew, or sound of words than she.

For the object of her charity, she took her direction from the apostle's precept, Gal. vi. 16. 'Do good unto all, but especially to the houshold of faith.' She indeed shut up her charity from none that had need of it, but she enlarged it chiefly to such as were of the faithful.

Her love and charity was very entire and great to her friends, yet not so confined to them, but that she reserved a competent measure for them that dealt unfriendly with her, or that were enemies to her. If there was any unkind difference between her and any one, though she enjoyed the freedom of her judgment to think as there was cause, yet would she not suffer her affections to be estranged from them, but was ready to do them good, if power and opportunity did furnish her for it. She requited love for hatred, pity for spight, friendly offices for offensive usages. She bare ill will to none. She hated nothing but that which is worse than nothing, Sin, and that she hated in all, and most of all in her own soul.

As her charity was evidenced by doing, so also by suffering: if any tribulation were upon others, or imminent over them, she was like minded with her Lord and Master, according to that of the prophet, Isaiah lxiii. 9. 'In all their afflictions he was afflicted.' She did passionately sympathize in the sufferings of her fellow members: if it was ill with the church, or any particular saints, it was no better with her. Charity made her suffer as much by inward

ward affection, as they did of their enemies, by outward affliction.

Her patience alſo was very remarkable. for though her apprehenſions were quick enough to conceive any thing tending to the diſturbance of peace and patience: yet ſhe enjoyed ſuch a calmneſs of ſpirit as could hardly be turned to a ſtorm. If any were injurious towards her, her tongue could more readily pray, and her eyes weep for them, than with looks, or words of indignation, or diſdain ſet upon them. If ſhe were angry at others, which was very ſeldom, it was ſin that was the cauſe of it. If news came to her of any loſſes in her eſtate, as ſometimes there did of great ones, yet was ſhe never put out of temper with thoſe ill tidings, having theſe conſiderations ready at hand to quiet her heart: It is that God that gave all, that now taketh away ſome, why ſhould I take it ill? he would not have me to be in love with him, nor rely upon uncertain riches, which were never true to any that truſted them, but upon him ſelf, and I willingly renounce them to reſt upon him. He can, if he ſee it good, recompence the loſs in the like, or ſome better kind. If he take more, there will yet be many poorer than my ſelf: and if he take away all my goods, he can give me content without them, for he is All-ſufficient; and though I have nothing, I may be as poſſeſſing all things, 2 Cor. vi. 10. The world and I muſt part, and whether we be unſtitched by parcels, or torn aſunder by taking all at once, all is one to me; that which he chooſeth is beſt for us both, for his own glory, and my good, if I grudge not againſt him, but willingly (as I pray) give way to his will.

By bodily ſufferings her patience was exceedingly tried both for the truth and ſtrength of it, for of ſome of her children ſhe had long, painful, and very perilous labour; but that which exceeded all, was a long and ſore ſickneſs, to which were applied very rough and irkſome remedies; ſo that ſhe ſuffered not only the anguiſh of her diſeaſe, but many things alſo of the phyſicians, as that woman in the goſpel, Mark v. 28. And had it only been pain and torment, it had been more tolerable; but it was accompanied with a ſtrange infirmity and deformity. Her jaw being fallen, ſhe could not bring it up towards her upper jaw; her mouth was drawn awry towards her ears, ſo that with much difficulty both to her ſelf and others, her food was conveyed through ſo crooked a paſſage to her throat, which might have cauſed the greater diſcontent to her mind, becauſe it was the ſhipwreck of much beauty and comelineſs, which until then was ſeated in her countenance, and whereof ſhe kept remarkable impreſſions to her dying day: yet ſhewed ſhe remarkable patience under this great affliction, to which her heart was brought readily to ſubmit; and concerning which, ſhe ſaid, that if it pleaſe the Lord ſtill to continue her a ſpectacle of deformed miſery, ſhe would not repine at his doing, or her own ſuffering, but would willingly, abide it until he ſhall her body from the diſeaſe by health, or her ſoul from her body by death.

Her modeſty alſo manifeſted it ſelf by her ſhamefaced eſtrangement from ſin and vanity, concerning which vertue in her it may be ſaid, that it was rather ſometimes too much, than any time too little, and it ſhewed it ſelf divers ways.

1. In her looks, which was habitually compoſed to a modeſt and gracious gravity, ſo that againſt any thing that was unſeemly to be ſaid, or done, ſhe carried a ſevere rebuke in her very countenance; or if any were ſo immodeſt as to ſpeak, or do any thing before her, not becoming Chriſtianity, her modeſty made ſome ſupply to their want of it, ſhe would bluſh for them.

In her ſpeech, whereas ſome would have vaunted themſelves or made ſome vain-glorious ſhew of ſuch ſufficiency as was in her, ſhe rather ſhadowed her own light with a dark lanthorn: and therefore in that wherein ſhe was a teacher, ſhe carried her ſelf as in the perſon of a learner, rather aſking queſtions, than making reſolutions, or giving rule, and directions unto others.

3. By her ſilence, for as St. Ambroſe ſaith, 'Though ſilence be a reſt to other vertues, yet it is a chief act, and exerciſe of modeſty;' yea, her pace, her habit, and her whole behaviour was a leſſon of modeſty which, together with her other virtues, wrought a kind of awfulneſs in her perſon, ſo that thoſe that had not grace to do well in private, were more afraid and aſhamed of an appearance of evil in her preſence, than in the ſight of many a magiſtrate.

As for humility, ſhe made great account of it; ſhe ſtudied it ſeriouſly, and got it by heart, that there was no need of art to make profeſſion or oſtentation of it. Solomon makes contention the proper effect of pride, Prov. xiii. 10. So peaceableneſs is a ſure ſign of humility; and this ſhe ſhewed in that ſhe could endure contradiction, reproaches, and other trials of humility without a quarrel, or breach of peace with any, being ſtill ready to deny her ſelf, and to yield to others ſo far as with a ſafe conſcience ſhe could.

Once a new gown being brought her to put on, and preſented as a gift from her husband, wherein his kindneſs had put him to more coſt than ſhe wiſhed, to make her more fine than ſhe deſired to be, ſhe humbly beſought him with tears that it might not come upon her back, ſhe ſaid indeed little with her tongue, but her eyes ſpoke much, becauſe ſhe was loath, to contradict him whom ſhe was bound to obey; and at laſt ſhe ſubmitted to his will, though againſt her own, not only becauſe that habit was no better than others of her rank did wear, but becauſe it was a teſtimony of her huſband's love, and of her own loyal ſubjection to his will; wherein ſhe followed the advice of biſhop Hall in his contemplations, 'It is not, ſaith he, for a good wife to judge of her husband's will, but to execute it; neither wit, nor ſtomach, may carry her into a curious inquiſition into the reaſons of an enjoined charge, much leſs to a reſiſtance, but in an hood winkt ſimplicity ſhe muſt follow whitherſoever ſhe is led, as one that holds her chief praiſe to conſiſt in ſubjection, following her husband, as the Iſraelites did the cloudy pillar, which when it ſtood, they ſtood; when it went, they followed. And indeed it was no marvel that ſhe was ſo obſequious to her husband, for amongſt her papers were found ſpecial directions, which ſhe had drawn out of the Scripture, for her conjugal affection, and behaviour towards her husband, which were theſe which follow, under this title.

Duties which concern me in particular.

"I muſt ſubmit my ſelf to my husband, 'as to the Lord,' Eph. v. 22.

"I muſt account him my head, Eph. v, 23.

"I muſt be in ſubjection to him in all things, 'as the church unto Chriſt,' Eph. v. 24.

"I muſt get his conſent even for thoſe things that I ſet apart for religious duties," 1 Cor. vii. 5, 10.

"I muſt walk pleaſingly towards him," 1 Cor. vii. 5, 10,

When by his death ſhe was looſed from the law of her husband, ſhe would have returned to a meaner habit; but becauſe it was ſuitable to the place which ſhe held in the city (as having been wife to him who had been twice mayor of Cheſter, and divers times a burgeſs of parliament) and for that God made ſuch good things neither only, nor principally for the uſe, and wearing of the wicked, but for his children. And that it might not be imputed either to ſingularity or niggardize, ſhe made no remarkable change in her attire; and indeed to keep down pride, ſhe would not eat the 'bread of idleneſs,' Prov. xxxi. 27. but willingly wrought with her hands, as that vertuous woman did, ver. 13. and readily deſcended to ſuch homely offices as were meet for the meaneſt of her ſervants.

Notwithſtanding ſuch excellent gifts and graces, wherewith God had enriched her ſoul, her mind was not lifted up to vaunting or vanity, nor to the undervaluing or envying God's gifts in others, but in lowlineſs of mind, ſhe 'eſteemed others better than herſelf, Phil. ii. 3. diſavowing her own praiſe, though thoſe that gave it, thought it much leſs than her due, and advancing others far before her ſelf, though in gifts they were far below her; and no marvel, for ſhe was not as thoſe who are far more curious to know the faults of others than to correct their own, but an exact enquirer into her own life, a ſevere cenſurer of her own imperfections and failings; and as for others, ſhe obſerved them moſt for that which was beſt in them

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to make her ſelf more holy by imitating them therein, and more humble for that wherein ſhe fell ſhort of them.

She often preſented and arraigned her ſelf before God's tribunal, to bring her ſelf down in ſubmiſſion as guilty before him, begging pardon on her knees at his hands; and ſhe came the lower by comparing her own faultineſs, infirmity and miſery, with his infinite purity, power and Majeſty, in compariſon of whom, 'All nations are but as the drop of the bucket, or the ſmall duſt in the balance, Iſa. xl 15. which made her to think of him with admiration and love, and of her ſelf with deteſtation and loathing, and when ſhe took notice of any good thing in her ſelf, ſhe boaſted not of it, even becauſe ſhe had received it, and that of God's free gift, making it a *memento* of thankfulneſs to him that gave it her, knowing that he might have paſſed by her, and given it to another, and that he might be provoked to take it away from her, if ſhe ſhould take any of that glory to her ſelf which was due unto him alone.

She always held this for a maxim, that if it be good to be eſteemed virtuous, and moſt deſire to be ſo eſteemed, then to be ſo indeed is much better; for the ſubſtance of a good thing is much better than the reſemblance of it; therefore ſhe was ſo ſincere in her whole courſe, that ſhe hated the leaſt appearance of hypocriſy. She was one of thoſe whom David bleſſeth for their integrity, Pſal. cxix. 2. Her love was without diſſimulation, Rom. xii. 9. She loved not in word, or in tongue only, but in deed and in truth, 1 John iii. 18. And this appeared in that, ſhe made her deeds of charity and good will always better than her words, whereof ſhe was ſo chary, that ſome blamed her for want of affability, which being objected to her, ſhe ſaid, 'I like not the laviſh language of ſome, who have their mouths full of complimental courteſy to every one, though their hearts be ſhut and contracted, when their mouths are ſo enlarged; and if they have love enough within to maintain ſuch liberality of words without, I like my own heart the worſe, that it is not ſo ready to attend upon my tongue, as on the ſudden to miniſter cordial affections meet for ſuch frank and friendly expreſſions.' She uſed rather to let her friends ſee her love by her works, than to hear it by her words.

Her conſtancy alſo was very remarkable, by which her ſpirit was ſtedfaſt with God, and her heart ſtedfaſt in his covenant, as the Iſraelites ſhould have been, but were not, Pſal. lxxviii. 8. 37.

Her faith was grounded and ſettled, Col. i. 23. ſo that ſhe was not carried away with divers and ſtrange doctrines, Heb. xiii. 9. much leſs with every wind of doctrine, Eph. iv. 14. But what ſhe was for faith and godlineſs from her firſt converſion, the ſame ſhe was in all places, at all times, and in all companies. But for the meaſure or degree of grace, ſhe was not as a ſtake in an hedge, which grows not, but as a plant in the garden that ſpringeth up; no dwarf in God's houſe, but one, that by ſpiritual nouriſhment, and daily exerciſe of her graces, grew up apace towards the ſtature of Chriſt, and as it is ſaid of the juſt, Prov. iv. 18. ſhe 'ſhined more and more unto the perfect day;' ſo that ſhe was beſt at laſt, and moſt heavenly minded when ſhe had the leaſt time to tarry on the earth.

She was a loyal and obedient wife; a careful and kind, though not a fond mother; a gentle and beneficent miſtreſs; a good and charitable neighbour; and a true and conſtant friend.

Towards her latter end ſhe fell into ſome bodily diſtempers, wherein ſhe had fits or trances, like the embrios of death, which, by a gradual failing of her ſpirits, left her at laſt unable to ſpeak or move, yet without any great alteration in her countenance, which, by ſome, was conceived to be a ſpice of the mother; it was ſhort, and not ſharp, for ſhe felt no pain; yet when ſhe returned to herſelf, ſhe found that ſhe was commonly more feeble than before.

Upon the Monday ſe'night before ſhe died, was the firſt aſſault given, which ſet death's pale colour upon her face and fingers, from the middle joints towards the ends; her nails turned to a blewiſh black, which being rubbed a while, returned again to their former complexion, and ſhe remained that night indifferent well: The next day her diſeaſe appeared in the form and quality of a kindly ague, and ſo continued moſtly till within three or four days before her end, and then it turned from an intermitting ague to a continual fever, that afflicted her with extreme burning, and other pains which commonly accompany ſuch a diſeaſe, eſpecially when it rageth moſt, as it doth towards the latter end.

During her ſickneſs, having the free uſe of all her faculties, her ſoul, no doubt, was exerciſed in holy meditations; for which ſhe had kept in ſtore many particulars of importance, to be remembered at her departure out of this world.

Her deſires were ſtrong for a ſpeedy diſſolution, ſo that ſhe implored God with the requeſt of David, Pſal. xxxviii. 22. 'Make haſte to help me, O Lord my ſalvation:' and Pſal. xl. 13. 'Be pleaſed, O Lord, to deliver me; O Lord, make haſte to help:' And this ſhe deſired, that ſhe might have a joyful meeting with him, and fruition of him, after whom her ſoul longed, even then when her life was moſt lightſome, and her condition moſt comfortable. And now the time drew near that her deſire was to be granted, in that kind which ſhe moſt deſired, by the power of death to paſs to the Author of Life, which ſhe did in ſuch a calm manner, that when ſhe was thought to be but aſleep ſhe was found to be dead, on Friday, Auguſt 17. 1638.

The Life of Mrs ELIZABETH WILKINSON, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1654.

MRs ELIZABETH WILKINSON was born of godly parents, of an antient and well reputed family of the gentry in Devonſhire. Her father was Mr Anthony Gifford, her mother Mrs Elizabeth Cottle; and by them ſhe was religiouſly educated during her minority: after which ſhe lived with an aunt, an old diſciple, above twenty years together, where ſhe had many prizes put into her hands to get wiſdom, even many ſpiritual advantages for her eternal good. But conſidering that no helps of education, nor any means could prove effectual without divine influence, it pleaſed the Lord, out of the riches of his mercy, in a ſignal manner, to vouchſafe a bleſſing to all thoſe helps, for the good of her ſoul, and to crown all endeavours in order thereunto with good ſucceſs.

She was obſerved from her childhood to be very docile, very willing to learn, induſtrious in reading of, and ſwift to hear the word of God preached. She was very careful to remember what ſhe heard, and took much pains in writing ſermons, and collecting ſpecial notes out of practical divines.

She had the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit; with that ſhe was eminently adorned: ſhe looked not, as too many do, upon gaudy and vain dreſſes as any ornament; ſhe neither liked them, nor conformed to them, but went in a grave, decent, and ſober attire. She was humble, gentle, tender hearted, and full of bowels of compaſſion, remembering 'ſuch as were in bonds, as if ſhe had been bound with them,' Heb. xiii. 3. She was of ſo affable, ſweet, and courteous a diſpoſition, that ſhe gained abundance of love and reſpect from all thoſe that converſed with her; and by this means ſhe was the greater gainer by all good conferences. It was her uſual cuſtom to move good diſcourſe, and oft-times ſhe turned the ſtream of other impertinent talk into ſomething which was ſolid, and tended unto edification, and that miniſtered grace to the hearers.

She kept a diary of God's dealings with her ſoul, and of other various diſpenſations that ſhe met with. She was much buſied in prayer, meditation, and ſelf-examination.

She would often deſire her huſband, and others of her acquaintance, to deal plainly and impartially with her. 'For, ſaid ſhe, I would not be deceived with a formal profeſſion, nor with a temporary faith. Perhaps, thro' affection, you may judge far better of me than I deſerve, wherefore I deſire you to ſift and ſearch me thoroughly; for I like ſuch plain dealing beſt of all, and thoſe are my beſt friends which deal moſt plainly with me.'

In

In proceſs of time, after a careful watching over her heart, and frequent addreſſes made unto the throne of grace, ſhe found returns anſwerable to her prayers and deſires; God gave her a large meaſure both of parts and graces; ſhe was able not only to aſſert the truths of God, but to convince gain ſayers.

She abounded in love, faith, meekneſs, humility, and the reſt of the graces of the Spirit, inſomuch as ſhe became a Chriſtian of the higher form, a tall cedar of Libanus, a grown, ſolid, and excellent Chriſtian.

It pleaſed God, for the trial of her graces, to exerciſe her very much in the ſchool of affliction; inſomuch as, ten years before her death, ſhe was, one time reckoned with another, at leaſt half the time ſick: but God ordered this ſickneſs of her body to be a medicine for her ſoul, for the ſpirit of prayer was much ſet on work hereby, and her faith, love, and patience, did appear, and ſhine the more eminently. Out of the furnace ſhe came forth as gold ſeven times purified; ſo that the rod and ſtaff, correction and inſtruction, went together; and by theſe fatherly chaſtiſements her ſoul did thrive more abundantly.

When ſhe was able ſhe neglected not the frequenting of the public aſſemblies; they were her delight; and ſhe was a profeſſed adverſary to the withdrawing from the public congregation of the ſaints; both them, and the godly and reverend miniſters of the goſpel ſhe had in high eſteem, and reverenced them all her days. And when ſhe was not able to go to the public congregations, ſhe uſed to ſpend her time in reading, praying, and meditating at home, and employed her friends to read to her, and pray with her. Such as were ſtable and ſincere Chriſtians were her delight; thoſe ſhe accounted more excellent than her neighbours. She would often ſay, that ſhe valued no friends like to thoſe who were friends to her ſoul.

Concerning her deportment, and carriage to her relations, (for ſuch as are real ſaints ſhew it in their ſeveral capacities) never was a wife more full of ſincere love and reſpect to an huſband, whom ſhe loved entirely, and was entirely beloved by him. Her affection to her children was very tender; ſhe was careful to catechize, inſtruct, and to train them up in the fear of God. And upon her death-bed, amongſt many other excellent counſels and inſtructions, ſhe added this charge, as from a dying mother, that they ſhould remember that they had a mother who would not allow them in any ſin. She was careful alſo to inſtruct her ſervants, and to teach them the fear of the Lord. Indeed ſhe was ready and willing, as opportunity was offered, 'to do good unto all:' and, as need required, gave unto them both corporal and ſpiritual food. She had a large heart, and improved it to a great deal of good in a ſhort time, inſomuch as the poor, the ſick, the afflicted, and the unexperienced, to whom ſhe was very merciful and uſeful whilſt ſhe lived, had a very great miſs of her when ſhe was dead.

In brief, ſhe was one of thoſe worthies 'of whom the world was not worthy:' and yet to give a further character of her, I will here ſet down a narrative, copied exactly out of her own hand writing, of God's gracious dealing with her ſoul, as it follows, word for word.

IT pleaſed the Lord, out of the riches of his grace, to remove me from an ignorant place where I was born, and to bring me very young into a religious family: And when I was about twelve years of age, upon the reading in the Practice of Piety, concerning the happy eſtate of the godly, and the miſerable condition of the wicked in their death, and ſo for ever unto all eternity. It pleaſed the Lord much to affect my heart with it, as from that time my heart was wrought over to a deſire to walk in the ways of God. But at that time, I fear, I did not go upon a right principle; for I then did not eye the glory of God in it, but only my own ſafety, that it might be well with me for ever. But quickly after that I had begun to ſet my face towards Sion, I was ſet upon with many temptations and perplexities in my thoughts, which were very troubleſome to me at all times, but eſpecially when I was alone; the conſideration whereof brought a horror upon my conſcience, inſomuch as I did not know what to do. That little I had, whether from education, or the light of nature, cauſed a ſtriving in me continually againſt thoſe thoughts of Atheiſm, which were moſt terrible unto me. I was ſenſible that it was a fearful ſin to have any ſuch thoughts to lodge within my breaſt; but I deſired from my ſoul to be freed of them, and had continual reaſonings within me againſt them; and yet ſtill for a long time I was troubled, but could not acquaint any with my condition. I did not think that it was ſo with any other as it was with me.

In this ſtrait, when I knew not which way to turn me, even there did the Lord extend his compaſſion towards me in my greateſt extremity, in directing me to read Calvin's Inſtitutions, and eſpecially that part that treats of the creation; whereupon the Lord was pleaſed to give in ſuch ſatisfaction to my ſoul, concerning thoſe things about which I was troubled, as from that time forwards I was not violently aſſaulted in that kind.

But no ſooner was I freed from that trouble, but new ones ſprang up; for the very remembrance of that horrid ſin of Atheiſm left ſuch a terror upon my ſpirit, as made me fear that I had committed that ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; and ſo my condition ſeemed to be, not only for the preſent, but, in my apprehenſion then, for ever moſt miſerable. All other ſins, though never ſo great, I knew upon true repentance were pardonable; but this ſin that I then lay under the fear of, I knew, out of the word of God, ſhould never be pardoned, which cauſed many ſad fears upon my ſpirit, known to God alone.

For the removal of theſe fears, the Lord, in mercy, directed me to the reading of Mr Scudder's works, where are laid down the marks of that ſin; upon peruſal whereof the Lord was pleaſed to ſatisfy my miſgiving heart, by a clear manifeſtation to my ſoul that I had not committed that ſin: and ſo aſſured me, that though my ſins were great, yet were they pardonable, which put me more cheerfully upon the uſe of ſuch means as the Lord had directed me unto.

And having ſatisfaction given in, concerning this particular, there was a great burden taken off my ſpirit. Although I found no grace in my heart, nor diſcovery of the love of God unto my ſoul, yet in that there was a poſſibility, there was a ground of comfort adminiſtered to my heart, which I formerly feared that I ſhould be ſhut out from. But ſtill my fears remained, that I was not one of thoſe in particular for whom Chriſt died; the more I looked into mine own heart, the more I ſaw of ſin and Satan diſcouraging me, from having any hope that the Lord ſhould accept of ſuch a vile and ſinful wretch as I was, who had entertained ſuch ſinful thoughts.

I likewiſe thought how ſmall the number was of thoſe that ſhould be ſaved, in compariſon of others; and my repentance, I feared, came ſhort of that which was required in the goſpel.

As for faith, I could not find the leaſt meaſure of it in my ſoul, with many other ſad diſcouraging thoughts, but when I was moſt perplexed with fears and doubts, even then did the Lord graciouſly dart in ſome beams of his reconciled countenance, as I was reading ſomething in Mr Scudder's Chriſtian daily Walk, &c. which the Lord ſet home upon my ſoul, and brought into my ſoul ſo much joy and comfort at the preſent, as neither my tongue nor pen can expreſs: but this joy remained not long, for I quickly loſt the ſenſe of it; yet the remembrance of it was ſweet unto me at all times.

But after this, all my former fears returned afreſh again upon my heart, only I had a door of hope opened, that when God ſaw it beſt for me, he would return, and renew his reconciled countenance unto my ſoul, in the clear light and apprehenſion thereof: and this was when I was about ſixteen years of age. After which time the Lord did exerciſe me with various diſpenſations: for, for two years ſpace, I was by Providence caſt upon a place where I heard very little powerful preaching, ſmall helps for the good of my ſoul, but what the Lord was pleaſed to give in by the uſe of private means. But his power and abundant mercy was much ſeen in that time, that, though I had not much comfort, yet the Lord was pleaſed to keep up my ſpirit in a way of depending upon him; and my

fears were leſs at that time than formerly, when I had more helps: ſo gracious was the Lord unto me, in keeping me alive in a time of famine.

After this, through God's goodneſs, I was ſometimes under the preaching of a powerful miniſter, (Mr Bateman of Ockingham) who was crowned with the converſion, ſtrengthening, and building up of many ſouls; unto whoſe preaching the Lord gave ſuch a bleſſing, as I ſeldom, if ever, went away from hearing without comfort. Though I came to hear him with many doubts upon my ſpirit, yet the Lord ſo ruled and directed him, as if his ſermons had been only concerning my particular, and he fully acquainted with the whole condition of my ſoul. Sometimes the Lord directed me to ſome ſupporting promiſes, upon which I relied; but thoſe promiſes which were made to believers, though I highly prized them, yet I durſt not apply them to myſelf, fearing that I had no intereſt in them. But that promiſe, Prov. xxviii. 13. 'He that confeſſeth, and forſaketh his ſins, ſhall find mercy.' And that, 1 John i. 9. 'If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful, and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.' And the promiſe is, 1 John ii. 1. 2. 'If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſins; and not for ours only, but for the ſins of the whole world.' And the invitation, Iſ. lv. 1. 'Ho! every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters: and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' Together with the reſt of the chapter.

All thoſe places the Lord made a ſtay unto my ſoul: and afterwards the Lord ſo bleſſed one means or other unto me, inſomuch as I was kept from ſinking and falling into ſuch horror as many of the people of God ſometimes fell into.

But yet my fears and doubts were ſo many, as that my comfort never laſted long, if the Lord did but hide his face I was troubled. No longer could I believe, than I found new ſtrength given in, that the Lord would ever have mercy upon my ſoul.

The ſenſe of original ſin and actual tranſgreſſions, in their filthineſs and guiltineſs, cauſed my fears yet to remain upon my ſpirit; my faith then ſeemed very ſmall, if I had any, which I much queſtioned: I durſt not then ſay, 'Lord, encreaſe my faith!' but I could cry earneſtly, 'Lord, work faith in me!'

I found much dullneſs and deadneſs, manifold diſtractions in duties, ſo that God might juſtly have withdrawn himſelf from me for ever; yet notwithſtanding all my uneven walking with God, he was graciouſly pleaſed to manifeſt his mercy unto my ſoul.

When I was ſtricken with ſuch weakneſſes, as I apprehended might quickly have ended my life, I fell into a great fear. At the firſt, finding my heart to ſink, the Lord was pleaſed to give me ſo much reſpite, as to pour out my ſoul before him, deſiring ſtrength and ſupport from him to keep up my ſpirit, and to make me willing to ſubmit to his diſpenſations; and the Lord graciouſly anſwered my prayers, in that he removed all my former doubtings and fears, all the time of that ſickneſs, which was long, and ſo dangerous, that neither I, nor others, expected my life: The Lord then cleared up my evidence for heaven, and gave me in ſo much comfort againſt the apprehenſions of death, as I never had in all my life before.

Other like trials of the Lord's love I found ſtill, when I was in the greateſt extremity, and ſtood moſt in need of help from him, inſomuch as at ſuch times I have hoped that I ſhould never again have queſtioned the love of God to my ſoul: but I have found it otherwiſe by ſad experience: for when theſe impreſſions were worn off, I have been ready to call all in queſtion again concerning my poor ſoul. It made me oft to think of that which was ſaid to Solomon's charge, 'that he forgat the Lord that appeared to him twice.' I found it the hardeſt thing to believe that ever I went about. But this wavering condition could not ſatisfy my ſoul; for the Lord giving me ſome times a glimpſe of his love, made me long after fuller enjoyments of it, ſo that I was carried out with a reſtleſs impatience, to beg that the Lord would take away the heart of unbelief from me, which did both diſhonour him, and hinder me from that peace which the Lord was willing that his people ſhould enjoy.

My heart then being brought unto that frame, I was more willing than ever I was before, to impart my condition unto ſome ſpiritual friends, whom I deſired to deal impartially with me, acquainting them with the whole condition of my ſoul, how far the Lord had carried me on, and at what I ſtuck, and ſtill as new objections did ariſe, I laboured to get ſatisfaction: being convinced that I had too much prejudiced my ſelf in that I had no ſooner made my condition known, to ſome who were able to give me advice.

This way of communicating my condition, I found the Lord bleſſed unto my ſoul, inſomuch that my hopes were more confirmed, my fears more removed, my faith more ſtrengthned, and by the hearing of ſuch ſermons and reading ſuch books as came cloſeſt into the conſcience, and were moſt for trial of ones ſpiritual condition, I found the greateſt benefit by, and received the moſt comfort from them.

Formerly I had many fears that I was not one of them who had an intereſt in the election of grace: but the Lord afterwards put into my heart to enquire whether I had thoſe graces of his ſpirit wrought in me which none but his own elect people could have.

Upon the ſtricteſt ſearching into mine own heart, the Lord was pleaſed after many years of fear, at laſt, to evidence unto my ſoul that there was a change wrought in my heart, will and affections, notwithſtanding the remainders of ſin and corruption, which ſtill encompaſſed me about; being confident that he that had begun this good work, would not leave it unfiniſhed unto the day of Jeſus Chriſt; and the Lord was pleaſed to ſet home divers promiſes for the ſtrengthening of my faith; to wit, thoſe which ſet down the everlaſting covenant, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. The 'everlaſting love of God,' Jer. xxxi. 3. John xiii. 13. The certainty of the foundation, 2 Tim. ii. 19. The certainty of the promiſes, 2 Cor. i. 20. They 'are all in Chriſt yea and amen;' and that the children of God have eternal life promiſed unto them, and that none ſhall be ever 'able to pluck them out of Chriſt's hands, John x. 28. Then for divers years the Lord was pleaſed to ſtay me, to lead, and guide me, till he had 'ſet my feet upon the rock which is higher than I,' from whence I truſt, that I ſhall never be removed.

And now my heart's deſire is, to aſcribe that meaſure of hope and comfort which the Lord hath given me at any time, only unto the praiſe of the glory of his grace, who hath made me 'accepted in his beloved,' which is ſo great a mercy as I can never be thankful enough for, nor walk anſwerable thereunto. I know, when I look into my heart, there is matter of fear that the Lord will withdraw the influences of his comforts from me: but that which I reſt upon is, the free mercy of God in Chriſt, expecting performance of his promiſes made, Rom. vi. 16. 'Sin ſhall not have dominion over you, becauſe you are not under the law, but under grace:' and Ezek. xxxvi. 25. 'that he will 'ſprinkle clean water upon me, and that he will give me a new heart, and put a new ſpirit within me, that he will take away my ſtony heart, and give me an heart of fleſh; being perſuaded that the Lord will keep me by his own 'power through faith unto ſalvation.

And now, that I may have all the graces of the ſpirit ſtrengthned and encreaſed in me, which I find that I ſtand in continual need of: it is the deſire of my ſoul to be a partaker of the Lord's ſupper, which, through the blood of Chriſt only, I have right unto.

This is the particular account of God's gracious dealing with this godly gentlewoman: conſidering there was no adminiſtration of the ſacrament in that parochial congregation where ſhe lived, and uſed formerly to receive it, nor any paſtor at all to officiate there, ſhe being deſirous to enjoy that great ordinance, and that after a pure way of adminiſtration, ſent this forementioned narrative to the rev. Dr Harris, living then in the univerſity, who admitted her to the participation of the Lord's ſupper in that public aſſembly where he adminiſtred it.

Now

Now let us ſee alſo a letter written by Dr Harris concerning this godly gentlewoman, whom he highly honoured, upon the occaſion of his communicating the aforeſaid letter of hers to a friend: 'Do not, ſaith he, think it loſt time to read over this narrative: it was penned by this gracious woman upon a ſerious occaſion, what time ſhe was to give an account of herſelf at her admiſſion to the Lord's ſupper. The diſcourſe is plain, but pregnant of inſtruction. I alter nothing in the thing, I only take notice of the perſons therein mentioned: as 1. God, 2. Satan, 3. The party's ſelf: all which offer matters worthy thy thoughts.'

Firſt in Satan, thou ſeeſt his moſt ordinary way and method in tempting. His firſt attempt is to blow out all light left in the ſoul, and to quell all thoughts of a deity if poſſibly he can, that ſo no room at all may be left for God: if that cannot be, but the conſcience will be ſometimes talking; then his next work is to queſtion and argue the caſe, whether indeed there be ſuch a perſon as God, ſuch a thing as the ſoul, ſuch a book as the Bible, ſuch a place as an heaven or hell; and if he cannot gain ſuch a concluſion from the ſoul, then in the third place the queſtion is, What manner of one this ſuppoſed God is? and firſt, whilſt thou art under mercy, all of vengeance and fury; there was no place for fear, and here is none for hope: there ſin was an inconſiderable thing, and beneath God's cogniſance; here ſin is unpardonable, and beyond God's mercy. In both eſtates he labours the deſtruction of faith; now in the threats, then in the promiſes. In the firſt eſtate you muſt never yield to ſelf deſpair; no, ſpit in his face that ſhall once queſtion thy belief in God, without the leaſt doubting. What? not believe my Maker with all my ſoul? what? once doubt and ſuſpect him? I defie him, and the ſoul fiend that ſhall ſay ſo. On the other ſide, when once converted, what haſt thou to do with the covenant of grace and peace? That is bread for children, not for dogs, hypocrites, for ſins as have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, as thou haſt done; and at this bay he holds the ſoul for ſome ſpace; and ſoon recruits his forces, and renews his interrogatories, thus; Thou within the promiſe? thou a believer? canſt thou ſay, dareſt thou ſay that thou haſt faith? it may be thou dareſt not deny it, but what is that to the point? thou dareſt not affirm it, though partial enough to thy ſelf: be adviſed by me, who loves plain dealing, and let not thy falſe heart, and theſe fawning preachers befool thee unto deſtruction.

Thus the devil up and down, firſt and laſt, thus he proceeded with man at the firſt, and though ſometimes he alters hands, and finds out new ways, yet here lies his road for the moſt part, and this is the firſt party here named.

Now in the ſecond place, what doth God? it muſt be granted that he permitteth theſe helliſh ſcullions to ſcour his plate, and to fit the veſſels of honour for their maſter's uſe, and they (as glad of the office) beſtir themſelves, they draw their veſſels, and render them as foul and ugly as they can; but when they have done their work, God takes his plate out of their hand to their no ſmall grief; and in the mean while God goes along with the temptation, and in them all ſupports his poor ſervants now more immediately by his own hand, prompting their petitions, ſhining into their ſoul ſome glimpſes of comfort, minding them of ſome promiſe; to be ſure, yielding them ſome ſecret hope, ſomething or other which draws them along ſtill more or leſs. 2. Now more immediately by men, and other means; ſometimes he directs them to ſome ſpecial book or treatiſe which fits their caſe, and holds ſoul and life together at preſent; ſometimes he ſends them an interpreter one of a thouſand, that ſhall rip up their miſery, and ſhew them their remedy, and at laſt fetches off his captives, even then when Satan began to crow, and cry victory, that extremity being God's opportunity; and this is uſually, though not ever, God's way.

Now look upon the third concerned, the party tempted, what doth he? he ſticks (often) in the birth, fool as he is; his firſt work is to keep the devil's counſel, confeſs and be damned for ever; the devil is true to him, and he will be as true, and never peach: he travels with a woful burden of ſin, guilt, horror; but if thou loveſt thy ſelf (ſaith the devil) keep thy own counſel, truſt not God nor man. But if the preacher doth force him to a confeſſion, and he can hold no longer, then he makes forth but fair and ſoftly. Firſt, he makes many offers, goes and comes, and ſomething he would ſay, but is loath; he begins afar off, and then ſtops, begins again, with a purpoſe of uttering all; and when he comes to his friend, either all is quiet for the preſent, and the pang over; or elſe, if he hangs ſtill on the rack, then he drops out ſomewhat, but reſerves the worſt, and ſo is little the better, becauſe he comes not to the bottom quickly; or, if he ſpeaks out all, yet there is another rub in the way; how can I tell whether this party's teſtimony be true or no? his judgment and affection being right. He ſhews me promiſes, but knows he or I whether theſe promiſes do belong to me? He ſpeaks of a Chriſt, but what is that to me, if he be none of mine? He talks of believing, ſeeing is believing: It is a ſenſeleſs thing to truſt to another's goodneſs, when I have nothing of mine own: To believe mercy when I feel wrath; ſhall I not believe mine own eyes? And thus, after a world of ſermons, ſacraments, conferences, the poor ſoul hovers, and finds no reſt or ſatisfaction, till God be pleaſed to work him to theſe things:

1. To a reſolution of imparting himſelf to ſome godly friend, and of ſpeaking his whole heart to ſome one or other.

2. Of reſting in God's bare word, without the aſſurance of ſenſe.

3. Of accepting of Jeſus Chriſt, without any Ifs and Ands, notwithſtanding his own unworthineſs.

4. Of waiting upon God, and hearkening when he will ſpeak peace.

And when he is brought thus far, that he will be beholden to a communion of ſaints, and will take God's word, without any further ſurety, and owe all to Chriſt, though he can contribute nothing, and in deſpight of all ſuggeſtions and diſcouragements, will ſtick to the peace of Chriſt, and look for all his peace in that way, ſaying, 'Though he kill me, yet will I truſt in him,' I will wait and hearken to him; when, I ſay, he is thus far proceeded, Satan may now go ſhake his ears, and receive his anſwer, 'It is God that juſtifies, who ſhall condemn?' O hell! where is thy power? O death! O devil! what is thy commiſſion?

It is not my meaning to preſcribe to God any one way of working; but this is the way he often takes with his children; and this we may find exemplified in this foregoing narrative, touching the converſion and procedure of this ſaint, ſo far as ſhe hath commented upon her own life.

Now, for her death, I will tell thee what my obſervations were thereabout.

1. I find that God began with her quickly, and called her hence before ſhe was aged; and that is moſtly his method where an early harveſt is intended, a timely ſeed-time is promiſed; they live quickly, and live apace, who ripen betimes; ſo it was with her, who was ſeldom out of action after her entrance, but gained as much time in ſo little a time, as any I knew.

2. I obſerve that death came not all at once upon her; ſhe was yearly dying ſome years before ſhe died her laſt, and thus death was made familiar to her. I have ſeldom known any of her age that was leſs amazed at the ſpeech and thoughts of death, ſo good a thing it is to know experimentally what it is to die before-hand.

3. Obſerve how God's power triumphs in weakeſt veſſels. It is a thing I have often thought on, that godly women, for the moſt part, die more confidently and comfortably than good men, the Lord trampling upon Satan in them, and in her very eminently.

4. Her patience was remarkable in the midſt of ſore pains, which frequented her in the breeding and bearing of children; yet then her ſpeech was, 'I fear not pains, I fear myſelf; leſt through impatiency I ſhould let paſs any unfitting word.' It is a bleſſed frame when pains ſeem light, and ſin heavy.

5. I plainly ſaw in her the power of grace beyond nature; 1. When life and death were both laid before her, her

her ſpeech was this, 'I am at my father's diſpoſal; howbeit of myſelf I rather incline to death than life. 2. Whereas her affections were very ſtrong both to her loving huſband and children, inſomuch as it was conceived that the laſt farewel would go very near her, when ſhe ſhould part with ſo precious and dear friends; ſhe was ſo much taken up with the thoughts of Chriſt, that ſhe ſeemed not to ſtick at any ſuch relations. Nay, thirdly, She ſeemed wholly to forget her natural ſelf; for being entreated to favour her body and ſpeech, in regard of the lowneſs of her ſpirits, after ſome pauſe, ſhe brake forth into theſe words; 'Shall I, for this poor carcaſe, be wanting to my ſoul's comfort and my Saviour's praiſes? Let me have your prayers ſtill, and God his praiſes; yea, pray not only for, but with me.' Which being done, ſhe overflowed with comfort; and in that condition I left her: And that ſtream of comfort led her, not long after, where are rivers of joy for evermore.

Thus lived ſhe a moſt profitable life; thus died ſhe a moſt fruitful death. God ſo turned this his ſervant, that living, dying, and after death, ſhe ſhould be fruitful. Thus will God honour thoſe that honour him. To him be all honour to eternity. Amen."

Now it may be uſeful to make mention of her laſt ſickneſs, eſpecially eight weeks before her death.

All her diſcourſes were ſavoury, tending to edification. Many good Chriſtians came to viſit her, who all, if it were not their own fault, might reap ſome ſpiritual benefit from thoſe many excellent ſpeeches which proceeded out of her mouth. And the counſels ſhe gave to her relations and other friends, were tempered with gravity and affection. She accuſtomed not herſelf to affectation of high flown phraſes, but held faſt the form of ſound words. She was an old diſciple, and her grave and ſober language diſcovered her ſo to be.

From the very firſt of her laſt ſickneſs, her apprehenſion was that ſhe ſhould die ſhortly, and her longing deſire was to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt. She often repeated thoſe words of Job, 'There the weary go to reſt;' and thoſe words in the cloſe of the Revelations, 'Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly. Upon the approach of her death, whereof ſhe was very ſenſible, ſhe aſked her huſband, what promiſes of aſſurance were a firm ground for her to bottom upon? He named John x. 28. 'And I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh; neither ſhall any man pluck them out of my hand.' Likewiſe he added, Rom. viii. 33. 34. 'Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea, rather that is riſen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us.' He added ver. 38. 39. 'For I am perſuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come; nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.' Theſe, ſaid ſhe, are ſweet promiſes.

That morning ſhe died, ſhe deſired her huſband to read the ſeventeenth chapter of John, (which chapter that eminent and holy Scotchman, Mr Rollock, cauſed to be read to him when he was dying); after that was read, ſhe was ravished with great joy, and expreſſed herſelf accordingly. Her huſband and two other friends prayed with her. After the laſt prayer was ended, ſhe ſaid, 'My fleſh and my heart faileth:' her huſband anſwered, 'That God was the ſtrength of her heart, and her portion for ever.' He would never fail her. She returned an anſwer, which were the laſt words which ever ſhe ſpoke to him, 'He will never fail me.' About an hour after ſhe reſigned up her ſpirit unto God who gave it; and her laſt words were, 'I have finiſhed my courſe.' She ſlept in Jeſus, December the 8th, 1654. To her, 'to live was Chriſt, and to die was gain.' She lived much deſired, and died much lamented. Her name is like precious ointment poured forth. She lived holily, and died comfortably, and now partakes of thoſe joys which 'eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither can enter into the heart of man to conceive,' even thoſe things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

Divers epitaphs were made at the death of this rare gentlewoman; I ſhall only inſert two, which were made by two reverend and learned doctors.

On the Death of Mrs Elizabeth Wilkinson.

E re while, dear conſort, I was leas'd to thee,
W ife now to Chriſt for perpetuity;
L iving with thee was ſweet, with him far beſt,
I n earth's joys mix'd with pain, in him all reſt.
I wrought, I ſuffer'd much, in a few years,
L ife now rewards my work, wipes off my tears;
S ighs all are turn'd to ſongs, all tears to wine,
K ing's favour crowns my heart; what ſhould grieve
A re we not both of the ſame houſhold ſtill? (thine?
I at the banquet, and thou at the mill:
B oth fellow ſervants; I my penſion now:
N ext thine, work on, the feaſt ſucceeds the plow.
E ach of us yet in hopes, my duſt to win,
S alvation from the grave, thy ſoul from ſin:
T hings worth the waiting for; Chriſt comes to ſave,
O mourn no more, but write this on my grave:
H ere lies mother and babe, both without ſins;
N ext birth will make her and her infant twins.
Her child was buried with her.
Thus interwoven were our names, till death,
Left Wilkinſon without Elizabeth.
We'll join again: 'twas man and wife before;
'Twill then be fellow ſaints for evermore.

Ed. Reynolds.

On the truly virtuous and religious Mrs Elizabeth Wilkinſon. *To her Huſband.*

SAy; ſhall I ſpeak, or hold my peace?
That ſeems more due; but this more eaſe:
Where, what to ſpeak, is hard to ſay;
For, ſhould I utter all I may,
'Twere endleſs: and to praiſe a friend
By halves, is but to diſcommend.
And would I ſpeak; to whom, and what?
To thoſe that knew, or knew her not?
Who knew her need it not; for they
Know more than I am like to ſay:
Who knew her not may think, that ſhe
Deſerv'd but what they hear from me:
And ſo, inſtead of ſetting forth
Her praiſe, I ſhall but wrong her worth.
He that adores with ſilent view,
Doth not detract from what is due;
But, all that while, his ſilence ſays,
He knows not how enough to praiſe.
So, might I chuſe, I would adore
Her ſpeaking worth, and ſay no more.
But, ſince I muſt, (for ſo you ſay)
Not hold my peace, I muſt obey;
Yet 'tis, I ſay, too hard a taſk,
To anſwer fully what you aſk,
To know what firſt I ſhould commend,
And harder, where to make an end.
Should I begin, where firſt appear
Her worths, I muſt begin with her.
Higher than ſo I need not go,
Tho' whence ſhe came be worthy too.
For, firſt: Her own deſerving merit
Claims more than others do inherit:
Nor, is it eaſy to expreſs
What age of hers was ſpent amiſs.
Her temper meek; her carriage ſuch;
Her language good, and not too much;
Her habit comely, more than brave;
Her converſation humbly grave.
What virtues deck'd a ſingle life,
Were doubled when ſhe was a wife.
How good a wife, I need not tell
To him who knew her worth ſo well;
Nor, what was her maternal care,
To whom her children were ſo dear.

Nor

Nor was her good confin'd to home,
But challenged a larger room,
To heal the ſick, the hungry feed,
And ſuccour thoſe that ſtood in need;
Good both to ſoul and body too,
Of thoſe with whom ſhe had to do;
To rich, to poor, to great and ſmall;
But in her cloſet beſt of all,
Which was her Chriſtian daily walk,
In doing that which others talk:
Forward to good, without conſtraint:
And, as ſhe liv'd, ſhe died a ſaint.
But this, to ſpeak at large, would crave
A volume, not an epitaph.

And, were it done, I might offend,
By ſhaming many left behind;
Tho' more there may be found, I fear,
That will commend, than follow her.
Some mind good words, more than good lives;
Some are good women, not good wives;
Some, neither this, nor that; and ſome
Abroad are better than at home:
Some hope to die like ſaints, although
'Tis too, too plain, they live not ſo.
'Tis rare, in all reſpects, to ſee
A wife, a woman, like to thee;
At home, abroad, in life, in death,
Like unto our Elizabeth. J. WALLIS, D. D.

THE LIVES OF CHRISTIAN EMPERORS, KINGS, AND SOVEREIGN PRINCES, &c.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, who died in the Year 342.

CONSTANTIUS, the father of CONSTANTINE, was for his paleneſs ſirnamed Chlorus, a Roman by birth, whoſe father was a ſenator. He was made Cæſar by Maximianus, who together with Diocleſian reſigned the empire, choſe Conſtantius to ſucceed him, to whom the government of the weſt fell by lot. He was a man of ſingular clemency towards men, and piety towards God, not ſtaining his reign with the blood of the ſaints, as his predeceſſors had done: he little regarded his private profit, but fought rather the enriching of his ſubjects, ſaying, That it was more behoofful for the common-wealth, that the wealth of the land ſhould be diſperſed in the hands of the commons, than locked up in the prince's coffers.

He was ſo averſe from all ſuperfluities, that upon feſtival days, and when he entertained ſtrangers, he was fain to borrow plate of his friends to furniſh his cup-boards. This coming to Diocleſian's ear, he ſent ambaſſadors to him, reproaching him with poverty, becauſe his treaſury was empty: but Conſtantius intreating them to ſtay a while, ſummoned a parliament of his wealthieſt ſubjects, to whom he declared his need of money, telling them, that now was the time for them to expreſs their love to their lord and king; whereupon, without delay, they ſtrove to fill his exchequer with gold and ſilver; which being done, Conſtantius ſhewed it to the ambaſſadors, bidding them tell their maſter, that his treaſure which he had now collected was before in the hands of his ſubjects, who as ſo many treaſurers kept it for his uſe. The ambaſſadors wondered at it; but after their departure, the good emperor reſtored it again to the former owners, with many expreſſions of his royal favour towards them.

Alſo, to try his courtiers, he commanded all to ſacrifice to idols, pretending to diſcard all that refuſed ſo to do; but contrariwiſe, thoſe that obeyed he put from the court, ſaying, That they which are diſloyal to God, will never be true and truſty to their prince.

His firſt wife was Helena, by birth a Britain, the daughter of Coilus a Britiſh prince, on whom he begat Conſtantine the Great, in Britain.

Conſtantine in his youth was brought up, firſt with Diocleſian, whom he accompanied in his travels through Paleſtine; and afterwards was left an hoſtage with Galerius at Rome. He was of a comely ſtature, excelled others in ſtrength, very affable, and of a royal diſpoſition, his inward virtues being equal to his outward ſhape; for which he was envied by ſome, and feared and hated by the tyrants, who thereupon ſought opportunity to work his overthrow; which Conſtantine obſerving, (after God had twice or thrice diſcovered the conſpiracies that were plotted againſt him) he fled from Rome, having laid all the way with poſt-horſes for the purpoſe, which he left houghed, for fear of purſuit; and ſo he came with all ſpeed to York, where his father lay ſick, being lately returned from an expedition, which he had made againſt the Caledonians and Picts. Conſtantius much rejoiced when he ſaw him, and ſitting upright in his bed, in the preſence of his counſellors, he ſaid, 'It now ſufficeth, and death is not unwelcome, ſeeing I leave my unaccompliſhed actions to be performed by thee, my ſon,' &c. 'Govern the empire with upright juſtice; protect the innocent from the tyranny of oppreſſors, and wipe away all tears from the Chriſtians eyes, for therein, above all other things I have accounted myſelf moſt happy. To thee therefore I leave my diadem, and their defence, taking my faults with me to my grave, there to be buried in everlaſting oblivion; but leaving my virtues, if ever I had any, to revive and live in thee.' And ſo, taking his laſt farewel

farewel of his son and friends, he ended his days in the year 306, and of his age fifty-six, having been Cæsar sixteen years, and Augustus two years.

Immediately Constantine, by acclamation of the people, assistance of the soldiers, and advice of Erocus king of the Almains (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from Rome), was proclaimed emperor, and successor to that part of the world which his father held, which election was joyfully ratified by the senate at Rome, and gladly accepted by all other provinces, who accounted this island of all others most happy which first saw him Cæsar.

His first work was to prosecute the war begun by his father against the Caledonians and Picts, whom he subdued, together with the inhabitants of the western islands. But the unruly Pretorian soldiers at Rome, hearing of the death of Constantius, proclaimed Maxentius, the son of Maximianus Herculius, emperor, who, by his necromancies, adulteries, persecutions, and murders, grew so odious and intollerable to all, that the senate sent to Constantine, craving his aid to redress these things. But, in the mean time, Maxentius was grown to that height of impiety and impurity, that he violently took away mens wives from them, and having violated their chastity, sent them back to their husbands again. Amongst the rest, a Christian matron, wife to a senator, understanding that the tyrants messengers were at the door to fetch her to him, she desired some time to dress herself; and so, going into her chamber, she ran a sword into her side, and fell down dead, leaving her body to the burial, rather than to satisfy the tyrants lust. He also massacred and put his subjects to death upon every light occasion. Many of the senators he slew for their wealth. He gave himself over to magical arts, ripping open the wombs of women great with child, searching the bowels of tender infants and other creatures. He, by conjurations, raised up devils to consult with them about the issue of his wars.

Maximianus, his father, pretending a dislike of these outragious courses of his son, repaired to his son-in-law Constantine, who had married his daughter Fausta, to complain of him to them; but whilst he was with him, he secretly tampered with his daughter to make away her husband; but the good Lady, knowing that her bond to her husband was greater than to her father; she revealed it to Constantine, who thereupon caused him to be put to death; and then commiserating the lamentable condition of the Romans, he raised an army, and marched towards Rome against that tyrant Maxentius, and drawing Licinius, governour of Sclavonia, who was made Cæsar to his side, by giving him his sister Constantia to wife, he hasted towards Rome with an army of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, levied out of Britain, France and Germany; but knowing well that success in war dependeth more on divine assistance than human strength; he considered unto what god he should address his prayers for success, for as yet he was not fully settled in the Christian faith, and considering, that his predecessors, who had worshipped many gods, and put their trust in them, had so often miscarried, and that on the contrary, his father, that had only worshipped one, and the true God, had a happy reign, and was still preserved from many dangers, he therefore resolved to worship and adore that God only which his father had served; wherefore he earnestly prayed unto God, to reveal himself to him, and to prosper him in his journey. and whilst he was thus praying, lifting up his eyes to Heaven about noon-day, he beheld the sign of a cross lively figured in the air, with this inscription, *In hoc vince*, by this overcome; himself and all the army wondering at so strange a prodigy, and being much troubled in his mind to know the meaning of it, the night following Christ appeared to him in his sleep, commanding him to make the like figure and banner against his enemies; whereupon the next day, imparting the vision to his friends, he sent for the best goldsmiths and lapidaries, to make the like cross with gold and precious stones, and withal resolving to worship that God only, who had thus appeared to him, he sent for godly ministers to instruct him therein, who shewed him that Christ was the only begotten Son of God, of his coming into the world, his holy life, death, &c.

Afterwards with great courage, he went forwards bearing before him and his victorious army, instead of the Imperial Eagle, the form of this vision embroidered upon his standard; Maxentius, as much depending upon his sorcerers, was no less confident of victory, for the furtherance whereof, he framed a deceitful bridge over Tyber, to entrap Constantine; and also sent out divers armies to oppose him before he came near the city: but Constantine trusting only in God, overthrew at the first encounter, his first, second, and third armies, and so marching thorough all Italy, he brought his victorious ensigns near the walls of Rome.

Hereupon Maxentius led forth his army above a mile from Rome, and joined battle with Constantine, but being overcharged by the vanguard of Constantine, he, with the rest of his army fled, and either through haste or forgetfulness, took over the deceitful bridge, which he made to entrap Constantine, but no sooner were they entred upon it, but it fell in sunder, whereby they were all drowned.

Constantine and his army remaining victorious sang praises unto God for the same. The senators, nobles, and all the people of Rome, being freed from servitude, received him with rejoicing hearts and loud acclamations; men, women, children and servants called him their patron and preserver. But his humble mind was not puffed up with their praises and applause, but ascribing all to God, he gave thanks to him as the giver of victory: He erected for a trophy his own image, holding a banner with a cross quartered in it. All the western nations also having obtained liberty, kept festivals in honour of Constantine.

He published his royal edicts, whereby he restored to his subjects all those lands which had been injuriously taken from them; calling some from banishment, and freeing others from captivity whom the tyrants had imprisoned; he gat godly ministers about him, and although they went in poor and mean habits, not considering their outside, but honouring the image of God in them, he set them at his own table, took them with him whither soever he went, that he might enjoy the benefit of their prayers. He repaired some churches, built others, and relieved many poor men with many bountiful donations and gifts; to those that begged in the streets, and at his gate, he gave money, meat and clothing; and to such as by wrongs and oppressions were fallen into want, he gave pensions.

He was a father to the fatherless, an husband to the widows; he married young maids that were orphans to honest wealthy men, and gave them portions, and was very gracious to all petitioners and distressed suitors. And perceiving, that there was much discord and various opinions in matters of religion, he called a synod of the clergy, where he was present himself; dismissing his guard as superfluous, whilst he was environed with godly and learned men; he declared to them the controverted points, whereof they were to consult, being very desirous to settle the church in peace and unity; those which were of a quiet and peaceable temper, he made much of and much disliked those which were otherwise; and God to requite the care of his house, made all the barbarous nations to prostrate themselves at his feet; he made him a conqueror and terrible to his enemies, who of his own nature was of a most gentle and gracious disposition.

Yet some of the kindred of Maximianus, conspired treason against him, but through the mercy of God, (who in a wonderful manner revealed all their conspiracies to Constantine, by visions and revelations) they were prevented. God also gave him much peace and safety, whereby he delighted himself in the love of his subjects, but chiefly to see the Church of God in a flourishing condition, and so continuing to the tenth year of his reign, he celebrated public and solemn festivals, wherein he offered up prayers and praises unto God.

But as his fame encreased in the minds of most, so was it much maligned by Licinius, his fellow emperor, who sought an occasion against Constantine, by raising a cruel persecution in the east against Christians, whom he never favoured in his heart, though for a time he had suffered them in the exercise of their religion; and besides he plotted

plotted many treaſons againſt Conſtantine, to whom God revealed them, whereby they were prevented; then by feigned and crafty accuſations, he raiſed a perſecution againſt the godly miniſters, prohibiting them from meeting together in ſynods, to conſult about matters concerning their own and the churches good, and thereby ſeeking to break off and interrupt the harmonious agreement of the church, which could not be long preſerved without ſuch meetings, wherein great and weighty matters of controverſy were fairly debated and determined. Then he baniſhed all godly men out of the court, others he degraded from their dignity, and employed them in ſervile offices; he ſought to enrich himſelf by the ſpoils of others; he threatned with death others that profeſſed the name of Chriſt; he committed many adulteries, and held that no man could live chaſtily, without meaſuring others diſpoſitions by his own vicious inclination.

Then he made a law, that men and women ſhould not be preſent together at divine ſervice; that biſhops ſhould not expound the ſcripture to women, but that women ſhould chuſe women to be their inſtructers and preachers; then he commanded the congregations to meet together without the city gates in the open fields; ſuch ſoldiers, as would not ſacrifice to devils, he put out of their places and offices; he forbad any to relieve thoſe that lay in priſon and were almoſt famiſhed; yea, he made a law, that ſuch as did relieve them ſhould be impriſoned themſelves.

His avarice was inſatiable, taxing the lands of his ſubjects, whereby filling his treaſury with ſilver and gold, and yet complaining of his poverty. He unjuſtly baniſhed many and confiſcated their goods; he made his ſervants to abuſe the wives of noblemen, and then to accuſe them. Himſelf deflowred virgins, and fell to open proſecution of the church, eſpecially of the miniſters, the chiefeſt of whom he cauſed ſecretly to be murdered. Some churches he wholly demoliſhed, and cauſed others to be ſhut up, that the congregations might not meet in them; he invented new kinds of tortures for the Chriſtians; ſome he cauſed to be cut into ſmall pieces, and ſo be thrown into the ſea to feed fiſhes.

But the afflictions of the church coming to the ears of Conſtantine, who ſaw that he could not otherwiſe prevent them, this champion of God, preſently raiſed military forces, ſo that many troops of horſe and foot reſorted to him to follow his Chriſtian ſtandard againſt the tyrant, and by way of preparation, he betook himſelf to prayer, and choſe ſome godly miniſters to attend him; eſteeming them as his ſoul's guard. On the contrary, the tyrant having that Conſtantine had undertook, by God's aſſiſtance, to free the Chriſtians from his tyranny, and had got religious men about him, he derided him, and ſent for the Egyptian conjurers and magicians, and their prieſts to ſacrifice to his falſe gods, and to enquire the ſucceſs of his war, who all with one conſent promiſed, that he ſhould proſper and be victorious; and thus truſting to their promiſes, he marched forward and prepared to join battle.

The two armies meet in Hungary, and a little before the battle, Licinius calling his friends and favourites unto a grove where were many idols, having lighted up waxen tapers, and made his uſual ſacrifices to them, he ſaid, "My friends, theſe are our country Gods, which we from our anceſtors do religiouſly worſhip. Our enemy violating the antient cuſtoms, and blinded with error, worſhips a ſtrange God, which wickedly he conceiveth to be the true God, under whoſe colours he intends to fight, and bear-eth his ſtandard before his army. In confidence of whoſe aſſiſtance he warreth againſt us and our gods, whom he hath traiterouſly forſaken, and relinquiſhed the worſhip of them. Now it will appear whether of us is in an error: for if we have the victory, we ſhall know that our gods preſerve and aſſiſt us: if Conſtantine's ſtrange God ſhall give him the victory over us, who are many more than they, we ſhall thereby know which God ought to be reverenced, &c. And having ended his oration, he commanded his ſoldiers ſtraight to give battle to the enemy.

About this very time, in ſome of theſe cities which were ſubject to Licinius, the citizens thought that they ſaw troops and bands of men of Conſtantine's army marching at noon day through the city, as if they had gotten the victory, Conſtantine having made his prayers to God, joined battle with Licinius, and gave him a great overthrow: many of his enemies caſt away their weapons, and falling down at his feet, craved mercy, which he willingly granted them.

Licinius forſaken of all his forces, and finding by experience, that the confidence which he placed in his falſe gods was fruitleſs, fled away, and Conſtantine forbad his ſoldiers to purſue him, hoping that the ſenſe of his preſent calamity would make him leave off his wicked courſes, and convert him to a milder temper: but he eſcaping into Aſia the leſs, conſults again with conjurers, is confident of ſucceſs promiſed by them, raiſeth another army, which Conſtantine being informed of, devoted himſelf for a time to prayer, and having erected a tabernacle diſtant from his tents, he gave himſelf to godly meditations and prayer, ſome other faithful and religious men accompanying him in theſe religious exerciſes; and ſo marching againſt his enemies, they came to a ſecond battle, where he ſlew many, got the victory, and carried away many trophies: yet he commanded his ſoldiers to ſhew mercy to the captives, and to expreſs humanity towards them, yea himſelf payed their ranſom, whereby they were delivered.

Licinius being taken priſoner, by the mediation of his wife Conſtantia, had his life ſpared, and was confined to the city of Nicomedia: but he after a while practiſing new treaſons, was at laſt by command of Conſtantine put to death: whereupon the peace of God's ſaints manifeſtly appeared, and the goſpel of Chriſt had a free progreſs.

For no ſooner was the blaſting tempeſt of perſecution blown over, but the faithful chriſtians, who before had hidden themſelves in woods and deſerts, and ſecret caves, came forth, re-edified the churches, celebrated feſtival days to God with pure hearts, and faith unfeigned: and now the whole Roman empire enjoying peace, religion ſpread abroad her bright beams to illuminate thoſe which ſat in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death: former miſeries were forgotten, and God was praiſed as the author of this happineſs.

Then were Conſtantine's proclamations ſent abroad to call home thoſe that were baniſhed out of their countries: thoſe which had been condemned to ſlavery were freed; their goods which had been confiſcated were reſtored: ſuch as for their conſtancy in religion had been diſcarded out of their military offices, were put into their places again, and ſuch as were condemned to the ſervility of feminine employments, he enfranchiſed from ſuch baſe ſubjection.

He made laws to redreſs the grievances of his ſubjects: enacted that the goods of thoſe which had ſuffered martyrdom ſhould be reſtored to their kindred, or if they had none, to the church: by his edicts ſent abroad to all nations in Greek and Latin, he acknowleged that God was the owner, and donor of all things, and that by his own ſtrength he had not obtained the victory, but by God's aſſiſtance to whom he aſcribed the glory.

He alſo enacted that the church lands and goods that had been injuriouſly taken away, though now belonging to his own crown, ſhould be reſtored: that ſuch as had purchaſed church lands, or goods, though they had grievouſly offended, yet out of his accuſtomated clemency he freely forgave them, provided that they made preſent reſtitution of the ſame: then he proceeded to confer great dignities on the Chriſtians, making them governors of provinces, and prohibited the heathens to ſacrifice to idols, or to erect their images: he commanded that churches ſhould be built and enlarged, and that the charge thereof ſhould be defrayed out of their own treaſury

Having made himſelf famous by his pious actions, a report was brought to him of a great faction which was growing up in the church, which beginning in the church of Alexandria, ſpread it ſelf through Egypt, Libya, and Thebes, and many other provinces and cities, the biſhops writing, and enveighing one againſt another: this fire was firſt kindled by Arius, which grieved Conſtantine as much as if himſelf had fallen into ſome great calamity, whereupon preſently he choſe one about him, who had

been

her ſpeech was this, 'I am at my father's diſpoſal; howbeit of myſelf I rather incline to death than life. 2. Whereas her affections were very ſtrong both to her loving huſband and children, inſomuch as it was conceived that the laſt farewel would go very near her, when ſhe ſhould part with ſo precious and dear friends; ſhe was ſo much taken up with the thoughts of Chriſt, that ſhe ſeemed not to ſtick at any ſuch relations. Nay, thirdly, She ſeemed wholly to forget her natural ſelf; for being entreated to favour her body and ſpeech, in regard of the lowneſs of her ſpirits, after ſome pauſe, ſhe brake forth into theſe words; 'Shall I, for this poor carcaſe, be wanting to my ſoul's comfort and my Saviour's praiſes? Let me have your prayers ſtill, and God his praiſes; yea, pray not only for, but with me.' Which being done, ſhe overflowed with comfort; and in that condition I left her: And that ſtream of comfort led her, not long after, where are rivers of joy for evermore.

Thus lived ſhe a moſt profitable life; thus died ſhe a moſt fruitful death. God ſo turned this his ſervant, that living, dying, and after death, ſhe ſhould be fruitful. Thus will God honour thoſe that honour him. To him be all honour to eternity. Amen."

Now it may be uſeful to make mention of her laſt ſickneſs, eſpecially eight weeks before her death.

All her diſcourſes were ſavoury, tending to edification. Many good Chriſtians came to viſit her, who all, if it were not their own fault, might reap ſome ſpiritual benefit from thoſe many excellent ſpeeches which proceeded out of her mouth. And the counſels ſhe gave to her relations and other friends, were tempered with gravity and affection. She accuſtomed not herſelf to affectation of high flown phraſes, but held faſt the form of ſound words. She was an old diſciple, and her grave and ſober language diſcovered her ſo to be.

From the very firſt of her laſt ſickneſs, her apprehenſion was that ſhe ſhould die ſhortly, and her longing deſire was to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt. She often repeated thoſe words of Job, 'There the weary go to reſt;' and thoſe words in the cloſe of the Revelations, 'Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly. Upon the approach of her death, whereof ſhe was very ſenſible, ſhe aſked her huſband, what promiſes of aſſurance were a firm ground for her to bottom upon? He named John x. 28. 'And I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh; neither ſhall any man pluck them out of my hand.' Likewiſe he added, Rom. viii. 33. 34. 'Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea, rather that is riſen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us.' He added ver. 38. 39. 'For I am perſuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come; nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.' Theſe, ſaid ſhe, are ſweet promiſes.

That morning ſhe died, ſhe deſired her huſband to read the ſeventeenth chapter of John, (which chapter that eminent and holy Scotchman, Mr Rollock, cauſed to be read to him when he was dying); after that was read, ſhe was ravished with great joy, and expreſſed herſelf accordingly. Her huſband and two other friends prayed with her. After the laſt prayer was ended, ſhe ſaid, 'My fleſh and my heart faileth:' her huſband anſwered, 'That God was the ſtrength of her heart, and her portion for ever.' He would never fail her. She returned an anſwer, which were the laſt words which ever ſhe ſpake to him, 'He will never fail me.' About an hour after ſhe reſigned up her ſpirit unto God who gave it; and her laſt words were, 'I have finiſhed my courſe.' She ſlept in Jeſus, December the 8th, 1654. To her, 'to live was Chriſt, and to die was gain.' She lived much deſired, and died much lamented. Her name is like precious ointment poured forth. She lived holily, and died comfortably, and now partakes of thoſe joys which 'eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither can enter into the heart of man to conceive,' even thoſe things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

Divers epitaphs were made at the death of this rare gentlewoman; I ſhall only inſert two, which were made by two reverend and learned doctors.

On the Death of Mrs ELIZABETH WILKINSON.

E re while, dear conſort, I was leas'd to thee,
W ife now to Chriſt for perpetuity;
L iving with thee was ſweet, with him far beſt,
I n earth's joys mix'd with pain, in him all reſt.
I wrought, I ſuffer'd much, in a few years,
L ife now rewards my work, wipes off my tears;
S ighs all are turn'd to ſongs, all tears to wine,
K ing's favour crowns my heart; what ſhould grieve
A re we not both of the ſame houſhold ſtill? (thine?
I at the banquet, and thou at the mill:
B oth fellow ſervants; I my penſion now:
N ext thine, work on, the feaſt ſucceeds the plow.
E ach of us yet in hopes, my duſt to win,
S alvation from the grave, thy ſoul from ſin:
T hings worth the waiting for; Chriſt comes to ſave,
O mourn no more, but write this on my grave:
H ere lies mother and babe, both without ſins;
N ext birth will make her and her infant twins.

Her child was buried with her.

Thus interwoven were our names, till death,
Left Wilkinſon without Elizabeth.
We'll join again: 'twas man and wife before;
'Twill then be fellow ſaints for evermore.

ED. REYNOLDS.

On the truly virtuous and religious Mrs Elizabeth Wilkinſon. *To her Huſband.*

SAy; ſhall I ſpeak, or hold my peace?
That ſeems more due; but this more eaſe:
Where, what to ſpeak, is hard to ſay;
For, ſhould I utter all I may,
'Twere endleſs: and to praiſe a friend
By halves, is but to diſcommend.
And would I ſpeak; to whom, and what?
To thoſe that knew, or knew her not?
Who knew her need it not; for they
Know more than I am like to ſay:
Who knew her not may think, that ſhe
Deſerv'd but what they hear from me:
And ſo, inſtead of ſetting forth
Her praiſe, I ſhall but wrong her worth.
He that adores with ſilent view,
Doth not detract from what is due;
But, all that while, his ſilence ſays,
He knows not how enough to praiſe.
So, might I chuſe, I would adore
Her ſpeaking worth, and ſay no more.
But, ſince I muſt, (for ſo you ſay)
Not hold my peace, I muſt obey;
Yet 'tis, I ſay, too hard a taſk,
To anſwer fully what you aſk,
To know what firſt I ſhould commend,
And harder, where to make an end.
Should I begin, where firſt appear
Her worths, I muſt begin with her.
Higher than ſo I need not go,
Tho' whence ſhe came be worthy too.
For, firſt: Her own deſerving merit
Claims more than others do inherit:
Nor, is it eaſy to expreſs
What age of hers was ſpent amiſs.
Her temper meek; her carriage ſuch;
Her language good, and not too much;
Her habit comely, more than brave;
Her converſation humbly grave.
What virtues deck'd a ſingle life,
Were doubled when ſhe was a wife.
How good a wife, I need not tell
To him who knew her worth ſo well;
Nor, what was her maternal care,
To whom her children were ſo dear.

Nor

Nor was her good confin'd to home,
But challenged a larger room,
To heal the ſick, the hungry feed,
And ſuccour thoſe that ſtood in need;
Good both to ſoul and body too,
Of thoſe with whom ſhe had to do;
To rich, to poor, to great and ſmall;
But in her cloſet beſt of all,
Which was her Chriſtian daily walk,
In doing that which others talk:
Forward to good, without conſtraint:
And, as ſhe liv'd, ſhe died a ſaint.
But this, to ſpeak at large, would crave
A volume, not an epitaph.
And, were it done, I might offend,
By ſhaming many left behind;
Tho' more there may be found, I fear,
That will commend, than follow her.
Some mind good words, more than good lives;
Some are good women, not good wives;
Some, neither this, nor that; and ſome
Abroad are better than at home:
Some hope to die like ſaints, although
'Tis too, too plain, they live not ſo.
'Tis rare, in all reſpects, to ſee
A wife, a woman, like to thee;
At home, abroad, in life, in death,
Like unto our Elizabeth. J. WALLIS, D. D.

THE LIVES OF CHRISTIAN EMPERORS, KINGS, AND SOVEREIGN PRINCES, *&c.*

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, who died in the Year 342.

CONSTANTIUS, the father of CONSTANTINE, was for his paleneſs ſirnamed Chlorus, a Roman by birth, whoſe father was a ſenator. He was made Cæſar by Maximianus, who together with Dioclesian reſigned the empire, choſe Conſtantius to ſucceed him, to whom the government of the weſt fell by lot. He was a man of ſingular clemency towards men, and piety towards God, not ſtaining his reign with the blood of the ſaints, as his predeceſſors had done: he little regarded his private profit, but ſought rather the enriching of his ſubjects, ſaying, That it was more behoofful for the common-wealth, that the wealth of the land ſhould be diſperſed in the hands of the commons, than locked up in the prince's coffers.

He was ſo averſe from all ſuperfluities, that upon feſtival days, and when he entertained ſtrangers, he was fain to borrow plate of his friends to furniſh his cup boards. This coming to Dioclesian's ear, he ſent ambaſſadors to him, reproaching him with poverty, becauſe his treaſury was empty: but Conſtantius intreating them to ſtay a while, ſummoned a parliament of his wealthieſt ſubjects, to whom he declared his need of money, telling them, that now was the time for them to expreſs their love to their lord and king; whereupon, without delay, they ſtrove to fill his exchequer with gold and ſilver; which being done, Conſtantius ſhewed it to the ambaſſadors, bidding them tell their maſter, that his treaſure which he had now collected was before in the hands of his ſubjects, who as ſo many treaſurers kept it for his uſe. The ambaſſadors wondered at it; but after their departure, the good emperor reſtored it again to the former owners, with many expreſſions of his royal favour towards them.

Alſo, to try his courtiers, he commanded all to ſacrifice to idols, pretending to diſcard all that refuſed ſo to do; but contrariwiſe, thoſe that obeyed he put from the court, ſaying, That they which are diſloyal to God, will never be true and truſty to their prince.

His firſt wife was Helena, by birth a Britain, the daughter of Coilus a Britiſh prince, on whom he begat Conſtantine the Great, in Britain.

Conſtantine in his youth was brought up, firſt with Dioclesian, whom he accompanied in his travels through Paleſtine; and afterwards was left as hoſtage with Galerius at Rome. He was of a comely ſtature, excelled others in ſtrength, very affable, and of a royal diſpoſition, his inward virtues being equal to his outward ſhape; for which he was envied by ſome, and feared and hated by the tyrants, who thereupon ſought opportunity to work his overthrow; which Conſtantine obſerving, (after God had twice or thrice diſcovered the conſpiracies that were plotted againſt him) he fled from Rome, having laid all the way with poſt-horſes for the purpoſe, which he left houghed, for fear of purſuit; and ſo he came with all ſpeed to York, where his father lay ſick, being lately returned from an expedition, which he had made againſt the Caledonians and Picts. Conſtantius much rejoiced when he ſaw him, and ſitting upright in his bed, in the preſence of his counſellors, he ſaid, 'It now ſufficeth, and death is not unwelcome, ſeeing I leave my unaccompliſhed actions to be performed by thee, my ſon,' &c. 'Govern the empire with upright juſtice; protect the innocent from the tyranny of oppreſſors, and wipe away all tears from the Chriſtians eyes, for therein, above all other things I have accounted myſelf moſt happy. To thee therefore I leave my diadem, and their defence, taking my faults with me to my grave, there to be buried in everlaſting oblivion; but leaving my virtues, if ever I had any, to revive and live in thee.' And ſo, taking his laſt farewel

farewel of his ſon and friends, he ended his days in the year 306, and of his age fifty-ſix, having been Cæſar ſixteen years, and Auguſtus two years.

Immediately Conſtantine, by acclamation of the people, aſſiſtance of the ſoldiers, and advice of Erocus king of the Almains (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from Rome), was proclaimed emperor, and ſucceſſor to that part of the world which his father held, which election was joyfully ratified by the ſenate at Rome, and gladly accepted by all other provinces, who accounted this iſland of all others moſt happy which firſt ſaw him Cæſar.

His firſt work was to proſecute the war begun by his father againſt the Caledonians and Picts, whom he ſubdued, together with the inhabitants of the weſtern iſlands. But the unruly Pretorian ſoldiers at Rome, hearing of the death of Conſtantius, proclaimed Maxentius, the ſon of Maximianus Herculius, emperor, who, by his necromancies, adulteries, perſecutions, and murders, grew ſo odious and intollerable to all, that the ſenate ſent to Conſtantine, craving his aid to redreſs theſe things. But, in the mean time, Maxentius was grown to that height of impiety and impurity, that he violently took away mens wives from them, and having violated their chaſtity, ſent them back to their husbands again. Amongſt the reſt, a Chriſtian matron, wife to a ſenator, underſtanding that the tyrants meſſengers were at the door to fetch her to him, ſhe deſired ſome time to dreſs herſelf; and ſo, going into her chamber, ſhe ran a ſword into her ſide, and fell down dead, leaving her body to the burial, rather than to ſatisfy the tyrants luſt. He alſo maſſacred and put his ſubjects to death upon every light occaſion. Many of the ſenators he ſlew for their wealth. He gave himſelf over to magical arts, ripping open the wombs of women great with child, ſearching the bowels of tender infants and other creatures. He, by conjurations, raiſed up devils to conſult with them about the iſſue of his wars.

Maximianus, his father, pretending a diſlike of theſe outragious courſes of his ſon, repaired to his ſon-in-law Conſtantine, who had married his daughter Fauſta, to complain of him to them; but whilſt he was with him, he ſecretly tampered with his daughter to make away her huſband; but the good Lady, knowing that her bond to her huſband was greater than to her father; ſhe revealed it to Conſtantine, who thereupon cauſed him to be put to death; and then commiſerating the lamentable condition of the Romans, he raiſed an army, and marched towards Rome againſt that tyrant Maxentius, and drawing Licinius, governour of Sclavonia, who was made Cæſar to his ſide, by giving him his ſiſter Conſtantia to wife, he haſted towards Rome with an army of ninety thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, levied out of Britain, France and Germany; but knowing well that ſucceſs in war depended more on divine aſſiſtance than human ſtrength; he conſidered unto what god he ſhould addreſs his prayers for ſucceſs, for as yet he was not fully ſettled in the Chriſtian faith, and conſidering, that his predeceſſors, who had worſhipped many gods, and put their truſt in them, had ſo often miſcarried, and that on the contrary, his father, that had only worſhipped one, and the true God, had a happy reign, and was ſtill preſerved from many dangers, he therefore reſolved to worſhip and adore that God only which his father had ſerved; wherefore he earneſtly prayed unto God, to reveal himſelf to him, and to proſper him in his journey. and whilſt he was thus praying, lifting up his eyes to Heaven about noon-day, he beheld the ſign of a croſs lively figured in the air, with this inſcription, *In hoc vince*, by this overcome; himſelf and all the army wondering at ſo ſtrange a prodigy, and being much troubled in his mind to know the meaning of it, the night following Chriſt appeared to him in his ſleep, commanding him to make the like figure and banner againſt his enemies; whereupon the next day, imparting the viſion to his friends, he ſent for the beſt goldſmiths and lapidaries, to make the like croſs with gold and precious ſtones, and withal reſolving to worſhip that God only, who had thus appeared to him, he ſent for godly miniſters to inſtruct him therein, who ſhewed him that Chriſt was the only begotten Son of God, of his coming into the world, his holy life, death, &c.

Afterwards with great courage, he went forwards bearing before him and his victorious army, inſtead of the Imperial Eagle, the form of this viſion embroidered upon his ſtandard; Maxentius, as much depending upon his ſorcerers, was no leſs confident of victory, for the furtherance whereof, he framed a deceitful bridge over Tyber, to entrap Conſtantine; and alſo ſent out divers armies to oppoſe him before he came near the city: but Conſtantine truſting only in God, overthrew at the firſt encounter, his firſt, ſecond, and third armies, and ſo marching thorough all Italy, he brought his victorious enſigns near the walls of Rome.

Hereupon Maxentius led forth his army above a mile from Rome, and joined battle with Conſtantine, but being overcharged by the vanguard of Conſtantine, he, with the reſt of his army fled, and either through haſte or forgetfulneſs, took over the deceitful bridge, which he made to entrap Conſtantine, but no ſooner were they entred upon it, but it fell in ſunder, whereby they were all drowned.

Conſtantine and his army remaining victorious ſang praiſes unto God for the ſame. The ſenators, nobles, and all the people of Rome, being freed from ſervitude, received him with rejoicing hearts and loud acclamations; men, women, children and ſervants called him their patron and preſerver. But his humble mind was not puffed up with their praiſes and applauſe, but aſcribing all to God, he gave thanks to him as the giver of victory: He erected for a trophy his own image, holding a banner with a croſs quartered in it. All the weſtern nations alſo having obtained liberty, kept feſtivals in honour of Conſtantine.

He publiſhed his royal edicts, whereby he reſtored to his ſubjects all thoſe lands which had been injuriouſly taken from them; calling ſome from baniſhment, and freeing others from captivity whom the tyrants had impriſoned; he gat godly miniſters about him, and although they went in poor and mean habits, not conſidering their outſide, but honouring the image of God in them, he ſet them at his own table, took them with him whither ſoever he went, that he might enjoy the benefit of their prayers. He repaired ſome churches, built others, and relieved many poor men with many bountiful donations and gifts; to thoſe that begged in the ſtreets, and at his gate, he gave money, meat and clothing; and to ſuch as by wrongs and oppreſſions were fallen into want, he gave penſions.

He was a father to the fatherleſs, an huſband to the widows; he married young maids that were orphans to honeſt wealthy men, and gave them portions, and was very gracious to all petitioners and diſtreſſed ſuitors. And perceiving, that there was much diſcord and various opinions in matters of religion, he called a ſynod of the clergy, where he was preſent himſelf; diſmiſſing his guard as ſuperfluous, whilſt he was environed with godly and learned men; he declared to them the controverted points, whereof they were to conſult, being very deſirous to ſettle the church in peace and unity; thoſe which were of a quiet and peaceable temper, he made much of and much diſliked thoſe which were otherwiſe; and God to requite the care of his houſe, made all the barbarous nations to proſtrate themſelves at his feet; he made him a conqueror and terrible to his enemies, who of his own nature was of a moſt gentle and gracious diſpoſition.

Yet ſome of the kindred of Maximianus, conſpired treaſon againſt him, but through the mercy of God, (who in a wonderful manner revealed all their conſpiracies to Conſtantine, by viſions and revelations) they were prevented. God alſo gave him much peace and ſafety, whereby he delighted himſelf in the love of his ſubjects, but chiefly to ſee the Church of God in a flouriſhing condition, and ſo continuing to the tenth year of his reign, he celebrated public and ſolemn feſtivals, wherein he offered up prayers and praiſes unto God.

But as his fame encreaſed in the minds of moſt, ſo was it much maligned by Lucinius, his fellow emperor, who fought an occaſion againſt Conſtantine, by raiſing a cruel perſecution in the eaſt againſt Chriſtians, whom he never favoured in his heart, though for a time he had ſuffered them in the exerciſe of their religion; and beſides he plotted

plotted many treaſons againſt Conſtantine, to whom God revealed them, whereby they were prevented; then by feigned and crafty accuſations, he raiſed a perſecution againſt the godly miniſters, prohibiting them from meeting together in ſynods, to conſult about matters concerning their own and the churches good, and thereby ſeeking to break off and interrupt the harmonious agreement of the church, which could not be long preſerved without ſuch meetings, wherein great and weighty matters of controverſy were fairly debated and determined. Then he baniſhed all godly men out of the court, others he degraded from their dignity, and employed them in ſervile offices; he ſought to enrich himſelf by the ſpoils of others; he threatned with death others that profeſſed the name of Chriſt; he committed many adulteries, and held that no man could live chaſtily, without meaſuring others diſpoſitions by his own vicious inclination.

Then he made a law, that men and women ſhould not be preſent together at divine ſervice; that biſhops ſhould not expound the ſcripture to women, but that women ſhould chuſe women to be their inſtructers and preachers; then he commanded the congregations to meet together without the city gates in the open fields; ſuch ſoldiers, as would not ſacrifice to devils, he put out of their places and offices; he forbad any to relieve thoſe that lay in priſon and were almoſt famiſhed; yea, he made a law, that ſuch as did relieve them ſhould be impriſoned themſelves.

His avarice was inſatiable, taxing the lands of his ſubjects, whereby filling his treaſury with ſilver and gold, and yet complaining of his poverty. He unjuſtly baniſhed many and confiſcated their goods; he made his ſervants to abuſe the wives of noblemen, and then to accuſe them. Himſelf deflowred virgins, and fell to open proſecution of the church, eſpecially of the miniſters, the chiefeſt of whom he cauſed ſecretly to be murdered. Some churches he wholly demoliſhed, and cauſed others to be ſhut up, that the congregations might not meet in them; he invented new kinds of tortures for the Chriſtians; ſome he cauſed to be cut into ſmall pieces, and ſo be thrown into the ſea to feed fiſhes.

But the afflictions of the church coming to the ears of Conſtantine, who ſaw that he could not otherwiſe prevent them, this champion of God, preſently raiſed military forces, ſo that many troops of horſe and foot reſorted to him to follow his Chriſtian ſtandard againſt the tyrant, and by way of preparation, he betook himſelf to prayer, and choſe ſome godly miniſters to attend him; eſteeming them as his ſoul's guard. On the contrary, the tyrant hearing that Conſtantine had undertook, by God's aſſiſtance, to free the Chriſtians from his tyranny, and had got religious men about him, he derided him, and ſent for the Egyptian conjurers and magicians, and their prieſts to ſacrifice to his falſe gods, and to enquire the ſucceſs of his war, who all with one conſent promiſed, that he ſhould proſper and be victorious; and thus truſting to their promiſes, he marched forward and prepared to join battle.

The two armies meet in Hungary, and a little before the battle, Licinius calling his friends and favourites unto a grove where were many idols, having lighted up waxen tapers, and made his uſual ſacrifices to them, he ſaid, 'My friends, theſe are our country Gods, which we from our anceſtors do religiouſly worſhip. Our enemy violating the antient cuſtoms, and blinded with error, worſhips a ſtrange God, which wickedly he conceiveth to be the true God, under whoſe colours he intends to fight, and beareth his ſtandard before his army. In confidence of whoſe aſſiſtance he warreth againſt us and our gods, whom he hath traiterouſly forſaken, and relinquiſhed the worſhip of them. Now it will appear whether of us is in an error: for if we have the victory, we ſhall know that our gods preſerve and aſſiſt us: if Conſtantine's ſtrange God ſhall give him the victory over us, who are many more than they, we ſhall thereby know which God ought to be reverenced. &c. And having ended his oration, he commanded his ſoldiers ſtraight to give battle to the enemy.

About this very time, in ſome of theſe cities which were ſubject to Licinius, the citizens thought that they ſaw troops and bands of men of Conſtantine's army marching at noon day through the city, as if they had gotten the victory, Conſtantine having made his prayers to God, joined battle with Licinius, and gave him a great overthrow: many of his enemies caſt away their weapons, and falling down at his feet, craved mercy, which he willingly granted them.

Licinius forſaken of all his forces, and finding by experience, that the confidence which he placed in his falſe gods was fruitleſs, fled away, and Conſtantine forbad his ſoldiers to purſue him, hoping that the ſenſe of his preſent calamity would make him leave off his wicked courſes, and convert him to a milder temper: but he eſcaping into Aſia the leſs, conſults again with conjurers, is confident of ſucceſs promiſed by them, raiſeth another army, which Conſtantine being informed of, devoted himſelf for a time to prayer, and having erected a tabernacle diſtant from his tents, he gave himſelf to godly meditations and prayer, ſome other faithful and religious men accompanying him in theſe religious exerciſes; and ſo marching againſt his enemies, they came to a ſecond battle, where he ſlew many, got the victory, and carried away many trophies: yet he commanded his ſoldiers to ſhew mercy to the captives, and to expreſs humanity towards them, yea himſelf payed their ranſom, whereby they were delivered.

Licinius being taken priſoner, by the mediation of his wife Conſtantia, had his life ſpared, and was confined to the city of Nicomedia: but he after a while practiſing new treaſons, was at laſt by command of Conſtantine put to death: whereupon the peace of God's ſaints manifeſtly appeared, and the goſpel of Chriſt had a free progreſs.

For no ſooner was the blaſting tempeſt of perſecution blown over, but the faithful chriſtians, who before had hidden themſelves in woods and deſerts, and ſecret caves, came forth, re-edified the churches, celebrated feſtival days to God with pure hearts, and faith unfeigned: and now the whole Roman empire enjoying peace, religion ſpread abroad her bright beams to illuminate thoſe which ſat in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death: former miſeries were forgotten, and God was praiſed as the author of this happineſs.

Then were Conſtantine's proclamations ſent abroad to call home thoſe that were baniſhed out of their countries: thoſe which had been condemned to ſlavery were freed; their goods which had been confiſcated were reſtored: ſuch as for their conſtancy in religion had been diſcarded out of their military offices, were put into their places again, and ſuch as were condemned to the ſervility of feminine employments, he enfranchiſed from ſuch baſe ſubjection.

He made laws to redreſs the grievances of his ſubjects: enacted that the goods of thoſe which had ſuffered martyrdom ſhould be reſtored to their kindred, or if they had none, to the church: by his edicts ſent abroad to all nations in Greek and Latin, he acknowleged that God was the owner, and donor of all things, and that by his own ſtrength he had not obtained the victory, but by God's aſſiſtance to whom he aſcribed the glory.

He alſo enacted that the church lands and goods that had been injuriouſly taken away, though now belonging to his own crown, ſhould be reſtored: that ſuch as had purchaſed church lands, or goods, though they had grievouſly offended, yet out of his accuſtomated clemency he freely forgave them, provided that they made preſent reſtitution of the ſame: then he proceeded to confer great dignities on the Chriſtians, making them governors of provinces, and prohibited the heathens to ſacrifice to idols, or to erect their images: he commanded that churches ſhould be built and enlarged, and that the charge thereof ſhould be defrayed out of their own treaſury

Having made himſelf famous by his pious actions, a report was brought to him of a great faction which was growing up in the church, which beginning in the church of Alexandria, ſpread it ſelf through Egypt, Libya, and Thebes, and many other provinces and cities, the biſhops writing, and enveighing one againſt another: this fire was firſt kindled by Arius, which grieved Conſtantine as much as if himſelf had fallen into ſome great calamity, whereupon preſently he choſe one about him, who had

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been a zealous and faithful confeſſor of the truth in times of perſecution, whom he ſent to Alexandria to draw them to peace and concord, writing his letters to the authors of ſedition to this purpoſe, that, whereas all his deſigns and endeavours had tended to bring all nations to agree in one opinion in matters of religion, the rather that the heathen by ſuch an example might the ſooner be converted; and whereas ſome raſh, and ſeditious ſpirits, had by their errors made a ſchiſm in the church of Afric, he had ſent ſober and religious miniſters to reconcile their factious ſpirits, and ſettle peace in the church; but hearing that new factious ſeditions were ſprung up amongſt them, he was much grieved at it, and now wrote to them, proffering himſelf to arbitrate and moderate their mutual diſſentions, not doubting, through the help of God, and aſſiſtance of godly and learned men, to reconcile their differences, and ſettle peace amongſt them again.

And ſaith he, 'Whereas I was at Nicomedia purpoſing a journey into the eaſt, the receipt of your letters diverted my intentions, being unwilling to behold that, which I was grieved to hear of, *viz.* your contentions, therefore by your concord and agreement open me a paſſage into the eaſt, where your diſſentions have ſhut me out, and let me ſee a joyful agreement amongſt you, that all of us being reconciled together may praiſe and glorify God.

The meſſenger did not only deliver the letter, but dealt very earneſtly with them for the ſettling of peace, yet he could not bring it to paſs, the faction being grown ſo ſtrong, that it was ſpread all over the eaſtern provinces, the devil envying the happineſs of the church, cauſed this diſcord and contention ſtill to continue; the firſt original of it was this.

Arius a preſbyter in the city of Alexandria, a man which outwardly made a great ſhew of holineſs, denied the eternity of the Son of God with the Father alledging that he was not of the ſame ſubſtance with him; at the ſame time Alexander a man of great holineſs and learning was biſhop in that city, who being of a gentle and mild condition, endeavoured to have cured Arius of that hereſy, praying and admoniſhing him to leave his errors; but he being of a proud and inſolent nature, perſiſted therein, and ſo drew many followers after him, hereupon Alexander proceeded to excommunicate him, which prevailing no thing, Alexander acquainted the emperor with it, ſaying that the miſchief was grown ſo great that it required a great and ſpeedy remedy.

Conſtantine underſtanding that theſe diviſions increaſed in Egypt, and amongſt the Thebans, in ſo much as the people grew tumultuous, killing and murdering one another, and committing many other outrages: and another diviſion ſprang up alſo at the ſame time concerning the celebration of Eaſter. Hereupon he called a general council in the city of Nicea in the province of Bythinia in Aſia, and having ſent abroad his writs into every province, the biſhops and miniſters repaired cheerfully to that place, ſome hoping that an univerſal peace would be eſtabliſhed, others deſiring to ſee this godly emperor.

Here were congregated out of Aſia, Africa and Europe three hundred and eighteen biſhops, beſides preſbyters and deacons, whereof ſome were famous for their doctrine; ſome for their gravity and conſtancy; ſome for their experience and age; ſome for their acuteneſs and ingenuity; and all had their diet allowed them by the emperor; who himſelf in perſon was preſent amongſt them.

Upon the day appointed to begin the council, they all aſſembled in the hall of the emperor's palace, where ſeats being ſet on both ſides, they took their places according to their degree and dignity: then came the emperor with an humble countenance, and modeſt aſpect, whereupon they all roſe up; at the upper end of the hall he ſtood a while, and would not ſit down, till he had given a ſign to the biſhops to ſit down alſo; then one of the chiefeſt among them made a brief ſpeech to the emperor, and recited a hymn of thankſgiving unto God: whereupon the emperor ſpoke to this purpoſe;

'It was my deſire, dear friends, to convocate you in a general council, and ſeeing you now aſſembled, I give God thanks for it; let not therefore any private envy deprive us of that good which we expect by this meeting: And God having made us victorious over the tyrants, let not the devil's tares of diſſention ſpring up, to the diſturbance of the peace of the church, for theſe are of worſe conſequence than war; for that kills the body, the other deſtroys the ſoul. I rejoice to ſee you here together, but ſhall much more rejoice to ſee unity in affection, and concord amongſt you, which, being devoted to God's ſervice, you ought to deſire, and to encourage others, by your example, to embrace peace and concord. I entreat you therefore, beloved miniſters of God, and ſervants of Chriſt, take away the cauſes of diſſention, cut off this Hydra's head of hereſy, and eſtabliſh peace, ſo ſhall you pleaſe God, and me your fellow ſervant in the Lord.'

But amongſt ſo many biſhops, though many were good and holy men, yet others were full of envy and contention; whereupon they accuſed one another to the emperor, exhibiting their complaints to him in writing; but he calling them before him, burnt their informations, that none ſhould ſee them, and ſaid unto them; 'Fathers, and miniſters, God hath called you to the miniſtry, and thereby hath given you power, in an orderly way, to judge me, but you cannot be judged by me, wherefore I refer your controverſies to the judgment of God and the council. Wherefore, ſetting apart all malice and diſcord, for God's ſake, apply yourſelves to peace, and to the forgetting of all theſe private injuries.'

In the council alſo he perſuaded ſome, pacified others, praiſed others, and endeavoured to bring them all to concord and agreement; and ſo at length, by God's bleſſing, he brought moſt of them to unity in opinion in all points of controverſy, that they did not only agree in matters of faith, but alſo of one certain time for the celebration of Eaſter; to which decrees they all ſet their hands, and they were ingroſſed as the determinate acts of the counſel. Arius and his wicked ſect were condemned by all the biſhops, except ſeventeen, which held with him, whereof eleven afterwards recanted; and Arius, with the other ſix, were excommunicate, and baniſhed by the emperor: and ſo was the holy and Chriſtian council diſſolved.

After which the good emperor affirmed, That he had gained a ſecond victory againſt the enemy of the church: having now reigned twenty years, he made a great feaſt, to the honour and glory of God, and invited the biſhops thereunto, and ſome of them he placed at his own table, the reſt at tables on either hand him.

The feaſt being ended, he gave gifts and preſents to all the biſhops; and by his letters divulged and confirmed the council acts, and by his decrees enjoined ſubmiſſion to the ſame.

When he diſmiſſed the biſhops, he made a ſpeech to them, admoniſhing them to preſerve peace, to avoid contention, not to envy one another for gifts or wiſdom, but to eſteem their abilities as a common good.

His next care was to demoliſh and pull down idolatrous temples and images, as the grove and temple of Venus in Phœnicia, which was a ſchool of wickedneſs to thoſe who were addicted to luſt, where men and women frequently committed adulteries, fornications, &c. Conſtantine thinking it unfit that the ſun ſhould behold ſuch villainy, ſent a band of ſoldiers to ſuppreſs it; as alſo the temple of Æſculapius, and the image of Venus at Heliopolis, and many ſuch like in other places.

But the devil envying the proſperity of the church, raiſed a new ſedition in Antioch, where the whole city was divided into two factions about the choice of a biſhop, and were ſo mad againſt each other, that had not Conſtantine interpoſed, they had deſtroyed one another; to them therefore he ſent ambaſſadors to pacify their fury, adviſing them, by letters, to preſerve peace, and approve themſelves dutiful ſubjects, perſuading them to refer their cauſe to him, and that they ſhould not ſeek the biſhop of another church, but ſhould chuſe him for their biſhop, whom God of his providence had appointed them. The biſhop whom they deſired was Euſebius, biſhop of Cæſaria, but the emperor wrote one letter to them to diſſuade them from that choice, and another to Euſebius, to commend him for refuſing of it.

To end this controverſy, a ſynod was called, and Conſtantine wrote to them to do all things according to the preſcript of God's word, commending ſome to them whom he judged fit for the place.

He

He endeavoured to extirpate and root out all hereſies, writing to the Valentinians, Marcioniſts, Cataphrigians, &c. that their doctrine was falſe and ſeditious, that they were enemies to truth and eternal life; and therefore, that he would not ſuffer that contagion to ſpread further, ſeeing the whole and ſound were daily infected with their peſtilent errors, but would ſeverely puniſh the offenders and delinquents. Then he enacted, That none of them ſhould meet together in conventicles: That the churches where they uſed to meet ſhould be demoliſhed, and confiſted to the catholic church, and other places of their meeting converted to the uſe of the common-wealth; commanding, that from that day they ſhould have no places of meeting, neither public nor private. Hereby many being brought to a ſight of their errors, publicly manifeſted their repentance, and ſo were again received into the church.

He was eminent for juſtice, neither denying nor delaying any juſt and reaſonable petitions. He remitted to the owners of the land the fourth part of ſuch rents as were formerly paid him. He mitigated the heavy tributes; and being unwilling that ſuch as were caſt in ſuits of law ſhould be utterly undone, he freely beſtowed on them both land and money. He thought it unfit, that any one admitted into the preſence of his imperial majeſty ſhould go haſtily out of his preſence.

And as his care was to advance God's glory, God alſo highly advanced him, by making him victorious over the Scythians and Sauromatians.

Ambaſſadors came to him from all nations, preſenting him with precious gifts, and offering him from their kings, if he pleaſed, to ſerve him in all his wars. He returned gifts to the ambaſſadors, and dignified the deſerving with Roman honours, ſo that ſome of them embraced Roman civility, and never returned into their own countries again.

The king of Perſia ſending ambaſſadors with rich preſents to him, deſiring to renew their league: he returned them with far richer gifts; and underſtanding that many Chriſtians ſuffered perſecution under him, he wrote effectually to him in their behalf, deſiring him to receive them into his protection; for, ſaid he, 'by dealing graciouſly with them, you ſhall do me and yourſelf a great benefit.

He knowing how effectual the prayer of faith was, did not only frequently proſtrate himſelf before God in private, but commanded and deſired the public prayers of the church alſo in his behalf. He made his court a church where prayers were made, and the ſcriptures were read and expounded daily. He made laws for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's day, commanding, that through all the Roman empire all work and labour ſhould be forborn. He preſcribed a form of prayer to the legions of ſoldiers, to be uſed both on the Sabbaths and other days. He prohibited the adoration of images; as alſo the ſingle combat of ſword players, who ſlew one another to make the people paſtime.

And whereas the Egyptians worſhipped the river Nilus, with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, thinking that otherwiſe the river would not overflow, he forbad it upon pain of death, and that wicked cuſtom being put down, the river overflowed the country, and made it more fruitful than formerly.

And whereas certain unjuſt laws were made againſt thoſe that were childleſs, he aboliſhed them, and enacted that their inheritance ſhould deſcend to thoſe that were next of kin to them.

He ordained that the determination of ſynods ſhould be a binding rule for deciding of eccleſiaſtical controverſies. He endowed and much enriched the churches of God. Meeting with a covetous man, he ſaid, O good man, when will thy thirſt of covetouſneſs be ſatisfied?' And having drawn forth with his ſpear the meaſure of a man's ſtature upon the ground, he ſaid, 'If thou hadſt at home all the wealth and treaſure of the world, yet muſt thou leave it, and poſſeſs no more than this figure on the earth, if thou obtaineſt that.

But whilſt he took pleaſure in meekneſs, and mercy, ſaving offenders, he made his government to be derided and contemned by ſome wicked perſons. He ſent to Euſebius to get him fifty Bibles fairly written on parchment for the city of Conſtantinople, appointing the governour of the province to provide him with all things neceſſary for the charge thereof.

Gaza, formerly a mart town in Paleſtine, receiving the faith, he much rejoiced at it, and made it a city, which he named Conſtantia. In many other cities he cauſed idols to be taken away, and churches to be erected.

But whilſt he was thus buſy for the church's good, the devil ſtirred up new factions and diviſions in Egypt, whereupon he aſſembled a ſynod, commanding them ſpeedily to determine and end theſe controverſies: he ſent his delegate to it with authority, that if any condemned his command, in not coming to it, he ſhould baniſh him. On a time, a flattering preſbyter telling him, That he was a bleſſed man, and worthy to be emperor over the whole world, and to reign with the Son of God in eternal glory; he manifeſted his diſlike, commanded him that he ſhould not dare hereafter to uſe any ſuch ſpeeches; but rather pray earneſtly for him, that he might live and die God's faithful ſervant.

About this time came ambaſſadors to him from the Eaſt Indies, bringing him all kind of precious ſtones and pearls, and ſtrange living creatures, declaring that their princes did acknowlege him the king and emperor of the world.

He had three ſons, Conſtantine, Conſtantius, and Conſtance; theſe he made Cæſars whilſt he lived, and inſtructed them in thoſe arts which do adorn imperial majeſty: he appointed them a counſel for the diſpatch of public affairs: he adviſed them to prefer the knowlege and worſhip of God before wealth and kingdoms: he placed religious officers about them; and amongſt theſe three ſons he divided his empire when he died.

Hearing that the eaſtern barbarians roſe againſt him in his old age, he raiſed an army, and took ſome biſhops along with him to pray for ſucceſs, and ſo marched againſt them; but they hearing of it, ſent ambaſſadors to crave pardon, and promiſe obedience; and he being always deſirous of peace, entertained them courteouſly, and granted their requeſts.

Falling into ſome diſtemper, he reſolved to go to the warm baths, but fell ſick at Hellenopolis; and finding his end to approach, he humbly confeſſed his ſins to God; and (as Euſebius ſaith) was there baptized, but moſt probably he was long before baptized at Rome; and ſo quietly reſigned up his ſpirit unto God, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and of his age ſixty-ſix, in the year 342.

Till his laſt ſickneſs his body continued ſtrong and luſty, not troubled with any diſeaſe, pain, or infirmity: he was of a comely preſence and aſpect, and was ſtout and hardy to endure exerciſe, riding, travel, and wars: he made and penned holy prayers to his dying day.

He removed the imperial ſeat from Rome to Byzantium in Thracia, which he adorned with ſtately edifices and privileges above other cities; he enriched and adorned it with the ſpoils of Rome, as ſtatues, pillars, coloſſes, and all other things that were ſingular and excellent, either of ſtone or metal; the like he did from other cities alſo: he built in it a ſtately palace, a moſt magnificent church, wherein he erected his own tomb, a famous library, wherein he put an hundred and twenty thouſand of the chiefeſt written books, and in the midſt thereof was admirably written, in letters of gold, Homer's Illiad. His death was much bewailed amongſt all ſorts of perſons; his guard and officers tore their garments, caſt themſelves on the ground, beat their heads againſt the pavement, crying out that they had loſt a gracious lord, &c. The centurions and captains bewailed the loſs of their general; the ſoldiers of their ſhepherd: the people ran about the city with weeping and lamentation. When the ſenate and citizens of Rome heard of it, they ſhut up their baths, prohibited all public places and recreations, lamenting and mourning exceſſively.

He uſed to ſhew much reverence and attention to the word of God preached, ſo that many times he would ſtand up all the ſermon time; and when ſome of his courtiers told him, that it would tend to his diſparagement, he anſwered, That it was in the ſervice of the great God, who is no reſpecter of perſons. He uſed to kiſs the hol-

low of old Paphnutius's eye, which he had loſt for the cauſe of Chriſt in the former perſecutions.

The days of this godly emperor's reign were the breathing days of the perſecuted church: and in his time the goſpel was propagated into East India by Frumentius and Edeſius. As alſo into Iberia, in the uttermoſt part of the Euxine ſea, by the means of a captive Chriſtian woman, by whoſe prayers a child that was mortally ſick recovered health; and the lady of Iberia herſelf was delivered from a mortal diſeaſe: whereupon the king her huſband ſent ambaſſadors to Conſtantine, entreating him to ſend him ſome preachers into Iberia, to inſtruct them in the true faith of Chriſt; which Conſtantine performed with a glad heart.

He uſed to ſay, That an emperor ſhould not refuſe labour for the benefit of the common-wealth; as alſo, That an empire is given by the determinate purpoſe of God; that he to whom it is given ſhould ſo employ his diligence, that he may be thought worthy of the ſame by him that gave it.

He made and publiſhed a decree, That all miniſters, and ſuch whoſe vocation was to ſerve in the church, ſhould be free, and exempted from all public duties, taxes, and burdens whatſoever, that being ſo privileged, they might with more cheerfulneſs attend upon divine adminiſtrations. Yea, ſo careful was he to nouriſh and cheriſh learning, and learned men, that he enacted a law which ran in this form, "Medicos, grammaticos, et alios profeſſores literarum, "et doctores legum cum uxoribus, et liberis." We will and decree, That phyſicians, grammarians, and other profeſſors of the liberal arts, and doctors of the law, with their wives and children, ſhall be free, together with their lands and poſſeſſions, from all civil charges and offices, &c. As alſo, That their ſtipends and ſalaries ſhall be well and truly paid them, whereby they may more freely attend upon their offices, &c.

So ſtudious he was of peace, that when any biſhops or miniſters brought complaints one againſt another, he would take their bills of complaint, and burn them before their faces; and withal, ſo tender he was of their honour, that he uſed to ſay, That if he ſaw a biſhop committing wickedneſs, he would rather caſt the ſkirt of his gown over him to cover it, than by ſpeaking of it to diſhonour his holy calling.

The Life of JOVIANUS *the Emperor, who died* Anno Chriſti 363.

JULIAN the Apoſtate having led the Roman army into Perſia, in the winter time, in a battle againſt the Perſians, was wounded with an arrow from an unknown hand, with which wound loſing his ſenſes, he fell upon his horſe neck, and by his ſoldiers was carried into his tent, where, after means uſed, coming to himſelf again, and recovering ſtrength, he called for his horſe and arms, that he might return again into the battle; but afterwards feeling his force to fail, in extreme pride, he took his blood in his hands, and holding it up to heaven, he uſed theſe words againſt our Saviour Chriſt, 'It ſufficeth that thou Chriſt the Galilean haſt overcome me;' for ſo he was accuſtomed to call Chriſt in ſcorn.

By his death there was ſo great a confuſion in the camp, that they were in danger to be overthrown by the Perſians, and beſides they were in much diſtreſs for want of victuals; the Perſians alſo underſtanding theſe things, never ceaſed to moleſt them with ſudden aſſaults and alarms; whereupon the chief commanders of the army aſſembled together to chuſe an emperor to govern them, and after much contention and diverſity of opinions, they all conſented to chuſe JOVIANUS Emperor. He was the ſon of Varronianus, a noble Hungarian, who leaving the wars to avoid tumults and troubles, retired himſelf to his poſſeſſions in Hungary, there to live in reſt and quiet; but Jovianus, his ſon, went to the emperor Conſtantius's court, followed the wars, was valiant, and of a goodly perſonage, and therefore much eſteemed by Julian, who made him the chief commander of his ordinary troops.

Jovianus was of an excellent wit, ſound judgment, given to ſtudy, well learned, and withal a faithful Chriſtian, inſomuch, as when Julian commanded that no Chriſtian ſhould be a captain, neither ſhould have any charge or office in the wars, Jovianus pleaſantly ſaid, that he made greater account of the faith whereof he made profeſſion, than of any dignity of honour that he enjoyed; and ſo he gave up his charge, chuſing rather to throw away his military belt, the enſign of his honour, than to do ſacrifice, or ſatisfy the wicked edict of the emperor. Yet afterwards Julian, when the neceſſities of the Perſian wars conſtrained him, re-aſſumed him into the number of his captains.

This Jovianus being choſen emperor, conſidering that Julian had drawn the men of war of his army to commit idolatry, and to ſacrifice to devils, he, in a public oration which he made to them, ſaid, That although he might, yet he would not, being a Chriſtian, be an emperor of infidels; and ſo he reſiſted, and abſolutely refuſed the empire. But all the army was ſo well pleaſed with the election, that they cried out aloud, ſaying, We are all Chriſtians; and, for his ſake, they that were not ſo reſolved to become Chriſtians, upon condition that he would accept the empire; which he then conſented to. They all, with incredible joy and gladneſs, ſware obedience unto him, and gave him the emperial enſigns: whereupon he preſently ordered and re-inforced the army. But Sapor king of Perſia gathering together the greateſt forces that he could make, did ſo moleſt and environ them, that they were glad to come to an agreement with him, though ſomewhat to the diſhonour of the Romans; but it was the beſt end that he could make in thoſe ſtraits whereinto Julian by his pride had brought the army.

Then he marched into Soria, the Chriſtians every where wonderfully rejoicing at his election. And his firſt work was, by proclamation, to call home all thoſe biſhops which were exiled for oppoſing the Arian hereſy, or any other unlawful occaſion, whom he reſtored to their former places, and principally the great Athanaſius. He alſo revoked and made void all the prohibitions and decrees made by Julian againſt the Chriſtians, and ordained that they ſhould be admitted to offices, dignities, magiſtracy, and ſtudy, as in the days of Conſtantine the Great. He cauſed to be paid to the churches thoſe rents of corn, and other things that Conſtantine had given them, and which, by the command of Julian, had been ſequeſtered. Then he cauſed the idol groves and temples to be ſhut up, and the Pagans wandered about hiding themſelves here and there.

The bloody and deteſtable ſacrifices uſed in Julian's time, he wholly took away.

The biſhops of all ſects and opinions poſted unto him, hoping every one of them to find him according to their own minds; but he adhering to the Nicene creed, made them flat anſwer what his judgment and faith was, and whom he would countenance. Then the Macedonians exhibited to him a ſupplication, requeſting that they which held a diſſimilitude and unlikeneſs between the Father and the Son ſhould be baniſhed the church, and themſelves ſubſtituted in their rooms; but he ſent them away with theſe words, 'I tell you truly, I cannot away with contention; but ſuch as embrace unity and concord, I both honour and embrace them.'

When the emperor had thus appeaſed the contentions of ſeditious perſons, he went from Antioch to Tarſus, where he buried the corpſe of his predeceſſor; and immediately after he was proclaimed conſul, and ſo from thence he went to Conſtantinople.

He laid a godly foundation to his empire, by eſtabliſhing the Chriſtian faith, giving in all things good ſigns of a juſt and virtuous prince, every man conceiving much hope of him. But this, and all his noble reſolutions, and other Chriſtian-like purpoſes, were interrupted by his immature death, the iniquity of the people not deſerving ſo good a prince, which happened thus: He coming to a place called Dadaſtana, in the confines of Bithynia, the weather being very cold, they ſet in his chamber where he lay, a great pan with kindled char-coals, which coals were wet, and as his attendants were gone to take their reſt, his chamber-door being locked, and he aſleep, the vapour of the fire waxing groſs and thick, and filling the chamber with ſmoke, which had no place to evaporate, ſtopped

stopped the emperor's breath, so that in the morning he was found dead in his bed; in the eighth month of his reign, and of age about forty, *anno Christ* 363. His loss was much bewailed of all good men. He used to wish, that 'he might govern wise men, and that wise men might govern him.' He restored the Christian faith in every part of his empire; strictly commanding all the idol temples to be shut up, which his predecessor Julian had opened, and upon great penalties forbad all manner of Gentilitious sacrifices; he called home from banishment, that worthy Captain Valentinian whom Julian had banished; he resolved to follow the advice and counsel of Athanasius, in matters of faith and church-government.

For his personage, he was of a goodly presence, both tall and big; his gesture grave, his eyes gray and countenance pleasant; an affectionate lover and professor he was of the Christian religion; of indifferent learning himself, but a most honourable embracer thereof in others; very prudent and considerate in chusing of judges and magistrates, and very facile and familiar to his servitors about him.

The Life of Theodosius *senior, who died* Anno Christi, 397.

Gratian governing the empire with Valentinian the younger, finding that the Roman empire daily decreased, and that the Barbarians waxed strong and encreased daily, he found that the common-wealth stood in great need of a valiant and worthy man to govern it; and knew that there lived at that time in Spain, one Theodosius, the son of a noble captain, whose name was Theodosius also, whom Valens had caused to be slain, because his name was Th. and the devil had revealed to him, that after him should reign one whose name began with those letters; this Theodosius perceiving, that he also was in great danger upon the same reason, he retired himself into his own country, being as well for the nobility of his ancestors, as for his own valour and exploits in arms, the most renowned and of greatest account of any man in his time. Hereupon Gratian sent for him, made him captain-general of the empire, and shortly after his fellow-emperor.

Theodosius having received the Emperors letters, and accepting of the charge, with the greatest speed that could be, he went into those countries where the Goths were, who knowing of his coming, gathered themselves together to fight with him. Theodosius being very desirous thereof, levied a sufficient army, and having tried his soldiers in some skirmishes, he gave them battle, which was one of the cruelest and most bloody that ever was. But holy Theodosius carried himself so discreetly, and valiantly in directing, encouraging and fighting, that through God's mercy he obtained the victory, and made an incredible slaughter of the enemies; and ceased not till he had wholly driven them out of the province; and then marching with his army in good order to Gratian, he made him Emperor of Constantinople and the east.

Presently he went thitherward, and coming to Thessalonica, he fell sick of a dangerous disease, and much desiring to be baptized, he sent for the old bishop of that place; and when he was come, he demanded of the bishop of what faith he was? The bishop answered, that the opinion of Arius prevailed not in these parts, and that the new-found invention of his pestilent brain, had not crept in amongst them, but that all Christians in those parts, retained the authentic and ancient faith delivered by the apostles, and confirmed by the council of Nice; and thereupon the emperor was willingly baptized of him.

Not long after he recovered his health, and so went to Constantinople. A little before whose coming, Gregory Nazianzen was translated by the consent of all the catholic bishops to govern the See at Constantinople; but perceiving, that some murmured and objected, that he was a stranger and foreigner, though he was glad of the emperor's coming, yet he refused to continue any longer at Constantinople. Theodosius finding the church there out of order, endeavoured by all means to reduce it to peace and unity; wherefore immediately he gave Demophilus, the Arian bishop, to understand his pleasure, demanding, whether he would embarce the Nicene Creed, set the people at unity, and embrace concord himself; which he refusing, the emperor said to him, 'If thou refuse to embrace peace and unity, I command thee to avoid the church, and accordingly he, with many more of his adherents departed, leaving their churches to the orthodox.

Presently after the emperor summoned a council of one hundred and fifty orthodox bishops; he cited also the bishops of the Macedonian sect, hoping thereby to reclaim them; of which there appeared thirty-six, most of them out of Hellespont; there the emperor and the other godly bishops, used all the means possible to reconcile them to the catholic church; but neither admonition nor reprehension would prevail with them, and so they departed, professing, that they would rather join with the Arians than with them; then the council proceeded to the election of a bishop for Constantinople, and chose one Nectarius, a man of a holy life and godly conversation; they decreed, that a provincial synod should determine provincial affairs; the emperor confirmed their canons, and so the council was dissolved.

But though the Arians were banished the churches, yet the schism and tumults ceased not, whereupon the godly emperor aiming at peace, summoned another council, charging that men of all sects and opinions should meet there together, hoping that by conference and communication amongst themselves, they would at length be brought to establish one faith and opinion: and when they were all come together, the emperor sent for Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, reasoning with him how he might rid the Christian religion of that discord and dissention, and reduce the church of Christ to unity and concord; he said also, that the controversies and quarrels that molested the quiet state of the church, and rent asunder the members of Christ, were to be sifted out, and the punishment to light upon them that were found to be the authors of schism, and disturbers of peace. Nectarius leaving him for the present, went to Agelius the Novatian bishop, who embraced the faith of one substance, and opened to him the mind of the emperor. He, altho' he was otherwise a man of rare parts, yet was no body in controversies, but appointed Sisinius, a minister of his church, to reason with them in his stead: Sisinius being a well experienced man, knew that disputations would not only not reconcile schisms, but rather exasperate mens spirits, and inflame contentions, therefore he advised Nectarius after this sort; That instead of disputation, the emperor should demand of the ring-leaders of the heretics, whether they esteemed the ancient fathers that lived before this schism sprang up, or whether they condemned them? If they own them, saith he, out of their writings we can confirm the truth, and confute these men. If they reject them, all men will cry out upon them. Nectarius liking this advice, reported it presently to the emperor, who approving of it also, he presently demanded of all the heretics, Whether they esteemed and allowed the fathers, which governed the church before them, and would be tried by their testimonies touching the true and right faith? They hearing this, knew not what answer to make, and so were divided amongst themselves; whilst some would assent to the emperor, others dissented; yea, they that were of one opinion, were divided amongst themselves. The emperor perceiving that they relied not upon the antient fathers exposition of the faith, but upon their own wit and quirks of logic, he bad every sect to lay down their faith and opinion in writing, which accordingly they did, and brought them to the emperor. The emperor received them courteously, and then retired into his closet, fell down upon his knees before God, humbly beseeching him to reveal the truth unto him, and to assist him in finding of it out; then perusing every ones opinion, and seriously weighing of it in the balance of the sanctuary, he condemned and tore in pieces all those creeds that derogated from the unity that is in the blessed Trinity, allowing and highly commending the other. The sectarian bishops, because there reigned amongst them

mutual

mutual discords and dissention, were set at nought even of their own people and party.

Thus, as Theodosius was careful to build God's house, the Lord built him an house, and prospered him in all his enterprizes; for, about this time, the Alanes and Huns (people of Scythia) entered again into Hungary, against whom the emperor went with his army. He fought many cruel battles with them, and in them all had the upper hand, slaying an infinite number of them, and driving the rest out of the confines of the empire; insomuch as Athanaricus, king of the Goths, offered himself and his people to do him service, and Theodosius not being willing to over-tire his men of war, granted him peace; and so taking Athanaricus with him, he returned victoriously to his city of Constantinople, where Athanaricus beholding the power of the emperor, the solemnity and greatness of his court, the riches, furniture, and order of his house, and service, he said, That truly the Roman emperor was God on the earth, and represented the God of heaven, against whom none ought to be so hardy as to lift up his hand or heart, except he would presently be condemned to death.

Not long after Athanaricus fell sick, and died, but the Goths that served in his house and army, having had experience of the goodness and bounty of Theodosius, desired to continue in his service, and afterwards carried themselves faithfully and valiantly in all his wars; but Gratian and his son Valentinian ruling in the west very remissly and negligently, gave occasion to the British legions to rebel and chuse an excellent captain, one Maximus, for their emperor, who thereupon presently marched into France, where Gratian was, who being ill beloved of his soldiers, many of them forsook him, and went to Maximus; hereupon Gratian resolved to retire into Italy, but being circumvented by the policy of Maximus, he was slain in the way, *Anno Christi.* 387.

Maximus marching forward with a great army into Italy, Valentinian the emperor knowing his own weakness, deserted it, and went to Constantinople to Theodosius, to entreat aid; who compassionating his condition, of his natural and accustomed valour, resolved to go into Italy to revenge the death of Gratian, and to restore Valentinian to his empire; and thereupon leaving his son Arcadius in Constantinople, and taking Valentinian along with him, he raised the greatest and best forces he could, and so marched through Lombardy, where Maximus already was, having left Andragatius general of his army to resist Theodosius, who expecting that he would come by sea into Italy, he embarked all his army aboard a great number of his ships and barks, purposing to overthrow Theodosius upon the water; the valiant Theodosius being advertised hereof, marched by long journeys, finding the passages open into the plains of Lombardy, and besieged the city of Aquileia where Maximus was, and compassing the city round about, they within it, having guilty consciences, and being full of fear, delivered Maximus into Theodosius hands, without staying for any assault, or fight, who caused him as a traitor to his prince, to be put to death.

When Andragathius, his general, being upon the sea with a very mighty navy, heard of it, he was so overcome with sorrow and despair, that he cast himself overboard, and drowned himself, and thereupon his army yielded themselves to Theodosius, and so without either slaughter or bloodshed, God gave unto his holy servant Theodosius a very great victory: and from France, Spain, Germany, and Britain, there came ambassadors to him, yielding him their obedience with great humility and devotion.

Thence he marched with Valentinian to Rome, where they received him with a solemn triumph: he continued there certain days, reformed many abuses and disorders, inflicted punishments, and did justice upon sundry wicked and dissolute persons, and as an holy and faithful Christian, he reformed the abuses of the church also: and setting all things in good order, he returned to Constantinople, leaving with Valentinian an army and power sufficient to defend his empire.

Theodosius through God's mercy, and goodness, was so feared, and honoured by all nations, that the king of Persia, notwithstanding his former victories, in great humility sent his ambassadors to Constantinople, entreating a perpetual league, and peace with him, and he seeing with how great submission that potent king sued for peace, granted it.

Not long after, Valentinian the emperor went into France, and there living in prosperity, and void of care, one Argobastes, a captain of his, conspired with Eugenius to kill him, and for that end suborned some of his Eunuchs to strangle him in his bed, which they did, publishing abroad, that he had hanged himself: whereupon Argobastes nominated and made Eugenius emperor; Theodosius being advertised of this fact, was very sorry, and much troubled, considering how dangerous a war lay before him, yet thinking it a great dishonour to suffer such an action to go unpunished, he mustered up his army, and leaving his son Arcadius in Constantinople, with all possible speed he marched against them; but as a good and holy Christian, he first betook himself to fasting and prayer, seeking unto God the giver of victory, for success in the enterprise, requesting the prayers of other holy men also, whereof one of them sent him word, that he should have the victory, but should die in Italy, and never return again to Constantinople.

When Theodosius with his army came to the confines of Italy, the tyrants had such great forces, and had taken such good order for all matters, that all the passages of the Alps were stopped, and at the foot thereof they attended his coming with all their forces: yet Theodosius having overcome those passages, and being entered into Lombardy, found himself much distressed, the enemies being more in number, and having as valiant and experienced soldiers as he; who compassed him about, and kept all victuals from being brought to his camp: but the valiant emperor using the best means he could, as a faithful Christian, expected and hoped for his best relief from God, to whom with tears he made continual supplications; and truly his danger was so great, that had not God miraculously fought for him, he had there been lost.

The night before the battle he spent wholly in prayer, neither eating nor sleeping, and the next day, seeing himself charged on every side, he set his men in very good order to fight, with great courage and resolution attending the coming of his enemies, and just as the battle was ready to begin, behold the goodness of God: Arbicius a captain of the enemies came over to his side with all under his charge.

The battle beginning, where Romans were against Romans, they fought at even hand, most cruelly wounding, and killing one another. But Theodosius his auxiliaries were worsted, and at the first charge ten thousand Goths, which were in his pay were slain, which when he saw, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with a true faith and stedfast hope, shedding many tears, prayed unto the Lord that he might not be overthrown in so just a cause. At that instant a captain of his, with a great troop of soldiers came to the rescue of certain squadrons, which in all shew were overthrown, and they charged the enemy with such courage and resolution, that they which were in a manner vanquished, recovered strength and heart again; but the enemies were so many, that it seemed impossible for them to defend themselves, at which instant it pleased God to send them succour from heaven, for suddenly there arose so violent a wind and tempest, as the like had never been seen by man then living, which without annoyance to the emperor's army, did beat into the enemies faces with such force, that it bereaved them of their sight, so that they were not able to march forwards, yea the wind was so strong that all the arrows, stones, darts and lances, which they threw and shot, were born back again, wounding those that threw them.

The most Christian emperor taking notice of this miraculous providence of God, rendered thanks unto him for the same, encouraging and animating his soldiers so, as in a short space they obtained a compleat victory. Eugenius himself was taken fighting, and brought to Theodosius, who commanded him to be slain for his treason, and Argobastes flying, and finding no certain place of refuge, with his own sword cut his throat. Theodosius had the spoil of his enemies camp.

Presently

Presently after, all the princes of the empire sent their ambassadors to Theodosius to congratulate his victory, and many barbarous nations did the like, so that he remained the absolute Lord both of the east and west. And being freed from wars, he came to Millaine, where St Ambrose was the bishop, in which place he remained the rest of his time, applying himself to civil government, whereof, in the time of war, he neglected not to take great care.

Being thus in Millaine, meditating upon his mortality, by reason of his diseases, he resolved to settle his estate, and sending to Constantinople for his son Honorius, by the general approbation of all, he made him emperor of the West, and his elder son Arcadius of the East, after which he lived in great prosperity three years in Millaine, in the company of that holy man Ambrose, during which time this fell out:

In Thessalonica, a rich and populous city in Macedonia, there happened a great tumult amongst the people against the magistrates and governors under the emperor; and their fury grew so great that they slew them, which when Theodosius understood, he was so incensed against them, that he made his soldiers put to death seven thousand of the common people, making no difference between the guilty and innocent. Ambrose hearing of it, when the emperor came to church, as his manner was, Ambrose, that his repentance might be as public as his offence, set himself in the church door, and told the emperor that he should not enter there, making a learned oration to him, wherein he opened his fault, and then excommunicated him; all which the emperor heard with great patience, and returning to his palace, he continued there eight months before he was absolved, at the end whereof he said to one about him, 'Truly, I will go and see what penance my pastor will lay upon me for my offence; and so he went to the church door where Ambrose was, entreating him to absolve him. 'But what repentance hast thou shewed, said the bishop, for so heinous an offence? and with what salve hast thou healed so mortal a wound?' 'Thou, said the emperor, art to instruct, and shew me what I am to do, and thou shalt see that I will accomplish what thou shalt prescribe.' The bishop seeing the emperor's mildness, thinking it penance sufficient that he had been so long excommunicated, with mild and courteous speeches, said unto him, 'Thy penance, Theodosius, shall be this, That seeing in thy hasty fury thou committedst such an horrid murder, thou shalt presently establish a law, that no man whom thou shalt adjudge to die shall be executed within thirty days after thou hast pronounced the sentence, at the end of which time thou shalt either ratify or disannul thy sentence, as thou first canst.' The emperor immediately caused this law to be written and proclaimed, which he ever after observed, and whereof much good ensued: and so, being absolved, he came into the church, prayed, and received the sacrament, and ever after loved Ambrose very dearly, and used his council in many matters; and for his company's sake he continued in Millaine the remainder of his life.

In the good emperor's absence the Arians at Constantinople began to wax bold, raised tumults, and proceeded to that insolency, that they set the house of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, on fire. In other cities also, where they were thrust out of their churches by the authority of the emperor, they kept conventicles in the suburbs, and thereby much propagated their damnable opinions.

About this time the emperor commanded that all the idol groves and temples in Alexandria should be demolished, and that Theopholus the bishop thereof should see it done, which he with much zeal prosecuted, which so enraged the Heathens, that they made head together, ran upon the Christians, and sought to destroy them every kind of way. The Christians withstood them, and so they fought till both sides were weary, many were slain, and more wounded: but the Heathens, when that heat was over, were wonderfully afraid of the emperor's displeasure, and therefore forsook the city, and hid themselves in several places. Afterwards the governor and captain of the host assisted Theophilus in the overthrow of those temples; all the images, by the emperor's orders, were given to the relief of the poor.

Whilst Theodosius was at Rome, after he had overthrown Maximus, he reformed two most abominable wickednesses; the first was this: In Rome was an huge house of antient building, where all the bread that served the city was baken, and most of the rooms were under ground; round about it were taverns and victualling houses full of harlots, so that many that resorted thither, either to satisfy their hunger or lusts, were by these whores spoiled of all they had, and usually so made away that their friends could never hear of them more; for by privy conveyances, they were thrown into these back houses, and there kept to grinding and drudgery all their life after. It fell out, that one of the emperor's soldiers was thus thrown into this hole, who, when they would not suffer him to depart, drew his dagger, and slew some that stopped his passage, so that the rest being afraid, let the soldier go; and the emperor being informed by him, sent for the millers and bakers, punished the masters with extreme torments, overthrew those blind houses, and so rid the princely city of that shameful doing.

The other abuse which he reformed was this: If a woman were taken in adultery, they shut her up in a narrow stew, and compelled her, beastly, and without all shame, to play the harlot, ringing a bell whilst the deed was doing, that all the neighbours might be made privy to it, which was so far from removing the sin, that it encreased the rather. The good emperor being informed hereof, caused the stews to be pulled down, and wholely suppressed; and made other laws for the punishment of adultery.

Theodosius being aged and infirm, at last fell extreme sick, and therefore he disposed of the empire to his two sons; and because they were young, and not of fit years for such a burden, he left, as tutors and governors to them, two very sufficient men both for war and peace. After he had set all things in order, his disease so encreased, that being overcome by it, he recommended his soul to God, and so departed out of this present life, in the year 397, of his age fifty, or as others sixty, and of his empire seventeen.

In all his wars he was very valiant and politic, of an excellent wit and judgment in civil government, a lover of justice and equity, very merciful, and of a most noble inclination, yet somewhat hasty and choleric, but presently pacified, and easily entreated. To moderate his passion, besides Ambrose's law in matters of death, he used (knowing his own hasty disposition) not to determine any thing till he had repeated over the letters of the Greek alphabet, for in that space his wrath would be tempered: he was exceeding liberal, temperate, and chaste: he greatly honoured learned and wise men: he was well spoken, and cheerful in his deportment.

His wife Placilla was an excellent and most religious woman: he used to say, That he accounted it a greater honour that he was a member of the church, than that he was the head of the empire.

He wrote out the whole New Testament with his own hand, accounting it a great jewel, and read a part of it every day.

He commanded that they which reviled and spake evil of him should not be punished, "Quoniam si ex levitate "processerit, contemnendum est: si ex insania, misera- "tione dignum: si ab injuria, remittendum est." 'Because if it proceeded of levity, it is not to be regarded: if of madness, it is to be pitied: if of an injury received, it is to be pardoned in them.'

In this emperor's reign there was much hurt done by earthquakes in sundry places. In the imperial city of Constantinople there were thrown down at one time fifty-seven towers of the city wall, which were newly built a little before. It endured by fits six months together, so that many fair and goodly churches and fortresses were demolished, and the inhabitants were fain to forsake their houses and lie in the fields. It raged by sea also, so that many ships and whole islands were swallowed up by it. After which ensued famine and pestiferous airs, by which many thousands of people and beasts perished; and in Chersonesus whole parishes sunk into the ground.

Also, in the last year of his reign, in Epyrus there was a dragon seen of that vast bigness, that when he was dead,

eight yoke of oxen could hardly draw him. The inhabitants of Antiochia overthrowing the brazen portraiture of his beloved wife Placilla, Theodosius was so incensed against them for it, that he deprived their town of the dignity of a metropolitan city, conferring it upon their neighbour town of Laodicea: he threatened also to burn it down, but by the persuasion of Flavianus bishop of Antiochia, the good emperor, moved with pity, pardoned their fault.

At one time he was very favourable to the Arians, whom he permitted to keep conventicles in his principal cities, which Amphilochius bishop of Iconium taking notice of, he came before the emperor, and did his reverence unto him, but not to his son Arcadius, though he was already made Augustus, whereat Theodosius being offended, Amphilochius presently answered, that the God of heaven would also be offended with them, who tolerated the blasphemers of his only begotten son Jesus Christ. The godly emperor being hereby brought to a sight of his great sin, presently made a law, prohibiting the conventicles of the Arians in all his cities.

Concerning that miraculous tempest that God sent for the destruction of his enemies, Claudian the poet writes these verses:

O nimium dilecti Deo! cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

The Life of THEODOSIUS *the Second, who died* Anno Christi 453.

ARCADIUS, the elder son of Theodosius, in the thirteenth year of his reign, falling sick at Constantinople, left his son Theodosius to succeed in the empire, who being but eight years old, Arcadius, by his last will and testament, made Hisdigerus king of Persia and Parthia, his tutor, who understanding what Arcadius had done, accepted of the charge, and speedily sent one Antiochus, an excellent man, and a great soldier, to Constantinople, who, with the good will and consent of Honorius emperor of the west, and uncle to young Theodosius, governed the eastern empire with great fidelity and discretion, and so maintained the same in peace and justice till Theodosius came to age. About which time the western empire was much infested by the barbarians; but Theodosius being now of sufficient age, was freed from his tutors, and as he was a godly man, and the inheritor of his grandfather's virtues, his chiefest care was for the service of God, and the defence and advancement of his church; whereupon he fell out with Barrabanus king of Persia, who succeeded Isdigerus, because he persecuted the Christians that were in his dominions, and when persuasions would not prevail, he sent Ardaburus an excellent captain against him, who fought a battle with Nasius, general of the Persians, overthrew him, and made a great slaughter of his men, and afterwards entered his country, and made great spoil therein.

By another way Theodosius sent Gratianus, another captain, against Alamander king of the Saracens, who came to aid the king of Persia, who overthrew him in battle, and slew a great multitude of his Saracens. And in an another place, another of Theodosius's captains overthrew the Persians, so that at last Barrabanus ceased from persecuting the Christians, and a peace was concluded between Theodosius and him.

About this time Honorius, having reigned in all thirty years, died at Rome without issue, and thereby the whole Roman empire was devolved upon Theodosius; and some held for him, as reason and duty required: but the greatest potentates in the west began to make themselves lords of the empire, in several parts of it. But they falling out amongst themselves, Theodosius, not thinking it safe to leave the east, made his cousin-german Valentinian Cæsar, who was the son of Placidia, sister to Arcadius and Honorius, and wife to the emperor Constantius; and so, with sufficient troops, he sent him into Italy, with his mother Placidia, whose virtues and wisdom was sufficient to govern all, till her son came to years fit for government.

In the mean time, one John, who had usurped the empire at Rome, sent his ambassadors to Theodosius, requesting him to accept him as partner in the empire; but Theodosius caused them to be apprehended as traitors and rebels; and withal, he sent command to Ardaburius, an excellent captain of his, that, with the greatest power he could make, he should pass by sea into Italy, before Placidia, and should seek to defeat the tyrant John; but in his passage there befel him such a storm at sea, that his own ship being severed from the rest, was driven to an haven where he was taken, and carried prisoner to Ravenna. His son Aspar (who was in the same fleet) being informed hereof, landed his men, after the storm was over, and passing the lakes and boggs near to Ravenna, which were always judged impassable, and never known to be dry before, entered the city, freed his father, took the tyrant John and cut off his head. This miraculous deliverance of Ardaburius was judged to be the fruit of the effectual prayers of the godly emperor.

Presently after came Placidia with her son into Italy, and passed to Ravenna, where hearing of another usurper, that was coming with all his forces from Spain, to seize upon Rome, she sent Ardaburius against him, who fought a great battle with him, and overthrew him; after which, his own soldiers mutinying against him, delivered him to Ardaburius.

And whereas another usurper was risen up in Rome, the soldiers and citizens apprehended him, and sent him prisoner to Ravenna.

Valentinian being thus peaceably possessed of Italy, was by the consent of Theodosius, and with the good will of all men, made emperor: and not long after, leaving all things in the best order that he could in Italy he took his passage for Greece, and went to Constantinople to see Theodosius, where he married Eudoxa, daughter to Theodosius, and so he returned into Italy: at which time Genserichus king of the Vandals exercising great cruelties upon the Christians in Africa, godly Theodosius was so grieved, that he sent two of his captains with great forces against him.

But whilst they prolonged time in Sicily, Attilla, a mighty king of the Huns, with many other barbarous nations, which, like swarms of bees, came to him, intended to invade the eastern empire, knowing that the best and greatest part of the men of war were gone with the two captains into Sicily; and at his first entry he took many cities in Thrace and Slavonia, whereupon Theodosius, in great haste, called back his army out of Sicily, raised more forces, and fought with Attila many battles, much repressing his fury; but, in the midst of his preparations against these barbarians, it pleased God that he fell sick of the plague, whereof he died; or, as some hold, by a fall from his horse; in the fiftieth year of his age, and of his reign forty-two, in the year 453.

Socrates Scholasticus gives this character of him. Theodosius, though born and brought up in the imperial palace, yet was he free from all light and vain behaviour. He was so wise and discreet, that he seemed in his youth, to all that conferred with him, a man of great experience: he was of such hardiness and sufferance, both inwardly in mind, and outwardly in body, that he could endure the pinching cold of winter, and the parching heat of summer.

He used to fast twice every week; his palace and court seemed no other than a religious family: at the dawning of the day, he used with his sisters to sing psalms and hymns of praise to God. He learned much of the holy scriptures without book: he so reasoned of them with the bishops, as if he himself had been an experienced minister.

He gathered together a very great library of the antient fathers works, but especially many books of the sacred scriptures.

He excelled all men in patience, courtesy, and clemency: he learned to bridle his anger, to bear afflictions patiently, to revenge him of none that did him injury: and when one of his familiars asked him why he would not put to death some that had wronged him? he answered, 'I would to God it lay in my power to revive them that are

are dead; indeed it is no hard matter to bereave a man of his life, but when that is done, be a man never so sorry, he cannot revive him again.' When any traitor was condemned, he would not suffer him to go so far as the gates of the city, towards the place of execution, before he sent him a reprieve.

One day, as he set forth some public shews to the people of Constantinople, wherein beasts fought together, the people shouting, desired that one of the strongest men should be set to encounter with one of those beasts, his answer was, 'Do not you know that we cannot abide cruel spectacles.'

He highly honoured God's ministers, especially such as excelled in godliness. Once as he was at the public shews, to please the people, there fell out an exceeding great tempest, whereupon he commanded his beadles to speak to the people, telling them, that it was far better to lay aside those shews and pastimes, and, with one heart and voice, to pray unto God to cease that violent storm; the words were no sooner spoken, but all jointly fell down to the ground, and poured out zealous and earnest prayers unto God, so that the whole city was become as one church; and it pleased God that the weather presently cleared up, and became fair: and whereas there was a great dearth and scarcity before, through God's mercy, they had afterwards great store and plenty.

At another time, as this most godly emperor was celebrating those shows in the same place, he had news brought him of Aſper's success, and of the tyrant John, whereupon he thus spoke to the people; 'Let us give over this vain pastime, and let us repair unto church and serve God devoutly, pouring out our zealous prayers to him, and praise him for his wonderful mercy, who by his own hand, and out stretched arm, hath deprived the tyrant of his life.' No sooner had he made an end of speaking, but all the people gave over their spectacles and passing through the theatre, sang praises, together with the emperor, unto God; and so, going directly to church, spent the whole day in those holy exercises. When wars were at any time proclaimed, after the examples of David and Jehosophat, he made God his refuge, and, by prayer, he always obtained prosperous success.

Nestorius denying Christ to be God, Theodosius summoned a council at Ephesus to suppress that heresy, by which Nestorius was deposed from his bishopric. He greatly detested all heretics. His wife was Eudoxia, a very godly and discreet woman. His usual saying was, 'That emperors, of all other men, were most miserable, because commonly the truth of businesses is concealed from them.

In his time there was such a famine in Rome, that the poor sort were fain to make bread of the bark of trees, and the richer sort of chesnuts; a pound of flesh was worth fifty-pence, and dead mens flesh was sold and eaten.

In one battle that this general fought against Attila, there were slain 162000 men, whose blood made a neighbour brook to overflow its bank. This Attila was called The terror of the world, and the whip wherewith God scourged many nations.

Theodosius in godliness was like unto his grand-father. In collecting a great library of good books, nothing inferior to Ptolemæus Philadelphus. In gathering into one short sum the laws of his predecessors, he trode a path wherein Justinian followed him, to the great benefit of learned men. His house was like unto a sanctuary for exercises of reading the holy scriptures, and devout prayers. His facility in subscribing unread letters was corrected by the prudent advice of his sister Pulcheria.

In his time Attila entered into Italy, took, sacked, and razed Aquillia, Ticinum, and Millaine, and intended the same cruelty against Rome; but Leo bishop thereof went forth to him, and with gentle words so mitigated his mind that he forbore to do it.

He had a man whose name was Palladius, one that had rare gifts, both outwardly in body, and inwardly in mind, and of that strength and agility of body, that he was able in three days to run post into the furthest bounds of the Roman and Persian dominions, and back again in the same space to Constantinople; so that by his clerity he made the Roman empire, which was vast and wide, to be but narrow and strait.

When Theodosius sent his army under Ardaburius against the Persians, and for the relief of the persecuted Christians there, the citizens of Constantinople were sad and heavy, fearing the variable event of the wars; but a company of angels appeared to certain men in Bithynia, that were travelling to Constantinople, and willed them to bid the citizens be of good cheer, and to pray, and put their trust in God; and that they should be confident of Ardaburius's victory, for God had sent them as governors and sovereign captains of the wars.

The heresy of Nestorius was so hateful to him, that he made this law concerning the followers of it; 'We decree, That whosoever doth embrace the wicked opinion of Nestorius, and shall give ear to his lewd doctrine, if he be a bishop he shall be banished; if a lay person, that he shall be accursed.'

In the time of Theodosius's reign, the Britains sent for the Saxons out of Germany, to assist them against the Scots and Picts; and when they came, Vortinger the British king entertained them, conferred with them of their faith, and found them Pagans that worshipped Mercury, whom they called Woden, and in honour of him Wodensday (Wednesday). They worshipped also Venus, whom they called Frea, whence came Friday. These Saxons, when, together with the Britains, they had foiled the Scots and Picts, traiterously fell upon their own masters the Britains, slew many, and drave the rest into the mountains, whom they called after their country language Welshmen, i. e. strangers.

The Life of JUSTINIAN, *who died* Anno Christi 538.

JUSTINE, Emperor of the east, being grown old, and having no sons of his own, adopted his sister's son, called Justinian, appointing him to succeed in the empire; he was a very godly man, zealous for the truths against heresies, and would suffer no faith to be openly professed, but that which was allowed in the four general councils; and accordingly God blessed him in his wars; for coming to the empire in a very troublous time, the first war that he made was against the Persians, who for fifty years together had often invaded the Roman empire, and commonly had the better of it; against them therefore Justinian sent a great army under the conduct of Belisarius, a noble and valiant captain, who fought a bloody battle with the Persians, which continued almost a whole day, but in the conclusion, through God's mercy, Belisarius prevailed, and made a great slaughter of the enemies; after which notable victory he recovered sundry places in Mesopotamia, which the Persians had usurped from the empire.

Another army also of Justinian's entering into Armenia, by the same good hand of providence obtained victory, and recovered most part of that which was formerly lost; hereupon Cavadas, King of Persia, raised a mighty army under the command of a valiant old captain of his, called Alamander, who had formerly gotten many victories against the Romans, with whom Belisarius after some encounters, came to a battle, which was the greatest and cruelest that ever happened in those wars; this battle was fought near to the river Euphrates, and much against the opinion of Belisarius, who, knowing that the enemy had the advantage, would not have fought, but his men against his will preparing themselves; he ordered and encouraged them all that he could; the fight was maintained with such obstinacy and fury on both sides, that for the greatest part of the day, it appeared not to which side victory would encline; but, at last, the Imperialists waxing faint, having fasted all day because it was Easter-eve, they began to retreat; which the Persians seeing, they charged the horse troops of Belisarius with such fury, that they brake them also; Belisarius did what he could to encourage and reinforce them, but when he could not prevail he alighted from his horse, and placed himself in a squadron of footmen that kept their ground, and encouraging them with his presence, they all resolved to conquer or die, insomuch, as when the Persian general saw

ſaw them remain whole, he came upon them with great fury, thinking eaſily to have had the execution of them, but they kept themſelves ſo cloſe together, that they could not be broken, and fought ſo valiantly, that they ſlew many of the Perſians, till night coming on, the Perſians left them,

Then did Beliſarius with his men retire into an iſland, which was in the river Euphrates hard by, whither the reſt of his army came to him, and the next morning ſet his men in order to fight again; but the Perſians having loſt more men than the Romans, removed into another quarter, and the King of Perſia underſtanding his great loſs, ſickened, and ſhortly after died, whereupon his ſon made peace with Juſtinian; and Beliſarius returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received with much triumph.

A few days after two potent men in the city, which were ſiſters ſons of Anaſtaſius the emperor, with a great party that adhered to them, rebelled againſt Juſtinian, one of them taking the enſigns and name of emperor; and the war was ſo cruel within the city, that thirty thouſand perſons were ſlain together with the uſurpers, whereby God did wonderfully deliver Juſtinian from an imminent danger, after which time he lived in peace and better eſtimation than before; in this ſcuffle Beliſarius did him better ſervice than all others.

After the Vandals had ſeized upon Africk, they raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, ſome of them being Heathens and Arians; but after the death of Genſericus, Gilimer his nephew ſucceeding in the kingdom, Juſtinian ſent Beliſarius with a purpoſe to regain the kingdom of Africk, who embarked himſelf accompanied with many captains in five hundred ſail of ſhips and ninety-two gallies, and ſo began his voyage towards Africk, where, through God's mercy he ſafely arrived; Epiphanius, biſhop of Conſtantinople going in the fleet, prayed for their proſperous ſucceſs; when they were landed, they found ſome that took part with them, and ſo they marched along the ſea-coaſt toward Carthage, and the navy did the like by ſea; when Gilimer underſtood this, he left his brother Amata in the city for the guard of it, commanding him to kill all the priſoners, and at ſuch an hour the next day to iſſue out of the city with all his forces againſt Beliſarius, promiſing that himſelf with his army, would charge him, at the ſame time in the rear, and ſo he departed out of Carthage with his army; and ſent a captain with ſome troops to alarm and trouble Beliſarius in his march.

The next day Amata came forth accordingly by the vanguard; and Gilimer with his forces ſo reſolutely upon the rear, that the Imperialiſts began to retire; but Gilimer hearing of the defeat, and death of his brother, made an halt, whereupon Beliſarius his ſoldiers charged with ſuch fury, that Gilimer was wholly overthrown, many of his men ſlain, and he by flight ſaved his life.

The next day Beliſarius marched to the city, where arriving in the evening, he found no reſiſtance, and the gates open, yet would he not enter into an enemy's city by night, but the next day he marched in with great quietneſs, neither ſuffering his ſoldiers to plunder or murder any who were obedient to him; poſſeſſing the city, he commanded preſently the walls to be repaired, which were very ruinous; and, in the mean time, Gilimer unbroken in ſpirit, rallied his army, raiſed more forces, ſent for his brother Zazon, with a great army out of Sardinia, and having thus gotten a ſufficient number, he went towards Carthage, either to fight or beſiege Beliſarius.

But Beliſarius, for certain days, would not take the field, till he had ſufficiently repaired the walls, and then he marched forth with his army to give Gilimer battle, and when the commanders ſaw each other, they ſet their men in good order, one relying upon the arm of fleſh, the other putting his confidence in God. The fight began with great fury, but in the firſt charge Zazon was ſlain, and ſome other principal men of the Vandals, whereupon the reſt fled into their camp, which they had ſtrongly fortified; Beliſarius gathering his forces together preſently purſued them, which, when Gilimer ſaw, ſuſpecting that he could not defend the camp; with a few ſervants he fled away, and Beliſarius entered it, putting all in arms to the ſword, taking the women and children captives. In the camp, they found an infinite quantity of gold, ſilver, money, and jewels for the Vandals, having no place of refuge which they counted ſafe, carried all their treaſure with them, and ſo in one hour they loſt all they had ſtolen, and gotten in Africa in ninety five years before; thus, God bleſſed his ſervant Juſtinian, and juſtly plagued thoſe wicked Vandals, who had cruelly perſecuted the Orthodox, cutting out their tongues, impriſoning the godly miniſters, and making them their drudges, making ſtables of their churches, &c.

The next day, Beliſarius ſent an excellent captain with a good troop of horſe to purſue Gilimer, and ſhortly after himſelf followed with ſome choice men of his army, but finding, that Gilimer was fled into ſome inacceſſible mountains in Numidia, he left a captain with ſufficient forces to beſiege him, and ſo returned to Carthage, in his paſſage taking in many towns, and much people reſorted to him with joy, being glad that they were freed from the miſerable ſervitude of the Vandals, and reſtored to the liberty of the empire.

Shortly after he ſent to take in Sardinia, and others into Mauritania, and in all places God gave him wonderful ſucceſs, ſo that in little more than four months he took in all Africk, that had been poſſeſſed by thoſe wicked Vandals, for the ſpace of ninety-ſix years, wherein they had been oppreſſors of the true church of Chriſt, and had almoſt extirpated it.

Gilimer, being ſtraitly beſieged as before is ſaid, at laſt yielded himſelf upon quarter for his life, and ſo was brought priſoner to Beliſarius, who ſent the Emperor Juſtinian news of his ſucceſs, requeſting, that he might return to Conſtantinople, and bring Gilimer with him. Juſtinian referred it to himſelf, whether to ſtay and govern that province or to return; he made one Solomon governor, left with him a good part of his army, and ſo took Gilimer, and his kindred, and infinite jewels, treaſures and riches, which the Vandals had plundered from Rome, Spain, Africk, and other provinces, and ſo returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received in triumph.

In the mean time the churches of the eaſt being much infected with the Arian Hereſy, were full of diſſentions and troubles, but the good Emperor publiſhed an edict wherein he accuſed the principal ringleaders, and inflicted great penalties on them that held and maintained ſuch damnable opinions, thereby that no diſſention might take root in any of the churches through the world.

About this time the nation that dwelt by the river Tanais ſent to Juſtinian, requeſting him to ſend a biſhop to them, who willingly aſſented to their requeſts, by which means they were converted to the Chriſtian faith.

Beliſarius did not long continue at Conſtantinople before Juſtinian gave him the charge of his wars in Sicily and Italy againſt the Goths, and Theodatus who at that time was lord thereof, an enterpriſe of no leſs importance, and of greater danger than the former of Africk; but Theodatus dying about that time, he left his kingdom to his nephew Atalaricus being eight years old, wherefore his mother Amalaſunta had the education of him, and the government of the kingdom: but Athalaricus ſhortly after dying, Theodatus his couſin-german uſurped the kingdom, and treacherouſly put Amalaſunta to death.

Juſtinian deteſting ſo vile a fact, ſent Beliſarius with his victorious army againſt him, who by the way landing in Sicily, took in Catania, Syracuſe, and many other towns and cities, and after a while the whole iſland ſubmitted to him.

Theodatus being informed hereof, was much afraid, and preſently diſpatched ambaſſadors to Juſtinian, proffering to renounce his title to Sicily: and that in Italy in all decrees and proclamations, Juſtinian's name ſhould be firſt uſed, and that once every year he would ſend him a golden crown in token of ſubjection: withal giving them in charge, that if Juſtinian refuſed that proffer, that then they ſhould offer the whole kingdom of Italy to him, upon condition that he ſhould give him ſome lands and poſſeſſions in Greece, or elſewhere, Juſtinian refuſed the firſt, but embraced the ſecond, and ſent back his ambaſſadors with them to conſummate the agreement; but in the interim Theodatus having by his captains gotten a victory againſt ſome of Juſtinian's captains in Slavonia, he was ſo puffed up

up with pride, that he refuſed to ſtand to his former offer, ten, his inſolency was ſuch, that he apprehended, and imprifoned Juſtinian's ambaſſadors: and he was the more encouraged, hearing that Beliſarius was gone from Sicily into Africk, where a captain with a great part of the army had mutinied againſt Salomon, put the judges and governors to death, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a great part of the country, but Beliſarius arriving there, overthrew them in battle, and ſo leaving all in peace, he ſailed into Italy.

About this time there was ſeen ſo prodigious a ſight about the ſun, that the like hath never been heard of: for the ſun, for the greateſt part of the year, gave ſo little light, that it was but equal to the light of the moon, the ſky being clear, without clouds or any thing to ſhadow it, after which there followed a great famine, and much war and bloodſhed.

Juſtinian ſeeing the inconſtancy of Theodatus, and being greatly diſpleaſed with the death of his captains in Dalmatia, and the impriſonment of his ambaſſadors, with the wiſdom, courage and reſolution of a worthy prince, he ſent Conſtantius a noble captain into Dalmatia, and Slavonia, who quickly recovered moſt of that which was loſt: and ſending to Beliſarius ſpeedily to enter Italy with the greateſt power he could: Beliſarius with his accuſtomed expedition and courage, leaving ſufficient gariſons in Sicily, tranſported his army into Italy, landing at Meſſina, and finding no oppoſition, he ſeized on many towns thereabouts, conquering all to the city of Naples, into which Theodatus had put a great gariſon of his Goths; them Beliſarius beſieged, and after many ſkirmiſhes, he took the city by force, where his ſoldiers took great ſpoils and ſlew many of the Goths: but the next day he ſet all the inhabitants at liberty, and reſtored to them the greateſt part of their goods again: this action ſtruck a great fear into the Goths, who held Naples to be impregnable.

Theodatus in the mean time making but ſlender proviſion for his defence, all his chief captains met together, and choſe for their king, one Vitiges a wiſe and valiant captain, which Theodatus hearing of, fled to Ravenna, but being purſued, he was overtaken and ſlain. Vitiges preſently called a council of war, where it was reſolved, that they for the preſent could neither defend Rome, nor fight Beliſarius, and therefore he ſhould retire to Ravenna, till having received ſufficient forces, he might return and give him battle.

Beliſarius leaving a ſtrong gariſon in Naples, marched to Rome, to whom the inhabitants opened their gates, and let him in. In the ſenate he made an excellent ſpeech, exhorting them to embrace, and defend their liberty; then repaired the city walls, and brought in ſtore of proviſion from all the adjacent parts.

In the mean time Vitiges left no means untried to encreaſe his power, concluding a peace with the king of France, and drew all his forces thence, and from Germany and other parts, he procured all the aid that poſſibly he could; ſo that he raiſed 150,000 men, horſe and foot, good ſoldiers, and moſt of them well armed, and ſo he marched towards Rome where Beliſarius was, but with an inconſiderable army, and therefore not able to take the field.

Whereupon Vitiges, nothing doubting of the victory, grew ſo proud, that he aſked every one he met, whether Beliſarius was not fled away, and rejoiced infinitely when he heard that he was fortifying of Rome. But the valiant Beliſarius truſting in God, was far from flying, reſolving rather to die than to abandon what he had gotten; Vitiges coming near Rome, Beliſarius had cauſed two very ſtrong towers to be built by the bridge to ſtop his approach, and had placed in them very good guards; but when Vitiges' army approached, they which guarded the bridge were in ſuch fear, that they preſently ſurrendered the place, and the ſame night Vitiges paſſed over a great part of his army; the next morning Beliſarius ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, iſſued out of Rome with a thouſand choice horſe, with which he marched towards the bridge, and coming near to it, he ſuddenly met with Vitiges' men at arms, which ſo vexed Beliſarius, imagining that his men that guarded the bridge were loſt, that with leſs prudence than was requiſite, he charged them with ſo much fury, that there fell out a cruel fight, ſo that theſe men at arms were driven back to the batallion where Vitiges was, who charged with ſo great a troop of his Goths, that Beliſarius and his company were held for loſt, yet he in his own perſon did wonders, wounding and ſlaying many of his enemies, and charged ſo far in amongſt them, that though he did the part of an excellent ſoldier, yet not of a diſcreet general; for he put his perſon in ſuch danger, that he was held for dead, and ſo ſome of his men that fled, reported of him in Rome.

Being in this diſtreſs, and unable any longer to maintain the fight, his people began to retire on the ſpur, and he alſo did the like, after he had ſlain a thouſand of the Goths.

Many of Vitige's horſemen purſued him to the gates of Rome, which were ſhut, and the guard would not open them, leſt the enemy ſhould have entered with them; beſides, the noiſe was ſuch, that they knew not Beliſarius his voice, whom they accounted for dead; he having fought the greateſt part of the day, was driven to run to the wall, and ranging his ſoldiers into a ſquadron, made head againſt the enemy, and ſo continued fighting without meat and drink till it was night; in which he did a valiant though a dangerous exploit: charging the Goths with ſuch fury, that they all believed (through the darkneſs of the night) that great troops were ſallied forth againſt them, whereupon they retired to their camp; thus God almoſt miraculouſly preſerved this brave captain, who afterwards coming to the gates, and calling to the watch, they knew him, and joyfully let him in.

He had abundance of arrows ſticking in his horſe, and armour, and ſome blows and cuts with the ſword, (but through God's mercy) none of them came to his skin, which was held for a wonder by thoſe which ſaw what great danger he had been in.

The next day Vitiges came with all his army to the city; but being unable by reaſon of the great circuit to compaſs it all about, he made ſix ſtrong camps in ſeveral parts of it; many dangerous conflicts there was during this ſiege, which laſted a year and nine days.

For the firſt ſeven months the enemy never ceaſed to aſſault and batter the city on all parts, where they did and received much hurt: and Beliſarius never ceaſed from defending, ſallying forth, and fighting with them, ſo that they ſlew above forty thouſand of the Goths, in which his valour and wiſdom did wonderfully appear; for it was the moſt terrible and bloody ſiege that ever was.

The good emperor Juſtinian neglected them not, but ſent them ſuccour of companies of horſe, and foot, valiant captains, corn and other neceſſaries, though with much difficulty: notwithſtanding which, the city endured extreme famine. Beliſarius managed all things with ſuch prudence and valour, that Vitiges ſeeing his men tired, and weakened, he ſent and concluded a truce with him for ſix month; yet it continued not ſo long, for Vitiges underſtanding the wants of the city, renewed the wars, whereupon Beliſarius ſent the marſhal of his army with two thouſand horſe, and other ſoldiers, to begin war in the marſhes of Ravenna; and God ſo proſpered them, that they took in Arminum, and other places; which Vitiges hearing of, and fearing the loſs of Ravenna, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to defend the reſt.

In his retreat, Beliſarius charged his rear-guard ſo furiouſly, that he ſlew a number of his men; and ſo with ſhame, diſonour and loſs, Vitiges went back to Ravenna, and preſently after laid a ſtrong ſiege to Arminum, where the aforeſaid forces were; Beliſarius preſently raiſed ſuch forces as he could, went to Naples, fortified that city, and ſo marched ſtraight towards the city of Ravenna, and by the way he met with Narſes, a brave and religious captain, that Juſtinian had ſent with new ſupplies to his aid; being thus ſtrengthened, he marched to Arminum, forced Vitiges to raiſe his ſiege, and ſo relieved his men. Hereupon Lombardy, Milan, and other places declared for the emperor: and Beliſarius ſent them aid of captains and men, and there fell out many conflicts and battles both with the Goths, and with Theodoricus king of France, who came with a great army, thinking to poſſeſs himſelf of that country.

Beliſarius after many great adventures fought another ter-

eight yoke of oxen could hardly draw him. The inhabitants of Antiochia overthrowing the brazen portraiture of his beloved wife Placilla, Theodosius was so incensed against them for it, that he deprived their town of the dignity of a metropolitan city, conferring it upon their neighbour town of Laodicea: he threatened also to burn it down, but by the persuasion of Flavianus bishop of Antiochia, the good emperor, moved with pity, pardoned their fault.

At one time he was very favourable to the Arians, whom he permitted to keep conventicles in his principal cities, which Amphilochius bishop of Iconium taking notice of, he came before the emperor, and did his reverence unto him, but not to his son Arcadius, though he was already made Augustus, whereat Theodosius being offended, Amphilochius presently answered, that the God of heaven would also be offended with them, who tolerated the blasphemers of his only begotten son Jesus Christ. The godly emperor being hereby brought to a sight of his great sin, presently made a law, prohibiting the conventicles of the Arians in all his cities.

Concerning that miraculous tempest that God sent for the destruction of his enemies, Claudian the poet writes these verses:

O nimium dilecti Deo! cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes, cui mitat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

The Life of THEODOSIUS *the Second, who died* Anno Christi 453.

ARCADIUS, the elder son of Theodosius, in the thirteenth year of his reign, falling sick at Constantinople, left his son Theodosius to succeed in the empire, who being but eight years old, Arcadius, by his last will and testament, made Hisdigerus, king of Persia and Parthia, his tutor, who understanding what Arcadius had done, accepted of the charge, and speedily sent one Antiochus, an excellent man, and a great soldier, to Constantinople, who, with the good will and consent of Honorius emperor of the west, and uncle to young Theodosius, governed the eastern empire with great fidelity and discretion, and so maintained the same in peace and justice till Theodosius came to age. About which time the western empire was much infested by the barbarians; but Theodosius being now of sufficient age, was freed from his tutors, and as he was a godly man, and the inheritor of his grandfather's virtues, his chiefest care was for the service of God, and the defence and advancement of his church; whereupon he fell out with Barrabanus king of Persia, who succeeded Isdigerus, because he persecuted the Christians that were in his dominions, and when persuasions would not prevail, he sent Ardaburus an excellent captain against him, who fought a battle with Nasius, general of the Persians, overthrew him, and made a great slaughter of his men, and afterwards entered his country, and made great spoil therein.

By another way Theodosius sent Gratianus, another captain, against Alamander king of the Saracens, who came to aid the king of Persia, who overthrew him in battle, and slew a great multitude of his Saracens. And in an another place, another of Theodosius's captains overthrew the Persians, so that at last Barrabanus ceased from persecuting the Christians, and a peace was concluded between Theodosius and him.

About this time Honorius, having reigned in all thirty years, died at Rome without issue, and thereby the whole Roman empire was devolved upon Theodosius; and some held for him, as reason and duty required: but the greatest potentates in the west began to make themselves lords of the empire, in several parts of it. But they falling out amongst themselves, Theodosius, not thinking it safe to leave the east, made his cousin-german Valentinian Cæsar, who was the son of Placidia, sister to Arcadius and Honorius, and wife to the emperor Constantius; and so, with sufficient troops, he sent him into Italy, with his mother Placidia, whose virtues and wisdom was sufficient to govern all, till her son came to years fit for government. In the mean time, one John, who had usurped the empire at Rome, sent his ambassadors to Theodosius, requesting him to accept him as partner in the empire; but Theodosius caused them to be apprehended as traitors and rebels; and withal, he sent command to Ardaburius, an excellent captain of his, that, with the greatest power he could make, he should pass by sea into Italy, before Placidia, and should seek to defeat the tyrant John; but in his passage there befel him such a storm at sea, that his own ship being severed from the rest, was driven to an haven where he was taken, and carried prisoner to Ravenna. His son Asper (who was in the same fleet) being informed hereof, landed his men, after the storm was over, and passing the lakes and boggs near to Ravenna, which were always judged impassable, and never known to be dry before, entered the city, freed his father, took the tyrant John and cut off his head. This miraculous deliverance of Ardaburius was judged to be the fruit of the effectual prayers of the godly emperor.

Presently after came Placidia with her son into Italy, and passed to Ravenna, where hearing of another usurper, that was coming with all his forces from Spain, to seize upon Rome, she sent Ardaburius against him, who fought a great battle with him, and overthrew him; after which, his own soldiers mutinying against him, delivered him to Ardaburius.

And whereas another usurper was risen up in Rome, the soldiers and citizens apprehended him, and sent him prisoner to Ravenna.

Valentinian being thus peaceably possessed of Italy, was by the consent of Theodosius, and with the good will of all men, made emperor: and not long after, leaving all things in the best order that he could in Italy he took his passage for Greece, and went to Constantinople to see Theodosius, where he married Eudoxa, daughter to Theodosius, and so he returned into Italy: at which time Genserichus king of the Vandals exercising great cruelties upon the Christians in Africa, godly Theodosius was so grieved, that he sent two of his captains with great forces against him.

But whilst they prolonged time in Sicily, Attilla, a mighty king of the Huns, with many other barbarous nations, which, like swarms of bees, came to him, intended to invade the eastern empire, knowing that the best and greatest part of the men of war were gone with the two captains into Sicily; and at his first entry he took many cities in Thrace and Slavonia, whereupon Theodosius, in great haste, called back his army out of Sicily, raised more forces, and fought with Attila many battles, much repressing his fury; but, in the midst of his preparations against these barbarians, it pleased God that he fell sick of the plague, whereof he died; or, as some hold, by a fall from his horse; in the fiftieth year of his age, and of his reign forty-two, in the year 453.

Socrates Scholasticus gives this character of him. Theodosius, though born and brought up in the imperial palace, yet was he free from all light and vain behaviour. He was so wise and discreet, that he seemed in his youth, to all that conferred with him, a man of great experience: he was of such hardiness and sufferance, both inwardly in mind, and outwardly in body, that he could endure the pinching cold of winter, and the parching heat of summer.

He used to fast twice every week; his palace and court seemed no other than a religious family: at the dawning of the day, he used with his sisters to sing psalms and hymns of praise to God. He learned much of the holy scriptures without book: he so reasoned of them with the bishops, as if he himself had been an experienced minister.

He gathered together a very great library of the antient fathers works, but especially many books of the sacred scriptures.

He excelled all men in patience, courtesy, and clemency: he learned to bridle his anger, to bear afflictions patiently, to revenge him of none that did him injury: and when one of his familiars asked him why he would not put to death some that had wronged him? he answered, 'I would to God it lay in my power to revive them that are

are dead; indeed it is no hard matter to bereave a man of his life, but when that is done, be a man never so sorry, he cannot revive him again.' When any traitor was condemned, he would not suffer him to go so far as the gates of the city, towards the place of execution, before he sent him a reprieve.

One day, as he set forth some public shews to the people of Constantinople, wherein beasts fought together, the people shouting, desired that one of the strongest men should be set to encounter with one of those beasts, his answer was, 'Do not you know that we cannot abide cruel spectacles.'

He highly honoured God's ministers, especially such as excelled in godliness. Once as he was at the public shews, to please the people, there fell out an exceeding great tempest, whereupon he commanded his beadles to speak to the people, telling them, that it was far better to lay aside those shews and pastimes, and, with one heart and voice, to pray unto God to cease that violent storm; the words were no sooner spoken, but all jointly fell down to the ground, and poured out zealous and earnest prayers unto God, so that the whole city was become as one church; and it pleased God that the weather presently cleared up, and became fair: and whereas there was a great dearth and scarcity before, through God's mercy, they had afterwards great store and plenty.

At another time, as this most godly emperor was celebrating those shows in the same place, he had news brought him of Asper's success, and of the tyrant John, whereupon he thus spoke to the people; 'Let us give over this vain pastime, and let us repair unto church and serve God devoutly, pouring out our zealous prayers to him, and praise him for his wonderful mercy, who by his own hand, and out stretched arm, hath deprived the tyrant of his life.' No sooner had he made an end of speaking, but all the people gave over their spectacles and passing through the theatre, sang praises, together with the emperor, unto God; and so, going directly to church, spent the whole day in those holy exercises. When wars were at any time proclaimed, after the examples of David and Jehosophat, he made God his refuge, and, by prayer, he always obtained prosperous success.

Nestorius denying Christ to be God, Theodosius summoned a council at Ephesus to suppress that heresy, by which Nestorius was deposed from his bishopric. He greatly detested all heretics. His wife was Eudoxia, a very godly and discreet woman. His usual saying was, 'That emperors, of all other men, were most miserable, because commonly the truth of businesses is concealed from them.

In his time there was such a famine in Rome, that the poor sort were fain to make bread of the bark of trees, and the richer sort of chesnuts; a pound of flesh was worth fifty-pence, and dead mens flesh was sold and eaten.

In one battle that this general fought against Attila, there were slain 162000 men, whose blood made a neighbour brook to overflow its bank. This Attila was called The terror of the world, and the whip wherewith God scourged many nations.

Theodosius in godliness was like unto his grand-father. In collecting a great library of good books, nothing inferior to Ptolemæus Philadelphus. In gathering into one short sum the laws of his predecessors, he trode a path wherein Justinian followed him, to the great benefit of learned men. His house was like unto a sanctuary for exercises of reading the holy scriptures, and devout prayers. His facility in subscribing unread letters was corrected by the prudent advice of his sister Pulcheria.

In his time Attila entered into Italy, took, sacked, and ruined Aquillia, Ticinum, and Millaine, and intended the same cruelty against Rome; but Leo bishop thereof went forth to him, and with gentle words so mitigated his mind that he forbore to do it.

He had a man whose name was Palladius, one that had rare gifts, both outwardly in body, and inwardly in mind, and of that strength and agility of body, that he was able in three days to run post into the furthest bounds of the Roman and Persian dominions, and back again in the same space to Constantinople; so that by his clerity he made the Roman empire, which was vast and wide, to be but narrow and strait.

When Theodosius sent his army under Ardaburius against the Persians, and for the relief of the persecuted Christians there, the citizens of Constantinople were sad and heavy, fearing the variable event of the wars; but a company of angels appeared to certain men in Bithynia, that were travelling to Constantinople, and willed them to bid the citizens be of good cheer, and to pray, and put their trust in God; and that they should be confident of Ardaburius's victory, for God had sent them as governors and sovereign captains of the wars.

The heresy of Nestorius was so hateful to him, that he made this law concerning the followers of it; 'We decree, That whosoever doth embrace the wicked opinion of Nestorius, and shall give ear to his lewd doctrine, if he be a bishop he shall be banished; if a lay person, that he shall be accursed.'

In the time of Theodosius's reign, the Britains sent for the Saxons out of Germany, to assist them against the Scots and Picts; and when they came, Vortinger the British king entertained them, conferred with them of their faith, and found them Pagans that worshipped Mercury, whom they called Woden, and in honour of him Wodensday (Wednesday). They worshipped also Venus, whom they called Frea, whence came Friday. These Saxons, when, together with the Britains, they had foiled the Scots and Picts, traiterously fell upon their own masters the Britains, slew many, and drave the rest into the mountains, whom they called after their country language Welshmen, i. e. strangers.

The Life of JUSTINIAN, *who died* Anno Christi 538.

JUSTINE, Emperor of the east, being grown old, and having no sons of his own, adopted his sister's son, called Justinian, appointing him to succeed in the empire; he was a very godly man, zealous for the truths against heresies, and would suffer no faith to be openly professed, but that which was allowed in the four general councils; and accordingly God blessed him in his wars; for coming to the empire in a very troublous time, the first war that he made was against the Persians, who for fifty years together had often invaded the Roman empire, and commonly had the better of it; against them therefore Justinian sent a great army under the conduct of Belisarius, a noble and valiant captain, who fought a bloody battle with the Persians, which continued almost a whole day, but in the conclusion, through God's mercy, Belisarius prevailed, and made a great slaughter of the enemies; after which notable victory he recovered sundry places in Mesopotamia, which the Persians had usurped from the empire.

Another army also of Justinian's entering into Armenia, by the same good hand of providence obtained victory, and recovered most part of that which was formerly lost; hereupon Cavadas, King of Persia, raised a mighty army under the command of a valiant old captain of his, called Alamander, who had formerly gotten many victories against the Romans, with whom Belisarius after some encounters, came to a battle, which was the greatest and cruelest that ever happened in those wars; this battle was fought near to the river Euphrates, and much against the opinion of Belisarius, who, knowing that the enemy had the advantage, would not have fought, but his men against his will preparing themselves; he ordered and encouraged them all that he could; the fight was maintained with such obstinacy and fury on both sides, that for the greatest part of the day, it appeared not to which side victory would encline; but, at last, the Imperialists waxing faint, having fasted all day because it was Easter-eve, they began to retreat; which the Persians seeing, they charged the horse troops of Belisarius with such fury, that they brake them also; Belisarius did what he could to encourage and reinforce them, but when he could not prevail he alighted from his horse, and placed himself in a squadron of footmen that kept their ground, and encouraging them with his presence, they all resolved to conquer or die, insomuch, as when the Persian general saw

ſaw them remain whole, he came upon them with great fury, thinking eaſily to have had the execution of them, but they kept themſelves ſo cloſe together, that they could not be broken, and fought ſo valiantly, that they ſlew many of the Perſians, till night coming on, the Perſians left them,

Then did Beliſarius with his men retire into an iſland, which was in the river Euphrates hard by, whither the reſt of his army came to him, and the next morning ſet his men in order to fight again; but the Perſians having loſt more men than the Romans, removed into another quarter, and the King of Perſia underſtanding his great loſs, ſickened, and ſhortly after died, whereupon his ſon made peace with Juſtinian; and Beliſarius returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received with much triumph.

A few days after two potent men in the city, which were ſiſters ſons of Anaſtaſius the emperor, with a great party that adhered to them, rebelled againſt Juſtinian, one of them taking the enſigns and name of emperor; and the war was ſo cruel within the city, that thirty thouſand perſons were ſlain together with the uſurpers, whereby God did wonderfully deliver Juſtinian from an imminent danger, after which time he lived in peace and better eſtimation than before; in this ſcuffle Beliſarius did him better ſervice than all others.

After the Vandals had ſeized upon Africk, they raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, ſome of them being Heathens and Arians; but after the death of Genſericus, Gilimer his nephew ſucceeding in the kingdom, Juſtinian ſent Beliſarius with a purpoſe to regain the kingdom of Africk, who embarked himſelf accompanied with many captains in five hundred ſail of ſhips and ninety-two gallies, and ſo began his voyage towards Africk, where, through God's mercy he ſafely arrived; Epiphanius, biſhop of Conſtantinople going in the fleet, prayed for their proſperous ſucceſs; when they were landed, they found ſome that took part with them, and ſo they marched along the ſea-coaſt toward Carthage, and the navy did the like by ſea; when Gilimer underſtood this, he left his brother Amata in the city for the guard of it, commanding him to kill all the priſoners, and at ſuch an hour the next day to iſſue out of the city with all his forces againſt Beliſarius, promiſing that himſelf with his army, would charge him, at the ſame time in the rear, and ſo he departed out of Carthage with his army; and ſent a captain with ſome troops to alarm and trouble Beliſarius in his march.

The next day Amata came forth accordingly by the vanguard; and Gilimer with his forces ſo reſolutely upon the rear, that the Imperialiſts began to retire; but Gilimer hearing of the defeat, and death of his brother, made an halt, whereupon Beliſarius his ſoldiers charged with ſuch fury, that Gilimer was wholly overthrown, many of his men ſlain, and he by flight ſaved his life.

The next day Beliſarius marched to the city, where arriving in the evening, he found no reſiſtance, and the gates open, yet would he not enter into an enemy's city by night, but the next day he marched in with great quietneſs, neither ſuffering his ſoldiers to plunder or murder any who were obedient to him; poſſeſſing the city, he commanded preſently the walls to be repaired, which were very ruinous; and, in the mean time, Gilimer unbroken in ſpirit, rallied his army, raiſed more forces, ſent for his brother Zazon, with a great army out of Sardinia, and having thus gotten a ſufficient number, he went towards Carthage, either to fight or beſiege Beliſarius.

But Beliſarius, for certain days, would not take the field, till he had ſufficiently repaired the walls, and then he marched forth with his army to give Gilimer battle, and when the commanders ſaw each other, they ſet their men in good order, one relying upon the arm of fleſh, the other putting his confidence in God. The fight began with great fury, but in the firſt charge Zazon was ſlain, and ſome other principal men of the Vandals, whereupon the reſt fled into their camp, which they had ſtrongly fortified; Beliſarius gathering his forces together preſently purſued them, which, when Gilimer ſaw, ſuſpecting that he could not defend the camp; with a few ſervants he fled away, and Beliſarius entered it, putting all in arms to the ſword, taking the women and children captives. In the camp, they found an infinite quantity of gold, ſilver, money, and jewels for the Vandals, having no place of refuge which they counted ſafe, carried all their treaſure with them, and ſo in one hour they loſt all they had ſtollen, and gotten in Africa in ninety five years before; thus, God bleſſed his ſervant Juſtinian, and juſtly plagued thoſe wicked Vandals, who had cruelly perſecuted the Orthodox, cutting out their tongues, impriſoning the godly miniſters, and making them their drudges, making ſtables of their churches, &c.

The next day, Beliſarius ſent an excellent captain with a good troop of horſe to purſue Gilimer, and ſhortly after himſelf followed with ſome choice men of his army, but finding, that Gilimer was fled into ſome inacceſſible mountains in Numidia, he left a captain with ſufficient forces to beſiege him, and ſo returned to Carthage, in his paſſage taking in many towns, and much people reſorted to him with joy, being glad that they were freed from the miſerable ſervitude of the Vandals, and reſtored to the liberty of the empire.

Shortly after he ſent to take in Sardinia, and others into Mauritania, and in all places God gave him wonderful ſucceſs, ſo that in little more than four months he took in all Africk, that had been poſſeſſed by thoſe wicked Vandals, for the ſpace of ninety-ſix years, wherein they had been oppreſſors of the true church of Chriſt, and had almoſt extirpated it.

Gilimer, being ſtraitly beſieged as before is ſaid, at laſt yielded himſelf upon quarter for his life, and ſo was brought priſoner to Beliſarius, who ſent the Emperor Juſtinian news of his ſucceſs, requeſting, that he might return to Conſtantinople, and bring Gilimer with him. Juſtinian referred it to himſelf, whether to ſtay and govern that province or to return; he made one Solomon governor, left with him a good part of his army, and ſo took Gilimer, and his kindred, and infinite jewels, treaſures and riches, which the Vandals had plundered from Rome, Spain, Africk, and other provinces, and ſo returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received in triumph.

In the mean time the churches of the eaſt being much infected with the Arian Hereſy, were full of diſſentions and troubles, but the good Emperor publiſhed an edict wherein he accuſed the principal ringleaders, and inflicted great penalties on them that held and maintained ſuch damnable opinions, thereby that no diſſention might take root in any of the churches through the world.

About this time the nation that dwelt by the river Tanais ſent to Juſtinian, requeſting him to ſend a biſhop to them, who willingly aſſented to their requeſts, by which means they were converted to the Chriſtian faith.

Beliſarius did not long continue at Conſtantinople before Juſtinian gave him the charge of his wars in Sicily and Italy againſt the Goths, and Theodatus who at that time was lord thereof, an enterpriſe of no leſs importance, and of greater danger than the former of Africk; but Theodatus dying about that time, he left his kingdom to his nephew Atalaricus being eight years old, wherefore his mother Amalaſunta had the education of him, and the government of the kingdom: but Athalaricus ſhortly after dying, Theodatus his couſin-german uſurped the kingdom, and treacherouſly put Amalaſunta to death.

Juſtinian deteſting ſo vile a fact, ſent Beliſarius with his victorious army againſt him, who by the way landing in Sicily, took in Catania, Syracuſe, and many other towns and cities, and after a while the whole iſland ſubmitted to him.

Theodatus being informed hereof, was much afraid, and preſently diſpatched ambaſſadors to Juſtinian, proffering to renounce his title to Sicily: and that in Italy in all decrees and proclamations, Juſtinian's name ſhould be firſt uſed, and that once every year he would ſend him a golden crown in token of ſubjection: withal giving them in charge, that if Juſtinian refuſed that proffer, that then they ſhould offer the whole kingdom of Italy to him, upon condition that he ſhould give him ſome lands and poſſeſſions in Greece, or elſewhere, Juſtinian refuſed the firſt, but embraced the ſecond, and ſent back his ambaſſadors with them to conſummate the agreement; but in the interim Theodatus having by his captains gotten a victory againſt ſome of Juſtinian's captains in Slavonia, he was ſo puffed

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up with pride, that he refused to stand to his former offer, yea, his insolency was such, that he apprehended, and imprisoned Justinian's ambassadors: and he was the more encouraged, hearing that Belisarius was gone from Sicily into Africk, where a captain with a great part of the army had mutinied against Salomon, put the judges and governors to death, and possessed themselves of a great part of the country, but Belisarius arriving there, overthrew them in battle, and so leaving all in peace, he sailed into Italy.

About this time there was seen so prodigious a sight about the sun, that the like hath never been heard of: for the sun, for the greatest part of the year, gave so little light, that it was but equal to the light of the moon, the sky being clear, without clouds or any thing to shadow it, after which there followed a great famine, and much war and bloodshed.

Justinian seeing the inconstancy of Theodatus, and being greatly displeased with the death of his captains in Dalmatia, and the imprisonment of his ambassadors, with the wisdom, courage and resolution of a worthy prince, he sent Constantius a noble captain into Dalmatia, and Slavonia, who quickly recovered most of that which was lost: and sending to Belisarius speedily to enter Italy with the greatest power he could: Belisarius with his accustomed expedition and courage, leaving sufficient garisons in Sicily, transported his army into Italy, landing at Messina, and finding no opposition, he seized on many towns thereabouts, conquering all to the city of Naples, into which Theodatus had put a great garison of his Goths; this Belisarius besieged, and after many skirmishes, he took the city by force, where his soldiers took great spoils and slew many of the Goths: but the next day he set all the inhabitants at liberty, and restored to them the greatest part of their goods again: this action struck a great fear into the Goths, who held Naples to be impregnable.

Theodatus in the mean time making but slender provision for his defence, all his chief captains met together, and chose for their king, one Vitiges a wise and valiant captain, which Theodatus hearing of, fled to Ravenna, but being pursued, he was overtaken and slain. Vitiges presently called a council of war, where it was resolved, that they for the present could neither defend Rome, nor fight Belisarius, and therefore he should retire to Ravenna, till having received sufficient forces, he might return and give him battle.

Belisarius leaving a strong garison in Naples, marched to Rome, to whom the inhabitants opened their gates, and let him in. In the senate he made an excellent speech, exhorting them to embrace, and defend their liberty; then he repaired the city walls, and brought in store of provision from all the adjacent parts.

In the mean time Vitiges left no means untried to encrease his power, concluding a peace with the king of France, and drew all his forces thence, and from Germany and other parts, he procured all the aid that possibly he could; so that he raised 150,000 men, horse and foot, paid soldiers, and most of them well armed, and so he marched towards Rome where Belisarius was, but with an inconsiderable army, and therefore not able to take the field.

Whereupon Vitiges, nothing doubting of the victory, grew so proud, that he asked every one he met, whether Belisarius was not fled away, and rejoiced infinitely when he heard that he was fortifying of Rome. But the valiant Belisarius trusting in God, was far from flying, resolving rather to die than to abandon what he had gotten; Vitiges coming near Rome, Belisarius had caused two very strong towers to be built by the bridge to stop his approach, and had placed in them very good guards; but when Vitiges' army approached, they which guarded the bridge were in such fear, that they presently surrendered the place, and the same night Vitiges passed over a great part of his army; the next morning Belisarius suspecting no such matter, had out of Rome with a thousand choice horse, with which he marched towards the bridge, and coming near to it, he suddenly met with Vitiges' men at arms, which so amazed Belisarius, imagining that his men that guarded the bridge were lost, that with less prudence than was requisite, he charged them with so much fury, that there fell out a cruel fight, so that these men at arms were driven back to the battallion where Vitiges was, who charged with so great a troop of his Goths, that Belisarius and his company were held for lost, yet he in his own person did wonders, wounding and slaying many of his enemies, and charged so far in amongst them, that though he did the part of an excellent soldier, yet not of a discreet general; for he put his person in such danger, that he was held for dead, and so some of his men that fled, reported of him in Rome.

Being in this distress, and unable any longer to maintain the fight, his people began to retire on the spur, and he also did the like, after he had slain a thousand of the Goths.

Many of Vitige's horsemen pursued him to the gates of Rome, which were shut, and the guard would not open them, lest the enemy should have entered with them; besides, the noise was such, that they knew not Belisarius his voice, whom they accounted for dead; he having fought the greatest part of the day, was driven to run to the wall, and ranging his soldiers into a squadron, made head against the enemy, and so continued fighting without meat and drink till it was night; in which he did a valiant though a dangerous exploit: charging the Goths with such fury, that they all believed (through the darkness of the night) that great troops were sallied forth against them, whereupon they retired to their camp; thus God almost miraculously preserved this brave captain, who afterwards coming to the gates, and calling to the watch, they knew him, and joyfully let him in.

He had abundance of arrows sticking in his horse, and armour, and some blows and cuts with the sword, (but through God's mercy) none of them came to his skin, which was held for a wonder by those which saw what great danger he had been in.

The next day Vitiges came with all his army to the city; but being unable by reason of the great circuit to compass it all about, he made six strong camps in several parts of it; many dangerous conflicts there was during this siege, which lasted a year and nine days.

For the first seven months the enemy never ceased to assault and batter the city on all parts, where they did and received much hurt: and Belisarius never ceased from defending, sallying forth, and fighting with them, so that they slew above forty thousand of the Goths, in which his valour and wisdom did wonderfully appear; for it was the most terrible and bloody siege that ever was.

The good emperor Justinian neglected them not, but sent them succour of companies of horse, and foot, valiant captains, corn and other necessaries, though with much difficulty: notwithstanding which, the city endured extreme famine. Belisarius managed all things with such prudence and valour, that Vitiges seeing his men tired, and weakened, he sent and concluded a truce with him for six month; yet it continued not so long, for Vitiges understanding the wants of the city, renewed the wars, whereupon Belisarius sent the marshal of his army with two thousand horse, and other soldiers, to begin war in the marshes of Ravenna; and God so prospered them, that they took in Arminum, and other places; which Vitiges hearing of, and fearing the loss of Ravenna, raised the siege, and returned to defend the rest.

In his retreat, Belisarius charged his rear-guard so furiously, that he slew a number of his men; and so with shame, dishonour and loss, Vitiges went back to Ravenna, and presently after laid a strong siege to Arminum, where the aforesaid forces were; Belisarius presently raised such forces as he could, went to Naples, fortified that city, and so marched straight towards the city of Ravenna, and by the way he met with Narses, a brave and religious captain, that Justinian had sent with new supplies to his aid; being thus strengthened, he marched to Arminum, forced Vitiges to raise his siege, and so relieved his men. Hereupon Lombardy, Milan, and other places declared for the emperor: and Belisarius sent them aid of captains and men, and there fell out many conflicts and battles both with the Goths, and with Theodoricus king of France, who came with a great army, thinking to possess himself of that country.

Belisarius after many great adventures fought another

terrible battle with Vitiges, who had gathered all his forces together for that end, (and through God's goodneſs) got the victory; Vitiges fled into Ravenna: Beliſarius purſued, beſieged him in the city, and in the end took it, and had Vitiges delivered into his hands, with whom almoſt all Italy came under his obedience.

Coſroes king of Perſia, hearing that Beliſarius whom he chiefly feared, was buſied in the wars of Italy, took the opportunity to make war upon the territories of the empire, and took ſome cities, whereupon Juſtinian, who was very circumſpect for all parts, ſent an army into the eaſt, under a valiant general, who being ſlain in a battle againſt the Perſians, he ſent a ſecond, yet could not the imperialiſts make ſufficient reſiſtance againſt them, but that they ſtill prevailed; wherefore Juſtinian ſent for Beliſarius, as the only man that could match the Perſians.

Beliſarius going to Conſtantinople took with him Vitiges with his queen, many of his kindred and other principal men of the Goths his priſoners, and was received into Conſtantinople with exceeding honour, and much joy, and was looked upon as the wonder of the world, every one extolling his virtues and noble acts; he was a man of a pleaſant countenance, tall of ſtature, of an excellent conſtitution, noble of condition, pious, mild, courteous; and endued with many other rare and heroical vertues.

Within few days after, he was ſent into the eaſt againſt Coſroes, and with his coming the imperialiſts took heart, and he revived the war with ſuch diſcretion and courage that there was a preſent alteration in all things; and having obtained ſome victories, he ſoon recovered moſt of that which was loſt; but whilſt he thus was far from Italy, the Goths which kept ſome garriſons there, aſſembled together, and choſe one Ydibaldus king; but not long after, his guard ſlew him: in whoſe place they choſe Araricus king, who was alſo ſlain within five months, and then they choſe Totila for their king, who preſently marched through all Italy without any great reſiſtance, and beſieged the city of Naples, which after many exploits both by ſea and land, he took and proſpered ſo much in his enterpriſes, that he was like in a ſhort ſpace to make himſelf lord of all Italy; which Juſtinian hearing of ſent to Beliſarius, commanding him to leave the affairs of the eaſt in as good a poſture as he could, and ſpeedily return to Conſtantinople, whence without any ſtay he was preſently ſent by the emperor into Italy, whither he led with him but fifty thouſand men, expecting that he ſhould have found ſufficient forces there; for the emperor was made to believe that his affairs was not in ſo low a ſtate as they proved: his coming was much expected by his friends, and feared by his enemies; but when they ſaw that he brought ſo ſmall an army with him, his friends grieved, and his enemies contemned him.

Putting himſelf into Ravenna, he fortified and kept the ſame, and within a few days took ſuch order, that though he could not match his numerous enemies in the field, yet by policy he won upon them; whereupon Totila being angry, aſſembled his whole power, ſent one part of his army to Ravenna againſt Beliſarius, and with the reſt he went to Rome, which was ſo ſlenderly provided with men and amunition, that it was not like to hold out long; Beliſarius underſtanding this, remembering with what trouble and care he had formerly defended that city, and having not ſufficient forces to relieve it by land, he was very ſorrowful, and thereupon wrote earneſtly to the emperor to ſend him men and money, and in the mean time he reſolved to put himſelf into Rome by ſea; and ſo paſſing over into Dalmatia, he went unto Duraſſo, where he met with captain John, whom the emperor had ſent with an army to aſſiſt him; but holding that the relief of Rome was preſently neceſſary, he took the ſea to enter Rome by the river Tyber, appointing captain John to haſte his march by land to relieve him; coming to the mouth of Tyber, he ſpeedily rigged a great number of barks and frigats, with which he paſſed up the river, in the narroweſt part whereof, Totila had drawn a chain a croſs, made a bridge and two caſtles at either ſide, guarded with a great number of ſoldiers; yet Beliſarius with his men charged the guard ſo luſtily that they ſcattered them, and Rome had been preſently relieved, if by a ſtrange miſhap it had not been prevented; indeed God (who had raiſed up the Goths to ſcourge the Roman empire, and to puniſh the ſins of Rome, and the decay of zeal, and encreaſe of ſuperſtition in the church) had otherwiſe determined of it.

For Beliſarius having left his wife, whom he dearly loved with his family in a port at the mouth of the river, under the care of a good captain, and ſtrong gariſon, had news brought him that the town was taken, and his wife in the enemies hand, which ſo grieved and enraged him, that he preſently returned down the river, determining to recover his wife or loſe his life, preſuming that if he ſped well, he might preſently return to the relief of Rome: being come to the port, he found the town ſafe, and his wife well, and at liberty, whereupon he was more grieved to ſee himſelf ſo deluded; and the ſame night it pleaſed God (who makes all things to concur for the effecting of his own will) that he fell ſick of a fever, and his diſeaſe daily encreaſing, he was often at the point of death.

In the mean time Totila ſo ſtraitly beſieged the city of Rome, that they within did eat cats, rats, dogs, &c. And yet many died of hunger; ſo that in the end he became maſter of it, burnt the capitol, and beſt part of all the city, threw down the third part of the walls, commanded the inhabitants upon the pain of death to depart, and live in other places; and ſo he left it burnt, deſolate and waſte, which had been the miſtreſs of the world. And then he marched againſt captain John and his army, that was coming towards Rome, who ſhewed himſelf ſo very a coward, that he durſt not ſtay his coming, but put himſelf into Otranto, whereby Totila took all Calabria, Abruzzo, and Lucania.

In the mean time Beliſarius having recovered his health, performed one of the moſt deſperate attempts that ever was; which was with thoſe troops which he had, to go and put himſelf into the deſolation of Rome, where he preſently cauſed trenches to be digged, rampires to be made, and all the victuals that could poſſibly be gotten to be brought thither. The fame whereof brought many citizens for love to their country to come and put themſelves thereinto with him.

As ſoon as Totila heard hereof, by long journies, he returned to Rome, aſſuring himſelf preſently to enter it, and therein to take Beliſarius; but Beliſarius ſo valiantly defended the ſame, that to his great loſs Totila was forced to raiſe his ſiege; afterwards Beliſarius having better fortified it, and left a good gariſon in it, went to join with John and his army, and to purſue Totila; but the king of Perſia again making wars in the eaſt, Juſtinian ſent for Beliſarius to Conſtantinople, which when the king of Perſia heard of, he concluded a peace with Juſtinian, and ſo Beliſarius remained in Conſtantinople all the reſt of his life; during which time the Huns came down into Thrace, robbing and ſpoiling all the country, againſt whom old Beliſarius was ſent, who overthrew them in a great battle, and ſo returned to the emperor.

After Beliſarius departed from Italy, Totila returned again and beſieged Rome, and after a long ſiege, wherein the inhabitants and ſoldiers endured great extremities and famine, he again took it, but did it no harm, ſeeking rather to repair and repeople it, giving great gifts, privileges and exemptions to the inhabitants. Afterwards he took many other places, and then paſſed over into Sicily, but finding that the conqueſt thereof would be difficult, he left four captains with many men of war, and ſo returned into Italy, where, in a ſhort ſpace, he had made himſelf abſolute lord of the country, had not the emperor ſent Narſes, an holy, famous and valiant captain, with a great army into Italy; and in his march towards Rome, Totila met him, and preſented battle to him. They fought, and in the fight Totila was ſlain, and his army routed, whereupon Narſes eaſily reconquered all Italy.

After Totila's death, the Goths choſe Teyas, a potent man amongſt them, king, who raiſed with Totila's treaſure a great army, and ſo marched out of Lombardy to encounter with Narſes: they both lodged their armies upon a river ſide, where, after ſome notable ſkirmiſhes, they

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…ne to a battle, which was one of the moſt cruel that had been fought in all that war: having fought ſix hours, …terin Teyas in his own perſon had done wonders, he …as at laſt ſlain; yet the battle continued till dark. The …xt morning they returned to the fight again, without …eeping, and the Goths taking the advantage of an hill, …fended themſelves till towards night, at which time …ey firſt ambaſſadors to Narſes, profering to reſign all …ey held in Italy to him, provided that he would let …em live in it, without armour or weapons. Narſes …anted their requeſt, for he would not fight with a def…ute people, himſelf alſo having loſt many of his men …the fight; and ſo they delivered what they poſſeſſed, …d in a ſhort time after they were ſo mixed with the na…ns, that the name of the Goths was wholly extinct and …gotten.

…rſes applyed himſelf to the re edifying of Rome; …d becauſe it was extreme ruinous, and the inhabitants …w, he contracted the compaſs of it; and ſettled the go…ment of it and Italy in the beſt manner he could.

He was a man of great judgment, a good Chriſtian, …lous in religion, and an excellent captain, and held …e government of Italy, under Juſtinian, all his life af…rs.

In Juſtinian's time, beſides theſe and many other wars, …ere happened great earthquakes, famine, and many other …alamities.

He was a godly and excellent prince, who provided for …l his great wars, without taxing or oppreſſing his ſub…cts; and in his civil government he was ſo careful as if …e never had applied himſelf to any thing elſe, for where…s the laws made by former emperors were many, tedious, …bſcure, and ſometimes contradictory to each other, he …contracted, cleared, and made them uniform, adding new …here there was a defect: and whereas they contained …o thouſand books before, he reduced them to fifty, …alled the Digeſt, and compiled four books of Inſtitutes, …nd other decrees, which were diſperſed into divers books, …e reduced to twelve, called Juſtinian's Codex. He was …ery curious in architecture, and built many great and cu…ious edifices.

Being grown old, and having no ſon to ſucceed him, he …doped his daughter's ſon, called Juſtin, for his fellow-…mperor. And, after ſo many noble acts, he left this for …nother life, in the eightieth year of his age, and of his …eign thirty-nine, in the year 568. His death was greatly …amented and deplored through the whole empire.

…Some write, Juſtinian's wife was Theodora, a wo…an infected with the hereſy of Eutyches, who, after the …eath of her huſband, out of malice and envy to that …ave and noble captain Beliſarius, cauſed his eyes to be …ut out, and brought him to that extremity of want, that …e was forced to ſit by the highways begging, *Date obolum …eliſario!* 'For God's ſake, give an half-penny to poor …eliſarius. *Evag.*' Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.

One thing is very remarkable in this godly emperor Ju…inian, Genſericus, when he ſpoiled and plundered Rome, …ook the veſſels of gold and ſilver which Titus had brought …om the temple in Jeruſalem, and carried them with him …o Carthage: theſe veſſels, among other ſpoils, Beliſarius …ook with when he took Carthage, and carried them to …onſtantinople; but Juſtinian would not receive them into …is treaſury, but ſent them again to Jeruſalem, to be diſ…oſed of for the good of the church, according to the diſ…retion of the Chriſtian biſhops which lived there.

The Life of HUNIADES, *Prince of Tranſilvania, who died* Anno Chriſti 1450.

HUNIADES was born in Walachia, of noble parentage, and endowed with all thoſe virtues which adorn a prince, and therefore was, in the year 1443, made prince of Tranſilvania, which at that time was much infeſted with the incurſions of the Turks. He was a politic, pious, valiant, and famous captain: his victories ſo great, that the like were never obtained by any Chriſtian prince againſt the Turks, and his name became ſo dreadful to them, that they uſed to ſtill their crying children with it.

At his firſt coming to his ſovereignty, he began to keep the Turks ſhort, by cutting them off whenever they preſumed to enter into his country: he ſhut up alſo the paſſages whereby they uſed to enter, and ſo having made Tranſilvania ſafe, he went into Moldavia, and never reſted till he had quite won it out of the Turks hands: then he paſſed over Danubius, into their dominions, making havock of all, and carrying back a great booty, and many captives.

At this time Iſſa Baſſa, a great favourite of Amurath's, was governor of Temeſwar, and an excellent ſoldier; he, to pleaſe the Sultan his uncle, continually forraged the country about Belgrade, burning the villages, driving away the cattle, and taking the people captives; ſometimes alſo he brake into Huniades' country, laying in every place, as he went, ſtrong ambuſhes, hoping to entrap that wary captain; but Huniades, purpoſing revenge, raiſed a ſtrong army, both of horſe and foot, and paſſed over Danubius, encamping near to Belgrade, which Iſſa hearing of, preſently ſet forward, with a great army, to meet him; and coming on in good order, he found Huniades as ready for the battle as himſelf: the ſignal of battle being given, there began a great and cruel fight: at the firſt encounter the wings of Huniades' army were forced to retire, but his men at arms charged with ſuch fury, that many fell on both ſides, but moſt of the Turks, who were not able long to endure the ſhock, but were overthrown by heaps, and at laſt betook themſelves to flight, and Iſſa Beg with them: Huniades and his Hungarians fiercely purſued to the very ſuburbs of Sinderovia, ſo that moſt of the Turks was ſlain, and a rich prey and many priſoners fell to the Chriſtians, which they carried into Belgrade.

The fame of this victory coming to Buda, to Vladiſlaus king of Hungary, he cauſed public thankſgivings in every church, and ſent rich preſents to Huniades, for his encouragement.

Amurath, much grieved with this loſs, repaired his forces, ſending Meſites Baſſa, a man of great experience and valour, with a puiſſant army, to invade Tranſilvania, where he burned all that came in his way, killing man, woman, and child, without reſpect of age or ſex. Huniades having no army to oppoſe ſo potent an enemy, was much grieved for the ſpoil of his country, and therefore went to Alba Julia, to the biſhop thereof; the Turks came on within ſight of the city, laying all waſte before them, which ſo grieved Huniades and the biſhop, that with a tumultuous army, raiſed in haſte, they marched out, either to repreſs the rage of the Turks, or die honourably; but they quickly fell into ambuſhments laid by the crafty Baſſa to entrap them, and were forced to fly back into the city with ſome loſs; and the biſhop taking a river, with his horſe, was there ſlain by the Turks.

Huniades, with wonderful celerity, went into the borders of his country, perſuading all to take arms; and ſo, having raiſed ſome forces, he marched back after the Baſſa, who was returning back, loaden with the ſpoils of the country. Meſites hearing of Huniades approach, proudly anſwered, 'Let him come, and with the ſpoil of himſelf enrich our victory.' Yet withal he appointed certain companies of his beſt ſoldiers in the fight to ſet upon Huniades, knowing that if he were ſlain, the reſt would eaſily be put to flight, withal giving them tokens whereby they might know him and his horſe: this Huniades being informed of by a ſpy, he changed horſe and armour with a valiant gentleman that was like him, appointing him a ſtrong troop of horſemen to attend him; and watching his opportunity, like a violent tempeſt he fell on the Turks, and finding them out of order, he ſlew many of them; but the troops before appointed ſpying the counterfeit Huniades, made towards him, as they were ordered, where began a cruel fight, but at laſt the Turks prevailing, ſlew him and his guard, though with great loſs to themſelves; but Huniades himſelf rode up and down the army, encouraging his men, and relieving them where was moſt need: the Tranſilvanian priſoners in the Turks camp chuſing rather to die than to go into captivity, in the heat of the fight brake their bonds, and took ſuch weapons as came next to hand, with which they killed their keepers, and ſo iſſued forth to help their friends

laying,

laying about them like desperate men, so that the Turks began to waver, and afterwards to fly, whom the Hungarians pursued with a most terrible execution. Mesites and his son were both slain in their flight, with twenty thousand Turks, and of the Christians were lost about three thousand. All the prey was hereby recovered, the tents and baggage of the Turks taken, and the poor prisoners released, who falling down at Huniade's feet, gave God thanks for their deliverance by him; and he, with tears in his eyes, courteously embraced them, rejoicing at the public good, himself giving most hearty thanks to God, and enjoining the like to be done in all the churches of his province; part of the spoils he gave to pious uses, the rest he divided amongst his soldiers, and sent the Turks ensigns, and the heads of the principal of them to king Vladislaus.

Amurath was so enraged at this news, that he commanded a great army to be raised against the next spring, which he committed to Abedin Bassa, commanding him to enter into Walachia, and having laid it waste by fire and sword, to go thence into Moldavia, and having done the like there, to go into Transilvania, &c. The Bassa, according to his order, marched into Wallachia, with eighty thousand fighting men. Huniades willed the people to retire into the strong holds till he came to help them.

The Bassa dividing his army into two parts, laid all waste before him, spared none that fell into his hands of any age, sex, or condition, but most of the people were in the fortresses or mountains out of his reach. Having thus raged there, he marched into Transilvania, to have done the like in that place, but Huniades attended his coming with fifteen thousand brave men, which the Bassa hearing of by his scouts, presently encamped himself, as being somewhat afraid of Huniades; yet hearing that he had not a fourth part of his number, he advanced forwards towards him: the armies being within half a mile one of the other, they made an halt, resolving to use their best policy as well as valour; yet the next morning they drew forth both their armies, warily ordering of them for the best advantage. Huniades fought, by provident foresight and policy, to match the huge multitude of his enemies, which when he had done, calling his captains together, he, with a cheerful countenance, said unto them. 'No courage, companions, and fellows in arms, could have induced me to encounter so great a multitude, did not necessity enforce; your approved valour persuade, and the assured hope I have in Christ Jesus, above all things, confirm me. Christ hath chosen us to fight this sacred battle, and with our right hands to revenge the dishonour of his holy name,' &c. And so, with a most holy and Christian speech he enflamed their hearts, with a resolution of adventuring their lives in so good a cause. The Bassa also, in the best manner he could, encouraged his soldiers, telling them of their victories, their valour, their number, and the contemptible forces of the Christians; but, above all things, he willed them in the battle to seek out Huniades, to kill him, and thereby they might secure the victory, and of him should receive honourable rewards. And so marching forward, the signal of battle was on both sides given, and they encountered together with such fury and outcries, as never was any thing more terrible; the Turkish horsemen being more, and more expert, forced the Christians to retire to their men at arms, but they charging the Turks home, slew most of them. In the main battle of foot was a most cruel fight between the Christians and Janissaries, and such a slaghter was made on both sides that the blood ran like rivers, and so the fight continued four hours, at which time the Bassa brought on his reer-ward, commanding them to compass the Christians, and slay their weary enemies, whereby they might obtain an easy victory. Huniades prepared for this storm, and encountered afresh with them: though the slaughter of the Turks was great, yet because of their number they felt it not, and so fought it out desperately, yet at last they began to faint, and by degrees to shrink back, whereby the Hungarians cheered up with hope of victory, eagerly pressed on, till they put them to open flight. The Bassa seeing that all things were desperate, fled also with some of his Janissaries' but the Christians fiercely following, slew so many of them, that of that great army not one half returned over Danubius; Huniades wonderfully enriched himself and his soldiers with the spoil of the Turks camp; he took five thousand prisoners, and one hundred ensigns, besides their tents and rich pavilions; then he caused general prayer and thanksgiving to God for three days in all the churches of his provinces; and carried the ensigns and part of the spoil to King Uladislaus at Buda. Against the next spring, Amurath raised a great army to be revenged on the Christians; Uladislaus by Huniades persuasion expecting no less, did the like, with which he marched towards Bulgary, and coming near the Turks; Huniades, with ten thousand choice horsemen in the dead of the night, went to fall upon the Turks in their camp; and the moon shining at that time, he discerned them to be buried in sleep and security, and having viewed the fittest place to assault them in, with a most hideous outcry he entred the camp, encouraging his men valiantly to affail their sleepy, naked, and fearful enemies; the Turks astonished with the noise, at first rather made a stir than fought, but hearing that Huniades was there, as men dismayed with his name, they turned their backs and fled.

In that night by Huniades, with ten thousand men, there were thirty thousand of the Turks slain; all the spoil of a rich camp taken, their ensigns, and four thousand prisoners, and all with the loss of five hundred men, and so he returned loaden with booty to the King, who received him with much joy, and honoured him exceedingly; and then through all the camp they joined in prayers, and thanksgiving unto God for so great a victory.

Afterwards the Christians marching forward, took all such towns in Bulgary as stood in their way; but being come to the great mountain Hemus, through which they should pass into Thracia, the depth of winter was come upon them, the passages of the mountain were strongly shut up, and guarded with a great army commanded by Carambey Bassa, and the army began to suffer great extremity for want of provision, so that at length they were forced to march backwards; which Carambey hearing of, presuming of a glorious and easy victory, contrary to the special command of his master, pursued them with his army; Uladislaus was gone before, and Huniades was with the rereward a day's journey behind. When news was brought of the approach of the Turks, his soldiers much rejoiced at it, as deeming it much more honour to die in fight than to starve with hunger and cold; eight times did Huniades encounter with the Turkish troops, and as often put them to flight; but when Carambey came on with his whole army, Huniades was sorry that the King was so far before him; but making a virtue of necessity, he put his men in the best order that he could, and persuaded them not rashly and furiously to run upon their enemies, as men prodigal of their lives, but to keep their ranks, and to fight like valiant men, intending to carry away the victory, or to leave unto their enemies a bloody remembrance thereof; immediately the battle began, and the armies met together with great fury, many were slain on both sides; Huniades, his horsemen fought so, as if they fought for nothing but an honourable death. The Turks stood to it for a long time, but finding that they fought against desperate men, at last they began to give ground; but Carambey coming on with fresh supplies, restored the battle almost before quite lost; Huniades, seeing the fainting of the Turks, cried out, Victory, Victory, encouraging his men as fighting under the protection of the Almighty; Carambey performed all the offices of a prudent commander and valiant soldier, so that he stayed the battle for a while. but, at last, seeing the case desperate, he fled among the rest, and his horse falling into a bog, he was taken by a private soldier; Huniades, seeing so brave a man in the hands of a common soldier, asked him if he would sell his prisoner; and he asked ten ducats for him, Huniades presently gave him four hundred ducates; the Despot of Servia coming afterwards into Huniades tent, asked him, how he would ransom his prisoner? Who answered, that he valued him at forty thousand ducates, which the Despot gave him. 'O the mutability of all worldly things? Carambey allied to the great Turk, and immediately before so great a commander, was sold twice in one day prized and valued by his enemies.'

Shortly

Shortly after, Huniades conſulting with Uladiſlaus after ſo long a victory, attempted the opening of the ſtraits, but finding the difficulties and dangers great, the winter cold and raging, and the wants in the army daily encreſing, they reſolved to return the ſame way they came; which the Turks beholding from the mountains, and having freſh ſupplies come to them, they followed them at the heels, and often ſkirmiſhed with them, but at laſt the King came to Belgrade, where he was joyfully entertained by his ſubject; and after ſome few days ſtay there he went to Buda, and in the cathedral church returned humble and hearty thanks for his good ſucceſs, hanging up in the ſame church many of the enemy's enſigns, in remembrance of ſo notable a victory.

Amurath being at this time engaged in his wars againſt Scanderbeg, by the perſuaſion of his Baſſa's, ſent embaſſadors to Uladiſlaus, who concluded an honourable peace with him for ten years, and the ſame was confirmed by the ſolemn oath of both parties; but many great kings and princes were much diſcontented at it, and endeavoured to perſuade the young king to break it; and the king calling a council of all the nobility of Hungary to conſult about that buſineſs, Julian the Pope's legat, made a large ſpeech againſt the peace; and having at laſt prevailed with the king, he abſolved him from his oath given to the great Turk. Amurath ignorant of theſe proceedings, according to his agreement withdrew his garriſon out of Servia belonging to the Deſpot, together with his two blind ſons, and ſet at liberty a great number of captive Chriſtians, faithfully performing whatſoever he had promiſed upon his religion.

But Uladiſlaus, in the mean time, prepared his forces, ſent to Scanderbeg to come and to join his ſtrength with his, (though God prevented it, as is mentioned in the life of Scanderbeg), and being daily pricked forward by the earneſt ſolicitations of the Pope's legats having aſſembled a great army of brave ſoldiers, Hungarians and Polonians, he marched into Bulgary, came to Nicopolis, the chief city thereof, where he burnt the ſuburbs, and refreſhed his army three or four days, and then marched towards Thracia, taking in many towns and forts by the way.

Amurath awakened with the noiſe hereof, raiſed a great army of an hundred thouſand men, and ſo marched with them towards Varna, where the Chriſtian army lay. Huniades, the Chriſtians general, hearing of the approach of ſo numerous an enemy, with great prudence and policy diſpoſed of his forces, guarding one ſide with a fen or marſh, and the other ſide with his carriages. The Turks approaching, began to ſkirmiſh with the Chriſtians, which was maintained with great courage till the ground was covered with the blood of the ſlain. At length the battle being joined, the victory began to encline to the Chriſtians; Huniades, with his horſe having valiantly put to flight both the wings of the Turkiſh army, making great ſlaughter wherſoever he came.

Amurath ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and all brought into extreme danger, pluckt the writing out of his boſom, wherein the late league was compriſed, and holding it up in his hand, with his eyes caſt up to Heaven, he ſaid, 'Behold thou crucified Chriſt, this is the league that thy Chriſtians in thy name made with me: which they have without any cauſe violated. Now, if thou be a God, as they ſay thou art, and as we dream, revenge the wrong now done unto thy name and me, and ſhew thy power upon thy perjured people, who by their deeds deny thee their God.' Immediately after the Janizaries, which were the greateſt ſtrength of the Turks, began a moſt cruel fight againſt the Chriſtians; yet where the king and Huniades fought, the Turks ſhrunk back; but they prevailed on the other ſide of the army, which Huniades, (having a vigilant eye to every place) perceiving, preſently rode thither, and with his preſence reſtored the battle before almoſt loſt; in the mean time the young king, with greater courage than care of himſelf, brake into the battle of the Janizaries, where a French knight of the Rhodes, wounded Amurath with a pike, and had certainly ſlain him with his ſword, had he not ſpeedily been reſcued by his guard; Uladiſlaus having performed all the parts of a valiant ſoldier, had firſt his horſe ſlain under him, and then oppreſſed with multitude, was himſelf ſlain: whoſe head Amurath cauſed to be held up upon a launce, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Chriſtian king; which ſo diſcouraged the Chriſtians that they betook themſelves to flight, and Huniades ſeeing no hope to reſtore the battle, with ſome Valachian horſemen, fled through the woods and got into Valachia; where, by Dracula, the prince of that country, he was taken priſoner; and thus as God puniſhed good Jehoſophat for joining with Ahab; ſo Huniades eſcaped narrowly with his life, and afterwards became a priſoner for joining with the perjured popiſh king. Of the Chriſtian army ſcarce a third part eſcaped, yet was there a great ſlaughter of the Turks, who hearing ſo much ſilence in the Chriſtian camp, feared ſome deceit, ſtaid two days before they durſt adventure to take the ſpoil. Amurath was very melancholly after the victory, having loſt thirty thouſand men, whereupon he ſaid, that he wiſhed not at ſo great a price to gain many victories. This bloody battle was fought at Varna, Nov. 10. *Anno Chriſti* 1444.

Huniades being releaſed out of priſon, the Hungarians called a general aſſembly of the ſtates, where they choſe Ladiſlaus the ſon of Albertus arch duke of Auſtria, for their king; but he being a child of five years old, they unanimouſly choſe Huniades regent, during the king's minority, as of all others the moſt fit for ſo great and heavy a charge; in which office he ſpent four years in peace, deciding civil controverſies, compoſing quarrels amongſt the nobility: equally adminiſtring juſtice to all men: ending controverſies, and that without any ſuſpicion of corruption, uſing therein ſuch expedition and never wearied patience, in hearing every man's cauſe, that ſitting, walking, ſtanding, riding, he diſpatched many great and weighty matters, always ſhewing himſelf affable and courteous as well to the poorer ſort, as to others of greater calling that had any ſuits unto him, ſo that no man was to his friends more friendly, and to his enemies more terrible; in times of peace he was always provident for war, heaping up great treaſures without which the war could not be maintained, and in all things ſo carrying himſelf, that he was of his ſubjects both beloved and feared.

Ladiſlaus the young king of Hungary lived as yet at Vienna, about whom was Ulricus earl of Cilicia a very potent man, who much envied and maligned Huniades, and prevailed with the king to ſend for him in a friendly manner to Vienna, and then to make him away privily: but it pleaſed God that Huniades came to the knowlege of this wicked conſpiracy, and thereupon returned anſwer to the king, that he was ready to ſerve his majeſty within Hungary in all his affairs, but that it was neither beſt for the king, nor ſafeſt for himſelf to go out of that kingdom; the wicked earl being thus diſappointed of his hopes, went to the borders of Hungary with divers other in his train, intending either cunningly to apprehend, and carry away Huniades unto Vienna, or elſe to diſpatch him upon the place. But Huniades, though he profered in the open field to commune with him, yet by no means would he be got into the town; whereby the treacherous earl's expectation was diſappointed.

Afterwards an other train was laid for him, that under pretence of the king's ſafe conduct, he ſhould meet the king in the broad fields of Vienna; Huniades though he ſuſpected deceit, yet came to the place, but when he neither meet there the king, nor had the earl any ſafe conduct for him, he told the earl that it was now in his power to ſlay him, who thus ſought his blood, but for reverence to the king he would ſpare him, and ſo let him go.

In the mean while he was advertiſed by his ſpies, that Amurath was raiſing great forces againſt him; and therefore he, deſiring nothing more than than to be revenged for their great loſſes at Varna, accompanied with the greateſt part of the nobility of Hungary, and with the Vayvod of Valachia, he ſet forward againſt the Turk with two and twenty thouſand choice ſoldiers; and going into Servia, he ſent into the Deſpot, deſiring him to join his forces with them; but the falſe Deſpot did not only refuſe it, but gave intelligence to Amurath of their number, and every days march; and withal adviſed him to let them come ſo far into his country, that he might get

behind them with his army, and ſo ſtop their return. Which advice the Turk followed, and ſo both the armies came into a great plain in Bulgary.

Huniades daily expecting the coming of Scanderbeg with his forces, declined the fight, though Amurath daily provocked him; but he ſtill ſtanding upon his guard, Amurath endeavours to cut him off from the water, and forage; ſo that Huniades was at laſt forced to fight, and therefore commanded his ſoldiers to prepare themſelves; and the more to encourage them, he made an excellent and moſt Chriſtian ſpeech to them, deſiring them not to be diſcouraged for the remembrance of the loſs of the battle at Varna, for therein God had juſtly revenged the Chriſtian's breach of faith, and all the authors of that perfidious dealing were juſtly cut off.

' whereas, ſaid he, we againſt our wills drawn into that woful war, through the mercy of God yet live, preſerved for the defence of the Chriſtian common wealth: hitherto we have rather fought by the power of God than of man, and in the name of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour have eaſily overthrown theſe wicked infidels. We have fought under the leading and conduct of the higheſt, whoſe help we have always felt at hand, and therefore we need not fear their great multitude, &c.

Neither did Amurath neglect to order his battle, and encourage his men, whoſe army filled all the plain from one ſide to another, to the great aſtoniſhment of the chriſtians. About nine o'clock the ſignal of battle being given, the fierce and couragious ſoldiers began to ſkirmiſh; but afterwards they fought foot to foot, and hand to hand for three hours: at which time the Chriſtians put the right wing of the Turks to the worſt, and alſo in the left wing they did the like with great ſlaughter of the Turks. Amurath preſently ſent in ſtrong ſupplies, whereupon the Chriſtians light horſemen, wearied before, retired to their men at arms, who ferring together, eaſily repulſed the Turks, and made a great ſlaughter of them.

Huniades in the mean time with his artilery from the hill, did the Turks great harm; which Amurath perceiving, drew up his men cloſe under the hill, whereby that was prevented: Huniades encourged his men, ſometimes with cheerful ſpeech, ſometimes with his own moſt valiant hand: to the weary he ſent relief, the fearful he animated, thoſe that were flying he ſtaid, and where the enemies came faſteſt on, there was he preſent himſelf to meet them, performing all the offices of a good general, and worthy ſoldier, whereby the battle grew ſo fierce and terrible, that every place was ſoiled with the blood of the ſlain; but the Turks came on ſo faſt with freſh ſupplies, that one battalion of the Chriſtians was oft times enforced to weary four or five of the Turks before they could be relieved. The cruel fight maintained all the day, was by the coming of the night ended, both armies retiring to their trenches, and with little reſt was that night ſpent: it was ſcarce fair day, when both the armies orderly ranged, began the battle again; but the Chriſtians had almoſt ſpent their ſtrength the day before, whereas there were forty thouſand Turks that had not fought at all: yet Huniades wonderfully encouraged his men by many arguments beſeeching them for the love of God and man, with their wonted valour that day for ever, to ſet at liberty themſelves, their country, their wives, and children, and whatſoever elſe they held dear unto them.

So that both the armies being fully joined, the battle was fought with no leſs force and fury then the day before; yea many of the wounded Chriſtians came again unto the battle, their either by ſpeedy death, or ſpeedy victory, to cure their wounds, and did excellent ſervice. Thus the battle continued all day long, yet the Turks had the better, and ſo both armies throughly wearied, returned to their tents.

The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battle was again begun, where for certain hours, it was fought with like hope on both ſides, and a great ſlaughter made; many of the Hungarian nobility there loſt their lives, valiantly fighting againſt their enemies, whereupon Amurath commanded forth all his reſerves at once with their number to overwhelm the wearied Chriſtians, which accordingly ſucceeded, for the Chriſtians weak and wounded were hereby wholly overthrown, which Huniades ſeeing, ſaved himſelf by flight, the like did many of the Chriſtians, whom the Turks eagerly purſued till the night ſtopt them.

Then the Turks army compaſſing in the Hungarian camp to riffle it, were by the wounded ſoldiers, wagoners and other drudges of the army, kept out ſo long as they had any ſhot left, who at length were all ſlain, yet not altogether unrevenged. In this battle the Turks loſt four and thirty thouſand men for eight thouſand of the Chriſtians,

Huniades all alone by uncouth ways travelled three days and nights without meat or drink, and the fourth day tired his horſe, and caſt him off; and afterwards being himſelf on foot diſarmed, he fell into the hands of two notable thieves, who diſpoiled him of his apparel, but falling at ſtrife in parting the prey, he took occaſion to lay hand on one of their ſwords, with which he ſlew one of them and put the other to flight, ſo travelling on almoſt ſpent with hunger and thirſt, the next day he lighted upon a ſhepherd, a ſturdy knave, who hearing of the Hungarians overthrow, was roaming abroad in hope of prey; at his firſt ſight of Huniades he ſtood at Gaze, ſtricken with his majeſty; Huniades alſo being ſo extreme weak deſired not to have to do with him; at laſt the ſhepherd bluntly asked him of his fortune, and he for God's ſake craved ſomething to eat, the ſhepherd moved with the promiſe of reward, brought him to a poor cote hard by, and cauſed bread and water with a few onions to be ſet before him, who afterwards at his banquets would pleaſantly ſay, ' That he never in his life fared better, nor more daintily, then when he ſupped with this ſhepherd.' Thus refreſhed he went to Synderovia, which the Deſpot having intelligence of, cauſed him to be apprehended and impriſoned, yet at laſt releaſed him upon certain conditions; but ſhortly after the Deſpots country being invaded by the Turks, he ſent to Huniades craving pardon for his offence, and humbly entreating aid of him, which Huniades readily granted, going himſelf with his forces, and joining with the Deſpot, he marched ſpeedily againſt the Turks, who eſpying Huniades enſigne in the Chriſtians army, as men wholly diſcouraged, betook themſelves to ſpeedy flight after whom followed the Chriſtians, with moſt bloody execution, purſuing them all that day; and had not the night come on, few of them had eſcaped. The general and moſt of the Turk's chief commanders were taken priſoners; then Huniades entered far into Bulgary, burnt the chief city, and having well revenged himſelf of the Turks, he returned with triumph to Buda.

Amurath being dead, and Mahomet ſucceeding him, having taken the great city of Conſtantinople, his next deſign was againſt Belgrade, which ſtands upon the great river of Danubius, and was the key of Hungary, which, being taken, would lead him into the heart of that country, and for that end he raiſed an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers, and ſent before him two hundred ſhips and gallies up the river, to prevent the victualling of the city by water; and preſently after came himſelf with all his army, and ſat down before it, and with the fury of his artillery overthrew a great part of the wall, which the defendants with great induſtry ſpeedily repaired.

Huniades alſo ſent a fleet of ſhips, which encountering with the Turk's fleet, took twenty ſail of them, and ſo terrified the reſt, that they were glad to run themſelves a ground near to the Turk's camp, all which were preſently ſet on fire that they ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians.

Huniades being thus maſter of the river, himſelf with five thouſand valiant ſoldiers entered into the city: Mahomet reſolved to gain the city, and having made a great breach, appointed the next day to give a general aſſault, but whilſt he was preparing for it, Carazias Baſſa his lieutenant general was ſlain with a great ſhot from the town, with which the proud tyrant was exceedingly troubled, yet went on with his purpoſe, and the Janizaries his beſt ſoldiers, without any great reſiſtance entered the breach, the like did others in many parts of the city, whereupon they reckoned that it as their own: but the valiant Huniades iſſuing out on every ſide with his moſt reſolute ſol-

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ders, ſo oppreſſed the Turks, that few of them that were entered the city eſcaped, but either were ſlain or taken priſoners, and the reſt with exceeding ſlaughter were beaten from the walls: preſently alſo in this confuſion, Huniades ſallied out of the town ſet upon the Turks that guarded their great ordinance, whom with great ſlaughter he drave from their charge, and enforced them to leave them to their enemies.

Mahomet ſeeing this, couragiouſly charged the Hungarians afreſh to have recovered his ordinance, but was ſo valiantly repulſed by Huniades, and beaten with murdering ſhot from the town, that he was glad when he was got into his trenches: Huniades alſo turned their own ordinance againſt their camp, with which he did them no ſmall harm; and being ſtrengthened with a new ſupply of Chriſtians, he aſſailed the Turks trenches, at which the proud tyrant never before ſo braved, iſſued out, valiantly encountring him, beat him back again to the great ordinance, from whence he was again by the chriſtians beaten to his trenches.

In theſe hot ſkirmiſhes the captain of the Janizaries, with many other valiant men, were ſlain, and Mahomet alſo himſelf was ſo ſore wounded under the left pap, that he was carried into his pavillion for dead: but coming again to himſelf, conſidering that he had loſt his whole fleet, his great ordinance, and forty thouſand of his beſt officers and ſoldiers, ſecretly in the night he aroſe with his army, and in great ſilence ſhamefully departed, ſtill looking behind when the Hungarians ſhould have purſued him, which for want of horſe they could not do.

Shortly after, this moſt valiant and renowned captain Huniades, worthy of immortal praiſe, grew mortally ſick of a wound received in thoſe fights, who feeling himſelf in danger of death, deſired to receive the ſacrament, and would in any caſe (ſick as he was) be carried to the church to receive it, ſaying, 'it is not fit that the Lord ſhould come to the houſe of his ſervant, but that the ſervant ſhould rather go to the houſe of his Lord and maſter,' and ſhortly after he reſigned up his ſpirit to God, *Anno Chriſti* 1456.

He was much lamented and honourably buried in Alba Julia in ſaint Stevens church.

He was prudent of wit, diſcreet in counſel, expert and politick in war, prompt of hand, very circumſpect and wary before he attempted any thing, but very quick and expeditious when once reſolved. He maintained war againſt two mighty and puiſſant emperors of the Turks, Amurath and Mahomet the great; and through the Lord's might, he defended all Panonia againſt them, and was as a mighty wall, or bulwark to all Europe againſt the cruel Turks, the enemies of Chriſt and his Chriſtians, and therefore he was called the thunderbolt and terror of the Turks; neither was there ever any Chriſtian king or prince, that got ſo many victories, and ſo profitable for Chriſtendom, as he did.

The Life of GEORGE CASTRIOT, *alias* SCANDERBEG, *King of Epirus, who died* Anno Chriſti 1466.

JOHN the father of this George, was deſcended of an ancient family, which had long reigned in Epyrus, or Albania, a part of Macedonia; yet he ſurmounted his predeceſſors, in prudence, gravity and magnanimity; in corporal beauty, and comelineſs of perſon, and in many virtuous endowments: his mother was Voiſava, daughter of the king of the Tribullians, a woman for beauty, wiſdom and excellency of ſpirit, ſurpaſſing moſt of her ſex. God bleſſed theſe perſons with nine children; four ſons, and five daughters, whereof this George was the youngeſt upon whoſe right arm when he was born, appeared the form of a ſword, as naturally imprinted, as if it had been engraven by the hands of a cunning workman.

About this time the Ottoman empire had extended itſelf into Europe, and Amurath the Great Turk having long afflicted Macedonia with a terrible and tedious war. John Caſtriot, amongſt other princes, was fain to ſue him for peace; which he obtained, upon condition, that he ſhould deliver to him all his ſons in hoſtage, which, though it was very grievous, yet neceſſity forced aſſent.

Thus was George, with his other brethren, delivered to the Great Turk, who faithfully promiſed well and honourably to entreat them. but this miſcreant having them in his power, falſified his oath, and cauſed them to be circumciſed, giving to George, (in whom ſomething more than ordinary appeared) at his circumciſion, the name of SCANDERBEG, i. e. Lord Alexander.

He was about nine years old; and Amurath taking a liking to him, appointed him good maſters and inſtructers, under whom he quickly learned the Turkiſh, Arabian, Greek, Italian, and Sclavonian languages: and, as his ſtrength encreaſed, he acquainted himſelf with all thoſe virtuous exerciſes which might fit him for the war: and, ſometimes with his ſword, ſometimes with his bow, on horſe-back and foot, he gave forth incredible proofs of agility and readineſs of body, and of a forward and courageous ſpirit: hereupon the ſultan made him a ſanziak, and colonel of five thouſand horſe. His brethren alſo proving very good ſoldiers, he employed them in ſeveral parts of his empire.

Scanderbeg being eighteen years old, was ſent by Amurath into Natolia; where, in his firſt enterprize, his virtue and good ſucceſs in war appeared, and he returned victorious: and afterwards, he, with his regiment, always made one in all enterprizes; and the good ſucceſs was, by the common conſent of all the ſoldiery, ſtill caſt upon him, without the mention of other commanders. And new troubles ariſing in Aſia, he, at thoſe years, was choſen general of the whole army; and hereby he did eaſily ſurmount the glory of his former acts, by the quick and ſpeedy defeat of his enemies. Amurath wondered not ſo much at his happy ſucceſs, as at his wiſdom and prudence.

About this time came a giant like Scythian to the court, demanding if there were any that durſt encounter him in arms, and prove himſelf in fight againſt him. Amurath proclaimed, and promiſed to the conqueror a great reward, to encourage his men to undertake the combat; but when every one abhorred the purchaſe of honour upon ſuch deſperate conditions, (for they were to fight in their ſhirts, in a narrow place, with their ſwords only) Scanderbeg ſtepping to him, ſaid, 'Either ſhalt thou not, O Scythian, bear away this prize and glory; or elſe, being made glorious by my death, thou ſhalt be enriched with theſe ſpoils and ornaments,' &c. In the duel, Scanderbeg ſlew the Scythian, without receiving the leaſt wound from him; and, preſenting his head to Amurath, received the reward of his victory.

Afterwards two Perſians, of a fair and goodly ſtature, came, and made the like challenge to fight on horſeback; and when all refuſed, he took up the gantlet againſt them; and whereas, contrary to agreement, after his firſt courſe, they both aſſaulted him together, he ſo acquitted himſelf, that he ſlew them both, and preſented their heads to Amurath: and both, by the emperor and his baſſas, was admired and rewarded with great and bountiful preſents.

If at any time he was employed againſt the Chriſtians, and he could not evade it without ſuſpicion, he uſed to pray to God that it might be far from him to purchaſe honour by ſhedding the blood of Chriſtians; and therefore he ever ſought as little as might be to endamage them, and gave them opportunity to ſave themſelves. Whatſoever money came to his hands, he diſtributed it bountifully amongſt his ſoldiers.

About this time died John Caſtriot in Epyre, which Amurath hearing of, ſeized upon his kingdom, put garriſons into all the cities and ſtrong holds, and poiſoned all the brethren of Scanderbeg, which was an extreme grief to him, yet durſt he not diſcover the leaſt ſigns of it, but carried himſelf as if he had preferred Amurath before them all.

Yet the tyrant grew jealous of him, and put him upon all deſperate ſervices, hoping that by his forwardneſs he would periſh in ſome of them; yet knowing how much intereſt he had in the affections of the men of war, he carried fair weather towards him. But rather, the admirable providence of God in preſerving of him is to be taken notice of, for the tyrant wanted not will, nor power, nor opportunities, nor provocations from his court paraſites to have taken his life, but the Lord preſerved him to

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be the deliverer of his people, a bulwark to the Chriſtians, and a ſcourge to that proud Ottoman empire in her greateſt height and glory.

Not long after Amurath fell out with Vladiſlaus king of Hungary, for aſſiſting the deſpot of Miſia; and thereupon raiſing an army of eighty thouſand men, he ſent Carambey the baſſa of Romania, with Scanderbeg, and twenty thouſand men, to invade the Hungarians, and himſelf following with the body of his army.

Vladiſlaus, with great Huniades, that famous captain, prepared an army of thirty-five thouſand men to encounter him.

The baſſa encamped by the river of Moravia, Huniades not enduring this bravado, with ten thouſand men, leaving the king in his camp, paſſed the river to encounter with the barbarians, who, contemning his ſmall number, began the fight. Caſtriot (ſeing an opportunity to accompliſh what he had before determined) in the beginning of the battle, with his bands began to retreat, and afterwards fled, thereby ſtriking a fear into the other Turks, who ſoon fled alſo.

Scanderbeg having before imparted his purpoſe to his friends, eſpecially to his nephew Amaſe, as they fled thro' a wood, he laid hands upon the Turk's ſecretary, and cauſed him with threatenings to write letters in the name of Amurath, to the governor of Croia, the regal city of Epyrus, to deliver up his command into the hands of Scanderbeg, as deputed by him to have the command thereof, and then killing the ſecretary, he poſted, by very long journies into the upper Dibria, where ſending for ſome of the principal men of the town, he diſcovered himſelf and purpoſes to them, who unanimouſly aſſented to what he deſired, preſenting to him their eſtates and lives for the ſettling of him in his kingdom, and ſo taking good order for all his affairs, he haſtened towards Croia, ſending Amaſe before to carry news to the governor, and to certify him that Scanderbeg, with his train, was not far behind: he took with him his friends, and a ſelect number of Dibrians, and ſo entering into Croia, he delivered the packet, which being opened and read, was eaſily believed, and the governor prepared to depart. The night after, his men at arms, which he had left ſecretly near the town, were let in, with whom many of the citizens joined, who ſetting firſt upon the watch, and then on the garriſon, put moſt of them to the ſword; and ſo, having made himſelf maſter of Croia, he preſently ſent to Dibria, to give his friends notice of his ſucceſs, and to ſtir up that country, and their allies, to lay hold upon the opportunity for the recovery of their liberty: he alſo gave notice to all the country about Croia, ſtirring them up to take arms to free themſelves from the Turkiſh yoke, who readily, and with much joy received him, and came ſo flocking in, that he quickly had a good troop of reſolute and courageous ſoldiers, with whom he preſently marched to Dibria, where Amaſe alſo had raiſed another company: then he appointed two thouſand men to guard the frontiers, and with the reſt he went into baſe Dibria, where a noble and brave captain (Moſes Galome) came to him, that afterwards did him excellent ſervice.

In the mean while, many of the Turks in thoſe parts aſſembled together to fight with him, but were eaſily vanquiſhed and moſt of them put to the ſword. Then Scanderbeg employing his captains to raiſe all the forces they could, and many noblemen of his kindred, with their followers, coming to him, he quickly had an army of twelve thouſand ſoldiers, well appointed, with theſe he marched to Petrella, a ſtrong garriſon of the Turks, ſituate upon the top of a ſteep rocky mountain; and, partly with fair words, partly with terrible threats, he ſo far wrought upon the governor, that he ſurrendered the place to him, and with his garriſon departed out of it. From thence, having garriſoned the place, he marched, though in the froſt and ſnow, to Petralba, ſituated upon the top of a mountain alſo, as were all the cities of Epyrus, there the governor was content upon the ſame terms to quit the place; and from thence Scanderbeg went to Stelluſa, to which he proffered the ſame terms as he gave to the other; the ſoldiers were willing to accept of them, but the governor oppoſed, but at laſt they laid hold on him, and delivered him bound to Scanderbeg, and ſo departed; upon this news all the weaker garriſons eaſily yielded to him. Then he went to Sfetigrade, where he attempted to have entered by a treaty, but the garriſon ſtanding out ſtoutly againſt him, and the depth of winter being come, he left Moſes with three thouſand horſe to block it up, and to have an eye to the frontiers, and ſo he retired to Croia, where he diſbanded his army, till there was further occaſion: then he betook himſelf to the ſervice of God, and ſettling of his civil affairs; but preſently came news from Moſes, that many of the Turks were gathered together near unto him. Whereupon Scanderbeg taking his followers, and an hundred horſe, went ſtraight thither, which the Turks hearing of, preſently ſcattered: Scanderbeg then took a thouſand horſe, that were with Moſes, and made an inroad into Macedonia, ſpoiling all the country, and returned loaden with the prey.

By this time Amurath heard of his eſcape, and of all that he had done in Epyrus, which exceedingly grieved and vexed him: whereupon, calling a council, he made peace with the Hungarians, and bent all his thoughts againſt Scanderbeg. In the mean while Scanderbeg aſſembles a parliament of all the eſtates of Epyrus, at Lyſſa, where he was choſen general of their forces.

The ſpring coming on, Scanderbeg levied his forces, and took the field with ſix thouſand men, and ſo marched to Sfetigrade; but the garriſon continuing obſtinate, he ſpoiled the country, that they might have no proviſion; and then, with his army, he marched into Mocrea, a pleaſant and fruitful country, which he quickly ſubdued, and added it into his dominions. This further inceaſing Amurath, he commanded a puiſſant army to be levied, which Scanderbeg hearing of, by his friends at court, he ſtrengthened himſelf by confederating with his neighbours; and in the mean time Sfetigrade was ſurrendered to Moſes.

Amurath having raiſed an army of forty thouſand choice horſe, committed them to the leading of Hali Baſſa, one of his moſt valiant and experienced captains: with the report whereof the common people of Epyrus were extremely affrighted, betaking themſelves to prayer for deliverance from ſo eminent a danger. many alſo flocked to Scanderbeg to ſerve under him, out of whom he choſe eight thouſand horſe, and ſeven thouſand foot, and diſmiſſed the reſt. With this army, after prayers made to God, he went into the lower Dibria, where he heard daily of the approach of his enemies: hereupon he cauſed Graſe Muſach and Amaſe, with three thouſand horſe to lie in ambuſcado; which was no ſooner done but the Turks began to approach, pitching their camp near to Scanderbeg, yet knew not that he was ſo nigh them. Scanderbeg having appointed good watch, bad the reſt of his men betake themſelves to their reſt. The Turks having diſcovered him, grew very inſolent, and coming near the Chriſtians camp, began to revile them, and challenge them to the battle. Scanderbeg made his men to be quiet till the riſing of the moon, then he cauſed them to refreſh themſelves with food; and ſo ſome of them to iſſue forth to ſkirmiſh with the Turks, in the mean time he ordered his battle.

Hali Baſſa, contemning the ſmall number of his enemies, gave the firſt charge with a ſmall troop of horſe, who, after they had charged, retired, hoping that the Chriſtians, with eager purſuit, would diſorder their battle; but Scanderbeg, finding their policy, kept his men in good order. So both armies coming on, the wings began the battle afreſh; Scanderbeg bringing on the main battle in the face of the baſſa, valiantly charged him. No ſooner were the battles thoroughly joined, but the ambuſcado brake out, and charged the rear ward of the Turks, making ſuch a ſlaughter, that ſome of them began to flye. Thus was the baſſa's great army diſtreſſed by a few. But he having placed his beſt ſoldiers neareſt to himſelf, with them renewed the fight, ſo that Scanderbeg's fortune was at a ſtand, till Uranacoute's coming on with ſome freſh troops from the rear, brake through the baſſa's army, with incredible ſlaughter of them; ſo that the Turks ſeeing their fellows lying by heaps, wallowing in their own blood, betook themſelves to flight, whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing, ſlew two and twenty thouſand of them, took two thouſand priſoners, and four and twenty enſigns of

of the Turks; and ſo horſing all his foot ſoldiers with the horſes of the ſlain Turks, he made a road into Macedonia, laying all waſte before him, and returned with a rich booty, beſides all the ſpoils gotten in the Turk's camp, and with it went back to Croia, where he was received with wonderful joy.

Hali Baſſa, with the remainder of his men, returned to Adrianople, where he had much ado to make his peace with the ſultan, who was almoſt ready to make away himſelf for his great loſſes before in Hungary, and now in Epyrus.

About this time the pope's legate perſuaded the king of Hungary to break his league lately made with Amurath, ſaying, That faith was not to be kept with infidels and miſcreants; and he abſolved the king and his nobles from their oath to the great Turk; and thereupon great preparations were made, and a great army raiſed, whereof Hunniades was made the lieutenant general. The king of Hungary alſo wrote to Scanderbeg, to come and join his forces with them; which Scanderbeg, after a council held with his princes, aſſented unto: and raiſing a potent army, and ſeeking to God by prayer for a proſperous journey, he marched towards Hungary. But God intending to chaſtiſe the perjury of the Hungarians, and to preſerve Scanderbeg from having any hand in ſo horrid a ſin, ſtirred up the deſpot of Miſia, a very Atheiſt, to deny him paſſage through his country; whereupon Scanderbeg reſolved to force it, though it was like to prove a difficult work: and indeed, before he could do it, the Turks and Hungarians had fought a dreadful battle, wherein many were ſlain, and, amongſt others, Vladiſlaus, with his perjured nobles, and the Chriſtian army, was wholly overthrown. The news whereof coming to Scanderbeg, he was ſo grieved and enraged alſo at the deſpot, that he ſpoiled his country with fire and ſword, and ſo returned home again.

Amurath hearing of the ſpoil that Scanderbeg had made in Macedonia, reſolved in the next place to take him to task; but firſt he ſought to undermine him by treachery, and offers of peace and amity, writing to him for that purpoſe. But Scanderbeg being well acquainted with his wiles, wrote back to him, rejecting his proffered peace. Amurath was much incenſed at this, and hearing that Scanderbeg had diſmiſſed his army, and kept the field only with his horſe, who alſo ranged up and down careleſsly after prey, he ſent for Pereſey Baſſa, a captain of a fierce and ready ſpirit, and loading him with promiſes if he returned victor, he gave him nine thouſand horſe, all choſen and picked men, commanding him ſpeedily and ſecretly to enter into Epyrus, before the enemy were aware; who accordingly proceeded, and promiſed to himſelf victory before he came thither: but all this was not concealed from Scanderbeg, who ſuddenly went and ſeized on a narrow valley called Mocrea, which the Turks of neceſſity muſt paſs through; where, hiding his men in woods and rocks, till the Turks were entangled on all ſides, they then violently brake out upon them, killing and ſlaying of them at their pleaſure: the Turks made ſtout reſiſtance, but their horſes in that place rather hindered than helped them, ſo that the greateſt number of them were ſlain, and the reſt, throwing away their arms, upon their knees craved mercy, and had it, and ſo were made priſoners.

Pereſey, almoſt in the beginning of the fight, ſeeing his men incloſed and ſlaughtered, and not knowing his enemies number, turned back with thoſe troops that were about him, and ſo eſcaped, yet was purſued by the Chriſtians, and loſt many in his flight. Amurath, when he heard of it, was marvelouſly troubled and perplexed, bending all his thoughts againſt Scanderbeg; and therefore preſently ſent Muſtapha, a politic and hardy captain, with a new ſupply of ſix thouſand ſoldiers, to take Pereſey's charge, commanding him in no caſe to enter far into Epyrus, but to burn and ſpoil the frontiers of it; who accordingly coming into the valley of Mocrea, pitched his camp upon the ſide of an hill, placed his ſcouts upon the top of the mountains, kept four thouſand horſe with himſelf in his camp, and ſent nine thouſand abroad to ſpoil the country.

Scanderbeg drawing near to the valley with four thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot, was informed of all theſe paſſages, and ſeeing that policy was not to be uſed againſt ſo wary an enemy, he reſolved to aſſault him ſuddenly in his trenches, before his diſperſed troops could retire to him; and ſo entering the valley, he was preſently diſcovered, and warning given to Muſtapha, who endeavoured to call back his men, and ſome that were near haſted to him. Scanderbeg's ſoldiers followed them at the heels, and aſſaulted them in their trenches, beat them from them, and fell pell mell upon them, filling all their camp with fear and ſlaughter. Muſtapha ſeeing that all was like to be loſt, eſcaped, at the port which was furtheſt from the enemy, ſome of his men alſo following him; five thouſand Turks were ſlain, three hundred taken; and Scanderbeg loſt but twenty horſemen, and fifty footmen.

Muſtapha afterwards obtained another great army of Amurath, with which he went againſt Scanderbeg, who lying at the ſiege of Dayna againſt the Venetians, had preſent information ſent him from his garriſons upon the frontiers of Epyrus, whom he commanded by a ſpeedy meſſenger in no wiſe to encounter with the enemy, but to keep themſelves in their ſtrong holds till his coming; and ſo leaving Amaſe to continue the ſiege, he took five hundred horſe, and a thouſand five hundred footmen, with which he haſted to the relief of his garriſons. Muſtapha had ſought by all means to draw forth Scanderbeg's men out of their holds; but ſeeing that they would not ſtir, he began to burn and ſpoil all the country, till hearing of Scanderbeg's approach, he called all his army together, and encamped within two miles of him. Scanderbeg drawing ſome forces out of his garriſons, had in all four thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, with which having ſtrengthened his trenches, he left three hundred for the guard of them, and iſſuing forth with the reſt he placed them in order of battle. Muſtapha did the like; but before the battle began, there came from the Turks a man at arms, in rich and gallant furniture, challenging any one of the Chriſtians to fight hand to hand with him. Paul Maneſſi thereupon ſtepped to Scanderbeg, deſiring leave that he might accept the challenge, and chaſtiſe the proud Turk, which Scanderbeg aſſenting to, and praying for his ſucceſs, he preſently mounted on horſeback, rode forth to the Turk, bidding him to prepare himſelf to the battle; both generals agreed upon the laws for the combat, and ſo the champions taking their courſe, ran each at other with their ſpears, and Maneſſi ran the Turk through the head, and ſo ſlew him, and then alighting he ſtruck off his head, took his armour, and returned to the camp loaden with his ſpoils. Scanderbeg's men were much encouraged with this good omen, and the Turks as much affrighted; whereupon Scanderbeg preſently marched forward againſt them, and charged the Turks with ſuch fury that they preſently began to retire. Muſtapha ſeeing that, put ſpurs to his horſe, reſolving to win the field or die: moſt of his chief captains did the like, which a little renewed the battle, but preſently Muſtapha and twelve of his chief men were taken priſoners, the reſt ſlain and ſcattered: there were killed of the Turks ten thouſand men, and fifteen enſigns taken: the Chriſtians loſt but three hundred; they found a rich prey in the Turk's camp. Yet did Scanderbeg make an inroad into Macedonia, ſpoiled and took a great booty, then left two thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot for the guard of his frontiers, and ſo returned to the ſiege of Dayna.

Shortly after the Venetians made peace with Scanderbeg; and Amurath ſent him rich preſents, with five and twenty thouſand duckets to redeem his captains, whom Scanderbeg had uſed honourably, and ſent them away with a ſafe convoy: the money he divided amongſt his ſoldiers, and then he made another inroad into Macedonia and dividing his army into three parts; he laid all waſte, and brought away a rich prey, that he might leave nothing for the relief of his enemies when they returned again. Amurath was ſo incenſed herewith, that he reſolved to ſend no more of his captains, but to go in his own perſon, with ſuch an hoſt, that ſhould fill every corner of Epyrus, and make an eaſy conqueſt of it. Scanderbeg either having intelligence, or ſuſpecting the worſt, when he heard of ſuch great preparations, advertiſed his Chriſtian neighbours to ſtand upon their guard, and muſtered

up all his men, took up all the provisions through Epyrus, wherewith he stored his garrisons, and thrust most of the common people, with their provisions, into his strong holds, leaving nothing to relieve his enemies.

Then bending his chiefest care for his regal city of Croia, he placed in it a garrison of one thousand three hundred old soldiers, sent away all the citizens that could not bear arms, into the Venetian territories, who, after earnest prayers and supplications made unto God, departed with heavy hearts.

Out of all his bands he chose ten thousand expert soldiers for a field army; he made Uranacontes, a famous captain, governor of Croia; and so with his army marched into Dibria, and by the way he met with Moses, who had taken the like care for Sfetigrade as he had done for Croia. But Scanderbeg fearing that that city would be first assaulted, went thither, made a speech to the soldiers and citizens, exhorting them to be valiant and faithful, &c.

In the mean time Amurath had assembled his army, consisting of an hundred and fifty thousand, well furnished with all things needful, with which he set forwards towards Epyrus, sending forty thousand horse before, to begin the siege before Sfetigrade; the news whereof coming to Scanderbeg, he marched thitherward also with four thousand horse and one thousand foot: and having from the mountains viewed the encamping of the enemy, the night following, with much secrefy, he brought his men in the coverts of the woods and vallies, near unto them: the next morning he sent out Moses and thirty others, well mounted, driving some horses laden with corn before them, which the Turks espying, they sent out the like number to surprize them; but Moses and his men set upon them, seeing no more, and slew five of them, and chased the rest to the camp. hereupon the Turk's general sent out four thousand horse after them, these Moses drew along till they were within the compass of Scanderbeg's ambush, who presently rising out of the coverts, set upon them, slew two thousand of them, took a thousand horse: and of the Christians were lost but two and twenty men. Eight days after came Amurath with all his army, in the beginning of May, in the year 1449 and encamped before the city. His first work was to summon the city, and to seek to corrupt the governor; but that not prevailing, he planted his ordinance, and having made a breach in the walls, gave a terrible assault to it; but the garrison gave them as valiant a repulse: and though the assault was renewed again and again, yet still they were repulsed; so that Amurath at last caused the retreat to be sounded. There were many other assaults given, during which time Scanderbeg was still in action, setting upon the Turk's camp, sometimes in one quarter, sometimes in another, and then presently departed, so that Amurath wondered what was become of him.

The siege continuing to the end of June, Scanderbeg brought all his army towards the Turk's camp, and understanding by his espials, that they lay in great security there, the night following he set upon one of their quarters, and slew two thousand of them, and so retired, having taken two hundred and thirty horse, and seven of their ensigns, with the loss of two and forty men.

Amurath resolving to shew his wrath upon the city by a general assault, appointed twelve thousand horse and six thousand foot under Feri Bassa, to attend Scanderbeg; in the mean time promising great rewards to those that should first ascend the walls, and enter the city. There was also a great tower of wood made equal with the walls of the city, so that they fought as upon even ground; and the Turks pressing hard upon the Christians, advanced their ensigns upon the walls; but Perlat the governor coming with a company of fresh soldiers, beat them back, took their ensigns, fired their tower of wood, and so delivered the city.

Scanderbeg in the mean time came with nine thousand soldiers to assault their camp; but Feri Bassa contemning his small number, encountered with him, and withal sent four thousand horse to compass him in behind; but this matter of his art leaving Moses in the front, took two thousand horse to meet them, and so fought with them, that they had no great cause to boast of their coming; he slew also Feri Bassa, fighting with him hand to hand, and drove the rest back to the camp, making a great slaughter of them: yet Amurath continued his assault against the city till night came on, in which he lost seven thousand men, besides the wounded: of the garrison were slain only seventy, and ninety more hurt.

Amurath not prevailing by force, sought by large promises to corrupt the garrison, and at last so far prevailed with one base minded traitor, that for a great sum of money he concluded to betray the city, and for that end he cast a great dog into the only well which served the whole city, which being in the morning found by the soldiers, they, upon a superstitious conceit, refused to drink any more of the water, notwithstanding all the persuasions and arguments that the governor could use, insomuch as he was forced to make a composition with Amurath, and then delivered up the city to him, and so marched away through the Turk's camp in safety; only Mahomet, a prince of a fierce disposition, would have persuaded his father Amurath to have put them all to the sword, which yet he refused. The traitor remaining in the city was richly rewarded by Amurath, according to his promise, but within a few days, was secretly, at his command, made away, as a just recompense for his traiterous wickedness.

Amurath placed in Sfetigrade a thousand two hundred Janizaries in garrison, and so raising his camp, in the beginning of September, returned home, having lost thirty thousand of his soldiers in that expedition. Scanderbeg followed him at the heels, and in many straits and passes assaulted him, whereby he slew many more of his men; and then he besieged Sfetigrade, and gave two great assaults to it: but hearing that Amurath was re-assembling his army, and winter growing on, he left it, spending the winter in setting all things in order, and preparing for the next summer's war, having intelligence that Amurath made extraordinary preparations against the next spring; which being come, he had gotten together an army of an hundred and sixty thousand men strong; and so dispatching away forty thousand horsemen under the conduct of Sebalias, a politic captain, to encamp before Croia, and not to venture any thing against Scanderbeg, himself followed, with the rest of his great army; and when he was come, he sent to summon the city, and made mighty proffers to Uranocontes the governor of it, if he would surrender is to him; but the messenger was sent back with scorn and contempt: whereupon Amurath ordered ten great battering pieces to be cast, and with them battered the city for four days space, in two places, without intermission, so that he beat down much of the wall, which exceedingly encouraged the Turks to make an assault; and Mahomet, besides the large proffers made by his father, promised ten thousand aspers to him that should first advance his ensign upon the wall; the Christians within were nothing discouraged, but, trusting in God, resolved to defend it to the utmost.

Just as the Turks began the assault, Scanderbeg, with five thousand men, brake into one of their quarters, and, at the first encounter, slew six hundred of them, and was spoiling their tents; but Mahomet with his guard, and four thousand more, sent by Amurath, hastening thither, Moses also (having done them much harm) retreated with his men to the mountains, whilst Scanderbeg, in the heat of the fight, had so far engaged himself amongst the Turks, that he was in much danger to be slain, or taken prisoner; but at length, resolutely breaking through them, he escaped, and came to his camp, to their great joy and comfort. Then Amurath caused the assault to be renewed with more fury, and continued it till almost night, in which he lost eight thousand men, without any considerable damage to the garrison.

Mahomet hearing where Scanderbeg was encamped, took all the best soldiers in the camp, and lodged in that quarter which was next him, hoping at his next assault thereby to entrap him; which Scanderbeg being by fugitives informed of, appointed Moses, the night following, with five hundred horse, to alarm that quarter, and then to retire to his camp, whilst himself, with the rest of his men, going through by-ways, brake in on the other side of the Turk's army, where he made such havock amongst them, that their loss in the storm was forgotten in compa-

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riſon of this; and then fearing to be oppreſſed with multitude, he retired to his camp. The next morning Amurath encouraged his men again to make a new aſſault, which they did perform with much fury, and continued it long by freſh ſupplies; but they were ſo bravely repulſed by the Chriſtians, that at laſt he ſounded the retreat, grieving much to ſee ſo many of his men ſlain. His next deſign was to undermine the city, and as he was doing of it, a great convoy of victuals coming towards his camp, Scanderbeg having intelligence of it, met the convoy, ſlew them, and divided the proviſion amongſt his own ſoldiers; and having encreaſed his army with two thouſand recruits, he divided it into three parts giving one to Moſes, another to Tanuſie, and took the third himſelf, appointing in the dead of the night to aſſault the Turk's camp in three parts; but himſelf being diſcovered by the ſcouts, whilſt all men ran to that ſide, Moſes and Tanuſie brake into two other parts, where they ſlew a number of the Turks, and made great ſpoil. In the mean time Scanderbeg retreated, and ſat down on the ſide of a hill, in the ſight of the Turk's army, which they taking as a bravado, requeſted leave of Amurath to go againſt him; and accordingly they iſſued out ſeven thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot of their beſt ſoldiers.

Scanderbeg ſeeing their approach, retreated ſoftly, waiting for Moſes and Tanuſie's coming to him: the Turks followed with much difficulty, till perceiving the other forces coming, they began to retreat; whereupon Scanderbeg charged them with much fury, and ſlew many of them. Moſes alſo came upon them, killing ſome, and taking many priſoners in ſight of the Turk's camp, and ſo retreated again into the mountains. All Amurath's hopes failing, he ſent a baſſa to the governor of Croia, to try, if by large and glorious promiſes he could win him to ſurrender the city. But Uranocontes ſcorning the preſents which he brought, and the promiſes that he made, charged him, that neither he nor any other ſhould preſume to come to him any more; but if they did, he would cut off their hands, noſes, and ears, and ſo return them to their maſter.

Hereupon Amurath, in a great rage, commanded all things to be prepared for a new ſtorm, which the next day he put in execution; but, to his own great loſs, the Chriſtians valiantly defending themſelves againſt the Turk's fury: this put him almoſt out of his wits, that he pulled off his hair; and though his baſſa's endeavoured to comfort him, yet he became ſick of grief, that a ſmall town ſhould eclipſe all his former glory: and finding that his end approached, he called his ſon and great captains, charging them not to leave his death unrevenged; and ſo ſhortly after he gave up the ghoſt.

After whoſe death Mahomet preſently raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Adrianople; yet ſhortly after ſent ambaſſadors to Scanderbeg, proffering peace if he would pay him a certain tribute. Which motion Scanderbeg ſcornfully rejected, and ſo diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors; and preſently after he made an inroad into the Turkiſh dominions, which he grievouſly waſted, and returned home loaden with ſpoil. But Mahomet to requite him, ſent Ameſa, one of his beſt captains, with twelve thouſand horſemen, to do the like in Epyrus; which Scanderbeg underſtanding by his eſpials, he lay cloſe in ambuſh with ſix thouſand ſoldiers, upon the great mountain Modriſſa, over which the Turks were to paſs; who, with much difficulty, having almoſt got to the top thereof in the night, were ſuddenly charged by Scanderbeg's footmen, who made a great ſlaughter of them, their horſes being rather an hinderance than an help to them, ſo that they were driven down the mountain amain; and when they came to the foot of it, they were again charged by Scanderbeg and Moſes, who with their horſemen were ſet in places of advantage; hereby they were totally routed, ſeven thouſand ſlain, and Ameſa, with moſt of the beſt captains, taken priſoners, with whom he returned with great joy to Croia, uſing his priſoners very courteouſly. Ameſa deſired of him, that he might ſend to Mahomet, to inform him of their ſtate, which he aſſented unto, and ſet their ranſom at thirteen thouſand duckets. Mahomet ſtormed extremely at this diſaſter, and refuſed to ranſom the priſoners; yet afterwards, by the perſuaſion of his baſſas, he ſent it, with other rich preſents to Scanderbeg: whereupon he ſent them back with a ſafe convoy, and divided the money amongſt his ſoldiers.

The proud tyrant reſolved revenge, and therefore ſent Debreas, one of his beſt captains, loaden with promiſes of great preferment, if he prevailed againſt Scanderbeg, and under him fourteen thouſand choice horſemen, which were as many as Debreas deſired, and with which he promiſed to chaſtiſe Scanderbeg. Scanderbeg having intelligence hereof, reſolved not to ſtay his coming into Epyrus, but to meet him by the way: and ſo taking ſix thouſand horſemen, he went into the enemies country, and came by night into a great plain where the Turks lay, hoping not to have been diſcovered; but the moon ſhining bright, the ſcouts had diſcovered him, and gave the alarm to their camp, and Debreas mindful of his promiſe to his Lord, ſent out ſome troops to ſkirmiſh with him, while he ſet the reſt of his army in order. Scanderbeg ſent out ſome to encounter them; and ere long both armies charged each other with much reſolution; and Debreas did ſo encourage his men, and fought ſo valiantly, that Scanderbeg's fortune ſeemed to be at a ſtand. Thus both ſides did their uttermoſt to conquer, one while one party prevailing, and then the other, till at laſt Scanderbeg encountred hand to hand with Debreas, and ſlew him, with whoſe fall the army was diſcouraged and fled, whom the Chriſtians eagerly purſuing, ſlew more in the chaſe than in the battle; for of the Turks were ſlain one thouſand one hundred and twenty; but of the Chriſtians very few. Scanderbeg returned thanks to God for that great and doubtful victory, dividing the ſpoil and priſoners amongſt his ſoldiers; and ſo returned with great joy to Croia.

At the report of this defeat, Mahomet grew very melancholy; whereupon his great Baſſa's offered to ſpend their lives in that ſervice; but the cratty tyrant intended to go another way to work, viz. to corrupt ſome of Scanderbeg's chief commanders, which would eaſilieſt turn to his ruin. And amongſt others fingling out Moſes Galome, which was counted the beſt captain next to Scanderbeg himſelf, he found means ſecretly to ſend to him, proffering him ſtore of gold, and golden mountains, honours about himſelf, yea, the kingdom of Epyrus if he deſired it. Moſes was at laſt prevailed with, yet preſently left not Epyrus, but perſuaded Scanderbeg to beſiege Belgrade in the confines of Epyrus, which was held by the Turks, gives him hopes of an eaſy conqueſt. Scanderbeg deceived by him, made all things ready for the ſiege, and ſent to Alphonſus, king of Naples, his ſpecial friend, for ſome men that were verſed in managing of ſieges, which he obtained from him, and ſo ſat down before Belgrade, with an army of fourteeen thouſand brave men, and, in a ſhort time ſo diſtreſſed the city, that the Turks deſired truce for ſixteen days, promiſing that if relief came not in that ſpace, they would ſurrender the city to him. This Scanderbeg conſented to, and ſo himſelf encamped on a high hill with three thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot, and ſent Muſachius and Tanuſius with the reſt of his army into a great plain, where they might lie freelier in that hot ſeaſon, and withall appointed five and twenty ſcouts to keep continual watch towards the enemey's country.

Mahomet hearing of this ſiege, preſently diſpatched away Sebalias, a great captain, with forty thouſand horſe to relieve Belgrade, promiſing him great rewards if he could bring him Scanderbeg alive or dead. This Baſſa by long journies prevented the fame of his coming, and drawing near to Scanderbeg's camp, he intrapped or corrupted his ſcouts, ſo that they gave no warning of the Turks approach: yea, he came ſo ſuddenly on that part of the army which lay on the plain, that they had not leiſure to bridle their horſes or put on their armour; Muſachius arming himſelf, endeavoured to order his men, ſeeing equal danger in flight, and therefore reſolved to ſell his life as dear as he could, but ſeeing his men ſlain by heaps about him, he endeavoured to have broken through and eſcaped to the mountains to Scanderbeg, but being oppreſſed with multitude, he continued fighting to the aſtoniſhment of his enemies, till he and all about him were ſlain. Tanuſius made divers brave attempts to have reſcued him, but finding it impoſſible, he exhorted his men to fly, yet moſt

moſt of them were ſlain by the Turks in their flight.

Scanderbeg from the mountains ſaw this miſerable ſlaughter of his men, and would with his handful of ſoldiers have done to their reſcue or died with them, but was with-held by his captains, who told him, that he would thereby expoſe himſelf and them to certain deſtruction: Sebalias being in the purſuit of Tenaſius and his party, with moſt of his army, Scanderbeg came down ſuddenly upon the reſt, and ſlew them in an inſtant, and then followed at the tail of the Turks, did them much miſchief, till Sebalias gathering all his forces together, made head againſt him, yet Scanderbeg again charged them, and ſlew them with his own hand two brave champions which had before ſworn to Mahomet, to kill him if they met with him. The fight continued till the night parted them, and then both armies retreated, Sebalias to Belgrade-ward, and Scanderbeg towards Epyrus, whither he marched the next day, leaving good guards upon all the ſtraight paſſes, leaſt the Turks ſhould break into Epyrus; of Scandrebeg's men were ſlain five thouſand, but moſt of them the Italians that Alphonſus had ſent him, and the Turks loſt three thouſand; Sebalias repaired the battered walls of Belgrade, re-inforced the garriſon, and then returned with great triumph to Conſtantinople; being the firſt captain that ever gave a defeat to Scanderbeg; and he was received there with ſuch applauſe, as if he had conquered a whole kingdom, every man talking of the praiſes of Sebalias; and no preferment was thought too great, or reward ſufficient for him.

The poor Chriſtian captives taken by him, were ſome ſold for ſlaves, others impaled alive upon ſharp ſtakes, others hanged on iron hooks, and others cruelly tortured to death at the proud victor's pleaſure

Moſes hearing of this loſs, thought it a fit time for him to revolt in, and ſo went to Conſtantinople, where, by Mahomet he was joyfully received, and honourably entertained; Scanderbeg hearing of his revolt, was at firſt much aſtoniſhed, but after a while he ſaid no more, but that he wiſhed that all treaſon was together with Moſes gone out of Epyrus; Moſes much ſollicited Mahomet to continue his wars with Scanderbeg, promiſing to do great matters therein; yet the crafty tyrant durſt not at firſt truſt him too far, till in time he had diſcovered that his affections were wholly alienated from Scanderbeg.

Then the ſpring following, he gave him fifteen thouſand horſe, which were as many as he deſired, and furniſhed him with all other warlike proviſion, with which he marched into Dibria; Scanderbeg hearing of the coming of Moſes, and what ſtrength he had, ſtood not upon policy againſt him that had been privy to all his ſtratagems, but marched with true valour to encounter him; when the two battles were ready to join, a meſſenger came from the Turks, to ſee if any durſt prove his valour againſt a champion of the Turks hand to hand; the challenge was accepted, and the Turk appearing, Zacharie Groppa, having obtained leave of Scanderbeg, went out againſt him and after a ſhort parley, they ran with their lances each againſt other with ſuch fury, that both horſe and man were overturned; then nimbly recovering themſelves, they drew their ſcimitars, and encountered each other with ſuch ſturdy ſtroaks, that at laſt both their ſwords fell out of their hands, then grappling together, they wreſtled ſo long till Groppa overthrew his adverſary, and with his dagger thruſt him into his throat, then taking a ſword, he cut off his head, and returned loaden with his ſpoils to Scanderbeg, who moſt honourably rewarded him; the Chriſtians ſhouted for joy, and the Turks were as much diſcouraged; then came Moſes with a loud voice challenging Scanderbeg. But when he ſaw him preparing to meet him, he went back with ſhame to his army; then the ſignal of battle being given, both armies met, and fought furiouſly, and Moſes with his choice men attended Scanderbeg hoping to have killed him, and a curagious Turk with his horſeman's ſtaffe, bare him quite backward upon his horſe, ſo that the Turks ſhouted for joy, hoping that he had been ſlain; but Scanderbeg chaſed with ſuch an unwonted diſgrace, furiouſly aſſailed the Turk, and ſlew him; Moſes did what was poſſible to encourage his men, but ſeeing at laſt he muſt yield or die, he fled through by-ways to him well known, eleven thouſand of the Turks were ſlain, and not above one hundred of the Chriſtians, and eighty wounded,

Moſes before admired, was now ſcorned by the Turks, and Mahomet would have put him to a cruel death, had not the Baſſa's enterceeded for him; beſides he was tormented in the conſcience of his own guilt, and ſo at laſt reſolved to eſcape, and caſt himſelf upon the mercy of Scanderbeg, and accordingly taking his opportunity, he fled, and coming to Scanderbeg with his girdle about his neck, he fell at his feet, and craved pardon; Scanderbeg took him up, and kiſſed him, reſtored his eſtate, honour and offices, forbidding any man to ſpeak to his diſgrace of what had formerly paſſed.

This vexed Mahomet exceedingly, yet returning to his former artifices, he enveigled Amaſe with the promiſe of the kingdom to revolt to him, who to give him the better aſſurance of his fidelity, carried his wife and children with him to Conſtantinople; there he was kindly entertained by Mahomet, and the ſpring following he ſent Iſaac the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople with fifteen thouſand into Epyrus, and with him Amaſe with five thouſand more, who was to be proclaimed king at their coming into Epyrus, to draw the people to them: Scanderbeg hearing of it, ſent for all his great captains into Dibria, where the ſtorm muſt firſt fall, and cauſing all the ſtore and cattle to be removed into ſtrong holds, he left all naked. By this time Iſaac was entered Epyrus, and Scanderbeg with ſix thouſand horſe, ſeeming to be affrighted with the great army of the Turks, fled towards Lyſſa in the Venetian territories, that thereby they might ſuſpect no ſubtility. Iſaac glade hereof, ſent out ſome troops after him, to mark which way he went, and ſo reſted his army after their long journey; the horſemen at their return certified him that Scanderbeg was fled out of Epyrus, and not an enemy to be ſeen in all the country.

Hereupon the Baſſa created Amaſe in the name of Mahomet, king of Epyrus, and ſo marched forward, yet commanding his men upon pain of death, not to break their ranks; at laſt he came to the famous Pharſalian plains. In the mean time Scanderbeg in the night had ſent ſome excellently well mounted, to the tops of the mountains, to give notice of the motions of the army of the Turks, and with his own army he conveyed himſelf ſecretly by night as near as he could unto them. The enemy finding ſome ſtragling cattle in thoſe plains, fell to ſeeking after booty as men without fear; and at night encamped without any great watch, but only towards Lyſſa, whither Scanderbeg went. The next morning the Baſſa came to the ſame mountain, on the other ſide whereof Scanderbeg lay, and there encamped with half his army, ſending Amaſe with the other half to burn and ſpoil the country.

Scanderbeg like a politic captain, divided his forces into three parts, one under Moſes, another under Tanuſius, the third he takes to himſelf, appointing every one his part, and what he ſhould do, and ſo marched to the top of the mountain, from whence he beheld how the Turks lay in the plains, eſpecially they which were lately returned from ſpoiling the country with Amaſe, how their horſes were unbridled, and unſadled, themſelves ſome reſting on the ground, others victualling of themſelves, others at ſeveral kinds of ſports, and many faſt aſleep on the graſs; the like negligence was in the Baſſa's camp, all being without fear of Scanderbeg, of whom they had heard nothing for many days.

Scanderbeg delighted with this ſight, placing more drums and trumpets in every part of his army, than ordinary; himſelf with ſome of his beſt horſemen, deſcended from the mountain to oppreſs the Turk's ſcouts, and ſlew them all but one, who eſcaped and gave the alarm to the camp.

The Turk's could not believe that Scanderbeg was ſo nigh them on that ſide; but Scanderbeg following at his heels with his horſe, and his foot haſting after, began to haſten after, began to break in upon them; and the other parts of the army deſcending from the mountain with ſuch horrible ſhouts and noiſe of inſtruments of war, as if heaven and earth ſhould preſently go together; the hills and valleys with their hollow eccho encreaſing the terror of

of the alarm. Amaſe firſt made head, and encouraged the Turks; with whom Scanderbeg encountered, and whilſt the Baſſa was coming to his reſcue, Moſes on the one ſide, and Tanuſius on the other, charged him ſo hotly, that he was glad to retire to his trenches.

Amaſe ſtill with great courage withſtood his uncle, and encouraged his Turks; yet Scanderbeg ſtill prevailing on them, they at laſt turned their backs, and fled: Scanderbeg's horſe purſuing the chaſe, ſlew very many, and took Amaſe priſoner. Moſes alſo had diſperſed the Baſſa's army, and purſued them till they were out of Epyrus; many were ſlain, and many taken priſoners, and twenty of the Turks faireſt enſigns, of whom were ſlain about twenty thouſand, and of the Chriſtians about ſixty. Scanderbeg poſſeſſed the rich pavilion of the Baſſa; and his captains had tents with much rich furniture, never prepared for their uſe.

And ſo with his victorious army he marched to Croia, all the country coming forth to meet him with acclamations of joy. Amaſe was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and ſent to Alphonſus king of Naples, with part of the ſpoil, by him to be kept in durance.

Mahomet was much grieved for this loſs, and angry with the Baſſa; yet afterwards was pacified again. After which he concluded a peace with Scanderbeg for a year; and when that was expired, he ſent an army under Synanbeg of twenty thouſand into Epyrus, with which Scanderbeg forthwith encountered and overthrew, ſo that few eſcaped by flight.

Then Aſam beg with thirty thouſand, whom Scanderbeg in plain battle vanquiſhed at Ocrida, and took Aſam priſoner, and uſed him honourably, and afterwards diſmiſſed him.

Juſſum-beg came after with eighteen thouſand, was ſet upon by Scanderbeg, had many ſlain, and himſelf hardly eſcaped by flight.

Then Caraſa-beg, an old and expert captain, deſired Mahomet to let him try his fortune, who ſent him with an army of almoſt forty thouſand. Scanderbeg more feared him than any of the former, and therefore raiſed more forces then ordinary; and to welcome him the better, he ſet two thouſand of his beſt hoſemen to lie in ambuſh in the enemies country, who ſet upon the vauntguard of four thouſand Turks, who expected no danger amongſt their friends, and ſlew moſt of them. With which unfortunate beginning, Caraſa was ſo vexed, that had it not been for ſhame, he would have returned back again; yet coming into Epyrus, whilſt he was reſolving what courſe to take, Scanderbeg ſuddenly aſſailed him before he could order his men. But at the ſame time there fell ſuch a violent ſtorm, that the armies were ſundered; the ſtorm continued three days, yet Scanderbeg was always vexing the Turks on one ſide or other: whereupon the old general returned back to Conſtantinople with the remainder of his army, and was well derided by his maſter for having promiſed ſo much, and performed ſo little.

Mahomet finding that he could not prevail by force, betook himſelf to craft, writting kind Letters to Scanderbeg by his embaſſadors, concluded a peace with him, which was proclaimed with great joy, and faithfully kept for a ſeaſon, whilſt Mahomet made war with the Venetians; but there being provocations on both ſides by the borderers, Scanderbeg entered with an army into Macedonia, made much ſpoil, and returned with a great booty. Hereupon Mahomet ſent Seremet Baſſa with fourteen thouſand ſoldiers to lie upon the confines of Epyrus for a guard, but to attempt nothing againſt it.

Scanderbeg having intelligence hereof, marched thither with twelve thouſand, lying in ambuſh near the city where the Turks were; and in the morning he ſent five hundred towards the enemy, to draw him out, if they could, into the field; but if he came forth, to retreat to the place where the army lay, which fell out according to his deſire; ſo that riſing up, he aſſaulted the Turks on every ſide, ſlew ten thouſand of them, and took twelve principal men priſoners, for whom he had forty thouſand duckets in ranſom.

Then Mahomet ſent Balabanus with fifeteen thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot to invade Epyrus, who knowing that Scanderbeg lay not far from him with a ſmall power, he intended in the night to ſet upon him at unawars, but Scanderbeg having intelligence by his ſcouts ſet forward in good order to meet him. Balabanus perceiving that he was diſcovered, made a halt; Scanderbeg when he drew nigh him, conſidering the ground where the enemies lay, encouraged his ſoldiers, which were but four thouſand horſe, and a thouſand five hundred foot, charged them on their lives, that if the enemy in the fight retired, they ſhould not purſue them beyond the ſtraits of the hill, ſuſpecting an ambuſh behind it; and ſo retired a little, which Balabanus ſeeing his ſmall number, judged to be a flight, and therefore haſtily marched after, till Scanderbeg watching his opportunity ſtayed, and ſet couragiouſly upon them, yet the battle a great while ſtood doubtful, but ſuch was the fury of Scanderbeg and his ſoldiers, that at laſt the Turks fled, and they purſued to the ſtraits of the mountains, where Scanderbeg had commanded them to ſtay. But his beſt captains in the heat of fight, forgetting his commands entered the ſtraits, and were ſet upon by many that lay there in ambuſh, where fighting like lions, at laſt they were oppreſſed with multitude, taken priſoner, and ſent to Mahomet; they were Moſes, Muſachius, Perlot, &c. the leaſt of them able to have conducted a brave army.

Scanderbeg preſently ſent to have ranſomed, or exchanged them for others, but the tyrant knowing that they were his beſt captains, refuſed, and ſlayed them by degrees, ſo that they were fifteen days in dying. Epyrus mourned for the great loſs, but Scanderbeg reſolving to revenge their blood, with fire and ſword, entered into the Turks dominions, ſparing nothing that he could burn or deſtroy.

Mahomet ſent Balabanus rich preſents for his good ſervice, commanding him to recruit his army, and proſecute the wars, which he performed with all diligence, yet uſing policy, he corrupted Scanderbeg's ſcouts, and had like to have oppreſſed him ere he was aware; but Scanderbeg himſelf, who ſpent moſt of the night in careful watch, diſcerned the approach of the enemy by the noiſe of their horſes, and ſo ſpeedily ordering all things, encountered with them, and after a great fight put them to flight, ſlew moſt of them in purſuite, Balabanus with a ſmall remnant hardly eſcaping. Yet Mahomet ſent him again with 14000 horſe, and three thouſand foot, knowing his deadly hatred to Scanderbeg, who firſt tryed by ſubtility to circumvent him, and when that prevailed not, he reſolved by plain force to ſubdue him, and ſo marching forward, Scanderbeg met him with eight thouſand horſe, and a thouſand five hundred foot near to Sfetigrade.

The fight beginning (though the Turks were two to one) yet Scanderbeg's men fought like enraged lions, without regard of danger; Scanderbeg carefully ordered all things, himſelf fighting at the head of his army, performing all the parts of a worthy cheiftain, and valiant ſoldier; but whilſt he thus fought in the midſt of his enemies, his horſe was ſlain under him, and in the fall ſorely bruiſed on of his arms; the Turks preſſed on vehemently to have ſlain him; but God delivered him, his ſoldiers reſcuing and remounting of him; he forthwith encountring with one of the Turks great commanders, ſlew him hand to hand, which ſo terrified the Turks, that they firſt retired, then fled, whom Scanderbeg purſued with ſuch execution, that few returned home with Balabanus. Mahomet was extreme angry with him, but when his fury was over, Balabanus told him, that the way to conquer Scanderbeg, was to enter Epyrus with two puiſſant armies to ſpoil the country, and encloſe Scanderbeg betwixt them, and neither to fight, but when the other was near at hand, by which means he might certainly be deſtroyed; the tyrant liked this advice ſo well, that he gave him commiſſion to take what forces he would and to chooſe his aſſociate out of all his men of war, &c.

Balabanus choſe out forty thouſand good ſoldiers, and one Jacup, a valiant captain, for his companion, whom he ſent with ſixteen thouſand one way, and himſelf with twenty thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot went another way; Scanderbeg having ſecret intelligence of all theſe projects, gat in readineſs eight thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot choice ſoldiers, and ſent out his eſpials, who

who hoping for great rewards, proved falſe traytors, and went to Balabanus, acquainting him with ſo much of Scanderbeg's deſigns as they knew; Scanderbeg marvelling that they returned not, went out himſelf with five more to ſee how the enemies lay: but he had like to have fallen into an ambuſh, had he not ſeaſonably diſcovered it, and ſpeedily retired, yet he loſt four of his men; and ſo coming to his army, he ſuddenly prepared to fight with Balabanus before the other army came, and ſo preſently marched into the valley where Balabanus lay; and divided his army into four parts, one under himſelf, the other three under three of his beſt captains, and ſo advanced towards the Turks. But Balabanus waiting for the coming of his partner, would not ſtir out of his trench-

Sanderbeg's men derided and provocked them all they could, till the Turks enraged with the affront, would have iſſued forth without the general, had he not led them. When therefore he ſaw no remedy, he advanced in good order, and Scanderbeg furiouſly aſſaulted him, ſo that there was a dangerous and doubtful battle, yet Scanderbeg and his men ſo preſſed upon them on all ſides, that at laſt they were broken in pieces, moſt of them ſlain, only Balabanus with ſome few eſcaped.

Scanderbeg had ſcarce divided the ſpoil, and breathed himſelf, when a poſt brought him news that Jacup was burning and deſtroying all in another part of his country; whereupon he preſently marched thitherward, and his men went as to an aſſured victory; Jacup hearing of his coming retired into a corner of the plain; Scanderbeg coming near him, reſted one whole day, then brought forth ſome of his priſoners before the enemies camp, which before knew nothing of Balabanus his overthrow: yet Jacup ordered his army, and fiercely charged Scanderbeg's men, where the fight laſted not long, but the Turks fled, and moſt of them were ſlain, in all there were ſlain in the two battles four and twenty thouſand men, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners; Jacup eſcaped with a few; after which Scanderbeg entered into the Turks territories, made havock of all, and ſo returned with his victorious army to Croia, where he diſmiſſed them every man to his own home.

Then Mahomet with great rewards hired two vilains to go and kill Scanderbeg, who went into Epyrus, declaimed againſt Mahomet and his ſuperſtition, deſired to be inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, and to be baptized, and thereby found much favour with Scanderbeg, yet watching their opportunity to murder him; but treaſon againſt princes, whom God hath in his moſt mighty protection, cannot be long concealed: theſe aſſaſſinates falling out between themſelves, let ſome words fall which gave occaſion to ſuſpicion, and ſo being examined, they confeſſed the treaſon, and were juſtly executed according to their demerits.

Mahomet then reſolved to go himſelf into Epyrus with ſuch an army as ſhould ſpeedily end the war, and for that end he raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand men; Scanderbeg having intelligence of it, fortified all his cities and ſtrong holds, eſpecially Croia, which he furniſhed with all things neceſſary for a long ſiege, put into it a choice garriſon, and made Balthaſar Perduce, a worthy captain governor thereof. He left nothing abroad in the country, removed all the inhabitants into Garriſons, or other places of refuge; no ſooner was this done, but Balabanus came with fourſcore thouſand horſemen, and ſat down before Croia; in few days after came Mahomet with his huge army, and encamped there alſo; he ſummoned the city; to which the brave governor made no other anſwer then by continual thundering ſhot into his camp. Mahomet cauſed great ordinance to be caſt, and planted his batteries. In the meantime Scanderbeg with a ſmall army of choice ſoldiers, lay in the woods, cut off his forragers, and ſuch as brought victuals to the camp; and oft in the night ſuddenly brake into one or other of the quarters of the Turks camp, with great ſlaughter of them, and kept them in ſuch continual alarms, that he never gave them reſt.

Mahomet ſeeing his men to decreaſe, and that the city was not to be taken but by famine, and a long ſiege, and fearing ſome diſaſter, as had there happened to his father, left Balabanus with the greateſt part of his army, and returned himſelf to Conſtantinople. As he went back he corrupted the governor of a fort called Chidna, in which were eight thouſand of Scanderbeg's ſoldiers, promiſing them ſafety and liberty to depart. But having them in his power, the tyrant cauſed them cruelly to be cut in pieces, ſparing neither ſoldier nor inhabitant, man, woman, nor child.

Scanderbeg ſcorning to have his chief city beſieged by Balabanus, and yet wanting forces of his own to raiſe the ſiege, ſent to his friends the Venetians, and other confederate princes; ſo that by their help in few days, he got an army of above fourteen thouſand choice ſoldiers, with which he marched to Croia: but by the way underſtanding that Jonima was coming with a new ſupply to Balabanus, with ſome choice horſemen he poſted over the country. fell upon them, ſlew and put them to flight, took Jonima and his ſon priſoners, whom the next day he ſhewed to Balabanus. And with plain force he drave the Turks from a mountain near to the city of Croia, Balabanus ſeeing this, with ſome others, he rode up to the city gate, and with infinite promiſes would have perſuaded them to deliver up the city to him; but they ſallying out, drave them away, and one of them ſhot him through the throat, whereof he preſently died.

The Turks diſcouraged with theſe things, roſe in the ſilence of the night, and retreated eight miles from the city. Scanderbeg the next morning found in their tents great ſtore of corn, and other proviſion, which he convied into Croia in great triumph.

The ſame day he ſent ſeleect ſoldiers to take the ſtraits through which the Turks muſt needs paſs, when they went out of Epyrus; which the Turks hearing of, they ſent two meſſengers to Scanderbeg, promiſing him to deliver up their horſe and arms, if he would permit them ſafely to paſs out of the country. From whom they received this ſhort anſwer, that as they came into his country without his leave, ſo they muſt depart without his leave alſo. Whereupon in the dead of the night they deſperately brake through thoſe paſſes, yet not without great loſs.

Shortly after Scanderbeg recovering what he had loſt, and putting all the Turks to the ſword, brake up his army, retaining only two thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot for the guard of his frontiers.

Mahomet was ſo vexed at this evil ſucceſs, that he could neither drink nor ſleep for a ſeaſon; yet at laſt he reſolved the next ſpring to go thither again in perſon, to make a full conqueſt of it; and Scanderbeg provided for him as he had done formerly.

Mahomet, with a mighty army, when the ſpring was come, entered into Epyrus, and with much labour and charge built a city, which he made a garriſon: from thence he marched to Dirrachium, a city belonging to the Venetians, which he had thought to have found unprovided; but it proved otherwiſe, inſomuch as having ſpent ſome time there, to his great loſs, he ſuddenly aroſe, and returned into Epyrus, and ſat down before Croia, proffering large privileges and great gifts, if they would ſurrender the city, or elſe threatened them with all the calamities of war; to which they made no anſwer but with the mouth of the canon. Scanderbeg alſo continually moleſted his camp, and brake into their quarters every night; whereupon Mahomet roſe with his army, and hearing of many Epyrots retired into the mountains, he went to ſeek them out, but was by them repulſed with great loſs. Scanderbeg alſo following him at the heels, daily cut off part of his army; ſo that at laſt the tyrant deſpairing to do any good, went back with vexation and ſhame to Conſtantinople.

After all this, Scanderbeg viewed the ſtate of his kingdom, ordered his affairs, and then went to Lyſſa, to confer with the Venetian ambaſſador, and the other confederate princes; but within few days he fell ſick of a fever, and perceiving his end to draw nigh, he ſent for his wife and ſon, and the confederate princes, diſcourſed to them of his troubleſome life, fore warned them of the dangers that were like to enſue, perſuaded them to perſevere in unity, made the Venetians protectors of his ſon and kingdom; and ſo after he had, with moſt fervent prayer, com-

mended

commended his ſoul into the hands of almighty God, he quietly left this life, January 17. in the year 1466, and of his age ſixty three, of his reign twenty-four.

His death was much lamented by all Chriſtian princes, eſpecially his neighbours, who had loſt their moſt careful watchman, and invincible champion. The ſorrow of his ſubjects is not to be expreſſed.

He was royally buried in the cathedral in Lyſſa: yet nine years after, the Turks having taken the city, with great devotion digged up his bones, reckoning it ſome part of their happineſs, if they might ſee or touch the ſame: ſuch as could get any part thereof, ſet it in ſilver or gold, and hung it about their necks, perſuading themſelves that it would make them valiant and proſperous.

He was a man of rare parts, and of an indefatigable ſpirit. During all the time of his wars he never ſlept above two hours in a night. He ever fought againſt the Turks with his arm bare, and that with ſuch fierceneſs that the blood did oft times burſt out of his lips. He, with his own hands in thoſe wars, ſlew at leaſt three thouſand of the Turks.

What his ſtrength was, may appear by theſe examples: There was in a part of Epyrus a mighty wild bull, that had murdered many, and committed a thouſand outrages; him Scanderbeg encountered with on horſeback, and with one only blow of his cimitar he cut his neck clean from his ſhoulders. Alſo, a monſtrous boar in Apulia, that had wounded many of king Ferdinand's courtiers; Scanderbeg being hunting with the king, encountered with this beaſt, and ſoon parted his head from his body.

His cimitar was made at Damaſco in Syria, and was of an excellent temper. He oft carried two of them in one ſcabbard, and ſometimes he would break them both in one battle.

Mahomet hearing that he would cut helmets, headpieces, and pouldrons clean aſunder with it, he ſent to him for one of his ſwords, thinking that there had been ſome extraordinary virtue in them: and when Scanderbeg had ſent it, he put it into their hands who had the ſtrongeſt arms about him; but perceiving no ſuch wonders as was reported of it, he ſent it back with ſcorn, ſaying, That he would not be beholden to him for that which he could get for his money; and that he credited not what was related to him of that ſword. But Scanderbeg, in the ſight of the meſſenger, having made ſtrange and admirable proofs of it, bad him tell his maſter, that it was not the virtue of the ſword, but the ſtrength of his arm, which he reſerved againſt his enemies.

God raiſed up this worthy Chriſtian prince, and endowed with ſuch excellent parts, as another David againſt thoſe proud Goliahs, Amurath and Mahomet, who were cruel and bloody perſecutors of the church of God. God made him ſucceſsful and victorious in above twenty battles that he fought againſt the Turks.

The Life of MATTHIAS CORVINUS, *King of Hungary, who died* Anno Chriſti 1490.

HUNIADES being dead, the young king Ladiſlaus, and Ulricus earl of Cicilia, thought they might the more boldly come into Hungary, and thereupon they preſently began their journey. Ladiſlaus, the eldeſt ſon of Huniades, who was now at the city of Alba, hearing of the king's approach, obediently opened to him the gates, but four thouſand of his armed ſoldiers, he debarred from entring into the city. Whilſt the king was there, he, with the earl of Ulricus, ſat often in council, with ſome other nobles alſo. At laſt they required Ladiſlaus to reſort unto them; he at firſt was in ſuſpenſe what to do, but afterwards, putting on a privy coat of mail, he came to them. Whilſt they were in debate, Ulricus picked a quarrel with him, and called him traitor, for ſhutting the gates againſt the king's ſoldiers; and withal, taking his ſword from his page, let fly at his head. To break the blow, ſome putting up their hands had their fingers cut off; the Hungarians without, hearing the tumult, brake into the chamber, where they preſently ſlew this falſe earl Ulrick, and cut him all to pieces. The king was much diſcountenanced hereat in his mind; yet ſeeing there was no other remedy, he diſſembled his grief for the preſent, and making fair weather to Ladiſlaus, he took him along with him towards Buda: by the way, paſſing by the town where Huniade's wife was, mourning for the death of her huſband, the king went to her, and ſeemed with many fair words to comfort her; there he reſted and refreſhed himſelf, and ſo departed with much diſſembled love, and feigned favour, and took along with him the two ſons of Huniades, Ladiſlaus, and Matthias, who were now without ſuſpicion, and therefore the more ready to wait upon him; but when he came to Buda, he cauſed them both to be ſuddenly apprehended; and immediately after, the elder (Ladiſlaus) was brought forth to the place of execution. at which time a cryer proclaimed, 'Thus are they to be chaſtened that are rebels againſt their Lord. After the hangman had three blows at his neck, Ladiſlaus having his hands bound behind him, roſe upright upon his feet after the third ſtroke. and looking up to heaven, called upon the Lord, and proteſting his innocency, meekly laid down his head again, and ſo at the fourth blow had it ſtricken off. Then did this bloody tyrant take Matthias, and carried him captive with him into Auſtria. Shortly after this young king was to marry the French king's daughter: great preparation was made againſt the wedding, which was to be celebrated at Prague in Bohemia. Many princes and potentates were invited to the ſolemnity, at which time this wicked king had intended to make an end of all the Huſſites in Bohemia; thither therefore he went, taking his priſoner Matthias along with him to Prague, where he alſo impriſoned him; but in the midſt of all his great preparations, in the year 1461, this great adverſary of God's people, Ladiſlaus king of Bohemia and Hungary, and archduke of Auſtria, was, by the revenging hand of God, ſmitten with a peſtilent ſore in his groin, whereof he died, within the ſpace of thirty-ſix hours; after whoſe death, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to George Pogiebracius, a friend and favourer of the Huſſites, whom afterwards pope Innocent the eight did excommunicate, and depoſe for his religion.

But the nobles of Hungary, hearing of the death of Ladiſlaus, met together, and for the love they bare to the remembrance of Huniades, they choſe Matthias, ſirnamed Corvinus, now a priſoner at Prague, to be their king; and withal diſpatched away ambaſſadors to Pogiebracius, to deſire him to ſend this their king elect to them. Pogiebracius having heard their meſſage at ſupper time, he immediately ſent for Matthias out of priſon, and placed him at the upper end of the table; young Matthias being but about eighteen years old, was much abaſhed at it, and began to crave pardon, but the king would needs have it ſo; and when he was ſet, to quiet his mind. he willed him to be of good cheer, for that he had good news to tell him. 'Good news, ſaid Matthias. if it would pleaſe your majeſty to grant me my liberty.' Yea, that, ſaid the king. and more too; and then ſaluting him by the name of the king of Hungary, he brake unto him the whole matter; and within few days after, he married to him his daughter, furniſhed him with all things fit for his ſtate, and royally accompanied him into Hungary, where he was with great joy and triumph received by his people, and over whom he glorioufly reigned for the ſpace of thirty-eight years, in which time he notably enlarged the kingdom of Hungary; and proving the thundering ſon of a lightning father, he became a far greater terror to the Turks than ever was his father Huniades.

Preſently after, the emperor Frederick, having the crown of Hungary remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth, the mother of Ladiſlaus had carried to him, laid claim to the kingdom, whereupon wars enſued between Matthias and him: but at laſt, by the mediation of the princes of Germany, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and Matthias ranſomed the crown from Frederick for eight thouſand florences.

At this time there were great wars between the Venetians and the great Turk; but the Venetians going by the worſe, ſent ambaſſadors to king Matthias, ſoliciting him to join in league with them, and to take up arms againſt the common enemy, offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſum of money, beſides a large yearly penſion towards the maintenance of thoſe wars; for which he ſhould to his power

power by land, defend all thoſe territories of theirs which lay between the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatic ſea, againſt the invaſion of the Turk.

Matthias, having well conſidered of this their requeſt, anſwered, That they had many times before, in the like caſe, refuſed to give aid to the Hungarian kings, his predeceſſors; yea, and judged it a thing unreaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands: ſo that the Hungarian kings had many times received great loſs for want of their aſſiſtance. Yet he was willing to forget all ſuch unkindneſs, and to take their territories into his protection, according to their requeſt; promiſing withal, the next ſpring, to invade the Turks dominions. And, according to his promiſe, he honourably performed it: for, in the beginning of the ſpring, he paſſed over the Danubius at Belgrade, with a puiſſant army, and razed the forts which the Turks had built therabouts, and ſo entering into Servia, laid all the country waſte before him, and afterwards, laden with ſpoil, returned home again, carrying away with him twenty thouſand captives. And, with the like proſperous ſucceſs, he maintained wars againſt Mahomet the Great, and againſt his ſon Bajazet, almoſt always going away with the victory; ſo that there was no Chriſtian king or chieftain that did ever more often, with ſucceſs, fight againſt the Turks, or had of them greater victories.

Then did he (according to his promiſe made to the Venetians) enter into the kingdom of Boſna, where, by force, he overthrew the ſtrong forts which the Turks had built for the defence of the frontiers, and valiantly drave them all out before him, till he came to Jaitze, the chief city of Boſna, unto which he laid ſiege and took it; and ſo garriſoning it, he followed the courſe of his victories, ſcarcely ſuffering the Turks to breathe, until he had by force wreſted all that kingdom out of their hands.

This ſo vexed the proud Mahomet, that in great fury he came with a mighty army into Boſna, and laid hard ſiege unto Jaitze, which was by the Chriſtians worthily defended, till Matthias came to the relief thereof, who ſo troubled the Turk's camp, with continual ſkirmiſhes on the one ſide, and they within the town with deſperate ſallies on the other, that at length the proud Turk was driven to ſuch extremity, that he was forced ſecretly to ſteal away in the night, with all his army, into Servia; and, for haſte, left behind him all his tents, and his great ordinance.

Matthias having thus valiantly relieved the city, followed the Turk's army into Servia; and took part of that country alſo; which, together with Boſna, he annexed to the kingdom of Hungary: ſo that now the name of Matthias was unto the Turks no leſs dreadful than was ſometimes the name of his valiant father Huniades.

In the year 1475, Mahomet the Great, having ended his wars with the Perſians, reſolves to convert all his power againſt the Venetians; and for that end ſent Solyman Baſſa, with an army of fourſcore thouſand brave men, to beſiege Scorda or Scutari, within the confines of Albania: Many were the deſperate aſſaults which the Turks gave to the city, and yet they were ſtill as valiantly repulſed by the Chriſtians within.

In the mean time Matthias raiſed an army, and with it marched into the Turk's dominions, where he made ſuch havock and ſpoil of all before him, that Mahomet was glad to call back the great baſſa from the ſiege of Scorda, (after he had lain there three months with his great army, and loſt fourteen thouſand of his men) to defend his own country.

With this diſhonour Mahomet was ſo diſcontented, that he gave one a yearly penſion daily to put him in mind of the ſiege of Scorda.

In the year 1480, the Turk ſent a mighty army, conſiſting of an hundred thouſand men, under ſome of his chiefeſt and moſt expert commanders, into Tranſylvania, which brought ſuch a general fear upon the country, that Steven Batore, the vayvod, was glad with all ſpeed to fly unto Matthias king of Hungary, declaring to him the danger of his country, and craving his aid. Matthias at this time lay ſick of the gout, yet he ſent an army under his expert captains, which not far from Alba Julia, met with the Turks, and there in a great and bloody battle defeated them, ſlew Iſa, one of their chief captains, and thirty thouſand Turks beſides. By which great victory Tranſylvania was delivered from that preſent danger.

The noble acts of Matthias againſt theſe enemies to the name of Chriſt, were ſo many and ſo great, that through God's goodneſs, he was a great ſhelter not only to Hungary, but almoſt to all Chriſtian kingdoms, in repelling and beating back the proud ſwelling waves of the Turkiſh empire, which were like to have overflown all; yea, he ſo defended the confines of Illyria from the power of the Turks, that both Mahomet and Bajazet his ſon were enforced to ſeek to him for peace. But the devil, in the meantime, envying his proſperous ſucceſs in defence of the Chriſtians, ſtirred up the pope to caſt in the ball of contention between Pogiebracius and him, whereby not only his courſe of victory againſt the Turks was ſtopped, but alſo great war and bloodſhed followed among the Chriſtians. In which wars Matthias took from Pogiebracius, Moravia, and a great part of Sileſia, and joined them to his kingdom of Hungary.

Alſo, by the pope's means, a new quarrel ſprang up between the emperor Frederick and him: In which wars Frederick had utterly gone to ruin, had not Albert duke of Saxony reſcued the emperor, and repreſſed the vehemency of Matthias. Alſo, after the death of Pogiebracius, the emperor conferred the kingdom of Bohemia upon Vladiſlaus, the king of Poland's ſon; whereupon Matthias made war upon him, and alſo proclaimed open wars againſt Frederick. But it pleaſed God, in the midſt of theſe great undertakings and preparations, to take him away by ſickneſs, in the year 1490, and of his age fifty-ſix, after he had reigned with renown thirty-eight years.

Beſides his noble acts of chivalry, he was religious, according to thoſe times, learned, and a great lover of learning and learned men, whom he with great ſtipends procured to come to him out of other countries; by which means he much civilized, and reduced into good order, the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe kingdoms which he governed, and made thereof a moſt flouriſhing common wealth.

Moreover, he erected a great and ſtately library, which he furniſhed with all ſorts of books, both for languages, arts, and hiſtory; many of which he cauſed to be tranſlated out of Greek into Latin; ſo that the like library was not to be found in all Europe beſides, except the Vatican at Rome. Out of which library we have received divers parts of Diodorus, Siculus, and Polybius, which were not extant before.

The Life of EDWARD VI. *King of England, who died* Anno Chriſti 1553.

EDWARD VI. born in the year 1537, was the ſon of king Henry VIII. by his third wife, Jane, daughter to Sir John Seymer, whoſe mother's body was opened for his birth, whereby ſhe died of the inciſion the fourth day after.

When he was ſix years old, he was committed to the tuition of Dr Coxe, and Mr John Cheek, the firſt inſtructed him in the knowlege of the arts and divinity, the ſecond in the languages of Latin and Greek. Others were appointed for other languages, who all endeavoured to infuſe into him knowlege and virtue by ſome mixture of honeſt delight. Under theſe he profited ſo much, that in ſhort time he ſpake French and Latin perfectly; alſo Greek, Spaniſh, and Italian. He was well ſkilled in logic, philoſophy, muſic, and aſtronomy, and other liberal ſciences, inſomuch as the great Italian philoſopher, Cardane, having made ſome trial of him, was aſtoniſhed with admiration and delight, reporting abroad, 'that he was a miracle of nature.'

When he was about nine years old, his father died, and he was proclaimed king, and brought to the tower, where he remained about three weeks; in which time his uncle, the earl of Hartford, was elected protector of the realm, and governor of the king's perſon during his minority. And a few days after he knighted the king, who, taking the ſword from him, knighted the lord mayor, and advanced divers others of the nobility. The lord protector was made duke of Somerſet; his other uncle, Sir Thomas Seymer,

Seymer, was made lord of Sudely, and high admiral of England, &c.

February 19. in the year 1547, he rode in great state from the tower to Weſtminſter, and the next day was crowned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſame day a general pardon was granted to all perſons, ſix only excepted. Never was a king more loving to others, or better beloved generally of all. He was of an excellent beauty and modeſty, very courteous, and naturally ſo diſpoſed to learning, that he ſeemed rather born ſo, than inſtructed in it.

He was full of clemency, courage, care, and knowlege, in ſtate affairs: he was very tender of ſhedding blood, ſo that none were executed in his time for religion, but only two blaſphemous heretics, John Butcher, and George, a Dutchman; for the execution of the firſt, all the council could not get him to ſet his hand to the warrant, till Cranmer perſuaded him to it, to whom he ſaid, That he would lay all the charge of it upon him before God.

He took much delight in repreſentation of battles, ſkirmiſhes, and aſſaults, and ſuch like military exerciſes: he took much pleaſure in the exerciſes of activity, and cauſed his ſervants to uſe wreſtling, leaping, running, riding, and ſhooting at rovers, &c. He was exceeding ſkilful in fortifications: he knew all the principal ports of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, how they lay, when the tide ſerved, what veſſels of burden they could receive, and what winds ſerved for entrance.

He was exceeding careful about ſtate affairs, was much with his council, and would well underſtand what matters paſſed them, and upon what grounds; and would often encounter their reaſons, and give lively reaſons of his own, inſomuch that they made an order, that no matters of weight ſhould be debated but when he was preſent. He had a cheſt whereof he himſelf carried the key, wherein he kept the records of ſuch matters as were concluded by his council.

He ſet time apart to diſpatch poor men's cauſes, without tedious attendance and delay. Of all the magiſtrates, juſtices, and gentlemen of quality in his realm, he knew their names, houſe-keeping, and manner of life. He was ſtiful in the matter and manner of exchange abroad, and provident for the mint at home. To ambaſſadors he would give anſwer upon the ſudden, and touch both orderly and fully upon every part of their ſpeech, to the admiration of his hearers.

He much frequented ſermons, and penned them with his own hands. His ſports were ingenious and manlike, whereby he always learned ſomething. He, in the midſt of all his buſineſſes, reſerved daily ſome hours for his private ſtudies and exerciſes with his teachers.

About this time preparations were made for war with Scotland, which was thus occaſioned: Mary Stuart, ſole daughter and heir to James V. being very young, was deſired by Henry the eight to be aſſured to his ſon prince Edward, which was aſſented to by the nobility and parliament of Scotland; and all conditions and covenants were concluded, ſealed, and ſworn to, on both parties, and a peace eſtabliſhed for ten years, at the end whereof both prince and queen ſhould be of age to conſent. But the king of France hearing of it, laboured by all means to break this agreement, endeavouring to get this match for Francis, afterwards king of France; and ſo far prevailed, that he made a ſtrong party for him in Scotland: yet our protector wrote friendly to the nobility, remembered them of their promiſes, ſeals, and oaths: he ſhewed them the bonds that would redound to both kingdoms by this union, &c. But notwithſtanding all this, when they would not be brought to reaſon, he raiſed a great army, with which he marched into Scotland, and ſent a great fleet by ſea to meet him there. In the army were twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand eight hundred light horſe. The earl of Warwick was lieutenant general, the lord Gray of Wilton was marſhal of the field, &c. The protector of Scotland alſo made great preparations to reſiſt them, making his rendezvous at Muſſelburgh field, where the Engliſh marched: and ſo between the two nations a great and cruel battle was fought, wherein the Engliſh were victors, and purſued the Scots for five hours ſpace, doing great execution upon them, ſo that the river of Eſk ran red with blood.

Divers of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry were ſlain, and of the inferior ſort about ten thouſand. Of the Engliſh were ſlain fifty two, but very many hurt. And thus the Lord revenged upon them their perfidiouſneſs in breaking their oaths and covenants. In the which victory this alſo is to be noted, that the ſame day and hour wherein the images were burned openly in London, the Scots received this great overthrow.

Alſo, fifteen hundred of the Scots were taken priſoners, amongſt whom was the earl of Huntley, and ſome other noblemen. Huntley being afterwards aſked, how he ſtood affected to the intended marriage, anſwered, That he liked the marriage well; but he liked not the manner of wooing. Afterwards the Engliſh fired many places, took in divers caſtles, placed garriſons in them, and ſo returned back to England.

A great alteration alſo was made in religion; injunctions were ſet forth for removing images out of churches, godly preachers were ſent abroad to inſtruct and teach the people; and, for want of preachers, homilies were appointed to be read in churches. Edmond Bonner was committed to the Fleet, for refuſing to receive theſe injunctions, and Steven Gardiner to the tower, with biſhop Tonſtal and Heath.

In the firſt year of the king, a parliament was held, wherein was enacted, That none ſhould ſpeak againſt receiving the ſacrament in both kinds: That all proceſſes eccleſiaſtical ſhould be made in the king's name. The ſtatue of the ſix articles was repealed, and that which prohibited the uſe of the ſcriptures in Engliſh. A liturgy was ſet forth.

Commiſſioners being ſent abroad to pull down images in Cornwal, one of them was ſtabbed by a prieſt, as he was pulling down an image; and afterwards the whole country roſe in a commotion, which ſpread alſo into Wiltſhire and Sommerſetſhire: they beat down incloſures and parks; but Sir William Herbert, with ſome ſoldiers, ſet upon them, ſlew ſome, and ſcattered the reſt.

The like commotions were raiſed in other countries, which, by the prudence of gentlemen, and other honeſt perſons, were appeaſed. Yet afterwards there was another riſing in the weſt countries, to whom the king wrote; firſt reproving them for their diſordered aſſemblies; then he pitied their ignorance, and errors thence ariſing, perſuading them to return to their homes, and due obedience. In which letter he thus wrote to them, 'Aſſure yourſelves moſt ſurely, that we, of no earthly thing under the heaven, make ſuch account, as we do of this one thing, to have our laws obeyed, and this cauſe of God which we have taken in hand to be thoroughly maintained, from the which we will never remove a hair's breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much leſs to any ſubject, but therein will ſpend our own royal perſon, our crown, treaſure, realm, and all our eſtate, whereof we aſſure you of our high honour.' But they growing more unruly, went to Exeter, demanded entrance, which being refuſed, they attempted to take the city by ſtorm, by firing the gates, by mines, but all in vain, being eaſily repulſed, and ſlain like dogs. In the mean time, the lord privy ſeal, with a ſmall company, attempted the relief of the city, which the mutiniers hindered, by felling many trees croſs in his way; and in his retreat ſet upon him, but he beat them back, with the loſs of ſix hundred of them.

In the mean time the citizens ſuffered great want, made bread of the courſeſt bran; their fineſt fleſh was their horſes. An aged citizen in this their want, brought out all his ſtore, ſaying, That as he communicated to them his ſtore, ſo he would participate with them in their wants; and that he would feed upon one arm, and fight with the other, before he would conſent to put the city into the hands of the ſeditious.

But the Lord Gray coming with more forces, ſet upon them, ſlew above nine hundred of them, and diſperſed the reſt; notwithſtanding which, about two thouſand of them rallying the next day, affronted the king's forces; yet after a while they ran away. After this alſo, a great number met together, and brought with them a crucifix upon a cart,

a cart, beſet with croſſes, tapers, holy bread, &c. The lord Gray ſet upon them, and ſlew the greateſt part of them, divers were taken, and ſome of the principal preſently executed.

The ſeditious in Norfolk were more dangerous, as having greater ſtrength, and the city of Norwich to favour them. To theſe the king wrote alſo, and ſent an herald with a general pardon, if they would quietly depart, which they refuſing, the lord William Parre was ſent againſt them, who entering into the city of Norwich, was the next day ſet upon by the ſeditious, but he repulſed them with the loſs of three hundred of their company.

Afterwards the earl of Warwick came with ſome more forces, and after ſome bickerings, wherein many of the rebels were ſlain, he pardoned the reſt, only executing ſome of their ring-leaders, and ſo that commotion was quieted.

Religion beginning now to flouriſh in the land, as well all ſuch godly ſubjects as were in the realm, had free liberty publicly to profeſs the goſpel; as alſo many learned and zealous preachers before baniſhed were now licenſed freely to return home; and were encouraged boldly and faithfully to travail in their function and calling, ſo that God was much glorified, and the people much edified.

About the ſame time a dangerous rebellion began in Yorkſhire, but, through God's mercy, one of the rebels revealing of it in his drukenneſs in an ale houſe, it was in ſome meaſure prevented, and the miſchief intended againſt others returned upon the contrivers pates. The French king alſo thinking to make his advantage of ſuch ſtirs in England, denounced wars againſt king Edward, and ſent a great fleet ſuddenly to have taken Jerſey, and Gerſney, together with many of the king's ſhips there; but they were ſo hotly entertained, that they loſt one thouſand of their men, and their ſhips and gallies were ſo ſpoiled, that they were forced to return home with ſhame and diſhonour. The French king alſo came in perſon with a mighty army againſt Bulloigne, where alſo he was repulſed with ſhame and great loſs; ſo that it was apparent that the mighty arm of God fought for king Edward his ſervant, to defend and deliver him from ſo many dangerous commotions at home, and attempts abroad.

But the devil envying the progreſs of the goſpel, fought to hinder it, by ſtirring up contentions amongſt our nobility: Firſt, between the lord protector and his brother the lord admiral, which was not appeaſed but by the blood of the latter. Then between the lord protector and the earl of Warwick, and other nobles that he had drawn into his party, which (notwithſtanding all endeavours uſed by the godly king to make peace betwixt them) ended in the death and deſtruction of the protector. Hereupon many of the vulgar ſort (thinking that the alteration of the Latin ſervice into Engliſh, &c. had been the only act of the protector) began to bruit it abroad, that now they ſhould have their Latin ſervice again, with holy bread and holy water, &c. Whereupon the king, with his privy council, ſent to all the biſhops, to take away all popiſh books in every pariſh, and that if any were refractory, and would not deliver them up, that they ſhould be committed to ward.

In the year 1550, latters were ſent abroad for the taking down of altars in churches, and ſetting up of tables inſtead of the ſame. And during all the time the nobles lived in peace amongſt themſelves, religion flouriſhed, the goſpel had a free paſſage, popery was confounded, and ſcarce a papiſt found that durſt ſhew his head. The popiſh doctors, Smith, Chadſey, Standiſh, Young, Ogelthorp, with many more, recanted their former ignorance and errors: yea, Bonner, with his own hand, ſubſcribed to the king's ſupremacy, and promoted his injunctions: the ſame alſo did Steven Gardiner. Yea, during all the time of peace and concord, what papiſt was found in all the realm, which, out of devotion to the pope, would put his neck into the halter, and die a martyr for his ſake? In thoſe peaceable times it was, that the king ſent for P. Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, with many other learned men, whereof ſome he placed at Cambridge, others at Oxford, who, with their diligent induſtry, did much good.

And whereas the emperor's ambaſſador demanded boldly, that the lady Mary might be ſuffered to have the maſs freely exerciſed in her houſe; the good king reſolutely and conſtantly denied to condeſcend thereunto. He increaſed ſermons at the court, and ordered that no man ſhould have a benefice from the king, but firſt he ſhould preach before him. He ſent five thouſand pounds beyond ſea, to relieve the poor proteſtants; and hearing that the emperor made many ſtrict laws againſt them, he charged his merchants to forbear their trade into Flanders as much as they could.

This prudent and godly king, ſeeing the woful breaches at home, intended by alliance to ſtrengthen himſelf abroad; for which end he ſent to treat of a marriage between his ſiſter the lady Elizabeth, and the king of Denmark's eldeſt ſon. But this lady, though ſhe was furniſhed with many excellent endowments both of nature and education, yet could ſhe never be induced to marry with any. The lord protector having been brought to his end, by the malice and ſubtility of the earl of Warwick, (now the duke of Northumberland) the king at firſt gave no notice of any ill-tempered paſſion, as taking it not to be agreeable to majeſty openly to diſcover it. The lords alſo laboured to diſpel ſuch melancholy thoughts, by plying of him with a variety of exerciſes and diſports; yet upon ſpeech of him afterwards, he would often ſigh and let fall tears. Sometimes he thought that he had done nothing that deſerved death: or if he had, that it was very ſmall, and proceeded rather from his wife than from himſelf. 'And where then (ſaid he) was the good nature of a nephew? where was the clemency of a prince? Ah! how unfortunate have I been to thoſe of my blood? My mother I ſlew at my very birth, and ſince have made away two of her brothers; and happily, to make a way for the purpoſes of others againſt myſelf. Alas! how falſely have I been abuſed? how weakly carried? how little was I maſter over my own judgement,' &c.

But the lords laboured to divert his thoughts otherways all that they could. The king had ſix chaplains in ordinary, concerning whom an order was made, that two ſhould remain with the king by turns, and four ſhould travel in preaching abroad: the firſt year, two in Wales, and two in Lincolnſhire; the next year, two in the marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkſhire, and ſo through all the ſhires in England. Hereby religion was much propagated, and the people taught obedience.

The king being fallen into want of money, commiſſions were ſent forth for ſelling of chantry lands, and church-jewels; chalices, &c. by purchaſing whereof many mean perſons were advanced to great eſtates, whereby they left their poſterity ranged amongſt the nobility of the land. But within a few years, moſt of them by the ſecret curſe of God, melted to nothing; and by improvidence or riot, conſumed all.

In the ſixth year of the king's reign, in April he fell ſick of the meaſles; yet, through God's mercy, in a ſhort time he recovered of the ſame. Not long after, he fell ſick of the ſmall pox; which coming kindly forth was judged a means which would much conduce to his future health; and hereof alſo he recovered perfectly. And the Summer following, he rode his progreſs with a great train; but when he found that it was burdenſome to the country, he diſcharged greateſt part of it.

Soon after the king complained of a continual infirmity of body. About which time ſundry prodigies were ſeen; in Oxfordſhire, a child was born that had two bodies from the navel upward, which lived eighteen days, and then died both together. At Queenborough three great Dolphins were taken; preſently after ſix months more at Blackwall. At Graveſend three great fiſhes, called Whirlepools were taken.

In January, and the beginning of the ſeventh year of the king's reign, his ſickneſs encreaſed upon him, attended with a ſtrong cough; and, notwithſtanding all means and remedies uſed, yet it daily encreaſed by dangerous degrees. He had alſo a great faintneſs, which ſhewed that his vital parts were moſt ſtrongly and ſtrangely aſſaulted. And the common report was, that his ſickneſs proceeded from a ſlow working poiſon. His ſickneſs was much lamented, not only by his own people, but by ſtrangers, his courteſy and wiſdom having procured him much love every where. He was famous for his fore-ſight and

and judgment in affairs; and he so well tempered the greatness of his estate with modesty and gravity, that he avoided envy by the one, and contempt by the other.

In the time of his sickness, Dr Ridley preaching before him, in his sermon much commended works of charity, which as they were a duty for all men to perform, so more especially for those which were in great abilities, as for that they were obliged to give example thereby unto others.

The same day after dinner, the king sent for him into his gallery, caused him to sit in a chair by him, would not suffer him to be uncovered; and then after courteous thanks for his sermon, he repeated all the principal points of it, and then added, 'I took myself to be chiefly touched by your speech: for as in the kingdom I am next under God, so must I most nearly approach to him in goodness and mercy. For as our miseries stand most in need of help from him, so are we the greatest debtors; and therefore as you have given me this general exhortation, so direct me I entreat you by what particular act I may best discharge my duty.' The bishop partly astonished, and partly overjoyed with these speeches was silent for a time; at last, tears and words breaking forth together, he declared to the king, that as he little expected such a question, so was he not furnished with a present answer; but said withal, that he conceived the citizens of London had best experience, as overburdened with multitudes of persons of their own and from all parts of the kingdom, and therefore if his majesty pleased to afford his letter to that effect, he would confer with them, and in short time return their answer.

The king immediately caused the letter to be written, which, before the bishop he signed and sealed, and enjoined him to be the messenger, who, going to the Lord Major with it, he called certain Aldermen, and four and twenty commissioners, who ranked the poor into three sorts. such as were poor by impotency of nature, as or phans, decrepit persons, ideots and criples: others by fa culty, as w unded soldiers, diseased, &c. Thirdly, Such as were poor by idleness unthriftiness, &c. The first, to be educated and maintained: the second to be cured and relieved: the third to be corrected and reduced to good order: which being presented to the king, he gave to the city, for education and maintenance of the first, the Gray-Friers Church by Newgate Market, with all the revenues belonging to it: to the second, St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield: for the third, his house at Bridewell: and for encrease of maintenance to these, besides the Hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, he gave seven hundred and fifty merks yearly out of the rents of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, or the Savoy, with all the bedding and furniture belonging to that place: and the charter of this gift being presented to him with a blank for lands in Mortmaine, he presently filled it up with these words, 'Four thousand merks by the year:' which being done, with reverend gesture and speech, he thanked God for prolonging his life to finish that business. The king's sickness daily encreased, and so did the duke of Northumberland's diligence about him: poison was strongly suspected, for his physicians discovered an invincible malignity in his disease, which though in the lungs, a part of no quick sense, yet his sickness grew very extreme. The people did here upon break forth immoderately into passion, complaining that for this cause his two uncles had been taken away: for this cause the most faithful of the nobility and council had been disgraced and discarded, and that for this cause such were placed about him as were ready to commit or permit any mischief.

Yet at this time the Lord Guilford, fourth son to the Duke of Northumberland was married to the Lady Jane, eldest daughter to the Duke of Summerset, by Frances daughter to Mary, second sister to Henry the eight: and albeit this Lady Jane had no right to the crown, for she was excluded by the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, by the line of Lady Margaret, eldest sister to Henry the eighth, married into Scotland, and by Frances this Lady Jane's mother, now living: yet Northumberland blinded with pride, procured the king by his letters patents under the broad seal, to appoint the Lady Jane to succeed him in the kingdom: and this the king did the more easily assent to, partly in regard of his great desire to have the reformed religion continued; which he suspected would be altered by the Lady Mary: if she succeeded, and he could not leave the crown to the Lady Elizabeth excluding Lady Mary: and partly, by reason of that entire love which he bare to his cousin Jane, a woman of most rare and incomparable perfections, not only for her religion, but for her knowlege of the liberal arts, skill in languages, wherein she exceeded all of her sex: these letters were signed by the king when he was very weak, and then by all the privy councilors: by most of the nobility, bishops, judges, (except Sir James Holles), and by the king's learned council.

Thus the duke having, as he thought, secured all, nothing remained but to dispatch the king. His disease was violent, yet the physicians had some hope of his recovery, if he might be removed into an healthfuller air; but this the duke over awing the council, would not suffer: then a gentlewoman was brought, who would undertake to cure him, the king's physician talking with her, and finding her extreme ignorant, would not consent that she should meddle with him; yet the duke caused them to be discharged, and the cure to be committed to her alone; hereupon she administring something to him, the king fell into desperate extreamities, his vital parts were mortally stuffed, he breathed with difficulty, his legs swelled, his pulse failed, his skin changed colour, and many other symptoms appeared: then were the physicians called again, who seeing how he was, departed with a sad silence: telling their friends, that they were called for fashion sake, but neither their advice nor remedies used. And that the king had been ill dealt with more than once: so the king having long wrestled with a lingering tormenting sickness, about three hours before his death, his eyes being closed, thinking that none heard him, made this godly Prayer.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me amongst thy chosen; howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done; Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. Oh, Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosens sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee; O my Lord God, bless thy people and save thine inheritance: O my Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake." Then turning his face, and seeing some by, he said unto them, 'Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off.' With great patience he endured his pains. Many fervent prayers he made, both for himself and this realm; the last words he spake were these, 'I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit; and so he spent his last breath in committing his sweet soul into his Father's hands. And thus this blessed king, our young Josias died, *Anno Christi* 1553, of his age the seventeenth, and of his reign the seventh.

His zeal for religion doth eminently appear in this example, the emperor Charles the fifth sent a request to the king and council, to permit the lady Mary to have mass in her house; the council thinking it fit to gratify the emperor, sent archbishop Cranmer, and bishop Ridley to the king to request his consent thereto; who coming to the king, alledged their reasons, why they desired it of him: which the king having heard, replied again from Scripture grounds so gravely and fully, that they were forced to give way to what he had said, granting it to be true: yet upon politic grounds, they persuaded him to it, because else it might cause a breach with the emperor, &c. Unto which the king replied, willing them to content themselves, for he would, he said, spend his life and all he had, rather than to grant that which he knew certainly to be against the truth.

Yet still the bishops pressed him, and would have no nay; then the good king seeing their importunity, burst out into bitter weeping, and sobbing, and desired them to be content; whereat the bishops themselves seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and so took their leave of him, and coming from the archbishop took his school master Mr Cheek by the hand, and said, 'Ah master Cheek, you have such a scholar, that hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in our bodies.' He read over Melancthon's common places; all Tullies works; the greatest part of Livies history; the choicest orations of

Socrates

Socrates in Greek, of which he tranſlated two into Latin; Sophocle's tragedies, and the New Teſtament in Greek alſo.

The learned Cardane made this Epitaph on him.

Flete Neſas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales: veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, juvenum flos, ſpeſq; bonorum,
Dilicie ſecli, et gloria gentis erat..
Dignus Apolloniis lachrymis, doctaq: Minerva:
Hoſcuius heu miſero concidit ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus, muſæ ſupremaque flentes
Munera meipomene triſtia fata canunt..

The Life of Queen ELIZABETH *who died* Anno Chriſti, 1602.

KING HENRY the eight being divorced from Katharine of Spain, who was his brother Arthur's widow, married the lady Anne Bullen, a godly, virtuous, and charitable woman, who was delivered of this lady, Sep. 7. *Anno Chriſti* 1533. whoſe godfather was archbiſhop Cranmer, and her godmothers were the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, and the old marchioneſs of Dorſet. She was brought up in the proteſtant religion from her childhood, and had for her ſchool maſter, Mr Aſcham, who inſtructed her in the knowlege of the tongues and arts; and under whom ſhe profited very much in learning. During all the reign of her father king Henry, and of her brother king Edward, ſhe lived in a princely faſhion: but under the reign of her ſiſter queen Mary, ſhe met with ſo many afflictions, that ſhe well deſerved the title of Elizabeth the confeſſor. Yet thoſe very afflictions, through God's goodneſs, did her ſo much good, that it's hard to ſay, whether ſhe were more happy in having a crown ſo ſoon, or in having it no ſooner, till affliction had firſt laid in her a low and therfore a ſure foundation of humility, for highneſs to be afterwards built upon. By which means ſhe was ſo ripened for her future rule and ſovereignty, that pope Sixtus the fifth profeſſed, that amongſt all the princes in Chriſtendom, he found but two which were worthy to bear command, if they had not been ſtained with hereſy, viz. Henry the fourth king of France, and Elizabeth, queen of England. But as in order of time her ſufferings preceded her ſovereignity; ſo that we will firſt ſet them down to the view of the reader,

When queen Mary came firſt to the crown, ſhe pretended much love to her ſiſter, the lady Elizabeth; for before ſhe was crowned, ſhe would go no whither, but ſhe would have her by the hand and ſend for her to dinner and ſupper; but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe kept her aloof from her: and ſhortly after upon the riſing of ſir Thomas Wyat, ſhe with the lord Courtney, were falſely charged to have a hand in it; whereupon the lady Mary ſent three of her councellors, with two hundred and fifty horſemen of their retinue to her, then lying at her houſe at Aſhbridge, who found her very ſick in bed, and very feeble and weak of body; yet they going up to her chamber, willed one of her ladies to tell her, that they were ſent to her with a meſſage from the queen.

Her grace being told of it, ſaid ſhe was glad of their coming, howbeit being very weak and it now ten o'clock at night, ſhe requeſted them to come again to her the next morning; to which they replyed, that they muſt needs ſee her, and would do it in what caſe ſoever ſhe were, and withal haſtily ruſhed into her chamber, whereupon ſhe being not a little amazed, ſaid unto them, 'Is the haſt ſuch that it might not have pleaſed you to have ſtaid till the morning,' they anſwered, that they were ſorry to ſee her in that caſe: and I (ſaid ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of night; they ſaid that they came from the queen, whoſe pleaſure it was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the ſeventh of that month; whereunto ſhe ſaid, 'Truly there is no creature more glad than I to come to her majeſty, and am ſorry that at this time I am not in caſe to wait on her, as you ſee, and may teſtify:' They ſaid, they were ſorry to ſee it: yet their commiſſion was to bring her either quick or dead; ſhe being troubled at this, aſked, if their commiſſion was ſo ſtrict; they ſaid yea, and withal called two phyſicians, aſking them if ſhe might be removed with life, or no? which they affirmed that ſhe might in their judgment; thereupon they willed her to prepare againſt next morning at nine o'clock to go with them; and accordingly at that time they took her forth, faint and feeble as ſhe was, being ready to ſwoon three or four times between them. That night they brought her to Redburn, where ſhe was guarded all night; the next day to St. Albans, where ſhe was both feeble in body, and comfortleſs in mind. From thence to Mimmes, and Highgate, where ſhe being very ſick, they tarried that night and the next day.

From thence ſhe was carried to the court, many people by the way flocking about her, and being very ſorry to ſee her in that caſe. At court ſhe was preſently ſhut up, and kept a cloſe priſoner for a fortnight, ſeeing no friend all that time. Then came Steven Gardiner, with nineteen more of the privy council, charging her with Wyat's conſpiracy, which ſhe utterly denied, proteſting her innocency. But after long debating of the buſineſs, they told her it was the queen's pleaſure, ſhe ſhould go to the tower. At which ſhe being agaſt, ſaid, ſhe truſted the queen would be more gracious to her; ſtill proteſting her innocency, and entreating them to mediate for her to the queen, that ſeeing ſhe was a true woman to her majeſty, both in thought, word and deed, ſhe might not be committed to ſo notorious and doleful a place; proteſting that ſhe deſired no favour, if ſhe were found guilty of theſe things. But the lords told her, there was no remedy, for that the queen was fully reſolved that ſhe ſhould go to the Tower, and ſo they departed.

And about an hour after, came Steven Gardiner again with three other of the lords, and the guard, ſecluding all her gentlemen, ladies and gentlewomen from her; and in ſtead of them, appointed three of the queen's men, and three other waiting women to attend her, that none ſhould have acceſs to her grace. They ſet alſo an hundred northern ſoldiers to watch in the gardens all night, and two lords with their companies in the houſe. The Saturday following came two lords to her, telling her, that ſhe muſt preſently go to the Tower, the barge being ready, and the tide ſerving, which would tarry for no body.

Hereupon ſhe with ſorrow entreated them, that ſhe might ſtay but till the next tide; but one of them anſwered, that neither time nor tide muſt be delayed. Then ſhe requeſted, that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the queen before ſhe went; but that alſo was denied her by one of them; but the other (the earl of Suſſex) kneeling down, ſaid, ſhe ſhould have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen, and bring her an anſwer, whatever came of it. And ſo the time and tide paſſed away; but they privately prepared all things for her going the next tide, which fell out at midnight; yet fearing leſt ſhe ſhould be taken away, they ſtayed till next day, and then theſe two lords came and told her, it was time for her to depart: ſhe bade them go before, and ſince there was no remedy, ſhe would follow, adding, that ſhe wondered what the nobility meant, to ſuffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for ſhe did not. She ſhot the bridge with ſome danger; the boat ſtriking upon the ground. When ſhe came to the Tower, ſhe refuſed to land at the traitor's ſtairs; neither could ſhe land, but ſhe muſt be over her ſhoes. But one of the lords ſaid, ſhe ſhould land there. Whereupon ſhe coming out of the barge, ſaid, 'Here lands as true a ſubject, being a priſoner, as ever landed at theſe ſtairs, and before thee, O God, I ſpeak it, having no friends but thee alone.

At her landing ſtood many warders, and others in order: what needs all this, ſaid ſhe? going a little further, ſhe ſat down on a cold ſtone to reſt herſelf; then the lieutenant ſaid, 'Madam, you ſit unwholſomly, you had beſt come out of the rain,' to whom ſhe anſwered, 'I had better ſit here than in a worſe place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me.' Hereupon her gentleman uſher wept; to whom ſhe ſaid, 'What mean you to uſe me ſo? I took you for my comfort, not thus to diſmay me, ſeeing I know my truth to be ſuch, that none ſhall have cauſe to weep for me." And ſo ſhe

went

went into prison; the doors were locked and bolted upon her, which much troubled her.

Then she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, that so no blustering storms might prevail against her.

Two days after, command came that she should have Mass said in her chamber. In the mean time there was much examining and racking of poor men, to force them to accuse her, that they might put her to death. And five days after came Steven Gardiner, with others of the council, and examined her very strictly about divers things: to whom she at last replied, 'My lords you do shift me very narrowly, but well I am assured you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all.'

About that time divers of her servants, having provided her diet, brought it into the Tower gate, where the rascally soldiers received it, which so grieved them, that they desired to speak with the lieutenant of the Tower, whom they beseeched, that they might not deliver her graces food to such desperate ruffians, but that they might carry it to her themselves; but he very churlishly refused, saying, a prisoner she is, and she shall be served as other prisoners are; they replied, that they expected more favour from him, and persuaded themselves that the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so; whereupon he sware by God, that if they either frowned or shrugged at him, he would set them where they should neither see sun nor moon.

Thus taking their leave, they prayed God to make him of a better mind to his mistress: having thus continued in prison for a month, she began to be sickly, whereupon she requested the lieutenant that she might have liberty to walk out a little, but he denying her that favour she requested, that she might at least walk in the queen's lodgings, but still he pretended that he durst not permit it; Well then, said she, 'If they be so strict, God comfort me.

The next day the lord Shandois came to her, and told her, that he had sued to the council for some liberty for her, and had at last obtained, that she might walk into those lodgings, provided, that the windows were kept shut, and that the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's women did attend her, for which she thanked him and made use of that little liberty; afterwards she had leave to walk into a little garden, the doors being locked upon her, and the prisoner on that side the house being strictly commanded not to speak, nor look out at windows, whilst she was there; for this she praised God, and was well contented with it.

During her imprisonment, a little boy four years old, a man's child in the tower, used sometimes to bring her some flowers, as he did to other prisoners: hereupon the boy was sent for and they promised him figgs and apples, and then asked him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth; he answered, every day.

Then they asked him, when he was with the lord of Devonshire, and what he sent by him to her grace; the boy said, I will go presently to him and know what he will send her; but upon this the lieutenant told him, he should be whipt, if he came any more at them; but, said the boy, I will carry my lady and mistress some more flowers: whereupon the child's father was commanded, that he should suffer him to go no more to their chambers.

The next day her grace walking in the garden, the boy peeped in at a hole, and said, mistress I must bring you no more flowers; whereat she smiled, apprehending what the reason was; this so angred the lieutenant, that he commanded his father to put him out of the Tower.

Shortly after the constable of the Tower was discharged, and Sir Hendry Benefield put into his place, who brought with him one hundred soldiers, with which she was much troubled, and asked, whither the lady Jane's husband was yet taken away, fearing that she should have died the same tragedy. Then she enquired, what this Sir Henry Benefield was, and whither if her secret murdering was required, he was a man of that conscience to do it done. They answered, they knew not what he was, but they were persuaded God would not suffer such wickedness. Well said she, God grant it: 'For thou O God canst mollify such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee, to hear me thy creature, which am thy servant, and at thy command, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain.

Shortly after, she was told by the lord Sandois, that she must be removed by the new guard, but he knew not whither, except to Woodstock. This much troubled her, desiring rather to stay there still, then to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. But he told her, there was no remedy: accordingly the Sabbath following, Sir Henry Benefield (being made her jailor) received her to his charge, with a company of Rake-helis for her guard. The lord of Tame also was joined in commission with him; the first night they carried her to Richmond, where her own attendance were removed into outward chambers, and these rude soldiers appointed to attend on her person.

Whereat she suspecting some mischief, called her usher, desiring him with the rest, to pray for her; for this night (quoth she) I think to die. But he with many tears endeavoured to comfort her; and going down into the court, he met the lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Benefield, walking there, and desiring to speak with the lord apart, he said to him, my lord, you have always been my good lord, and so I beseech you to remain; I now desire your honour unfeignedly to tell me, whither any mischief be intended to her grace this night, that I and my poor fellows may take such part as it shall please God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die than that she being innocent should secretly miscarry. Mary (said the lord) God forbid that any such wickedness should be wrought; and rather then it should be so, I and my men are ready to die at her feet also, And so thorough God's mercy she passed that doleful night with an heavy heart.

The next day, as she passed to Windsor, she spied some of her men standing the way to see her; whereupon she bade one about her to go to them, and to tell them, *tanquam ovis*, that she was led as a sheep to the slaughter.

From Windsor she was carried to Mr Dormers; and by the way some poor people presenting her with some small trifles, Sir Henry Benefield was exceeding angry, calling them rebels and traitors, &c.

As she passed through some towns, they rang the bells, which so angred Benefield, that he sent his soldiers for the ringers, and set them in the stocks.

The next night she went to the lord of Tames, where she was entertained in a very princely manner. At which Benefield grunted and grumbled, saying, that they could not answer it, &c. But the lord of Tame told him, that he knew what he did, and that her grace should be merry at his house.

The next day she went to Woodstock, where she was imprisoned closly, the soldiers guarding both within, and without the walls of the house day and night; at last she was allowed to walk into the garden, which much refreshed her, yet all the doors were strictly locked, Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, whereupon she called him her jailor, but he desired her not to call him so, but one of her officers, to whom she answered; 'From such officers good lord deliver me.' After a time she made suit to the council, that she might have leave to write to the queen, which at last was permitted, and Sir Henry Benefield brought her pen, ink, and paper, standing by whilst she wrote, and then requested that he might be the messenger to carry it; but she told him, she would send one of her own servants with it; whereupon he replied, that he thought none of them durst be so bold as to carry it, she being in that case; yea, said she, I have none so dishonest as not to go at my request.

Well, said he, my commission is to the contrary, and I may not suffer it. Her grace replied; you tell me oft of your commission, I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealing that you use towards me. Yet he stopt her letters four or five days, but at length sent for one of her gentlemen, and asked him, if he durst be so bold as to carry her letter. Yea, said he, that I dare, and will with all my heart; so with an ill will he gave him her letter.

She being ſickly the queen ſent two of her phyſicians to her, who ſtaid four or five days, till ſhe began to amend, and then returned, reporting well of her mild behaviour, and humbleneſs towards the queen. About which time ſhe was requeſted to ſubmit herſelf to the queen's majeſty; but ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would never ſubmit to them, whom ſhe had never offended, for ſaid ſhe, if I have offended, I have no mercy but the law, which had I been guilty of the breach of, I am ſure I ſhould have had it before this; about this time a conſultation being held what ſhould be done with her; one of the lords ſaid, that it would never be quiet with England, except her head were ſtricken off; whereunto the Spaniards anſwered: God forbid, that their king and maſter ſhould have a mind to conſent to that miſchief; and accordingly they perſuaded their king, that he ſhould never get ſo much honour as by delivering the lady Elizabeth out of priſon, which at length he effected.

Whilſt ſhe was at Woodſtock, her life was oft in danger, firſt by fire kindling under her chamber boards. which was verily ſuppoſed to be done on purpoſe, yet through God's mercy it was quenched; alſo a ruffian, that was one of the keepers, was ſuborned to murder her, which the lady alſo diſcovered, and prevented; alſo a darling of Steven Gardiner's was ſent to murder her, which was prevented by Sir Henry Bucfield's abſence, who had commanded his brother to let no man whatſoever to come to her till his return, Alſo whilſt ſhe was in the Tower, by Steven Gardiner's procurment, a writ was ſent for her execution, but the lieutenant preſently going to to the queen with it, the Lord was pleaſed in mercy thereby to prevent the execution of it. At her departure out of Woodſtock ſhe wrote with a diamond in the window.

Much ſuſpected of me,
Nothing proved can be,
Quoth Elizabeth priſoner.

Whilſt ſhe was there, hearing a milk maid in the park ſinging merrily, ſhe wiſhed herſelf a milk maid, ſaying, that her caſe was better, and life more merry than hers in that ſtate as ſhe was. When ſhe was ſent for from Woodſtock, ſhe was by Sir Henry Benefield carried in a tempeſtuous day to Ricot, by the way her hood was thrice blown off, and ſhe deſiring to go to a gentleman's houſe hard by, Benefield would not ſuffer her, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained under an hedge to trim her head as well as ſhe could; from thence ſhe was carried to Colebrook, and by the way ſome of her ſervants meeting of her, which had not ſeen her of a long time, they were not ſuffered to ſpeak with her, but were charged in the queen's name preſently to depart, to their mutual ſorrow; ſhe was ſtill ſurrounded and guarded with ſoldiers, and cloſe ſhut up in her chamber, as in a priſon.

From thence ſhe went to Hampton court, where for a fortnight ſhe was ſhut up, and guarded with ſoldiers as before. Then came to her the lord William Howard, who uſed her very honourably; whereupon ſhe requeſted him to be a means that ſhe might ſpeak with ſome of the privy council; and ſhortly after Steven Gardiner with ſome others of them came to her, to whom ſhe ſaid, 'My lords I am glad to ſee you, methinks I have been deſolately alone a great while: wherefore I deſire you to mediate to the king, and queen, that I may be delivered from priſon, &c.

Then Steven Gardiner requeſted her to ſubmit herſelf to the queen, and then he doubted not but ſhe would be good to her, to whom ſhe anſwered, that rather than ſhe would do ſo, ſhe would lie in priſon all the days of her life; for ſhe craved no mercy, but rather the law, in caſe ſhe had offended; for, 'ſaid ſhe, If I ſhould yield to this, I ſhould confeſs my ſelf to be an offender, and might give the king and queen occaſion to judge evil of me ever hereafter; and ſo the lords departed. The next day came Gardiner again, and told her, that the queen marvelled that ſhe carried herſelf ſo ſtoutly, not confeſſing that ſhe had offended; and therefore the queen had impriſoned her wrongfully; nay, ſaid ſhe, it may pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe ſees good; well, ſaid Gardiner, you muſt tell another tale before you be ſet at liberty; the good lady anſwered, that ſhe had as lieve be in priſon with truth and honeſty, as abroad and ſuſpected of her majeſty.

A week after the queen ſent for her at ten o'clock at night, whom ſhe had not ſeen of two years before, and ſo ſhe was conducted to the queen's bedchamber; when ſhe came in, ſhe kneeled down, and prayed God to preſerve her majeſty, not doubting but ſhe ſhould prove as true a ſubject to her as ever any did, deſiring her majeſty ſo to eſteem of her, for ſhe ſhould not find her otherwiſe, whatſoever report ſhe heard to the contrary: the queen anſwered, you will not confeſs your offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your truth; I pray God it may ſo fall out, if it do not, ſaid the lady Elizabeth, I neither deſire favour, nor pardon, &c. and ſo after ſuch like diſcourſe, ſhe was ſent away with little comfort from the queen; yet a week after ſhe was freed from Sir Henry Benefield her keeper, and his ſoldiers; whereupon ſhe went to refreſh her ſelf in the country; but the queen ſent with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of her councellors, who watched her narrowly all queen Mary's days; ſhortly after came ſome of the queen's ſervants, and carried one of her gentlewomen to the Fleet, and three others to the Tower, which much troubled her grace.

But it pleaſed God about this time to take away by a remarkable judgment that cruel perſecutor Steven Gardiner, whereby the life of this excellent princeſs was preſerved: and ſhortly after dropped away by degrees divers other of her enemies, whereby her danger decreaſed, and ſafety and comfort began to appear, as light out of a dark cloud.

At laſt alſo queen Mary died, at which time the parliament was ſitting at Weſtminſter; and the lords being informed of it, they communicated it to the commons, and ſo both joined together preſently in proclaiming Elizabeth queen of England, &c.

She was now about twenty-five years old, and by experience and adverſity had gotten wiſdom above her age. The next day after ſhe was proclaimed queen, ſhe came from Hatfield to London, and lodged at the charter-houſe; the next day ſhe went to the tower, and in her paſſage had divers ſpeeches made to her, and other expreſſions of her ſubjects joy, and if ever a perſon had the gift, or ſtill to win the hearts of the people, it was this queen; ſhe coupled mildneſs with majeſty, and ſtooped, yet in a ſtately manner, to the meaneſt ſort. All her faculties were in motion, and every motion ſeemed a well guided action. Her eye was ſet upon one, her ear liſtened to another, her judgment ran upon a third, to a fourth ſhe addreſſed her ſpeech. Her ſpirit ſeemed to be every where, and yet ſo intire in herſelf, that it ſeemed to be no where elſe. Some ſhe commended, ſome ſhe pitied, ſome ſhe thanked, contemning none, neglecting none; and generally calling forth ſuch courteous countenances, geſtures, and ſpeeches, that thereupon the people redoubled the teſtimonies of their joy, promiſing themſelves much happineſs under the government of ſuch a queen.

She was of ſtature tall, ſlender, ſtraight, and of an amiable countenance; her hair inclined to a pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, a ſeemly ſeat for princely grace; her eyes lively, her noſe ſomewhat riſing in the midſt; the whole compaſs of her countenance ſomewhat long, but yet of admirable beauty.

In life ſhe was moſt innocent, in deſires moderate, in purpoſe juſt, of ſpirit above credit, and almoſt above the capacity of her ſex; of a divine wit, as well for depth of judgment, as for quick conceit and ſpeedy expedition, very eloquent, of wonderful knowlege both in learning and affairs; ſkilful in Greek, Latin, and divers other foreign languages.

She was very religious, magnanimous, merciful, and juſt. She maintained juſtice at home, and armies abroad, with great wiſdom and authority. She deſired thoſe that repaired to her, if they would not be deceived in her, that they would not be the firſt to deceive themſelves; that they would not prejudice her by immoderate expectations and hopes, promiſing to themſelves out of a ſudden liking, more than was fit, or peradventure poſſible to be performed. And laſtly, that they would not raſhly judge of

of her actions, as being privy either to the occaſions or ends of them.

After ſome ſtay at the tower, ſhe removed to Somerſet-houſe. She continued all the counſellors left by the deceaſed queen; and to ballance them equally, being papiſts, ſhe choſe divers proteſtants to join with them; and knowing that ſudden alterations are dangerous, ſhe did by degrees aboliſh popery, and eſtabliſhed the reformed religion; then ſhe ſummoned a parliament. When ſhe took a coach in the tower, ſhe made a ſolemn thankſgiving unto God, who had delivered her no leſs mercifully, and mightily, from her impriſonment in that place, than Daniel from the lion's den, that had delivered her from thoſe dangers wherewith ſhe was environed and overwhelmed, to bring her to the joy and honour of that day.

As ſhe paſſed through the city, the recorder preſented her with a curious purſe, wherein were a thouſand merks in gold, deſiring that ſhe would be a gracious miſtreſs to the city: ſhe anſwered, That ſhe was bound ſo to be; not for their gold, but for their good wills: and that as they had expended treaſure to honour her, ſo ſhe would be ready not only to ſpend her treaſure, but the deareſt drops of her blood to maintain and increaſe their flouriſhing eſtate.

A child from a pageant let down in a ſilken lace, an Engliſh Bible richly covered to her; ſhe kiſſed her hands, took it, kiſt it, laid it to her breaſt, then held it up, thanking the city, eſpecially for that gift, and promiſing to be a diligent reader of it. She chearfully received roſegays, flowers, roſemary, from mean perſons.

The Sabbath following ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter; then ſhe appointed a public diſputation there, about matters of religion: but the popiſh diſputants ſhewed themſelves ſo croſs and froward in it, that it came to nothing.

King Philip hearing of the death of his wife queen Mary, he ſent an ambaſſador to propoſe his marriage with her, promiſing to get a diſpenſation from the pope. This much troubled her, conſidering his quality, and how much he had deſerved of her, and yet now ſhe muſt reject his ſuit: wherefore ſhe reſolved publicly to make profeſſion of her religion, and to haſten the reformation, as the only means to take him off.

In the parliament was enacted, That the lady Elizabeth was, and ought, both by the law of God, the common law of England, and the ſtatute law, to be the lawful and undoubted queen of England, &c. The ſacrament was appointed to be uſed in both kinds, and divers ſuch like laws for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant religion. Then ſhe concluded a peace with the French king.

The commons, by their ſpeaker, endeavoured to perſuade her to marriage, from many politic grounds: to whom ſhe anſwered, That at her coronation ſhe had ſolemnly, with a ring, eſpouſed herſelf to the kingdom: 'And (ſaid ſhe) every one of you, and every true Engliſhman, are my children and kinſmen: but if God ſhall diſpoſe, that I ſhall enter into another courſe of life, I promiſe you, that I will do nothing that ſhall be prejudicial to the common-wealth, &c. And to me it ſhall be full ſatisfaction, if when I have left my laſt breath, it be engraven on my tomb, 'Here lies ELIZABETH, which reigned a virgin, and died a virgin.'

By means of the alteration of religion this kingdom became the moſt free of all the kingdoms in Chriſtendom, the ſcepter being freed from ſervitude to the pope, and more wealthy than formerly, an infinite maſs of money being ſtaid at home, which was wont to be exported to Rome.

She oft uſed to ſay, That the common wealth might be in ſafety, ſhe was never without care. Her motto was, SEMPER EADEM, 'Always the ſame.' Her ſtudy was, as to reform, ſo to eſtabliſh the reformed religion. When foreign princes interceeded to her in the behalf of the papiſts, ſhe anſwered, That they muſt not expect from her ſuch things as ſhe could not grant with the ſafety of her kingdom, and without wrong to her own honour and conſcience.

The king of France, notwithſtanding his late made peace with her, yet levied great forces of horſe and foot, to be tranſported into Scotland; but whilſt he breathed out nothing but blood and ſlaughter againſt the proteſtants, by God's juſt hand his own blood was ſpilt, at the nuptial ſolemnities of his daughter and ſiſter.

About this time religion was reformed in Scotland, which the queen regent much impugned; and for that end made uſe of French ſoldiers to ſuppreſs the proteſtant nobility and others. Whereupon they ſued to queen Elizabeth for aid, and ſhe enquired into their ends which they propoſed, which they profeſſed were to advance the glory of Chriſt, and ſincere preaching of God's word, the rooting out of ſuperſtition and idolatry, and to preſerve their antient liberty againſt the oppreſſion of ſtrangers. After the queen had ſeriouſly conſidered all things, it was reſolved, That the profeſſors of the ſame religion were to be relieved, and the French to be driven out of Scotland. Hereupon the queen ſent Mr Winter with a fleet into Edinburgh Frith, who ſet upon the French ſhips of war, and upon one of their garriſons. And the duke of Norfolk was ſent to Berwick, unto whom reſorted many of the Scottiſh nobility, where many articles were agreed upon betwixt them. After which the queen ſent an army into Scotland, conſiſting of one thouſand two hundred horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, under the Lord Gray, a brave ſoldier. They firſt beſieged Leith; the French iſſued forth and ſkirmiſhed with them, but were beaten in again. The ſiege continuing, the king of France ſent to queen Elizabeth to treat of a peace, which at laſt was concluded, and proclaimed in the camp and town. Hereby the antient liberty of Scotland was retained, the dignity of England preſerved, and the Scottiſh proteſtants acknowleged our queen defendreſs of their happineſs.

Shortly after, the queen ſet forth a proclamation, whereby ſhe commanded the Anabaptiſts, and ſuch like heretics, which had flocked to the coaſt-towns of England from the parts beyond the ſea, (under colour of ſhunning perſecution, and thereby had ſpread their poiſonous opinions in England) to depart the realm within twenty days, upon pain of impriſonment, and loſs of goods.

The abby of Weſtminſter ſhe converted to a collegiate church, inſtituting, to God's glory, and the increaſe of good learning, a dean, twelve prebends, a ſchoolmaſter, uſher, and forty ſcholars, ſix whereof at leaſt are preferred to the univerſities yearly, twelve almſ-men, &c. Money which king Henry the eight had imbaſed ſhe reſtored to its juſt value.

In the year 1561, the Scottiſh queen deferred the confirmation of the above mentioned treaty; whereupon the queen ſent into Scotland, to exhort the nobility to mutual amity, which is firmly founded in the unity of religion.

Shortly after, the Scottiſh queen being now a widow, and in France, ſent to queen Elizabeth for leave to paſs into Scotland upon a ſafe conduct; which ſhe refuſed to grant, becauſe ſhe had not, according to her faith given, confirmed the afore-named treaty; but yet, in a great fogg, ſhe paſſed by the Engliſh ſhips, and ſo got into Scotland.

About this time the pope endeavoured to perſuade her to ſend ſome to the council of Trent, for the taking away of diſſentions in religion, &c. Whereunto ſhe anſwered, That ſhe heartily wiſhed for an œcumenical council, but to a popiſh council ſhe would not ſend; with the biſhop of Rome ſhe had nothing to do, whoſe authority was expelled out of England by conſent of her eſtates; neither belonged it to him, but to the emperor, to call councils, nor would ſhe acknowlege any greater authority in him, than in any other biſhop.

About this time the ſpire of Paul's ſteeple, which was five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare ſteeple, being framed of timber, and covered with lead, was ſet on fire by lightning; and in five hours ſpace it was quite conſumed, together with the roof of the church: but by the queen's bounty, and other large contributions, the roof was ſoon repaired again.

In the year 1562, the proteſtants in France being perſecuted, and oppreſſed by the popiſh party, ſent to the queen of England, deſiring aid from her: and after mature deliberation, ſhe took into her protection the French king's ſubjects in Normandy, contracting with the prince of Conde, and other noblemen, to pay them an hundred thouſand

thouſand angels, and to ſend them over into France ſix thouſand men. And the ſame day ſhe publiſhed a declaration, That ſhe ſent not her army into Normandy to recover the country which anciently belonged to the kings of England, but to preſerve it for the French king, being not yet of age, and to defend it againſt the Guiſes, who had exerciſed barbarous cruelties againſt the proteſtants, whom ſhe could not neglect, without betraying her own religion, ſecurity, and ſafety.

And ſhortly after ſhe ſent over forces under the earl of Warwick to New-haven; and the queen's ſhips ſcouring the ſeas, brought in many rich prizes.

In the year 1563, another parliament was holden at Weſtminſter; where, amongſt other good laws, it was ordained, that the Bible and ſervice ſhould be tranſlated into the Welſh tongue.

The year after, the queen in her progreſs went to Cambridge, where ſhe was entertained with all kinds of honour, and with comedies, tragedies, and ſcholaſtical diſputations: She ſurveyed every college, and in a Latin oration ſhe acknowleged their love and kindneſs, commending their multiplicity of learning, exhorting them to bend their whole minds and ſtudies to the improvement thereof, promiſing to be a patroneſs to them therein.

In the year 1566, ſhe went to Oxford alſo, where ſhe was magnificently entertained; there ſhe ſtaid ſeven days, being much delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the place, the beautifulneſs of the colleges, and the wits and excellent learning of the ſtudents. She gave them large thanks in a Latin oration, with ſingular ſweetneſs of ſpeech, and ſo bade them heartily farewel.

In the year 1568, ſome godly miniſters fought earneſtly for a reformation of our church, for aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, and for the ſettling of the preſbyterial government in this kingdom; but, by the power of the biſhops with the queen, they were impriſoned: yet had they many that concurred with them in that judgment, which, by the prelatical party, were branded with the odious name of Puritans.

About this time the queen of Scots fled into England, and, by the advice of the privy council, was here detained.

Alſo pope Pius Quintus ſuborned one Robert Ridolph, a Florentine, who had lived a factor in London a long time, to ſtir up the papiſts in England againſt queen Elizabeth, which he moſt zealouſly and cloſely perſecuted; yet the Lord prevented him. Alſo there was much underhand dealing, that the duke of Norfolk might marry the queen of Scots, and ſet her at liberty, whereupon ſhe was removed out of the north, being a popiſh country, to Tidbury caſtle, under the cuſtody of George earl of Shrewſbury.

Queen Elizabeth uſed great care for the ſafety of religion both at home and abroad: and whereas in France edicts were publiſhed, contrary to the former agreement, whereby the exerciſe of the reformed religion was utterly forbidden, the profeſſors of it removed from all public offices, and the miniſters of the word commanded to depart the realm by a day prefixed, our queen, by her ambaſſador Norris, earneſtly ſolicited the king of France, that a ſound and ſincere peace might be made, adviſing the king, that he would not by unſeaſonable remedies, increaſe his ſubjects minds; and that, above all things, he would beware of thoſe which, by rooting out his faithful ſubjects, ſought to weaken his kingdom, that it might become a prey to others: but when he would not hearken to her council, leaſt ſhe ſhould fail thoſe that were joined with her in one common cauſe, ſhe ſent one hundred thouſand angels, and ammunition for war to the proteſtants: ſhe alſo entertained courteouſly ſuch French proteſtants as fled into England, as alſo the Netherlanders, many of whom came hither alſo to withdraw themſelves from the cruelty of the duke de Alva, who breathed forth nothing but blood and death againſt them; and ſhortly after, picking a quarrel with our queen, he prohibited all commerce with the Engliſh, and commanded that nothing ſhould be brought in, or carried forth of the Netherlands by the Engliſh. He alſo appointed ſearchers, amongſt whom there was none ſo active as John ſtory an Engliſh fugitive, who had before conſulted with a magician againſt the queen's life, and had provoked the duke de Alva to invade England; but being allured with a wile into a ſhip, they preſently hoiſed ſail, and brought him hither, where he was afterwards executed for his treaſon.

About this time many rumors brake forth, that the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland (zealous papiſts) were raiſing a rebellion in the north; whereupon the queen ſent to them, to come up to London, and Northumberland was partly minded ſo to do, but his friends and followers beſeeched him, that he would not fail them, nor the religion of his fathers; telling him, that the catholics were prepared all over England to aſſiſt him; that ſome were coming out of Scotland, others out of the Netherlands, from the duke de Alva, to join with him: whereupon, he going to the earl of Weſtmoreland, they broke out into open rebellion, publiſhing theſe pretences: That they took arms with no other intent, but that the religion of their fore fathers might be reſtored, corrupt counſellors removed from the queen, the duke of Norfolk, and other knights that were put from their ranks, might be reſtored to liberty and grace; and that they attempted nothing againſt the queen, to whom they vowed themſelves now and ever dutiful and obedient ſubjects.

Their firſt march was to Durham, where they rent and trampled under feet Engliſh Bibles, in as great a contempt as Jehoiakim did Jeremiah's roll. At Darrington they beſprinkled the army with holy water, and at Rippon they heard maſs to forward their treaſon. Their enſign was the croſs, and five wounds of Chriſt. At Brampton-muir they muſtered a thouſand ſix hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, with which they fell upon Barnard's caſtle, which after eleven days ſiege was yielded to them; hereupon they were proclaimed traitors. The pope promiſed a hundred thouſand crowns to advance this deſign, but before they received the money, the earl of Suſſex, lieutenant general of the north, gathered ſome forces, and purſued them; whereupon the chief of them fled to Scotland, to the popiſh party there, not bidding their deluded followers farewel, who were preſently ſurprized without reſiſtance, and the ring leaders of them were executed by marſhal law. Yet preſently after Leonard Dacres began a new rebellion, and raiſed many to revenge their friends death; but the lord Hunſdon haſting againſt them, after a long and deſperate fight, put them to flight: Dacres eſcaped into Scotland, and left his followers to the law. Northumberland in Scotland was taken by the regent, impriſoned, and afterwards ſent into England, where (being attained by the parliament) he was beheaded at York. The earl of Weſtmoreland, by God's revenging hand, in the very time of his rebellion, was deprived of his children; and afterwards, wandering himſelf in ſtrange countries, had his body conſumed with venemous ulcers, whereof he died.

About that time, pope Pius Quintus, at the inſtance of Nicholas Morton, an Engliſh prieſt, ſent forth his bull againſt the queen, whereby he deprived her of all princely authority, as one uncapable of the crown or government. Then were his emiſſaries ſent forth, ſome plotters of invaſions, to lay our land waſte; others, conſpirators againſt her ſacred perſon. And the pope's bull was brought to London, and in the night time hung upon the gates of the biſhop's palace by Paul's.

Yet in the midſt of theſe broils at home, ſhe failed not to relieve the proteſtants of France, who were in a moſt diſtreſſed ſtate; and ſhe exhorted all the princes of the ſame profeſſion, to take upon them the defence of the common cauſe. The queen of Navarre ſhe ſupplied with money, taking jewels in pawn for it. She permitted Henry Champernoon to lead into France an hundred voluntary gentlemen upon horſe back, who were very ſerviceable to the proteſtant party. Not long after were executed Sherwin, Champion, and Kirby, for diſperſing and promoting the pope's bull againſt the queen. And Sanders, the pope's legate in Ireland to raiſe rebellion, fell mad, and wandered ſuccourleſs in the waſte mountains, whereby he miſerably died.

Then John Summervile of Ederſton, in Warwickſhire, came to the court, (provoked thereto by one Hall, a ſeminary prieſt) with a purpoſe to murder the queen; but God diſcovering

diſcovering his treaſon, he was committed to Newgate, where he deſperately hanged himſelf.

Many prieſts and Jeſuites repaired into England, in the guiſe of gallants, diſperſing themſelves, and endeavouring to withdraw the ſubjects from their allegiance; ſome of which were taken and executed, as Campion, &c.

Then Francis Throgmorton, ſolicited thereto by Mendoza the Spaniſh ambaſſador, undertook to ſound the haven for the enemy's entrance; to get a cataloge of all the popiſh gentlemen in every county, that would aſſiſt; but God diſcovering his treaſon, he was apprehended, and in his ſtudy the catalogue was found, and the haveas for landing, &c. for which he was worthily executed.

Then one William Parry (whoſe life the queen had formerly ſpared, when he was juſtly condemned for Burglary) vowed her death; and for this end he went to the queen, deſiring to ſpeak with her, and oft-times, after having weapon, place, preſence, and opportunity, intending reſolutely to kill her, was ever daunted when he beheld the glory of her preſence, and majeſty in her face. Yet afterwards, reading Allen's book, he was ſo fired with zeal, that he poſted to a gentleman whom he thought as diſcontented as himſelf, opening his treaſon for the bringing in of foreign invaders, and threatening with dag and dagger to kill the queen; but the gentleman revealing it to two privy counſellors, he was apprehended, and confeſſing his treaſon, was worthily executed. Hereupon her majeſty, in a parliament, openly profeſſed, that ſhe knew no creature breathing, whoſe life ſtood hourly in more peril than her own. And that even at her firſt entrance into her eſtate, ſhe entered into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wreſtle with many and mighty enemies; yet was ſhe confident of her heavenly Father's protection &c.

Shortly after, as ſhe was upon the Thames, in her barge, with the French ambaſſador, and ſome others, a ſerving man, with his caleiver, ſhot a bullet, which pierced both the arms of one of the watermen, within ſix foot of the queen, with which all in the barge were aſtoniſhed; but ſhe being undaunted, and ſeeing the man bleed, threw him her ſcarf, and, with words of comfort, bid him be of good cheer, he ſhould never want; for the bullet was aimed at her, though it hit him. Yet, afterwards, knowing that it was done caſually, ſhe both pardoned the party, and commanded his maſter to keep him ſtill in his ſervice.

She was of ſuch ſingular clemency, that ſhe never heard of the capital puniſhment of offenders, even of ſuch as had ſought her own death, but it bred horror and ſorrow in her; ſo that had not her counſellors earneſtly inculcated the neceſſity of ſuch exemplary juſtice, many dangerous attempts had eſcaped their due puniſhment, which moved her to ſay, that her reading of *Seneca de clementia* had done her much good; but ſome would perſuade her, it had done her ſtate as much harm.

Her love to her people in general, and tender care over the poorer ſort, and oppreſſed, was incomparable; her ears were always open to their complaints, and her hands open to receive their petitions; and her manner was, always to commend their cauſes to her council and judges, to whom ſhe uſed to ſay: 'Have care of my people, you have my place, do you to them that which I ought to do. They are my people, yet every one oppreſſeth and ſpoileth them without mercy; they can neither help themſelves, nor revenge their quarrel. See to them, I pray you, ſee to them; for they are my charge; them therefore I charge you with, as God hath committed them to me. I care not for myſelf, my life is not dear unto me; my care is for my people: you might diſcern that I take no great joy in wearing the crown,' &c.

In the year 1585, Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland was gone ſo far in diſloyal practices againſt her, that he was committed to the tower; whereby diſcharging a dagg, with three bullets, under his left pap, he pierced his heart, and preſently died.

Alſo, Philip earl of Arundel, and Sir John Perat, late deputy of Ireland, for plotting with Spain againſt the queen, were impriſoned in the tower; where, by courſe of nature, they ended their lives.

Then Anthony Babington, eſq; and thirteen more, whereof one was a ſeminary prieſt, conſpired againſt her, whereof ſeven of them undertook to murder her. They held intelligence alſo with foreign powers to invade the realm; and with many papiſts, in moſt parts of the kingdom. But the prieſt going to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Mendoza, to ſignify that all things were now ready, was ſuddenly apprehended and impriſoned: whereupon Babington and two others of them reſolved immediately to kill the queen; but (God protecting her) he was intercepted and impriſoned, from whence he eſcaped; and intending to fly the land, diſguiſed himſelf by diſcolouring his face and hands with walnut tree leaves; yet, through God's mercy, he was diſcovered, apprehended, and brought to the tower. The other conſpirators hereupon diſperſed themſelves, yet were met with, and examined, who confeſſed their treaſons, and were deſervedly condemned, and executed.

Then Stanley, an Engliſh fugitive, ſuborned Patrick Cullen, for thirty pounds to kill the queen; yet God diſcovering his treaſon, he was apprehended and executed. Then Roderick Lopez, a phyſician about her majeſty, was corrupted to give her poiſon in her phyſic, and for that end had a jewel of gold, garnithed with a great diamond, and large ruby given him, and fifty thouſand crowns promiſed when he ſhould effect it; but God's mercy brought to light the conſpiracy. So that Lopez coming with his poiſonous phyſic to the queen, ſhe told him, he muſt go to the lord treaſurer Cecil, who had more need of phyſic than ſhe; whereupon he went to him with all diligence, to whom the old man ſaid, what is your phyſic, Mr Doctor? a purge, ſaid Lopez. I think, ſaid the lord Cecil, I muſt be a phyſician to purge you; and ſo apprehended him for a traitor. Then other doctors examining the ingredients, eaſily found that the potion was poiſon; for which he ſuffered death at Tyburn, as he deſerved.

Then two other Engliſh fugitives, York and Williams, ſoldiers by profeſſion, and deſperate papiſts, were ſuborned to kill her, oaths of ſecrecy adminiſtred to them by a prieſt, who ſent them away with his bleſſing; they came unto England with a purpoſe to get entertainment with ſome great courtier to further their deſign, but their treaſon being found out, they were condemned, and died like traitors; then one Squire, who belonged to the queen's ſtable, was hired to poiſon the pummel of her ſaddle; and by a Jeſuit he was thus encouraged; 'God bleſs thee, and give thee ſtrength, my ſon, be of good courage, I pawn my ſoul for thine, and thou ſhalt have my prayers dead and alive:' and thereupon he delivered him the poiſon, directed him how to apply it; and afterwards the queen being to ride abroad, he preſſed out the poiſon upon the pummel of her ſadle a little before ſhe gat up, yet God's wonted and wonderful protection appeared; for though the ſeaſon was hot, and her veins and pores open to receive any malignant tainture, yet her body felt no diſtemper, nor her hand more hurt than Paul's did when he ſhaked off the venemous viper; then with the ſame poiſon he anointed the pummels of a wooden chair wherein the earl of Eſſex ſat, purpoſing to deſtroy him alſo; but the Lord prevented the operation, as he did to the queen. Hereupon the Jeſuit ſuſpecting Squire's falſehood, becauſe the act was not done, ſent information againſt him into England; whereupon he was committed to priſon, and examined, who confeſſing all, was worthily executed.

The duke of Norfolk, who was priſoner in the tower, about the queen of Scots, was, after trial, condemned and executed.

In the year 1572, the regent of Scotland ſent to her to crave aid, for the defence of the young king and country, endangered by civil broils; whereupon the queen ſent him a thouſand five hundred men, under Sir William Drury, who beſieged the caſtle of Edinburgh, held by ſome rebels, took it in; and ſo returned into England. The ſame year Sir Thomas Greſham built the royal exchange, for the commerce of merchants.

In the year 1577, Sir Francis Drake ſailed about the world, returning in the year 1580, to the great honour of the queen, and the Engliſh nation; being the firſt that ever attempted and performed ſuch an enterprize.

In the year 1583, the pope and king of Spain joined together,

together, to ſend men and money, under Thomas Stukely, into Ireland, to ſtir up rebellions there; but the Lord Gray, deputy of Ireland, quickly ſlew and took them priſoners. And Stukely, haunted with the furies of his own conſcience, died miſerably. Alſo, the earl of Deſmond, that had joined in the rebellion, wandering about in the woods, was at laſt ſlain by a common ſoldier.

About this time the ſtates of the low countries joining together to free themſelves from the Spaniſh tyranny, ſought to our queen to be their protectreſs. She permitted them to carry over many Engliſh volunteers, and promiſed to mediate peace betwixt them and the king of Spain, and ſo diſmiſſed them well ſatisfied; but preſently after Don John of Auſtria oppreſſing them, they ſued again to the queen, that by her means they might enjoy the ancient privileges of their provinces, and freedom of conſcience from the Spaniſh inquiſition; and by their lamentable complaints, they ſo prevailed with the pitiful queen, that ſhe ſent into Spain, to intreat the king to redreſs their grievances: but he, being deaf to that requeſt, and planting his garriſons very ſuſpitiouſly, ſhe agreed with the ſtates, and lent them an hundred thouſand pound for their relief.

In the year 1581, Francis Valois, the king of France's brother, came into England to woo our queen; but ſhe deſiring to do nothing that might grieve her ſubjects, after princely entertainment diſmiſſed him.

Shortly after, the prince of Orange being murdered, the ſtates ſued to her again for relief and protection, and her council, upon debate, reſolved, That for defence of the goſpel, and the profeſſors of it, her majeſty ought to accept of the offer, and thereupon ſhe undertook to be their defender, but would not take the title of ſovereign lady thereof, which they would have ſettled upon her and her heirs. Then was Sir John Norris ſent over with five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, at her majeſty's pay; for ſecurity whereof Fluſhing, Brill, and the Rame kins, were delivered to her majeſty's uſe.

In the year 1585, this king Philip of Spain took very ill, and publiſhed two falſe libels againſt her, whereunto ſhe returned a printed anſwer. Then Mendoza, the Spaniſh lieger ambaſſador, practiſed to bring in foreign forces for the invaſion of this land, but the Lord prevented him. Then the queen ſent Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, with a brave train, into the low countries, where he was joyfully and honourably entertained, and the ſtates took their oath to the queen. Leiceſter preſently attempted the taking in of Zutphen, where happened a fierce encounter between the Engliſh and Spaniards, in which the brave Sir Philip Sidney, as he changed his horſe, was ſhot with a muſket bullet above the knee, which ſo ſhattered the bone of his thigh, that he died thereof twenty five days after; yet the Engliſh took in a ſconſe near Zutphen, whereof Leiceſter made Rowland York governor, as alſo Sir William Stantley governor of Deventer, contrary to the mind of the ſtates; and theſe two men traiterouſly ſold the places to the Spaniards preſently after, which made the ſtates very jealous of the Engliſh.

Then was the earl of Lieceſter ſent for back into England; and about that time the queen of Scots was beheaded at Fotheringhay caſtle.

In Leiceſter's abſence, his officers and ſoldiers grew very unruly, whereupon the ſtates choſe Maurice of Naſſau their governor; yet Leiceſter returned into Holland; but the difference betwixt him and the ſtates growing higher, the queen cauſed him to reſign his government, and return for England.

In 1588, the Spaniard prepared for to invade England, yet held a treaty for peace, the better to make the queen ſecure. His preparations were extraordinary, as may appear by this liſt of his navy.

The admiral galleon of St Martins, of 1000 tun, 177 mariners, 300 ſoldiers, 50 cannon, &c.

Galleon of St Johns, of 1070 tun, 160 mariners, 231 ſoldiers, 50 cannon, &c.

Galleon of St Mark, of 792 tun, 117 mariners, 292 ſoldiers, &c.

Galleon of St Philip, of 800 tun, 117 mariners, 415 ſoldiers, 40 pieces of artillery.

Galleon of St Lewis, of 830 tun, 116 mariners, 376 ſoldiers, 40 guns.

Galleon of St Matthew, of 750 tun, 50 mariners, 177 ſoldiers, 40 guns.

Galleon of St James, of 520 tun, 100 mariners, 300 ſoldiers, 30 guns.

Galleon of Florence, of 961 tun, 100 mariners, 300 ſoldiers, 52 guns.

Galleon of St Chriſtopher, of 352 tun, 90 mariners, 300 ſoldiers, 30 guns.

Galleon of St Bernard, of 352 tun, 100 mariners, 280 ſoldiers, 30 guns.

1 Zabra, of 166 tun, 55 mariners, 55 ſoldiers, 13 guns.

2 Zabra, of 166 tun, 50 mariners, 60 ſoldiers, &c.

Ship of St Angel, of 768 tun, 114 mariners, 323 ſoldiers, 30 cannon.

The Gaugrin, of 1160 tun, 100 mariners, 300 ſoldiers, 36 cannon.

St James, of 660 tun, 102 mariners, 250 ſoldiers, 30 guns.

1 Conception, of 468 tun, 70 mariners, 100 ſoldiers, 20 cannon.

2 Conception, of 418 tun, 70 mariners, 164 ſoldiers, 24 guns.

Magdalen, of 330 tun, 70 mariners, 200 ſoldiers, 22 guns.

St John, of 350 tun, 80 mariners, 130 ſoldiers, 24 guns.

Mary, of 165 tun, 100 mariners, 180 ſoldiers, 24 guns.

Manuel, of 520 tun, 54 mariners, 130 ſoldiers, 16 guns.

Mary, of 707 tun, 50 mariners, 220 ſoldiers, 30 guns; beſides divers others.

They had in all 130 ſhips, of 57808 tun, 8450 mariners, 19295 ſoldiers, 2088 ſlaves, 2630 cannon, 7000 muſkets, 10000 halberts and partizans, 100000 quintals of biſcuits, 147000 pipes of wine, 6500 quintals of bacon, 3000 quintals of cheeſe; beſides fiſh, rice, beans, peaſe, oil, vinegar, &c. 12000 pipes of freſh water. The army coſt every day 30000 ducats. The general was the duke of Mdina Sidonia. There were in it 100 friars, phyſicians, chirurgeons, apothecaries, and 24 noblemen volunteers.

This navy was by them ſtiled, *The invincible Armado*, and had the bleſſing of the pope along with it. The queen firſt appointed general faſting and prayer publicly through the land: then to encounter with it, ſhe ſent forth, under Charles Howard lord admiral, and under Sir Francis Drake, vice admiral, a hundred ſhips; as alſo forty little ſhips, under Henry lord Seymer, lay about Dover, as the former lay at Plymouth. In all our fleet were but three and twenty of the queen's great ſhips, the reſt were little ones.

The prince of Parma, in the Netherlands, was to join with the Spaniſh navy, and had prepared for that end two hundred and ten bands of old ſoldiers, a hundred in each band, and four thouſand nine hundred horſe for land ſervice.

In the Engliſh fleet were but twelve thouſand mariners and ſoldiers.

July 20. 1588, the Spaniſh navy came within ſight of England; and they were ſo confident of ſucceſs, that they ſpared for no coſt, intending that England ſhould pay the reckoning. Beſides what was mentioned before, they had 220000 great ſhot; of powder 4200 quintals, every quintal containing an hundred weight; of lead for bullets, 1000 quintals; of match, 1200 quintals; with murdering pieces, double cannons for battery, field-pieces for the camp, with ſtore of furniture for carriages, mules, and horſes. They had ſtore of torches, hides, and lead, to ſtop leakes, whips, and butchering knives. The army in all was thirty-two thouſand ſtrong. The prince of Parma provided ſeventy flat-bottomed boats, every one able to bear thirty horſes for tranſportation, with bridges ready made to ſhip and unſhip them; ſtore of piles, ſharpened at the end, with iron pikes, to pile up the mouths of rivers; twenty thouſand empty caſks, with cords and other furniture, fit to make floating-bridges, to ſtop up havens, &c.

Towards

Towards this expedition the pope ſent out his Cruſado, and contributed a million of gold. Our queen, beſides her navy, prepared a land army under the earl of Leiceſter lieutenant general, which met at Till burry in Eſſex, conſiſting of twenty two thouſand foot, and one thouſand five hundred horſe. Herſelf, like another Deborah, was general of the army.

The firſt of the Spaniſh ships which fell into our hands was a great galleon, which having loſt her foremaſt, lagged behind the reſt; whereupon Drake ſent to command them to yield, otherwiſe his bullets ſhould force them to it; but Valdez anſwered, that they were 450 ſtrong, and himſelf Don Pedro, and therefore expected honourable conditions. Drake replied, That he had no leiſure to parly; if they would yield preſently, do it; otherwiſe they ſhould prove that Drake was no daſtard. As ſoon as they heard that terrible name of Drake, they preſently yielded; in the ſhip they found fifty-five thouſand ducats, which they ſhared merrily amongſt them.

Whilſt the Armado lay at anchor near Cailis, the Engliſh emptied eight ſhips, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimſtone, &c. which in the night they let drive with the wind towards the Spaniſh fleet, which ſo frighted them with horrible fear, leſt their ſhips ſhould be fired, that they cut their cables, and fled in ſuch haſte and confuſion, that their greateſt Galliaſſe fell foul on another ſhip, whereby ſhe was taken by the Engliſh, and in her a rich booty.

In brief, God fighting from Heaven by the winds againſt them, and proſpering the Engliſh in their little nimble ſhips, this invincible Armado was ſo ſhattered, torn, diſperſed, &c. that there came ſhort home eighty one of their ſhips, and thirteen thouſand five hundred and odd of their men. So that there was no famous and great family in all Spain, which in this expedition loſt not a ſon, brother or kinſman; hereupon this religious queen cauſed public thankſgiving to be celebrated to the Lord of hoſts.

Concerning this wonderful deliverance, Mr Samuel Ward made theſe verſes.

Octogeſimus, Octavus, Mirabilis annus,
Clande Papiſſarum, fauſtus ubique piis.

'In Eighty-eight, Spain arm'd with potent might,
Againſt our peaceful land came on to fight.
The winds, and waves, and fire in one conſpire
To help the Engliſh, fruſtrate Spain's deſire.'

Queen Elizabeth's fame was ſo advanced hereby, that Don Antonio, the expulſed king of Portugal, came to her for relief, who granted it to him.

Shorty after the king of France, Henry the third, being murdered by a Jacobin frier, the Guiſian faction leagued together to keep out Henry of Bourbon, king of Navar, and next heir to the crown of France, from ſucceeding in that kingdom, becauſe he was a proteſtant: hereupon he craved aid of our queen to ſettle him in his throne, which ſhe granted in reſpect of the common cauſe of religion, and firſt ſent him over two thouſand pounds in money, arms, ammunition, &c. Then ſhe ſent him ſome ſhips: then a brave army under the Lord Willoughby, then three thouſand foot under Sir John Norris: then another army under the Earl of Eſſex; all which ſtood him in great ſtead, and much forwarded his advancement to the crown.

Afterwards ſhe prepared, and ſent forth a gallant fleet under the command of the Lord Admiral Howard for the ſea, and the Earl of Eſſex for the land ſervice: ſhe alſo publiſhed a declaration of the occaſion, viz. becauſe ſhe heard of the great preparation which the king of Spain made for a ſecond invaſion of her land. and when it was ready to ſet ſail, ſhe made this prayer. "Moſt omnipotent maker and guider of the world's maſs, that only ſearcheſt and fathomeſt the bottom of our hearts, &c. and in them ſeeſt the true originals of all our actions intended: thou, that by thy foreſight doſt truly diſcern how no malice of revenge, nor requital of injury, nor deſire of bloodſhed, nor greedineſs of gain, hath bred that reſolution of our ſetting forth this army, but a heedful care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over-ſurety of Heaven, might breed either danger to us or glory to them: thoſe being our true grounds, we humbly beſeech thee with bended knees, proſper the work, and with beſt fore-winds guide the journey, ſpeed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame and ſurety to the realm with the leaſt loſs of the Engliſh blood. to theſe devout petitions, Lord give thou thy bleſſed grant, &c."

The fleet, according to her prayer, ſailed with a proſperous wind to Cadiz, in whoſe haven lay ninety ſail of ſhips, and twenty gallies: five of them of thoſe which they called the King's twelve apoſtles: theſe were richly laden with ammunition, money, oil, wax, ſilk, cloth of gold, quickſilver, &c. with theſe our navy fought, beat them, then landed, aſſaulted the city, and took it: then the general made a proclamation, that none on pain of death, ſhould offer violence to any religious perſon, woman, or child: the ladies and gentlewomen were ſent away with their richeſt jewels and apparel: the ſpoil was given to the ſoldiers, and the citizens paid one hundred and twenty thouſand ducates for their ranſom. The navy of the Spaniards valued by themſelves at twelve millions of ducates, was ſunk, burden or taken: our Engliſh ſoldiers were much enriched by this enterprize: then they marched up into the country without reſiſtance, took many booties, and then returned to their ſhips, and ſo through God's mercy in ſafety to Plimouth.

Anno 1497, the Earl Eſſex was again ſent forth with a brave fleet, with which he went to the Spaniſh iſlands, where he did great ſpoil, took rich prizes, and returned laden with honour and treaſure.

After this, the king of Denmark ſent ambaſſadors to mediate peace between England and Spain, whom ſhe anſwered, and concluded thus; 'I would have the king of Denmark, and all princes, Chriſtian and Heathen, know, that England hath no need to crave peace; nor myſelf endured one hour's fear ſince I attained the crown thereof, being (through God's mercy) guarded with ſo valiant and faithful ſubjects.'

In the year 1600, Tir-Owen and others rebelling in Ireland, were much encouraged by the pope; and the king of Spain ſent John de Aquila into Ireland, with two thouſand old trained ſoldiers to join with them, who landed at Kinſale in Munſter; and after came a new ſupply under Don Alphonſe, who was himſelf taken priſoner, and many of his Spaniards ſlain at his firſt landing, and Don John ſo cloſely beſieged, that he was glad to ſue for peace, and, upon articles, to ſurrender all he had, and ſo to return home again.

Finally, God intending to advance this nation under her government, as ſhe had been careful to advance his glory, and the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe proſpered in every thing both at home and abroad. The great affairs of Europe chiefly depended upon her directions, who, ſitting at the helm, arbitrated and guided their eſtates, both in peace and war.

Spain, ſeeking to overflow all, was by her beaten back, and ſcarcely able to maintain his own banks. In France, the houſe of Valois was underpropped by her council; and that of Bourbon advanced by her countenance, forces, and treaſure. Scotland relieved by her love; Netherlands by her power; Portugal's king by her bounty; Poland by her commiſſeration: and Germany, Denmark, Swedeland, often took up and laid down arms at her beck.

She extended her trade and fame into Ruſſia, Aſia, Africa, America; was highly honoured by the Great Turk, Perſians, Barbarians, Indians. She had wariors like to the worthies of David, renowned captains for ſea and land. By a powerful navy ſhe attained the ſovereignty of the ſea.

Her temperance was ſuch, that her brother king Edward uſually called her, his ſiſter temperance. She was famous for piety, juſtice, and clemency. Her court was an academy of honourable counſellors, illuſtrious peers, gallant courtiers, learned profeſſors, intelligent ſtatiſts, and a ſanctuary where the meaneſt might find refuge. As ſhe was learned, ſo ſhe took much pains to improve her learning, by reading over authors in their originals, whereby ſhe was able to anſwer the ambaſſadors of moſt nations in their

their own language; she (with Titus) thought that day loſt wherein ſhe either did not, or received not ſome good; ſo that laying aſide her great affairs, ſhe ſpent ſome hours every day in reading, or hearing learned readers.

But above all, her piety was moſt remarkable; for the ſacred Scriptures were her greateſt delight, wherein ſhe read often and heard them frequently preached, to which ſhe attended with much reverence, and the pious fruits thereof ſhined brightly in the whole courſe, as well of her private life, as of her public actions: prayer, ſobriety, purity charity and chaſtity, were her inſeparable companions, never ſuffering any lady to approach her preſence, of whoſe ſtain ſhe had but the leaſt ſuſpicion. The diſtreſſed ſhe relieved, the oppreſſed ſhe ſuccoured, the over-born princes ſhe aided, the proud ſhe amated, and always over-maſtered, through God's aſſiſtance, to her laſting memory, and England's glory.

Her zeal to God appeared in preſerving his true church and worſhip from the pollutions of idolatry: her kingdom and court was a ſanctuary to baniſhed proteſtants and perſecuted Chriſtians, ſo that by foreign churches her loſe was much lamented, and ſhe was ſtiled the nurſing mother of the French, Dutch, and Italian exiles for Chriſt's name, and the unconquered defendreſs of the whole true Chriſtian religion.

Her laſt ſickneſs was accompanied with a deep melancholy; wherein as ſhe gave ſigns of death to her phyſicians, ſo great aſſurance of eternal life to thoſe godly divines that were about her, manifeſting by her fervent prayers, and by lively ſigns at their prayers and ſpeeches, how ſhe rejoiced with the apoſtle, 'That ſhe had fought a good fight, finiſhed her courſe, and kept the faith, hoping for the crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous judge had laid up for her againſt that day.' And ſo ſhe reſigned up her bleſſed ſoul into the hands of her faithful Creator, and merciful Redeemer, March 24. *Anno Chriſti* 1602. of her age threeſcore and nine, ſix months and ſeventeen days, and of her reign four and forty. She was as well beloved, and her death as much lamented, as ever any prince was.

King James erected for her a princely monument, whereon he cauſed to be inſcribed this Epitaph.

Sacred unto Memory.

'REligion to its primitive ſincerity reſtored, peace throughly ſettled; coin to the true value refined; rebellion at home extinguiſh; France near ruin by inteſtine miſchiefs, relieved; Netherlands ſupported; Spain's armado vanquiſhed: Ireland with Spaniards expulſion, and traitors coercion quieted; both univerſities revenues by a law of proviſion, exceedingly augmented; finally all England enriched; and five and forty years moſt prudently governed. Elizabeth, a Queen, a conqueroſs; a triumpher; the moſt devoted to piety; the moſt happy after ſeventy years of her life, quietly by death departed, hath left here (in this moſt famous Collegiate church, which by her was eſtabliſhed, and refounded) theſe remains of her mortality, until at Chriſt's call they ſhall again ariſe immortal, &c.'

By her abſtinence from wine, and moſt temperate diet, ſhe had preſerved her health till her very latter end. A little before her death, ſhe cauſed that ring wherewith at her inauguration ſhe was, as it were, married to her kingdom, and which ſhe had never after taken off, to be filed of her finger, ſhe had a good vein in poetry. In the time of her ſiſters reign, when a popiſh prieſt preſſed her hard to declare her opinion of Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, ſhe truly and warily anſwered him thus.

'Twas God the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe, and take it.

And at another time, a little before the Spaniſh invaſion in eighty eight, the Spaniſh ambaſſador ſumming up his maſter's demands thus in verſe;

Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas;
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc reſtituentur oportet;
Quas Pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas,
Religio Papæ fac reſtituatur ad unguem.
Theſe to you are our commands
Send no help to the Netherlands.
Of the treaſure took by Drake
Reſtitution you muſt make.
And thoſe abbies built anew
Which your father overthrew,
If for any peace you hope,
In all points reſtore the Pope.

Our Queen *ex tempore* returned him this anſwer,

Ad Græcas, bone rex, fient mandata Calendas:

Know, O great king that this your will
At latter Lammas we'll fulfill.

Concerning that wonderful deliverance that God gave to our queen and kingdom from the Spaniſh invaſion in eighty eight, the learned and acute Beza made theſe verſes.

Straverat innumiris Hiſpanus claſſibus æquor,
Regnis juncturus ſceptra Britannia ſuis.
Tanti hujus rogitas quæ motus cauſa? ſuperbos
Impulit ambitio, vexit avaritia.
Quam bene te ambitio, merſit, veniſſima, ventis,
Et tumidæ tumidos vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quam bene raptores orbis totius iheros
Merſit inexhauſti juſta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, O mundi totius una decus.
Sic regnare deo perge ambitione remota,
Prodiga ſic opibus perge juvare pios:
Ut te Angli longum longum Anglis ipſa fruarit
Quam dilecta bonis, tam me tuenda malis.

Spain with his fleet the ſeas did cover o're
Thinking to Spain to join the Britiſh ſhore:
If you aſk, why? ambition of riſe
Forc'd the proud fools, vexed with avarice:
How well, ambition, did the winds thee drown
And tumid waves, thy tumid mind bring down?
How well the all devouring ſeas did curb
The Spaniards, raviſhers of the earth's whole orb?
But thou, for whom the winds and ſea do fight,
Great queen; the world's ſole glory and delight.
Still mayſt thou reign from ſoul ambition freed,
Still with thy bounty to help them that need.
Long mayſt thou England; ſhe long thee poſſeſs.
Belov'd of good men, fear'd of wickedneſs

The lineage and deſcent of queen Elizabeth was by her fathers ſide truly royal. For ſhe was daughter to king Henry the eight; grand-daughter to king Henry the ſeventh; and great grand-daughter to king Edward the fourth. By the mother's ſide her deſcent was not ſo high, yet was it noble, and ſpread abroad by many and great alliances throughout England and Ireland.

Her great grandfather's father was Jeffrey Bullen, a man of noble birth in Northfolk, and lord mayor of London in the year 1457 and at the ſame time honoured with the dignity of knighthood. An upright, and honeſt man, and of ſuch eſtimation, that Thomas lord Hoo and Haſtings knight of the order of St. George, gave him his daughter and one of his heirs to wife: and he was of ſuch wealth, that he matched his daughter into the noble houſes of the Chieneys, Heydons, and Forteſcues; he left his ſon alſo a goodly inheritance, and bequeathed a thouſand pounds to be diſtributed among the poor in London, and two hundred pounds in Norfolk. This man's ſon, William Bullen was choſen among eighteen moſt choice knights of the Bath at the coronation of king Richard the third, to whom Thomas earl of Ormond who was in ſuch favour with the kings of England, that he alone of all the noblemen of Ireland, had his place

twice in the parliaments of England, and that about the Engliſh barons alſo) gave his daughter and one of his heirs in marriage. By her (beſides daughters married to Shelton, Calthorp, Clere, and Sackvile, men of great wealth and noble deſcent, and other children) he begat Thomas Bullen, who being a young man, Thomas Howard earl of Surry, who was afterwards duke of Norfolk, a man much renowned for his worthy ſervices and atchievments in the wars (of whom ſee in my deſcription of Norfolk, choſe to be his ſon in law, giving unto him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage; and after he had performed one or two very honourable ambaſſies, king Henry the eight made him firſt treaſurer of his houſhold, knight of the order of St George, and viſcount Rochford, and afterwards earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, and alſo made him lord keeper of the privy ſeal.

This Thomas (among other children) begat Ann Bullen, who in her tender years being ſent into France, attended on the lady Mary of England, wife to Lewis the twelfth; and then on Claudia of Britain, wife to king Francis the firſt; and after ſhe was dead, on Margaret of Alenzon, who, with the firſt, favoured the proteſtant religion then ſpringing up in France. When ſhe was returned into England, ſhe was admitted among the queen's maids of honour, and being twenty two years of age, king Henry in the thirtieth year of his age, did for her modeſty, tempered with French pleaſantneſs, fall deeply in love, and took her to wife, by whom he had iſſue, Elizabeth, the aforeſaid queen of England.

Queen Elizabeth ſpake ſo many languages, that Du Bartas ſaid without flattery;

That Rome, Rhine, Rhone, Greece Spain, and Italy,
Plead all for rights in her nativity.

The *Life of* GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS *King of Sweden, who died,* Anno Chriſti, 1632.

GUSTAVUS ERICUS, the firſt of that name, and blood, was one of thoſe ſix hoſtages ſent to that force to be paralelled tyrant Chriſtierne king of Denmark, *Anno* 1518, which hoſtages he having gotten into his power, moſt perfidiouſly retained as his priſoners, carrying them away with them into Denmark: but Guſtavus finding favour and liberty one day to go a hunting, diſguiſed himſelf and eſcaped, and after many dangers arrived in his own country *anno* 1520.

About which time the ſaid king Chriſtierne, contrary to his promiſe made to the Swedes of remitting all offences upon their ſubmiſſion beyond all examples of Chriſtianity, within four days after his coronation, cauſed all the nobility, gentry, biſhops, councillors and prime citizens of the kingdom of Sweden either to be hanged, or beheaded: ſo that the ſtreets of Stockholm, where he was crowned, ran with blood; and their carcaſes were kept unburied three days, and then he cauſed them to be buried.

Among theſe thus maſſacred, the father of Guſtavus was one; but when Guſtavus heard this doleful news, being that winter gathered a ſmall company of ſoldiers together, he excited the Swedes to vindicate their country's liberty; in the valiant proſecution whereof, he having been a chief author by the conſent of all the ſtates of the kingdom, was choſen king *anno* 1527. but he refuſed to be crowned, contenting himſelf with the title of governor; by authority whereof *anno* 1523. he ſummoned a parliament, where he propounded the reformation of religion, but finding much oppoſition, he reſigned the kingdom into the ſtates again.

But ſhortly after the country being in danger, they humbly beſeech Guſtavus once again to accept the king dom, and ſo he was crowned the firſt proteſtant king that ever was, *anno* 1527. He reigned three and thirty years, he left his kingdom to Ericus his eldeſt ſon *anno* 1560. who reigned eight years and died without iſſue: after the ſecond ſon of Guſtavus ſucceeded *anno* 1568. reigned four and twenty years; his only iſſue was Sigiſmund, who was choſen king of Poland in his father's lifetime; and ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Sweden *anno* 1593.

He took an oath to maintain the privileges of the kingdom, to continue the reformed religion according to the Auguſtan confeſſion, to bring in no ſtrangers, &c. which oath he palpably violating, by attempting to alter religion, to enſlave Sweden, by making it a province of Poland, &c. thereupon *anno* 1599. in a full aſſembly of the ſtates of Sweden he was depoſed, and his ſon Guſtavus choſen in his room, provided that his father Sigiſmund within three months ſent him into Sweden, which he refuſing to do, the ſtates choſe Charles the youngeſt ſon of Guſtavus, for their king, *anno* 1600. who valiantly delivered his country from the oppreſſions of the Pollocks: his ſon was this Guſtavus Adolphus, who was born *anno* 1594. and carefully brought up by his father in the knowlege both of arts and arms, and in ſuch other exerciſes, as ſeaſoned him both with virtue and religion, and prepared him for great buſineſſes; his ſpirit by his education was ſo elevated, as to eſteem no good deſign too hard for him: his courage ſo fortified, that he knew not how to ſtoop beneath a king. So ſoon as he was fit for it, he travelled into France, Italy, Netherlands and Germany.

His father dying whilſt he was abroad, he continued his travels under the name of Mr Gars, the four initial letters of his name and title.

In his travels he gained much experience, ſtudying the mathematics, and learning the French, Dutch and Italian languages; he was but ſeventeen years old at his father's death, after which haſtening home into his own country, he found himſelf environed with enemies: the emperor of Ruſſia, and the king of Denmark laying claim to ſome parts of his kingdom, and the king of Poland claimed all; but he ſo bravely and valiantly behaved himſelf, that he beat them in ſeveral battels, and at laſt enforced them to make peace with him.

About the year 1614. upon refuſal made unto him of the reimburſment of large ſums of money, laid out by the ſtates, and ſubjects of his kingdom, and lent to the emperor of Muſcovy, he undertook upon the juſt quarrel, to make an inroad upon the adjacent dominions of that potent emperor; and taking his march from Finland, with proper ſucceſs, he in a ſhort time conquered the mighty province of Ingerland; and among the reſt, he took the famous ſtrong fort of Kekholm; and ſhortly after by the mediation of our ſovereign king James, a peace was concluded between him and the emperor of Muſcovy upon very good and honourable conditions, whereby he not only held that country which he had ſeized on, but alſo received of the Muſcovite a great ſum of money for his expences in that war; and the footing and ground which he gained here, may well be accounted the firſt ſtep to his greatneſs, and the foundation of his other conqueſts, not only in order of time, but alſo in the enabling him, and fleſhing his hardy Finlanders for further undertakings.

Anno Chriſti 1618, he entered Lifeland againſt the Polonian and proceeded in that invaſion ſo proſperouſly by ſeveral conqueſts in divers places, that by the year 1624. that whole country was made ſubject to him.

Anno Chriſti 1626. he entered Pruſſia, and ſurprized the fort of Pelavia, and thereby at once made himſelf maſter of all the trade of the rich cities of Koningſberg, and Elbin; which enterprize he undertook with his own native Swedes and Finlanders (who in that employment did not exceed the number of nine thouſand men) but with ſo wonderful ſucceſs, that this atchievment may well be accounted another ſtept to the growth of his greatneſs.

With theſe ſmall forces he marched towards Elbing, and whilſt the burgers of that town were treating about a neutrality with his commiſſioners in the tents, he with ſome few muſketeers attending him, boldly entered the city, which with fear and amazement admitted him in upon the only command of his word, and confident majeſty of his countenance, though the walls thereof were at that inſtant loaden with armed men, well appointed for defence againſt him, who beholding his bold entrance, durſt not diſcharge one bullet, or make the leaſt reſiſtance againſt him.

This city he made his magazine for the war, and departing from thence he took the great caſtle of Mariburg,

being the ſeat of the Teutonique order of knighthood; where (not having eight thouſand foot) he entrenched himſelf fighting in the face of forty thouſand Polonians, and ten thouſand Imperialiſts; and ſo tired and wore out that great army, that they not only (by the mediation of our late dread ſovereign king Charles the firſt, *anno* 1629.) ſubmitted unto his conditions of peace very honourable on his part, but alſo yielded to him a great part of that country of Pruſſia.

About this time the emperor of Germany had greatly oppreſſed many princes and free cities of the empire, eſpecially the proteſtant party, ſome of whom he had caſt out of their inheritances; Stralſund and Stetin, Mecklenburg and Pomerland were ſo heavily oppreſſed, ſo ſorely overlaid with taxes, and free quarter, that they were no longer able to endure it, whereupon they pitifully complained, and petitioned the emperor for redreſs; but he, ſlighting their requeſts, continues the oppreſſions; then they complain to the king of Sweden, who pitying the complaints of his allies, confederates and neighbours, ſends an ambaſſador to the emperor in their behalf, who was returned with ſcorn and contempt.

Hereupon the king, conſidering that his own ſafety did much depend upon theirs, he reſolves to undertake their protection, but withal that he might not be miſinterpreted, he publiſhes a declaration, wherein he proteſts, that he would not have ſtirred, if the emperor had not put many inſufferable affronts upon him, who in the late wars of Pruſſia between Sweden and Poland, had forbidden him to make any levies of men, victuals or ammunition in Germany, yet granting liberty to his enemy the king of Poland to do it; that the emperor himſelf had ſent two armies unto Pruſſia to the aid of his enemy the Pole: that his currier riding poſt with letters to Bethlem Gabor, had been ſtaid, his letters opened, and falſe copies publiſhed of them; that his ambaſſadors had been ſlighted, denied audience, and forbidden to ſtay in Germany; that when he ſought peace by the mediation of the king of Denmark, he obtained nothing but affronts and delays: that the poor town of Stralſund (though it had promiſe of protection from the emperor) yet was it blocked up by the duke of Fredland, who alſo had taken the iſle of Rugen, lying near to it: that both thoſe places had ſought to him for protection, and that it much concerned him, not to ſuffer them to be poſſeſſed by his enemies: that the emperor had hindred the Swediſh trade upon the Baltick ſea; taken his ſhips, laying embargos upon them, &c. that his coming with an army into the empire was, to relieve his couſin and confederate, the duke of Stetin and Pomeren, miſerably oppreſſed, and to ſecure his own dominions, not to offer hoſtility to the emperor or empire.

His declaration he ſent in a fair, and reſpectful manner to the emperor, who wholly ſlighted it, but it much ſatisfied the world.

It was rumoured abroad, that divers potent princes, as England, France, Ruſſia, Venice and Holland, were intereſted with him in this action; the emperor made great reparation to withſtand his coming, filling the towns of Pomerland and Brandenburg with garriſons. In Mecklenburg were Walſteine's forces, who was newly made duke thereof: all the bridges and paſſes upon the river Oder were ſtopped up, manned and fortified, &c. the king of Sweden had no town to be his friend, but the diſtreſſed Stralſund only, where he might land his forces: he therefore intending to land in the iſle of Rugen, within half a league of Stralſund, ſends to Sir Alexander Leſly governor of Stralſund, who with eighteen Swediſh ſhips, fell upon the iſland, and in a ſhort time cleared it of the imperialiſts.

Preſently after, his majeſty of Sweden in a hundred and thirty ſhips, embarks his army of about twelve thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, ſome ſay not ſo many, and lands in the iſle of Rugen; his enemies in all thoſe parts aſſembled together, to bid him battle at his firſt landing, but God ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that they durſt not do it; the king was the firſt that landed himſelf, who immediately kneeled down and prayed thus:

"O moſt great God, that commandeſt whatever thou pleaſeſt both in heaven and earth, and in the ſurging ſeas, what thankfulneſs am I bound to render unto thee for that thou haſt preſerved me thus ſafely in this ſo perilous a voyage? Again, and again, do I, from the very bottom of my heart and ſoul, give thanks unto thee. And here, I humbly beſeech thee, that ſeeing, as thou very well knoweſt, I have not undertaken this expedition for any private ends of my own, but only for thine honour's ſake, and to be ſome comfort and aſſiſtance to thine afflicted church: ſo (if ſo be the time which thyſelf haſt appointed be already come) thou wouldeſt now be pleaſed to favour and bleſs me hereafter alſo; and that eſpecially thou wouldeſt ſend me a fair wind, and a proſperous, that the army yet left behind, which out of ſo many people and nations I have gathered together, I may with joyful eyes ſhortly here behold; and, with an happy beginning, promote with them the glory of thy holy name. Amen."

This devotion of the king wrought ſo with his counſellors and commanders, that it wrung tears out of their eyes; to whom he ſaid, 'Forbear to weep, but heartily conjoin your prayers with me; for the greater the army of prayer is, the greater and more aſſured ſhall be the victory. He that prays diligently, hath in part already overthrown the enemy.' Then took he a ſhovel, and fell to digging of a trench, and all the reſt of the army followed in their turns; the one half digging, the other half ſtanding to their arms, ſo that before night they had ſtrongly entrenched themſelves.

After two days reſt, he took a party of horſe and foot, marching three miles into the country, where he ſaw divers troops of the enemies, but they all ran away: then he aſſaulted and took in divers ſconces, which were ſtrongly built, but weakly defended; ſo that in twelve days ſpace he cleared the iſles of Vſedom and Wollin, and ſo marched to the city of Stetin, the ſeat of the duke of Pomeren and Stetin.

All the ladies and gentlewomen gat upon the leads, and into windows, to look at the king's army: the king ſent a trumpet to demand entrance; the duke returned anſwer, that he was reſolved to ſtand neuter: the king not ſatisfied, tells him, that he came into Germany to relieve the oppreſſed princes, and therefore expects to be admitted into the city, which if it was refuſed him, he would force it. Hereupon the duke iſſues out of the port, and goes to the king, deſiring to ſtand neuter, but the king would not hear of it; and looking up to the ladies, 'Couſin, ſaith he, if you mean to keep me out of the town, you muſt ſet others to guard it, then theſe ladies,' &c. Then the duke deſired leave to go into the town, the king conſented, and ordered the lord Reay (a brave Scotchman) to guard him, who, when the draw-bridge was let down for the duke, entered upon it with him, and pell mell, entered the gate with the town garriſon, whereupon the king, with his whole army, marches into the city, and ſo became maſter of it without bloodſhed.

Not long after, the king commanded a ſolemn faſt to be kept through his army, and leaguer at Stetin; the ſame day the Imperialiſts fell upon their out guards, but the leaguer taking the alarm, ſoon beat them off: then were two ſoldiers ſubborned by Tilly to murder the king, but it pleaſed God to diſcover the treaſon, whereupon one of them ran away, the other was deſervedly executed. Afterwards the king marching againſt Grippenhagen, deſiring to ſatisfy himſelf in viewing of a paſs, with four and twenty horſe only in his company, fell into an ambuſh of ſixty horſe, where he valiantly defended himſelf, till ſome of his troops, hearing the piſtols go off, fetched him off in ſafety.

Before he began his battery, he ordered another faſt to be kept in his camp, and the Lord was pleaſed to give him ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſires: Yea, which is admirable, in eight days ſpace he took in many cities, defeated many enemies, gat many priſoners; ſo that he wholly cleared Pomeran and Markland.

He was very ſparing of blood, putting few to the ſword, even in thoſe towns and caſtles that he took in by ſtorm.

Then came the French ambaſſador to his head quarters, where a league was concluded betwixt the king of France and him, upon theſe conditions; Firſt, That for the defence of their friends, clearing of the ocean, and Baltick ſeas, reſtoring of the oppreſſed ſtates of the empire, and

demoliſh-

demolishing of new built forts upon the ports and coasts of either sea. And secondly, seeing the adverse party refused to repair injuries, and rejected all intercessions, therefore the king of Sweden was to maintain thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse in Germany; and the king of France was to pay his share toward the maintenance of the same. These, with divers others, were the conditions of the league, whereof the king of Sweden gave present notice to the protestant princes, met in a diet at Leipswich, assuring them that his intentions were no other, but to defend and restore the German princes, and their liberties, &c.

Whereas some of the king's forces were left in Prussia, since his late wars there, order was given unto them with in three days to take shipping, and go to the king in Pomerania; and for their transportation nine ships were appointed: but a storm arising, the fleet was scattered, seven of them, with much ado, made their port; one other, wherein was Monro, a brave Scotchman, with three companies, run a-ground near to Rugenwald, a strong place, held by the Imperialists. Here a double fear seized on them, either of drowning in the sea, or having their throats cut on shore; the latter they put unto the venture, and upon a float of boards got safe to the land; but, through God's good providence, most of the garrison were gone abroad to fetch in their weekly contribution. The lango master, or major of the town, seeing the Scots thus gotten a-shore, went to them; and understanding that they were the king of Sweden's men, invited them into the town, and in the night-time letting them in, and furnishing them with arms, Monro sent captain Bullion, with a dozen party of musketeers, to fall upon the Imperialists that remained in the city, who quickly cried for quarter, and had it granted.

The town being thus miraculously taken, God brought in the ninth ship that was driven away by the storm, to anchor before the town, whereby Monro was strengthened, and enabled to do some feats of arms abroad in the country. The king perceiving that God himself had been fought for him, commands Monro to continue there, and sends gallant Baunitzen, with some more horse and foot to join with him.

A while after came an imperial currier to the king; his letter contained an admiration of the emperor's, why the king should come armed into the empire; offering him a treaty of peace, if he would first lay down arms. To this he answers, That his imperial Majesty would cease to wonder, if he pleased to remember the two armies sent against him into Prussia; the wronging of his friends, and the endangering of his kingdoms; and as for the proffer of peace, he could not believe that it was sincerely meant, seeing that before it was scorned: but to lay down arms, he utterly refused, unless Germany were restored to liberty, &c.

A wonderful thing it is, that in eight months space, between July and February, he took in eighty cities, castles, and fences, in Pomerland and Mecklenburg.

Tilly, the imperial general, having about this time gotten together a brave army of twenty one thousand horse and foot, advances towards the king, who strongly entrenched himself, out of which he would not be drawn. Tilly passed and re-passed by, yet he durst not venture upon him in his trenches. The king had no reason to prefer him battle, his army having been so wearied out, and his necessity forcing him to fight. Therefore Tilly goes back, and lays siege to Magdeburg, which at last he took; and, like a bloody villain, put to the sword twenty thousand persons at least, of all ranks, ages, and sexes; that great city also he burned down, utterly turning it into cinders, excepting a hundred and thirty-nine houses. His soldiers committed all manner of ravages all the country over. Ladies, gentlewomen, and others, like beasts and dogs, they yoked and coupled together, leading them into the woods to ravish them, and such as resisted they stripped naked, whipped them, cropped their ears, and so sent them home again.

In the mean time, the king taking with him eight thousand men, advanceth toward Frankfort upon Oder. Count Schomberg was governor there, who suspecting the king's purpose, took in seven thousand more into the garrison, and burnt down the suburbs. The same day came the king, then he entrenched in the vineyards near the city. In the approaches the valiant baron Dyvell was wounded, which much troubled the king. In the evening the imperialists sallied out, but were soon beaten back with loss. The next day being Sabbath, the king had prayers and sermons in his camp. All things being quiet, the soldiers in the town began to revile the Swedes, asking them if they had eaten up their leather guns: they hung out also a goose upon a pike, jeering the Swedes with it. The great officers within the town thought that the king had no purpose to set upon them, his numbers were so small, and their own strength so great. Both sermons being ended, he commanded Sir John Banier to give order for the assault: and when he saw his commanders and officers in a bravery ready to fight unarmed, he commanded them to put on their armour, saying, 'If my officers be killed, who shall command my soldiers?' The Swedish soldiers wanting ladders, ran to the boor houses, and stretched their racks, with which, and some hatches, they got to a mighty strong palisadoe near the walls, which they fell to hewing down; then the enemies and they fell to it, bullets and smoke darkening the very air. The Imperialists being beaten, retire through a sally-port into the town: the king calling Sir John Hepburn and colonel Lumisdel, said, 'Now, my brave Scots, remember your countrymen slain at New-Brandenburgh.' They thereupon, with their English and Scots regiments, press upon the sally-port, bullets flying as thick as hail. Lumisdel, with his drawn sword, presses on, saying, 'Let's enter, my hearts;' and so thrusting in amongst the thickest of his enemies, his men follow, knocking down their enemies most piteously. Then breaking open the greater gate, they entered the city, making a pitiful slaughter, crying, 'New Brandenburg! knock him down.' One Scotchman killed eighteen men with his own hands; and Lumisdel took eighteen colours; yea, he shewed such valour, that the king afterwards bid him ask what he would, and he would give it him. By this time the Swedes got over the walls: Schomberg valiantly opposed himself, but was quickly forced to retire. The Swedes, running into danger, like flies into the candle, as if they had not seen it. The Imperialists having brought all the riches which they had gotten by plundering the whole country, into this city, were now leading it away upon mules, waggons, &c. but the Swedes saved them that labour, and the flying soldiers were so stopped and wedged in with these carts, that many of them were stifled, slain, or thrust into the Oder. Divers of the imperial colonels were here slain, with fifty captains and officers, and above seven thousand soldiers, three and twenty ensigns; and eight cornets were presented to the king, many prisoners taken, and sent to Stetin. Of the Swedes were slain but one hundred, and as many more hurt.

The next day, the king, by entreaties and threats, restrained his men from plunder. Here he found much riches, a hundred thousand pound of powder, eighteen pieces of great ordinance, besides little ones, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition: there was no woman ravished in all this city, nor any burgher killed. The king caused solemn thanks to be returned to almighty God for this great victory.

Shortly after he restored the duke of Mecklenburg to his antient and paternal inheritance, out of which he had been unjustly cast by the emperor, who had given it to Walstein: after which he clears Brandenburg of the Imperialists, and takes in Gripswald, and many other places. Then he advanced towards Magdeburg, from which Tilly was departed, having fortified and garrisoned it: by the way he took in many towns and castles, which Tilly hearing of, sent back four regiments under Pappenheime to resist him, who joining with the garrisons that were expulsed by the king, fell upon a party of the Swedes, which the king hearing of, with all his horse, and two thousand musketeers, he comes time enough to make one in the medley. Pappenheim's foot are almost all slain on the place; his horse played the poultrons, and ran away; himself escaped by the swiftness of his horse. Hereupon divers garrisons were quitted to the king. Then the king proceeding further, formed a strong camp at Werben, upon

on the river Elbe, hearing that Tilly was coming back towards him, and called off his garriſons that were not trouble.

Tilly ſent, as his avant curriers, four regiments of horſe, excellent old ſoldiers, and moſt of them curraſſiers, to ſee if they could tempt out the king to fight: theſe were confident that the king would not fight, and ſo marched to a town within a league of him, not ſeeing one Swede all the way, and ſo there they took up their quarters. Bernſteyn, that commanded in chief, with ſix hundred curraſſiers, ſet the watch, the other betook themſelves to their reſt. The king of Sweden privily ſends out a party of two thouſand muſketeers, and five hundred dragooners againſt them, which in the break of day fell upon them, ſlew a thouſand five hundred, and Bernſtyne amongſt them, took twenty nine cornets, and great ſtore of plate and money.

Tilly reſolving revenge, marches towards the king with twenty ſix thouſand brave men, all like himſelf, full of anger and reſolution; but before he aſſaulted his trenches, he endeavoured ſecretly to hire ſome traitors, with large promiſes, to nail up the king's ordinance, that it might be made unſerviceable againſt him; but by remorſe of conſcience in one of the undertakers, the plot was diſcovered: yet the king gave not Tilly one cannon ſhot, though he came near his ordinance, which made him very confident that his plot had taken, and his men preſſed on in great multitudes, but on a ſudden there was ſuch a tempeſt of chain ſhot, murdering ſhot, and whatever was cruelleſt to do execution, ſhowered in amongſt them, that there was made a miſerable ſlaughter. Immediately ſallied out Baudiſſen, with three regiments of horſe, and ſo cruelly charged his curraſſiers, that had the king ſeconded him, Tilly had had a great defeat; but a retreat was founded for that night.

Then Tilly hired ſome boors to fire the town of Warben, about which the king's leaguer was; but through God's mercy they were diſcovered and executed. Tilly made ſome other attempts, but ſeeing he could make nothing of it, he retreated; after whom the king followed, charging the crabbats (light horſemen) ſo furiouſly, that they were driven upon their own foot, who were fain to charge their pikes againſt them. Hereupon Tilly made an halt, ordered his men, and a ſkirmiſh was begun, which by the night's approach was broken off, and ſo both ſides retired to their quarters.

Tilly had a great mind to be revenged, ſent out divers parties to watch their opportunity; but ſeeing that moſt of them came ſhort home, and victuals grew very dear, he diſlodges with his army, and marches quite away into the duke of Saxony's country: he left behind him 500 ſtarved horſes, 800 waggons for want of draught horſes, beſides about 7000 of his men loſt in this expedition. Then the king divided his army into ſeveral quarters. At this time the queen of Sweden arrived at Wolgoſt, with eight thouſand men; and Marquis Hamilton brought ſix thouſand more out of England at the ſame time. With theſe men the king re-inforced his ſeveral armies. Tilly was buſily employed in taking in towns in Saxony, and afterwards beſieges Lipſwich. Hereupon the duke of Saxony ſends importunately to the king, to haſten to his relief; who accordingly uniting his forces again, marches thitherward; by the way they met with hard lodging, and worſe commons: Whereupon, the army being drawn up into battalia, the king thus ſpake to them;

'Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am much grieved for this your hard lodging and entertainment: But, courage my hearts, we are now almoſt in the dukedom of Saxony, his country; there things will mend; there we ſhall have victuals and proviſion enough; there ſhall you be paid your arrears: only I deſire you to behave yourſelves civilly amongſt the inhabitants,' &c.

'It nothing, I know, daunts your valiant hearts, that you are going to fight with an army that call themſelves invincible, ſince you have found it not to be ſo. On therefore, my hearts, in God's name: We daily pray to the Lord of Hoſts for you, and we deſire you to do the ſame for us, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to go along with us, to aſſiſt us, and to give us good ſucceſs in whatſoever juſt and religious enterprize we undertake.'

The army, much encouraged with this ſpeech, marches courageouſly that night near Wittenberg; and hither the duke of Saxony ſent ambaſſadors to the king, to conclude upon what terms he ſhould aſſiſt him; which were theſe;

Firſt, That the king might freely paſs and repaſs thro' Saxony. Secondly, That the duke, at his own charge, ſhould find the king's army with powder, ſhot, and proviſions. Thirdly, That the duke's army ſhould be under the command of the king. Fourthly, That the duke ſhould conclude no peace with the emperor without the king's conſent.

When the two armies met, the duke's horſe and foot vailed their cornets and enſigns as they paſſed by the king's army. The next day news came that Tilly had gotten Lipſwich. Then did Tilly, out of a bravery, ſend a trumpet to the king, with this meſſage, That as he was a brave cavalier, he ſhould come and give him battle. The king ſcorning the term of cavalier, replied thus; What! doth your general think me worthy of no better a term than a cavalier? I am a king; and tell him ere long I ſhall find him out.

Hereupon Tilly prepares his army, as for a victory aſſured, rather than to fight much for it; and his men, who counted themſelves invincible, were very glad of the news of a pitched battle. Pappenheim, when he ſaw the blood prodigiouſly dropping from the houſe at Halle where he was, ſaid, 'What! muſt we bleed? will the king of Sweden beat us? that's impoſſible!'

September 7. Tilly, with forty four thouſand brave men, advances into the field: the place was a goodly plain, called God's acre, a mile from Lipſwich: the ſame place where Charles the fifth overthrew prince Mauris formerly: there was in this place a little riſing hill, and a wood; here Tilly, careful of all advantages, placed his army: the hill was fit to plant his cannon on, and eaſy for him to deſcend, but hard for the Swedes to climb up: the wood ſerved him to hide his men at the firſt, and for a retreating place, if need were. His word was, St Mary; the token to be known by, was white ſtrings and ribbons. The king, the day before the battle, kept a faſt with his army, to ſeek unto God for ſucceſs. In the evening he marched forward, within three or four miles of the enemy, where they reſted that night. The king that night dreamed, that he had Tilly faſt by the hair of the head, and for all his ſtruggling would not let him go, till he bit him on the left ſide; which, upon the ſucceſs, was thus interpreted, That the king ſhould have the upper hand of his enemy, and that Tilly ſhould defeat the duke of Saxony, who had the left ſide of the king in the battle. Before daylight he was upon his march; and coming within view of the enemy, he ſaw them upon the higher grounds. Tilly knowing that they were to meet with a troubleſome paſſage, through buſhes and dirty ways, ſent out ſome to trouble them, who alſo, by ſetting fire to trains of gunpowder, ſcattered for that purpoſe, fought, by the ſmoke thereof, the wind blowing it juſt into the proteſtants faces, to blind and trouble their putting of themſelves into order; but neither force nor ſtratagem could ſerve the turn: for in deſpite of both the paſs was gained, where the proteſtants immediately began to put themſelves into order of battle: and ſeeing Tilly preſent his men in a mighty large front, which, with his wings extended full two miles in length, to prevent hemming in, they divided themſelves into two armies, the duke of Saxony towards the left, the king towards the right hand. Tilly ſeeing their march, ſaid, 'Now, fellow ſoldiers, we muſt look for blows. His men deeming themſelves invincible, expreſſed much deſire to be at it.

The king of Sweden rode from regiment to regiment, ſaying, with a loud voice, 'Come on, comrades; will you fight to-day for the name of Jeſus Chriſt?' they all cheerfully cried out, *Vivat Guſtavus Adolphus, vivat, vivat, vivat.*

Thereupon the king preſently ſent a trumpet to Tilly, with a letter, that he deſired to ſee him in the field, and to that purpoſe he now attended for him: to which Tilly returned anſwer, that he, for his part, never refuſed to fight

fight with him; that he would now meet him half way; and that the king knew well where to find him. The king had in his army about twenty thouſand, amongſt whom were many Engliſh and Scots: the duke of Saxony's army conſiſted of fourteen thouſand, led by the valiant lord Arnheim. The word for both the proteſtant's armies was, 'God with us;' their tokens, green branches in their hats and helmets. Some few days before, two flocks of birds had fought in this place, the one killing and beating away the other; the victorious birds remained on the place, which being ſprung by the king's vaunt curriers, took their flight to Tilly's army, and there fetching a circle about, returned towards the king's army; as they would ſay, we went to fetch you victory; at leaſt ſome thus thought of it.

Being now ready to come to the ſhock, ſome ſtruggling there was for the wind, which was full in the proteſtants face; the king, by wheeling about, ſought to alter it, the other as much to keep their advantage: the fight began with great ordinance, Tilly himſelf gave fire to the firſt three great guns; and the king, as his manner was, to the two firſt: the hideous roaring of the cannons on both ſides made the very earth to tremble; and continuing ſo two hours, made many a brave man breath his laſt.

About two o'clock the cannon gave over, and both horſe and foot charged. Pappenheim, with his horſe, charging the king's right wing, which was lined with muſketeers, was ſo pelted, that traverſing their ground, they thruſt in between the king's right wing and main battle, where Bannier commanded, after whom the king immediately ſent ſome able troops, who, hemming them in, cut them utterly to pieces. Pappenheim's foot being thus left naked, were eaſily defeated; he himſelf was wounded, forſook the field, and left all his ordinance behind him.

The king, in the beginning of the fight, ſeeing his men hardly charged, alighting from his horſe, with bended knees, prayed to the God of heaven for victory. Tilly ſeeing it go hard with his left wing, advanceth down the hill with his battle, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments of tried old ſoldiers, the horſemen alſo proudly prancing up on their flanks. Oppoſite to him was Guſtavus Horn, with his left wing. Tilly twice or thrice charges him with great bravery, which charges Horn with as much reſolution endures and returns. Tilly finding himſelf much galled there with the Swediſh horſe lined with drakes, and ſmall field pieces, leaving part of his horſe and foot to hold Horn play, ſuddenly, with the reſt converts all his fury upon the duke of Saxony: two or three charges the duke endured well enough; but the wind carrying the ſmoke and duſt full into their eyes, and Tilly's men falling too heavily upon them, they not able any longer to endure the fury of the old Wallons, Germans, and Burgundians, at firſt began to give ground, and to run quite away a little after. Some were ſlain, and many were taken priſoners; the reſt fled, leaving all their fair ordinance to the enemy, who preſently turned them upon the Swediſh; but theſe cowardly Saxons, as ſoon as they were out of ſight of the enemy, fell to pillage their own waggons, that they might carry home the ſpoils of the wars, though not of their enemies.

The Imperialiſts ſeeing the Saxons flying, cry, "Victoria, Victoria." Follow, follow, follow. But the old wary general ſaid, 'Let them go, we ſhall overtake them time enough; let us beat the Swedes too, and then all Germany is our own.'

Some poſts were preſently diſpatched away to the emperor at Vienna, with welcome tidings of victory; but valiant Arnheym, with the beſt of the duke's horſe, and his own guard, edging towards the Swedes, kept the field. An imperial cavalier ſeeing a Saxon captain of horſe behave himſelf bravely in the head of his troop, preſently riding up to him, bent his piſtol upon him, engaging him in a ſingle combat, which the Saxon refuſed not; and both their horſes being ſhot, to it on foot they go with ſword and piſtol; both are ſlain, and both fell down dead together upon one another: yet death gave the honour to the Saxon champion, laying him uppermoſt. But that party which Tilly had left engaged with Horn, came not ſo victoriouſly off from the Swedes, as their general had done from the Saxons, but were diſperſed and put to flight. The earl of Fruſtenberg, which commanded the left-wing of the Tillians, having pieced in with Tilly's body that charged the Saxons, ſeeing them fly, he, with his regiment, flies amain upon the Swedes again, charging the rear of the left wing, where colonel Hall, a brave gentleman, commanded. After a while Fruſtenberg was himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and carried off. Hall alſo, whoſe breaſt plate was not full proof, was ſlain with a muſket-bullet upon the place.

But no ſooner were Furſtenberg's foot defeated, but eight thouſand of thoſe Imperialiſts which had diſcomfited the Saxons, came upon the place where the Saxons were lately marſhalled: the duſt and ſmoke were ſo great, that they were on Colenbach ere he was aware: the Imperialiſts turning two pieces of ordinance, which they had taken from the Saxons, let fly amongſt the Swedes. Juſt at that time came the king, riding up to his men, crying to Collenbach, 'Charge, man, on God's name;' and withal himſelf led them up againſt the enemy. Collenbach advancing, (and the king going away to look to other places) was preſently charged with ten cornets of horſe, who, at the firſt or ſecond charge, killed all his officers that commanded four of his troops; yea, Collenbach himſelf was there ſlain; his four troops flying thereupon, which yet the Imperialiſts, by reaſon of the ſmoke, diſcerned not; then did a party of the king's muſketeers give fire upon them, that they drave them to the gates of Lipſwich: the king, when he went from Collenbach's regiment, rode to his three brigades of reſerves, under the command of valiant Hepbron, carrying with him many priſoners, which he had taken with his right wing, ſhewing them to his men, and crying, 'Luſtily, valiantly:' the ſoldiers anſwering, VIVE: the king ſeeing their alacrity, led them on againſt thoſe eight thouſand which had defeated the Saxons, mentioned before; and, withal, he ſent baron Dyvel to Sir John Hepbron, to bid him fall on. Scarcely had this brave baron Dyvel done his meſſage, but he was ſhot ſtark dead upon the place.

Hepbron moved forward, with whom was the valiant Scots, colonel Lumiſdel, and Sir James Ramſay, with Muſchamp, a brave Engliſhman; our muſketeers gave not fire till they came within piſtol ſhot, and then the three firſt ranks diſcharged together, and after them the other three; which done, they fell pell mell into their ranks, knocking them down with the but-ends of their muſkets; yet four gallant troops of the enemies curriaſſiers came up to the Swedes, and with their piſtols ſhot all the Scottiſh antients dead upon the place; yet did the Scots bravely ſtand to it, maintaing the fight about an hour together, in which time many of the Imperialiſts were ſlain, and the reſt fled; ſo that there was not a greater fall of men any where that day than in this place, nor any piece of ſervice better on both ſides maintained: and here it was that Tilly himſelf received his wounds.

The king having ſet on Hepborn upon Tilly, returned to his right wing, preſently advancing forward with it towards the wood upon the hill, where ſome of Tilly's regiments ſtood as reſerves, and others that had been routed were reſorted thither: the king in perſon ſet upon theſe with ſuch courage, that at the firſt onſet he cut in pieces thoſe which guarded the ordinance, which he turned immediately upon the enemy; but there were four regiments of old ſoldiers that ſtood to their arms bravely, ſuch as feared no enemy; theſe made good the wood for a long time againſt the king, killed many a brave fellow, nor would they budge a foot, though they ſaw no hope of relief, but fought it out to the laſt man; only ſome few of them, when they had done as much as then could do, retired under the benefit of the night which was come on; by which time all the imperial army was wholly beaten.

Thus, after five hours hard fight, the victory, through God's mercy, fell to the king, whoſe horſe-men continued chaſe, till darkneſs made it dangerous to purſue the enemy any further.

The king's army remaining maſters of the field, lay all night upon the bare ground, yet none but the wounded complained of the want of a feather-bed: the next morning they purſued the flying enemies, killing many, and taking

taking many priſoners: thus that formidable army of the catholic leaguers, which had for eleven years together given laws to all Germany, and made the name of Tilly ſo renowned, was in one day, through the power and goodneſs of God, broken in pieces, about ten thouſand of them ſlain, many thouſands wounded, and ſix thouſand forſaking that ſide, took oath and pay for the king's ſervice, many more running away, and never returning to their colours: then did the king ſeize upon the enemy's ſtanding camp, where he found three thouſand waggons, with all their baggage, tents, and pavilions, many cattle, oxen, ſheep, horſes, aſſes, poultry, bread, wine, meat upon the ſpits, &c. much coſtly ſtuff, money, and plate: he took one hundred enſigns and cornets, fourteen demi-cannons, ſixteen field pieces, &c. The king of Sweden loſt but ſeven hundred men, and the duke of Saxony two thouſand. The king loſt but four colonels, but Tilly many more; all advantages were on the enemy's ſide; the wind, the wood, the higher ground. Tilly's army was the greater, his ſoldiers the older, and their army by themſelves counted invincible; beſides the king's army was much diſcouraged by the flight of the Saxons; yet the Lord of hoſts gave him the victory, that he might give him the praiſe.

Tilly's manly heart could not refrain from tears, when he thus ſaw his old ſoldiers go to ruin: and this old conqueror, that uſed ſtill to ſee the backs of his enemies, is now glad to ſhew them his own heels; and, wounded as he was, fled twenty miles that night. Fuſtenberg and Pappenheim alſo ſorely wounded, came thither to him, and having their wounds dreſſed, they fled in an hackney coach, and Tilly in an horſe litter.

The king of Sweden, as he began with prayer, ſo he ended with thankſgiving, appointing (together with the duke of Saxony) a public day of thankſgiving to be celebrated both in the army, and through all Saxony, unto God, for this ſo glorious a victory.

Tilly, after this overthrow, flies from place to place, partly to ſecure himſelf, and partly to glean up as many of his diſperſed ſoldiers as poſſibly he could, ſo that in ten days ſpace he had gone an hundred and forty miles; he wrote alſo to Altringer to join his army with him, and then begins to form an army again, and Altringer brings to him about ten thouſand men, ſo that in all he had about eighteen thouſand men, but ill clothed and armed. Afterwards he joins with the Lorrain army; and coming before the great city of Norimberg, he demanded ſupply of bread, &c. promiſing, that if they yielded to him, he would pay them honeſtly, otherwiſe he would force them to it; but the count of Solmes ſent thither, as governor by the king of Sweden, made a reſolute ſally the next day, before Tilly's trenches, where, with his Swediſh horſe, he took the young prince of Anhalt, with divers more priſoners. Tilly thereupon leaving behind him two thouſand dead, wounded, and ſick men, diſlodged with his army.

About this time he had twelve thouſand five hundred weight of powder blown up by an accident, whereupon he ſaid, with a deep ſigh, 'I do evidently ſee all my good fortunes begin to fail me, and every thing goes backwardly with me.' He ſhould have ſaid, Now doth the Lord revenge upon me all that innocent blood which I ſhed at Magdeburg, together with all other my wicked practices.

After this he marches into the Palatinate, after whom the king of Sweden follows, with about twenty-four thouſand men; but firſt he went to Norimberg, and was there with wonderful joy entertained, and preſented with four great pieces of braſs ordinance; two globes of ſilver, filled with ſilver and gold; oats, fiſh, wine, &c. and an oration made to him, to which (being an excellent ſpeaker) he preſently returned anſwer, thanking them for their preſents, but eſpecially for their conſtancy in religion, and defence of it; promiſing, for his part, that as he had undertaken the defence of it, ſo, through God's grace and aſſiſtance, he would protect them, and all the reſt of his friends, to the uttermoſt of his power. Alſo, hearing that Tilly were further and further from him, to join with Wallſtein's army, he reſolved to march into Bavaria, a rich and fertile country; and ſo thereby to remove the ſeat of war from the Palatinate: and for that end he marched into Donawert, which was the key to open his paſſage into Bavaria: this was a ſtrong city, and had in it a garriſon of one thouſand ſeven hundred foot, and five hundred horſe, under the valiant Rodulph Maximilian, duke of Saxen Lawenburg: by the city ran the river of Danubius, over which the king muſt paſs into Bavaria. The king raiſed a battery, on which he mounted twenty pieces of ordinance, wherewith he annoyed the town, and hindered the paſſage over the bridge: he alſo ſent colonel Hepbron, with his brigade, over a bridge five miles about, who, about midnight, ſilently diſpoſed his men in a covert all along in gardens under the wall, ſo diſpoſing the matter, that none could paſs over the bridge, or out at the weſtern port, but he fell within his reach; which they in the town perceiving, and deſpairing of relief, intended, under the covert of the night, to have marched over the bridge into Bavaria; but Hepbron ſo galled them in their paſſage, that though Saxen Lawenburg, and ſome few with him, got ſafely over, yet the reſt were ſo cut down, that their dead bodies covered the bridge, and thereby encumbered the whole paſſage; the reſt ſeeing that, ſallied out at the port upon Hepbron, but were ſoon repulſed. The king all this while thundering with his cannon on the other port, and they within, ſtill fearing his entrance, boldly ſallied out again upon Hepbron, who ſo entertained them, that he ſlew about four hundred, and took as many priſoners; and, in the height of his valour, entered the port, with my lord Craven, and ſome other Engliſh gentlemen, where they cut in pieces all that reſiſted, and the ſoldiers fell to plundering, where many a gold chain, plate, and other treaſure of the enemy's, were made prizes. By this time the king was entered at his port alſo, who immediately commanded, that none of the burghers houſes ſhould be plundered.

The king gave Hepbron the honour of this action; then he reſtored the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, garriſoned the place, and alſo advanced forwards.

Tilly having notice of the king's marching towards Bavaria, preſently haſted thither by an other way; and, the better to keep out the king, he brake down the bridges over Danubius, and the river Lech; and to keep him from paſſing over the Lech, he lays his army all along upon the Bavarian ſhore of it, ſixteen miles in length; yet the king prepares to lay a bridge over the river, and in two ſmall boats ſends over the Swedes and Finns, his pioneers and carpenters, to the other ſide of the river, to caſt up an half moon to ſecure the paſſage of the bridge, which Tilly, with all his art and power, endeavoured to reſiſt; yet they performed their taſk, making good the place till they were relieved: the ſmall and great ſhot go off inceſſantly on both ſides, with extreme hot execution one upon another; in which time general Altringer was near ſlain, and carried off in the duke of Bavaria's own coach. The Bavarian captains found this ſuch hot ſervice, that Tilly himſelf was fain to come up to the point, and in the very face of danger to give directions, where he received a muſket ſhot in the thigh, whereof he ſhortly after died: this accident ſo aſtoniſhed the duke of Bavaria, that he preſently poſted away to Ingolſtat, his chief city, and moſt of his army retreated from their charge; ſo that the king with his army got over the river, and ſending out parties, cut off many of the Bavarian ſtragglers.

Afterwards, the king took in divers ſtrong places and cities, and amongſt them, the great city of Ausburg, into which when he was entered, he went ſtraight to church, where Dr Fabricius, the king's chaplain, preached on Pſalm xii. 5. 'For the oppreſſion of the poor, for the ſighing of the needy, now will I ariſe, ſaith the Lord,' &c. After ſermon was a ſolemn thankſgiving for the victory: then he fortified the city, and reſtored the proteſtant religion in it again; and ſo marches to Ingolſtat, in which ſiege the king's horſe was ſlain under him, and the marquis of Baden, a gallant man, was ſlain hard by, with whoſe death the king was exceedingly grieved; and, in a ſpeech before his commanders, he told them, that hereby he was put in mind of his own mortality, knowing that the bullet made no diſtinction between a king and his meaneſt ſoldier; and that it was God's decree, that no privileges could exempt him from death; therefore, ſaith he, 'I wholly reſign up myſelf to the providence of the Almighty,

Almighty, who, though he may take me away, yet, I know he will not abandon this ſo juſt cauſe, which I have undertaken for reſtoring the Germans liberties. He doubtleſs will raiſe up ſome other, more wiſe, couragious, and worthy than myſelf, who ſhall put a period to this war,' &c.

The duke of Bavaria lying with his army on the other ſide of the river, and the king finding that the city was not eaſy to be taken, raiſes his ſiege, and taking in divers towns, and reſtoring the proteſtant religion in them, he at laſt came before Munchen, where was the curious palace of the duke of Bavaria; whereupon the deputies of the town came forth to him, preſented him with the keys, and a promiſe of three hundred thouſand dollars: the king enters, ſuffers the garriſon to march out ſafely, viewed the magazine, where were great ſtore of arms and ammunition: he found buried alſo one hundred and forty fair pieces of braſs ordinance, and in one of them thirty thouſand pieces of gold: but the chamber of rarities afforded him moſt entertainment, in which were incomparable curioſities both of art and nature.

About this time Commiſſary Offa, with an army of ſeven thouſand men, came into thoſe parts, againſt whom the king ſent a party; and leaving colonel Hepbron gover nor of Munchen, himſelf follows after; which news coming to Offa, he retreated ſo ſpeedily, that he left his great ordinance behind him; ſo that about this time the king had either conquered or drawn to his party all the middle parts of Germany; yea, from the Baltick-ſea to the Alps, near to Italy, for five hundred miles together he had gone on with victorious ſucceſs; and ſhortly after the great city of Ulm accorded with the king, to whom he ſent Sir Patrick Ruthven, a gallant Scotchman, to be their governor, and ſo a while after he returns, and encamps by Norimberg; and this he did the rather, becauſe the duke of Bavaria had now joined with Walſtein's army who by command of the emperor had gotten together a great army, wherewith they threatened the ruin of Norimberg.

The king therefore round about this town entrenched himſelf, his army being but about fifteen thouſand five hundred men; and therefore he ſends for his other armies to come to him. Walſtein had in his army twenty thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, beſides five thouſand volont.

About four miles diſtant from the king's leaguer, Walſtein forms his, who as Imperial Generaliſſimo commanded in chief over the Bavarian army alſo; and having fortified his camp, he gave order to his ſoldiers to make more ſhow of their trenches, than of their weapons, intending by delays to force the king to diſlodge from before Norimberg, and to abandon it up to his mercy.

The two armies being quartered ſo near together, there paſſed many ſkirmiſhes betwixt them, ſometimes one getting away with the loſs, ſometimes the other: having lain thus a while, Walſtein ſends home to the king colonel Dubattell, whom he had taken priſoner, without ranſom, and with this meſſage; That he had no other ambition than once to ſee his majeſty in good terms with the emperor, his maſter; and himſelf to have the honour to be the inſtrument of it.

After a while the duke of Bavaria moved Walſtein to break up the king's quarters, before his other armies came up to him; to whom he anſwered, that he would not venture, for if his army were beaten, all Germany and Italy were both endangered; yet if Bavaria would fall on firſt, he would ſecond him with all his forces. During the king's abode here, the Norimbergers complained to him, that their lands and territories had been as bad plundered by the army, as by the enemies; whereupon the king calling the officers together, ſpake thus unto them;

'Ye princes, earls, lords, and gentlemen, you are ſome of thoſe that are unfaithful and diſloyal to your own country, and do help to ruin it. I confeſs you are gallant men, and have done brave ſervice in the wars; but when I hear of your ravages, robberies, and plunderings; my hair ſtands at the very horror of it. Judge yourſelves; is it not a doleful caſe, That one Chriſtian, of the ſame profeſſion in religion ſhould pillage another? One friend ſhould ſpoil, and ruin another. The very devils in hell are more truſty one to another than you are. My bowels yern within me, when I hear complaints that the Swediſh ſoldiers are more inſolent than the enemies: but they are not the Swedes, they are the Germans that commit theſe inſolencies. Had I known that you Germans had been a people of this temper, to bear no more affection to your natural country, &c. I would never have ſaddled horſe for your ſakes, much leſs have hazarded my life, kingdom, and eſtate in your behalf, &c. But, it may be, you will ſay, you want money; but is not the fault in yourſelves, who hinder me from having means to pay you, by your robbings and pillages? For my own part, I proteſt before God, that I have not by all this war enriched myſelf ſo much as a pair of boots comes to: yea, I had rather ride without boots, than in the leaſt degree to enrich myſelf by the damnage of theſe poor people. Since my coming into Germany, I have received out of my own country forty tuns of gold, which I have ſpent for the reeſtabliſhment of thoſe oppreſſed princes, which are of the ſame true religion with me, &c.

'That which I deſire of you for the time to come, is, that you ſpoil not others of their goods, but leave every man to his own poſſeſſions. The choller and manhood that you have, ſtore it (in God's name) on the front of your enemies; but ſtain not the honour of a ſoldier, by inſulting over unarmed innocents. Live upon your means like ſoldiers, and not upon pilferring and ſpoiling, like thieves and robbers. This if you do not, you ſhall ever be infamous; and I, by ſuch helpers, ſhall never be victorious.'

This ſpeech was delivered with that efficacy and life, that it extracted tears of compunction from theſe military hearers, who had rather bleed than weep. He alſo ſeconded it with a proclamation, That he would henceforth pardon no man of what rank ſoever, that ſhould in this kind be again complained of. Adding, that if to avoid puniſhment, they ſhould all conſpire upon a mutiny, himſelf, with his Swedes and Finlanders, would undertake ſo to rattle them, that the ſhivers of their ſtaves ſhould fly about their ears for it.

About this time, the ſeveral armies that the king had ſent for, to releaſe him, began to draw near; which the king hearing of, appointed a ſolemn day of faſting and prayer in his leaguer, to ſeek unto God for the happy joining, and good ſucceſs of his armies: and then quitting his trenches, he went forth and joined with them; whereupon he drew up into battalia before the enemies trenches, and ſtood there all day to make a brave upon them. The king was now forty-ſix thouſand ſtrong, and therefore reſolved, if he could, to join battle with the enemy; but becauſe Walſtein kept himſelf in his trenches, and would not ſtir, the king raiſed batteries, planted ordinance, with which he played into his camp: and when that prevailed not, he ſought to force his trenches, whereupon enſued a very deſperate fight, wherein many a brave man loſt his life: a piece of the ſole of the king's boot was carried away with a ſhot, and duke Bernard of Saxen Weymar had a horſe ſlain under him, and yet it pleaſed God to preſerve them both from any further hurt. Then the king ſent out parties to cut off Walſtein's victuals, whereupon enſued divers bickerings.

The crabats fled out as far as Altroffe, an univerſity belonging to Norimberg, where they light upon the poor ſcholars, (they might as well have robbed the Spittle) Agricola, Neſter, and Bruno, profeſſors there; they carried away, and put poor Genus and Species to their ranſom.

But the king perceiving that the enemies would not be drawn out to fight, reſolved upon a remove, marching by, and almoſt round about the imperial leaguer, with colours flying, drums beating, &c. and ſo dividing his army, he took in divers places. Then did Walſtein march into Voitland, to undo the duke of Saxony, which the king hearing of, preſently turned his courſe thitherward; and not long after having re-united his forces, he intended to ſet upon Walſtein, who perceiving the king's purpoſe, called together his forces alſo: then did the king conſult, whether he ſhould fight the enemy or not. Duke Bernard was for the valiant affirmative; Major Knipbauſon for the ſober negative, his reaſons were,

1. No

1. No man is to fight, but when he is apparently ſtronger than the enemy, which the king is not.

2. None is to attack a ſtronger enemy, but when compelled by a preſſing and unavoidable neceſſity, viz. to force his paſſage when he is hemmed in, and when hunger and want of proviſion enforceth, which are not the king's caſe: hereupon the king reſolved to go and join with the Duke of Saxony, but by the way, hearing that the Imperialiſts lay ſcattering in ſeveral dorps and villages about Lutzen, without any intelligence of the king's motion, his majeſty then put on a reſolution to fight, ſaying, that he now verily believed that God had given his enemies into his hands: then did he, and all his army advance ſtoutly againſt the enemies, doubling their march, but their legs found it a longer way than their eyes, and beſides there was a filthy paſs by the way at a bridge over a river, which hindered the army full two hours, ſo that it was night when he came within two miles of Lutzen, where he was forced by the darkneſs to quarter in the open field with all his army; then did the Imperialiſts take the alarm, and order was ſent to all the quarters of their army upon pain of death to repair immediately to Lutzen, ſo that by ten o'clock the next morning they were all come up together, and Walſtein had planted his ordnance advantagiouſly, entrenched about it, caſt up breaſt works for his men, &c.

The king having thus brought himſelf into a neceſſity of fighting very early in the morning, he cauſed the drums to beat, then had Dr. Fabricius to pray with him, and other miniſters in the head of other regiments; it was a very miſty morning, which was a great advantage to the enemy to prepare his works, from which he was reſolved not to ſtir, and about ten 'clock, November the ſixth, the fog cleared up, and the king going firſt to his own ſubjects, ſpake to this purpoſe; 'My dear brethren, carry yourſelves bravely this day; fight valiantly in God's name for your religion, and for your king; this if you do, God's bleſſing and the peoples, praiſes ſhall be your guardian, and you for ever ſhall be laden with an honourable memorial, nor will I forget to reward you nobly. If you play the Poultrons, I here call God to witneſs, that not a bone of you ſhall ever return again to Sweden.' To the Germans he ſaid, 'O my brethren, officers and fellow ſoldiers, I moſt earneſtly entreat and beſeech you to make full trial of your valour this one day; fight manfully againſt your enemies this day both with me and for me; be not faint hearted in the battle, nor for any thing diſcouraged; ſet me before your eyes, even me, who dreadleſly for your cauſe, am here ready to adventure both life and blood; if you do this, God no doubt himſelf will from Heaven reward you with a moſt glorious victory, of which yourſelves and poſterity ſhall have the benefit; if you do not, farewel for ever to your religion, and yourſelves muſt for ever remain enſlaved.'

The ſoldiers of both nations with joyful acclamations anſwering the king, he further ſaid, 'And now my hearts, let us go on bravely againſt our enemies, and the God of Heaven proſper our endeavours': And ſo caſting up his eyes to Heaven, with a loud voice he ſaid, 'Jeſus, vouchſafe this day to be my ſtrong helper, and give me courage to fight for thy glory, and for the honour of thy name.' Then drawing his ſword, he waved it over his head, and advanced the foremoſt of all his army; amongſt the king's own guard were the Engliſh and Scotiſh gentlemen; he himſelf was attired in a plain buff-coat without armour; and being requeſted to put on his corſlet, he ſaid, 'The Lord God is my armour,' his watch-word was, 'God with us;' Walſtein's was, *Jeſus Maria*; the king ſaid, 'I thank God I have both wind and ſun to favour me.'

The field where the battle was fought, was a plain champion country, yet had many ditches which ſerved Walſtein's men for breaſt works, and the king's horſe in paſſing over them, were ſome of them overthrown; there were alſo two little hills, upon which Walſtein had planted his great guns; and ſo great was his army, that the front of it extended two miles in length; the armies coming within reach, the great guns began to play on both ſides; but the Imperial cannon being planted upon ſteady and fixt batteries, (where, as the kings gave fire in motion), did the greater execution, ſo that the king not liking that ſport, cauſed his army to advance upon the very mouth of the cannon; the Imperialiſts kept their ground, expecting that the Swedes fury would be over, and themſelves out of breath, ere they could get over the ditches, and beat out the muſketeers; yet they overcame thoſe difficulties, and ſo the left wing engaged with the right of Walſtein's; then the king advancing with his wing, and obſerving where the Crabats ſtood, and where the Curriſſires, which were armed *Cap. a pied*, calling Col. Stalhanſh to him, he ſaid, as for thoſe fellows [the Crabats] I care not for them; but charge me thoſe black-fellows ſoundly, for they are the men that will undo us; the king fought at the head of his ſquadron, himſelf being foremoſt with his piſtol in one hand, and his ſword in the other; and thus charging upon the Curriaſſiers, he was there overlaid with numbers, inſomuch as his men, in danger of being hemm'd in, were feign to give ground, and to retire towards their body; there did the king receive a ſhot into the left arm, which he not feeling at firſt, would have led on ſtill, but, by and by, perceving his blood to guſh out abundantly, and that part of his bone was broken, he called to Duke Albert of Saxen-Lawenburg, ſaying, 'Couſin, I am ſore wounded, help me to make my retreat.' This, whilſt the duke and thoſe that were with the king were about to do, his ſquadron alſo being now upon the retreat, there comes up an officer of the Curriſſiers, that too well knew the king and ſaid, 'This is the right bird,' and ſo diſcharging his piſtol, ſhot him through the body, and himſelf was preſently ſhot dead upon the place; the king was held up in his ſaddle a while, but preſently fell; his horſe alſo was ſhot, and ſo ran away without his maſter.

Juſt now fell a great miſt, the ſun, which before ſhined very brightly, on a ſudden muffling up his face in a mourning cloud, as if not able to look upon the fall of the king of Sweden; the Imperialiſts being now maſters of the king's body, fell to ſtripping of it; one getting his ſpurs, another his ſword, another his ring, another his buffcoat, &c. every one being greedy to get ſome part of his ſpoils; but before they could carry away his body, the Swedes returning, ſo charged the enemies, that they were forced to retreat, whereupon Stalhanſh recovering the body, carried it away in an ammunition waggon privately, ſo that few in his own army knew of his death.

All this while were the four foot brigades of the Swedes pell mell at it, and gat ground apace of the Imperialiſts, the horſe alſo after an hour's fight, drave them back, and got poſſeſſion of ſeven pieces of their ordinance; but by this time the miſt was ſo extraordinarily thickned by the ſmoke, that the Swedes could not ſee to purſue their advantage; yet is pleaſed God, to ſtrike part of the Imperial army with ſuch a pannic fear, that above one thouſand Dutch horſe ran all away together, one amongſt them crying out, 'Oh, I know the king of Sweden well enough, he is beſt at the latter end of the day!'

But the chiefeſt fright was amongſt the ladies and captains wives, and other women behind the army, many of them getting out of their coaches, cut aſunder the harneſs, and mounted, ſtradling upon the bare horſe backs, and ſo ſcudded away amongſt the ſoldiers: divers women and children were there troden to death, nor did the horſemen ſtay till they had fled divers miles; but in the heat of the battle, count Pappenheim (who was before ſent for) came in with his horſe and dragooners, by whoſe coming the charge was again renewed: but juſt as he was ordering his horſe, he was ſhot with a falconet bullet, whereof he preſently died; his officers flocking about him, cried out, 'O our general is ſlain, our general is ſlain,' and thereupon turning their horſe heads, they all out of the battle without ſtroke ſtriking; but the Imperialiſts that were ſet on by his coming, maintained the fight with admirable reſolution; yet the charge was ſuſtained by the Swedes with much gallantry; full two hours were they thus in hot battle; but the greateſt loſs fell upon two brigades of the old Swediſh ſoldiers, whom the king had moſt relied on; theſe old blads ſtood to their arms ſtoutly till the ground was covered with their bodies, yet they

died

did not unrevenged, for they ſlew many of the Imperialiſts, and amongſt them divers of great account.

Duke Bernard had as hard a chapter of it, as any man againſt the imperial right wing commanded by count Colalto; yet never did man beheave himſelf more gallantly than duke Bernard did that day, charging his enemies twelve ſeveral times one after another; a little before ſun ſet, the miſt cleared up, and then did duke Bernard overview the poſture and countenance of the army, which he could not do, ſince he heard of the king's death, till now; he ſpake cheerfully to the officers and ſoldiers, encouraging of them to a new onſet: He found the whole army (except Kniphauſen's part) in no good order, yet he took much pains to rally them, and draw them on to a new charge; alas comrade, ſaith the poor ſoldier, 'muſt we fall on again!' come ſaith the other, 'if we muſt, let us do it bravely, and make a day of it.'

The Imperialiſts hearts quaked within them, when they ſaw the Swedes thus advancing in good order againſt them again; whereupon the horſe began to retreat, which the Swedes perceiving, they with their great ordinance gave them ſuch a rouſing Salve, and then charged them ſo home, that they put them into diſorder; but then again fell there ſuch a miſt, that the Swedes could not ſee to purſue their enemies; and now was all the ſervice turned to the wind mills, where Coloredo was, who ſtrugled hard at the laſt caſt for life; a cruel fight was here maintained till about ſix o'clock at night, about which time the Imperialiſts quite gave it over: this cruel and bloody fight had laſted about nine hours; and now Walſtein marched away towards Lipſwich, leaving the field and victory to the Swedes, who lodged upon the ground all night, where was a pitiful groaning of the dying and wounded of both ſides; it was a frolly cold night, in which many a brave man died of his wounds, that with help might have been cured; the next morning the Swedes found all the Imperial cannons left behind them; there were ſlain of the Swedes about three thouſand, and of the Imperialiſts about four thouſand upon the place, beſides whom, the Boors knocked down near three thouſand that fled away ſtragling; the wounded were as many more as the ſlain; on the Swedes ſide were ſlain, the king himſelf, whoſe death is never ſufficiently lamented; the enemies themſelves giving him this teſtimony, that he was the braveſt enemy, and the beſt captain that ever was in Chriſtendome: and beſide him, Grave Neeles: Nicholas Count of Weſenburg, with ſome other colonels and officers: on the Imperial party were ſlain, the abbot of Fulda, count Pappenheim, young count Walſtein and divers colonels and officers.

Walſtein at firſt intended only to make a retreat to Lipſich, but his ſoldiers, ſo ſoon as they heard the drums beat a retreat, fell to running preſently: and the fright was ſo great that moſt of them never came in order again: his chief officers confeſt, that if the Swedes had but ſent out one thouſand horſe after them, they might have cut off the whole army.

The king of Sweden bore a port and preſence full of majeſty; was of a gallant ſtature, above ſix foot high; fair faced; had an hawks eye; of yellowiſh hair: he was broad limb'd, ſtrong, active and hardy; of an undaunted courage; a ſtrong judgment; an admirable quickneſs of wit; of a natural vigilancy, and indefatigableneſs: had a marvellous forecaſt, to apprehend and diſpoſe of his affairs to the beſt advantage: he had an excellent dexterity to unperplicate, and entagle the gordian knottineſs of a buſineſs: he knew how to take advantage of men's humours: and had a native attraction in him to win hearts, as well as reaſons: he was a great ſtudent upon any buſineſs of importance: a diligent diſputer, and conveſſer of the ſubject which he was to give to ambaſſadors. A ſudden thing ſeldom aſtoniſhed his judgment; but the more imminent the peril was, the nimbler was he in his deviſes; ſtill ſhewing moſt vigour, where there was moſt need of it; he was exceeding temperate in his diet; his delight was upon ſtrong and ſoldiery diſhes; but that which was moſt commendable in him, was his religion both public and private; he was frequent in prayer and thankſgivings, upon any emergent occaſion; he would pray a ſhipboard, a ſhore, in the field, in the midſt of a battle, as if prayer alone were the ſureſt piece of his whole armour: he was a ſtrict obſerver of martial diſcipline: and a ſtrict puniſher of miſdemeanours in his camp.

When he firſt came into Germany, he ſaw that many women followed his army, whereupon coming to a great river, his men and waggons being paſſed over, he cauſed the bridge to be broken down, hoping thereby to be rid of this lumber, but they on a ſudden ſhriking out grievouſly, the ſoldiers on the other ſide, vowed not to ſtir a foot till the women were fetched over; whereupon the king finding that this ill humour was ſo generally diſperſed amongſt his men, that it was dangerous to purge it all at once, ſmiled out his anger for the preſent, permitting what he could not amend: yet this abuſe he afterwards reformed by degrees; his army won the day, though they loſt their king, which made one ſay,

> Upon this place, the great Guſtavus di'd,
> Whil'ſt victory lay bleeding by his ſide.

A little before his death, being in diſcourſe with doctor Fabricus his chaplain; he told him, that he thought God would ere long take him away, becauſe the people did ſo overvalue and deify him; he was ſlain in the battle at Lutzen, November the 16. *anno Chriſti* 1632. and of his age thirty eight.

At his firſt coming into Germany, having a deſign upon Stetin, and his army now ready upon the ſhore, and his boats ready upon the river to embark them; the wind was contrary, and ſo had continued for ſeveral days before: the king obſerving this, before his army with bended knees, and hands lifted up to heaven, he ſaid; 'O thou moſt juſt God, full well thou knoweſt, that I did not at firſt undertake this enterprize out of any raſhneſs, or ambition, but for the glory of thy moſt holy name, and the defence of the truth of thy word: here now therefore I call upon thee O God, and moſt humbly do beſeech thee, that with the air of thy favour, and with a proſperous wind, thou wouldeſt be pleaſed to breath upon this my undertakings for Chriſt's ſake, amen.

No ſooner was his prayer ended, but through God's mercy, the wind turned about with ſo full a gale, that the whole fleet paſſing up the river Oder, in two hours pace, ran up twenty miles, and unlooked for, came to an anchor within a mile of Stetin, to the great defeat of the purpoſes of the Imperialiſts, who had an intent within two days after to have laid ſiege to the city, had not God thus miraculouſly prevented them.

Alſo when he came firſt to his crown, he would needs lay ſiege to Notteburg caſtle, which the Muſcovite had given to his father for ſome aſſiſtance that he had afforded him. The caſtle ſtood in an Iſland in the mouth of the moſt raging and ſwift river of Nerva, his colonels deſpairing of taking it, and loth that their young king ſhould receive a check in his firſt attempts, labour to diſuade him from the action; yet he continued reſolute to purſue it; and ſee how almighty God wrought for him; the beſieged Muſcovites were ſtricken with ſuch thruſhes, warts, and bliſters in their throats and mouths, that they could neither chew their meat, nor ſwallow, it down whereupon they parlied, and yielded up that impregnable caſtle to him, wherein he found a whole years victuals, beſides abundance of ammunition.

Not long after this, he had a difference with the Dantzickers, who prepared twenty or thirty good ſhips of war, with the firſt opening of the ſpring, to have burnt up his navy in the harbour; but towards the end of winter, when this narrow Swediſh ſea was frozen a yard or two deep, this young king cauſed his boors to cut open this ice for ten or twelve miles together, which done, he came in a night with his fleet upon the Dantzickers, and burnt ſunk, and took moſt of them: alſo in his wars with the king of Poland, he conquered ſo many towns from him in Pruſia and Livonia, that he enforced him, by the mediation of our king Charles, to make peace with him.

In theſe wars with the Polanders, his army was never great: he had but five thouſand men for the moſt part, and never above ſeven thouſand: and yet with them he fought ſeveral battles: beat out, or wearied out two im-

perial armies; took in the great and ſtrong city of Elbin, with divers others: and finally obtained his end upon his enemy, who was able at once to have come down with ſuch a number of horſe, as had been ſufficient to have carried him away: and five ſuch armies as his was.

When he came firſt into Germany, he had many brave generals: the lord Oxenſtern, a Swede born, and lord chancellor of that kingdom; the lord Faulkenburg, a german born, and lord chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold; the lord Guſtavus Horn, a Finlander, with whom the lord marquiſs Hamilton was aſſociated; the lord Achatius Todt, a Swede, general of the infantry; the valiant Maximilian Dyvel, or Teufel, baron of Ginderſdorf and Weyerſburg, colonel of the life guard: the gallant Bauditzen, lieutenant general of the horſe; Sir John Hepburn, Sir Alexander Leſly, and colonel Lumſdel, all brave Scots, &c.

The Life of GASPER COLINIUS *great Admiral of France, who was ſlain in the Pariſian Maſſacre, Auguſt* 24. Anno Chriſti 1572.

GASPAR COLINIUS or Coligni, was deſcended of a very antient and honourable family; his predeceſſors had kingly privileges in their own country; as the power of life and death, of coining money, impoſing taxes and tributes, &c. His father was Gaſpar *de Colinis* or *Colinius*, who lived under king Francis the firſt; and had to wife Ludovica Monmorancy, the ſiſter of Annas Monmorancy, great conſtable of France.

When in the year 1512. the admiral Bonivet had taken Fontaraby in the confines of Spain, as ſoon as he was returned unto France, the Spaniards came and beſieged it with a great army; the ſiege laſted twelve months, whereby the inhabitants ſuffered much extremity by reaſon of famine.

King Francis hearing of it, commanded this Gaſpar to raiſe an army; and relieve Fontaraby, which army he preſently levied; but in his march he fell ſick, and died at Ax, Auguſt 4. *anno Chriſti* 1522. leaving three ſons behind him, Odet, Gaſpar, and Francis.

Ludovica his widow, was made one of the ladies of honour to the queen of France, and was very careful of the education of her ſons, and lived a moſt chaſte and virtuous life all the remainder of her days, dying in Paris, *anno Chriſti* 1547.

Pope Clement the ſeventh, ſeeking to encreaſe his authority in France, made the elder brother (Odet) a Cardinal, knowing that by reaſon of the eminency of his family, he might be very uſeful to him. By which means the inheritance fell to this our Gaſpar, the ſecond brother, who was born Feb. 16. *anno Chriſti* 1517. whoſe ingenuity and towardlineſs appearing in his child-hood, his mother was very careful of his education; and for his inſtruction in learning, ſhe made choice of Nicholas Bereldus to be his ſchoolmaſter, a man famous in thoſe days in France. She alſo provided him tutors to inſtruct him in military arts, of ſuch as were moſt skilful therein.

This Gaſpar being thus furniſhed both for peace and war, when he came to the age of 24. the Dauphin of France, the king's eldeſt ſon, beſieging Eticn at that time, Gaſpar went to ſerve under him, and to put in practice what he had gotten before in the theory: in which ſervice he ſhewed much alacrity and courage, and advancing near to the enemies trenches, he was wounded with a bullet in his throat. The ſame year alſo the king having intelligence that his, and the emperor's army were ready to join battle in Infubria, Gaſpar deſiring leave, haſtened thither, and in that battle gave great proof of his valour and prudence; ſo that ſhortly after king Francis dying, and his ſon Henry ſucceeding to the crown, he advanced him to great honour; and whereas his uncle Annas Monmorancy was general of the horſe, he made this Gaſpar colonel of a regiment of foot: in which office he carried himſelf ſo well, that in a little ſpace he got much repute for his juſtice, valour and prudence, and thereby became very grateful to the common people: for, whereas the ſoldiers formerly by their inſolence and pounderings uſed much to oppreſs them, this new colonel kept them in awe by military diſcipline, eſpecially he ſeverely puniſhed them for incontinency, ſwearing and blaſphemy; and his orders were ſo generally approved of, that ſhortly after the king put them among his military laws.

The ſame king alſo advanced him to greater honour, taking a great liking to him, making him one of his own horſemen, which vulgarly are called of the king's order. And whereas contention aroſe about that time between the king of France, and king Henry the eight of England about the town of Boulloine, which a little before upon conditions of peace had been pawned to the Engliſh; the king of France diſtruſting the Engliſh, made this Gaſpar governor of all that country; who preſently going into Picardy, whither king Henry of France had ſent an army to beſiege Boulloine: he with admirable art and diligence built a caſtle near to it, which was ſuch a ſhelter to the French, and did ſo hinder the ſallies of the Engliſh, that in a ſhort time they were forced to treat about ſurrendering of the city. For the finiſhing of which treaty, the whole buſineſs was referred by the king of France to our Gaſpar, and his uncle Rappiponius; which being ended, and the town ſurrendred, Gaſpar returned to the king, and was ſhortly after made the great admiral of France, which amongſt the French is counted the greateſt honour in the kingdom, having the command of the ſea, and the king's navy. He was alſo made governor of Picardy and of the iſle of France, and captain of a troop of men at arms, and one of the king's council.

Anno Chriſti 1554. Charles the fifth, emperor of Germany and queen Mary of England, raiſed great armies againſt the king of France, and to reſiſt ſuch potent adverſaries, none was thought ſo fit by the ſuffrage of all, as our Gaſpar; and therefore he was choſen by the king to that place, who preſently raiſing forces, haſted to the confines of France, towards the Belgick provinces to ſecure them againſt the approach of their enemies. At this time France was in great fear, conſidering the conjunction of ſuch potent adverſaries, and the king of France his want, both of money and arms to reſiſt them, ſo that many thought that the ruin of France was approaching. Whereupon our admiral perſuaded the king to treat of peace; which counſel was ſo grateful both to the king and his nobles, that the charge of it was preſently committed to the admiral, which within few days he effected, to the incredible joy and rejoicing of all the orders of France; and he was looked upon as an inſtrument of ſaving his country, eſpecially conſidering upon what honeſt, honourable and profitable conditions he had concluded the peace.

About this time it fell out that the Guiſes, (who were Lorrainers by extraction, and pretended a title to Sicily and Naples, which they ſaid the ſaid king of Spain had injuriouſly taken from their anceſtors) perſuaded king Henry of France, that for divers years they had held correſpondency with a great part of the Neapolitan nobility, ſo that if the king would aſſiſt them with ſome competent forces they doubted not to make an eaſy conqueſt of the kingdom. By this their council they violated the peace which was made a little before with Spain, and ſolemnly ſworn to on both ſides, which was a great grief to our admiral, who ſticked not to ſay, that ſuch perjury proved always as diſhonourable, ſo fatal to kingdoms; and that God in all ages had been a ſever revenger of it: yet the king would not hearken to him, but commanded him to raiſe forces in his province. This was the firſt cauſe of that deadly feud which aroſe between the Guiſes and him; there were ſome other ſmaller cauſes which father kindled that fire, which for brevity ſake I omit.

The emperor hearing of theſe preparations in France, thought to be before hand with them, and therefore raiſed an army in the low countries to invade France, which the king being informed of, and knowing that the firſt ſtorm would fall upon Picardy, he preſently diſpatched away the admiral for the ſecuring of it; and before he had marched two days journey, he was informed by his ſcouts that the Spaniards intended to beſiege San Quintin in Picardy; he alſo received letters from one captain Bullin, that as ſoon as the citizens of San Quintin heard of the Spaniards intention, they were ſeized with ſuch a panick fear, that many of them left their houſes, and fled

fled into the woods with their wives and children. Our admiral hearing theſe things, diſſembled the matter before his ſoldiers, as well as he could, and ſhewing much activity, by great journeys haſtened to San Quintans. Whereupon two of his captains (Gernacus and Lutaricius) endeavoured by all means to diſſuade him from it, telling him that the city was not fortified, neither provided with food and other neceſſaries to ſuſtain a ſiege, and that the enemies would beleaguer it before he could furniſh it with ſuch things, and therefore they told him that it was better for him, and more for his honour, to diſturb the enemy in the open fields, than, by ſhutting himſelf up within the walls, to expoſe himſelf to ſuch danger. But he conſidering of what conſequence that place was, and what advantage the getting of it would be to the Spaniards, adhered to his firſt reſolutions; and having by the way adjoined unto himſelf about two hundred and forty ſoldiers, he haſtily flies to the city, and ſets all hands on work for the fortifying of it.

The Spaniards being informed hereof, preſently beſiege the city with a ſiege, and began to draw their trenches about it, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſuburbs, from, by rolling trenches they approached the walls. The our admiral taking notice of, ſallied out upon them, and fring the ſuburbs, drave the enemies further off; but when he had throughly viewed the city, and found the weakneſs of it, he began to ſuſpect that he could not hold out long againſt ſo potent an adverſary. Yet conſidering that God's providence had caſt him upon theſe ſtraits, he reſolved rather valiantly to die, than to give his enemy ſo great an advantage againſt France, by forſaking that town to them. And therefore he laid out all his care, labour and induſtry, for the defending of it; and for the greater encouragement of the citizens and ſoldiers, he laid his own hands to every work that was to be done.

Whilſt he was thus buſily employed, a meſſenger brought him word, that his brother Andelot was got ſafe into the city, with about five hundred ſoldiers; the remains of a greater army which the king had ſent under the conduct for the victualling and relieving the city, which army was encountered by a great party of German horſe and foot, who in the encounter had routed the French, ſlain many, and diſperſed the reſt; only in the time of the medly, Andelot with his five hundred men had ſlipped into the city.

As ſoon as this defeat of the French was known to the ſoldiers and citizens, they were poſſeſſed with ſo great a fear, that the encouragements of the admiral were little regarded. Hereupon he calls them all together, makes a ſpeech to them, and ſhewed them that the ſafety of their enemy ſhould be preferred before their lives; and thereupon cauſed them all to take an oath, that if any one ſpoke that the ſurrender of the city, he ſhould loſe his head for it, himſelf alſo took the ſame oath.

In the mean time the Spaniards being elated with their late victory, preſs upon the city harder than before; and for twenty days together continue their battery againſt the walls, whereby they beat down a great part of them. The admiral ſeeing this, and perceiving that they were preparing to give a general ſtorm, he encouraged his ſoldiers ſtoutly to make reſiſtance; telling them, that if they did but withſtand the firſt ſtroke, the enemy would not be forward to attempt a ſecond. Where the greateſt breach and danger was, there himſelf ſtood armed to reſiſt in the very face of danger. Other places he committed to his brother, and his other captains. But while he was valiantly fighting in the breach, word was brought him, that the enemy was entered in two other parts of the city: Whereupon taking ſome of his truſty friends with him, he ran thitherward to oppoſe them, but before he came, he found that that part of the city was filled with his armed enemies, againſt whom, whilſt he oppoſed himſelf, he was environed by his adverſaries, and taken priſoner, who preſently carried him away to Amiens.

Whilſt he was priſoner there, he fell dangerouſly ſick, and lay forty days tormented with a fever; and as ſoon as he began to recover, he called for a Bible, by reading whereof he much eaſed and refreſhed his mind and body; and by the diligent ſtudy thereof he began to embrace the reformed religion, and to have a taſte of true piety, and the right manner of calling upon God.

Not long after he payed his ranſom, which was fifty thouſand crowns, and ſo returned home; and being weary of the factions and affairs at court, and ſeriouſly thinking of his change of religion, he got leave of the king to turn over his regiment of foot to his brother Andelot, and his government of the iſle of France to his brother-in-law, Marſhal Monmorancy; and ſhortly after he ſent one of his intimate friends to the king, humbly to ſignify to him, that he intended alſo to lay down his government of Picardy, and therefore deſired him to think of one to ſucceed him therein: the king anſwered, That he wondered at his reſolution, and ſcarce thought him wiſe to diveſt himſelf ſo ſuddenly of ſo many places of honour and profit; and from that time he began generally to be ſuſpected of his change in religion, ſhewing a mind ſo free from ambition and deſire of rule.

Monſieur Andelot alſo diſcovering his reſolution in religion, the cardinal of Lorrain (who hated the family of Coligni with a deadly hatred, as the greateſt enemies to the greatneſs of his family) watched his opportunity, and ſuggeſted to the king, That all men took notice, that many great men of France were infected with the poiſon of Calviniſm, which they ſcattered amongſt the inferior ſort of people: and in particular, That Monſieur Andelot had blabbed out many things to the diſhonour of the ſolemn ſacrifice of the maſs, &c. The king being incenſed hereby, commanded the cardinal of Chattillion his brother, and Monmorancy his choſen, to ſend for Andelot, and to admoniſh him to anſwer modeſtly to the queſtions which ſhould be propoſed to him.

When he came before the king, he profeſſed his great good will toward him, and ſpake many things of his great merits; and then told him that he was ſorry to hear that which was reported, viz. That he thought ill of religion, and therefore he required him to tell him what he thought of the maſs, which the Calviniſts ſpake ſo much againſt? Andelot being a man of great courage, anſwered confidently, according to the truth; which the king being offended at, exhorted him to look to himſelf, and to prevent the danger before it were too late. Whereunto Andelot, with great courage anſwered, That he had hitherto ſhewed himſelf obedient in all things to his majeſty, whom he had found always bountiful to himſelf and his family; but in the cauſe of religion, he would neither daub nor diſſemble with God. That his body, wealth, and dignity, were in the king's power, of which he might diſpoſe as he pleaſed: but his ſoul was ſubject to God only that gave it; to whom therefore, in this cauſe, he muſt needs be obedient, as to his greater Lord.

At this the king was ſo enraged, that ſnatching up a diſh, he therewith hurt his ſon the dauphin, that ſat next him; and then he commanded one of his privy chamber to carry Andelot to the city of Meaux, where he remained a priſoner in the biſhop's houſe, till he was removed to the caſtle of Melodune.

Not long after king Henry the ſecond dying, his ſon Francis ſucceeded him, who was married to Mary queen of Scotland, the daughter of the duke of Guiſe's ſiſter, by which means the Guiſes ruled all at court; and they alſo boaſted often of the kingdom of England, to which this Mary was heir apparent, as they ſaid.

The admiral knowing their cruel, barbarous, and bloody diſpoſitions, who would never be free from turbulent councils, and eſpecially from perſecuting thoſe of the religion, he was now, without further delay, reſolved to lay down his government of Picardy; and for that end acquainted Lewis of Bourbon, prince of Conde, concerning his intention; wiſhing him to beg that place of the king, which accordingly he obtained.

Our admiral being thus eaſed of theſe public burdens, and the troubles of them which withdrew his mind from religion, he kept at home in his own caſtle; and the rather becauſe of his wife Carola Lavollia, born of an illuſtrious and antient family, which was wonderfully given to the ſtudy of religion, exhorting her huſband alſo, that caſting off the remainder of idolatry and ſuperſtition, he ſhould wholly betake himſelf to the true ſervice of Chriſt. The

admiral

admiral having often heard her preſs this upon him, dealt ſeriouſly with her, telling her, that he never knew any, either in France or Germany, which embraced in truth this reformed religion, but that they were overwhelmed with manifold afflictions, under which they almoſt periſhed. He told her alſo, that by the laws of France, which were confirmed by all the parliaments, Whoſoever made profeſſion of this religion, was to be burnt alive, and all his eſtate to be forfeited to the king. Yet, ſaith he, if you be ſo prepared with faith and courage, that you can be content to undergo the ſame lot with others, you ſhall ſee that I will not be wanting to do my duty. To this ſhe anſwered, That the condition of the church at this day was no other than what it had been in former ages, even from the beginning; and ſhe perſuaded herſelf, that it would be the ſame to the end of the world. And thus each of them encouraging other, the admiral began to inſtruct his family in the true knowlege and worſhip of God, and gave them Bibles and other good books to read, for their further edification. Withal, he ſtoutly forbade them thoſe oaths and blaſphemies which were common in France, eſpecially in the court. He provided alſo godly governors and ſchoolmaſters for his children; ſo that in a ſhort time there was a wonderful change in his family: yea, by this example, his two brethren, Odet the cardinal, and Andelot, were exceedingly ſtirred up to the ſtudy of religion.

The admiral from his childhood had been bred in the court, which did in thoſe days exceedingly abound with luxury and other vices, from which he was not altogether free; but ſo ſoon as he embraced the true religion, there was ſuch a ſtrange alteration in his life and deportment, that the powerful work of God's ſpirit did wonderfully appear therein.

Before he durſt come to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, he conferred with divers godly miniſters, both about Tranſubſtantiation and Conſubſtantiation, for the ſettling of his judgment in the truth. And once being preſent in the town of Vatevil, at a private meeting of the godly, where there was a ſermon, and the ſacrament to be adminiſtered; after ſermon he requeſted thoſe that were preſent, that they would not be offended at his weakneſs, but that they would pray to the Lord for him; and then requeſted the miniſter, that he would a little more explain himſelf about the ſacrament, which he willingly did; and having, by ſundry texts of ſcripture, ſhewed that Chriſt is received only ſpiritually and ſacramentally therein, he concluded with that of St Auguſtine, "Manducare "cibum qui non perit ſed permanet ad vitam, eſt credere "in Chriſtum. Et quid paras dentem, et ventrem? "credi et manducaſti." Item, "Nolite parare fauces, "ſed cor." Chriſt is to be fed upon not with our mouths, but with our faith, &c.

Our admiral being much ſatisfied with this diſcourſe, gave thanks, firſt to God, then to that miniſter and congregation; and ſhortly after was himſelf partaker of that holy ſacrament: the fame whereof, when it was once ſpread abroad in France, it cannot be believed what joy and conſolation it brought the churches of Chriſt; for though till that time the true worſhippers of God had many laws made againſt them by the kings and parliaments, though they were daily dragged to priſons, torments, and death, ſo that they were forced to hold all their meetings in ſecret: yet was the true religion, after a wonderful manner, diſperſed through all the provinces of France, and the popiſh party found, by experience, that the more they ſought to ſupreſs and extinguiſh the light of God's word, and the profeſſors of it, the more it daily encreaſed.

Not long after fell out the tumult at Amboiſe, and the conſpiracy of the nobility againſt the Guiſes, whoſe pride and inſolence the princes of France could no longer bear with. Of this number was the prince of Conde, and the king of Navarre, his brother. Whereupon the Guiſes procured an edict from the king, whereby a meeting of the nobility was appointed at Fontainbleau, eſpecially to treat about matters of religion: and when the day came, which was Auguſt 24. 1560. the king requeſted thoſe that were preſent to deliver their opinions; whereupon the admiral riſing out of his ſeat, humbly preſented the king with two ſupplications, under this title, "The humble ſupplications of thoſe who in ſeveral parts of your majeſty's kingdom, do truly and purely ſerve God." Theſe ſupplications were delivered to Albeſpine, the king's ſecretary, who publicly read them. This bold fact of the admiral was much wondered at, conſidering the king's bitter enmity againſt that religion, and the great power of the Guiſes. The ſum of thoſe petitions was this:

"They which purely and ſincerely ſerve God, taking this fit opportunity, do humbly beſeech your majeſty, that of your clemency you will be pleaſed to pity a great number of your ſubjects, who unto this day are miſerably afflicted, tormented, and waſted, for the cauſe of religion in all your provinces: We humbly beg of you, that you will not be grieved to take cognizance of our cauſe, and to appoint that the ſcripture may be the judge in theſe great controverſies, whereby it will eaſily appear how much we do abhor hereſy, which hitherto hath been laid to our charge: As alſo, how falſely we have been charged with ſedition, when we never uſed force or arms to defend ourſelves, but ever thought it our duty, in our greateſt extremities, only to have recourſe to your majeſty's clemency. Our humble requeſt therefore to your majeſty is, that you would be pleaſed to reſtrain our perſecutors, by whoſe means there is no part of your majeſty's kingdom which, in theſe late years, hath not been defiled with the blood of your innocent ſubjects.

"Our caſe hath been miſerable, when we have been forced to plead our cauſe before the pope's clients and penſioners, rather than before equal and indifferent judges. Our humble requeſt therefore is, that you would be pleaſed favourably to look upon ſo many families who have always acknowleged you for our gracious lord and king; and, according to God's command, have honoured and obeyed you, and ſhall be ready, if occaſion be offered, to ſpend our lives for your dignity and ſervice; and therefore we think it but equal, that our lives and welfare ſhould be protected againſt the rage of our cruel and bloody adverſaries.

"We further pray, That ſome public place may be allowed us, where our miniſters may preach the word of God ſincerely, and adminiſter the ſacraments truly, that our religion be no longer concealed, we may be freed from thoſe falſe calumnies which our adverſaries have hitherto caſt upon us: And we ſhall ever pray," &c.

After theſe ſuplications were read, there were great debates, but little about religion, great complaints being made of the king's debts, and conſideration had how the ſame might be diſcharged. Hereupon our admiral ſpoke freely and boldly againſt the forces raiſed by the Guiſes, under the pretence of a guard for the king, as if he needed ſuch a guard in the heart of his own kingdom; whereas the authority of the king's name in France is ſo ſacred and powerful, that thereby the meaneſt conſtable is able to ſupreſs any tumult whatſoever. This free ſpeech of his extremely vexed the Guiſes, who hated him ſo much the more for it.

Some others propounded that there might be a public convention of the ſtates called, as the only means to cure the diſtempers of France; which though ſome had labored to diſcredit, and ſo had cauſed an intermiſſion of it for eighty ſeven years, yet it had been always exceeding advantageous to the kingdom, as the parliaments in England, conſiſting of three ſtates, had always been there, whereby the Engliſh kings had been enabled to make ſuch powerful invaſions of France.

Shortly after king Francis the ſecond dying, his younger brother, Charles the ninth, ſucceeded, and thereupon the former requeſt was renewed, for calling a convention of all the ſtates.

At this time Catherine of Medices was the queen-mother, a Florentine by birth, to whom the education of the young king, and the care of his perſon was committed, according to the antient cuſtom of France; but ſhe was not ſuffered to have any thing to do with the government of the kingdom. And hereupon the Guiſes, who for a long time had been powerful at court, intruded themſelves into that office. And at that time many of the nobility proceeded cruelly to torment and afflict thoſe of the reformed

formed religion; whereupon there was great fear, leſt ſome new commotions ſhould be raiſed in the kingdom; but the queen mother pretended favour towards them, for which cauſe our admiral endeavoured, and at laſt affected, that ſhe ſhould be joined in commiſſion with Anthony king of Navarre, who was made protector during the king's minority. This many wiſe men diſliked and oppoſed, ſaying, That in the ſtories of former times it did appear, that the government was never committed to the queen mother, eſpecially if ſhe were a ſtranger, but it redounded to the great hurt of France, and was the cauſe of many civil broils.

When the day of the public convention of the ſtates came, he which made the ſpeech in the behalf of the nobility, about the end of his oration, preſented the king with a ſupplication, that they of the reformed religion might have public places allowed them for the exerciſe of the ſervice of God in.

To this one Quintin, a doctor of the civil law, and profeſſor of Paris, oppoſed himſelf, and made a long oration in the name of the clergy, which he rather read than pronounced by heart, wherein he took the boldneſs to affirm, That all they that moved for public places for thoſe of the religion were guilty of treaſon againſt the king and kingdom, the authors of ſedition, and bringers in of a new religion, and therefore ought ſeverely to be puniſhed. Of which, when the admiral, in the king's council, afterwards complained, Quintin, to excuſe himſelf, profeſſed that he ſpake nothing of his own head, but only had pronounced that oration, which was penned and put into his hand by the clergy, and that he was ready again, in the aſſembly of ſtates, before the king and all the company, to ſhow, that in all that he had ſaid, he had no thoughts of hurt to the admiral.

In concluſion, there was an edict ſent forth, in the king's name, commanding and requiring all the judges and magiſtrates through France, to releaſe all thoſe of the religion that were in priſon; and it was forbidden them, upon great penalties, hereafter to meddle with, or trouble any for their religion's ſake. As for the buſineſs of allowing them public places for worſhip, that was put off to the next general meeting of the ſtates, which was appointed, but held not, to be at Pontholſe in Piccardy.

January following, there was a meeting of all the princes and nobles of France, appointed to be held at St Germans, whither alſo repaired the deputies from all the parliaments, and there it was decreed, that churches ſhould be allowed to the proteſtants, in the ſubburbs belonging to each city. Upon the publiſhing of which edict, the face of the kingdom ſeemed to be ſettled, and in the ſuburbs of all the greater cities, yea, of Paris itſelf, thoſe of the religion met publicly, and had ſermons preached without the leaſt diſturbance. But preſently after was news brought, that the duke of Guiſe, in Campania, had baſely murdered about two hundred perſons, who were met together at Vaſſiac to hear a ſermon, according to the power given them by the king's edict, in a barn; and it was conceived that the duke of Guiſe took this boldneſs, relying upon the friendſhip of the king of Navarr, whoſe mind he had bowed and bound to himſelf, by promiſing him the kingdom of Sardinia, and other favours; and, upon this confidence, adjoining his other brethren to him, with a great army, he went to the court, and there called upon the king and queen mother, (who ſeemed with many tears to bewail the violence proffered to them,) and carried them away to Paris.

Hereupon the queen mother ſent divers meſſages to the admiral, and writ with her own hand to the prince of Conde, requeſting them to help her, and to deliver the king out of this captivity.

This cauſed the prince of Conde, with many of the nobility, upon deliberation, to reſolve to raiſe an army for the reſcue of the king, and to curb the inſolency of the Guiſes, often ſaying, That he ought not to be deterred with reports, as if he intended to propagate his religion by arms, or to offer violence to the perſon of the young king. For, ſaid he, after ſuch a public decree made by the king, and all the ſtates, in favour of thoſe of the reformed religion, what had the duke of Guiſe, who is a Lorrainer by birth, to do in France? Or by what confidence doth he exerciſe ſuch cruelty againſt the king's faithful ſubjects? And therefore he ſaw that there was no way left but to repel force with force; and that he was not the author of the war, but by war defended thoſe that were unjuſtly oppreſſed by war.

There was alſo a public report that the duke of Nemours had endeavoured, by flatteries, to perſuade the young prince Henry, the king's brother (who was afterwards choſen king of Poland) to go with him out of the bounds of France, which the young youth had declared to his mother. There was much ſpeech alſo of the maſſacre at Vaſſiac, and of their leading the king and queen-mother as their captives to Paris, where they had a powerful faction.

They had alſo ſent to the German princes, deſiring to be admitted into the league of the proteſtants. The cardinal of Lorrain had alſo ſent to Chriſtopher duke of Witzburge, a prudent and valiant prince, pretending that both he and his brethren would embrace the proteſtant religion, and deſired to be inrolled in the number of the proteſtant princes.

Theſe things being publicly divulged, the reſolution of the prince of Conde to take arms was generally approved of, and in a few days many cities ſided with, and aſſiſted him, as Orleans, Biturg, Roan, Lions, Vienna, Valentia, Montalban, &c.

And whereas, by the common conſent of all the proteſtants in France, the prince of Conde was choſen general, he prevailed ſo far with them, that the managing of the war was conferred upon our admiral, to whom he alſo delegated his own power and intereſt, for the opinion which he had of his excellent juſtice, gravity, and prudence.

This being generally taken notice of, the queen mother interpoſeth, as a mediatrix for peace, and ſends for the prince of Conde to come to their tents, intreating him, that for the convenient ſituation of it, he would deliver up into their hands, for a few days, as the fitteſt place for the treaty, the city of Boience, where there is a bridge that paſſeth over the river Loir, which bridge ſhe affirmed to be the fitteſt of all other places for the parley. The prince of Conde, upon the perſuaſions of his brother, the king of Navarr, and of the queen mother, and upon their faithful promiſe, that the town ſhould be delivered back to him again, and that his perſon ſhould be in ſafety during the treaty, without taking any further pledges, delivers up Boience to them; only deſiring, that, whilſt the treaty laſted, the conſtable, Guiſe, and St Andrew, (who were called the triumvirate for the ruin of France) might be commanded to withdraw from the camp.

When theſe things were done, the queen-mother and the Guiſes put a garriſon into the town of Boience, to fortify it ſtrongly, and keep the prince of Conde priſoner.

The admiral being juſtly incenſed by this perfidiouſneſs, and reſolving not to be wanting in his aid to the prince of Conde, he preſently, with all his cavalry, ſets upon the enemies camp, which brought ſuch a terror amongſt them, that thereupon the queen mother commanded the prince of Conde to be ſet at liberty. And a few days after the admiral aſſaulted Boience, and at laſt took the town, though with much loſs of his men.

About this very time, the admiral's eldeſt ſon, called Gaſpar, being a youth of nine years old, but of admirable towardneſs, fell ſick, and died at Orleance, which was an exceeding great grief to his father.

In the mean time, the Guiſes perceiving that they were forſaken by the greateſt part of France, which now adhered to, and aſſiſted Conde, they reſolved to call in foreign helps; and thereupon, ſending much money into Switzerland and Germany, they hired from the former foot, and from the latter horſe, to come into their aid, which the admiral uſed often to ſay, was a plain demonſtration of their treacherous and hoſtile minds againſt France: and therefore, that he might not be wanting to himſelf and friends, who had committed ſo great a truſt to him, he reſolved to oppoſe foreign, by foreign forces; and for this end he ſent his brother Andelot to the proteſtant princes in Germany, of whoſe good will to the French churches he had

good aſſurance, requeſting aid from them, who accordingly, within three months ſpace, ſent him 3000 horſe, and 6000 foot into France.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, intelligence was given to the admiral, that ſome cannons, and a great quantity of gun-powder was carrying to the duke of Guiſe, who now beſieged Bitarg, guarded with ſix troops of horſe, and ſome foot. Hereupon the admiral taking ſome horſe with him, by long journeys, haſtened to meet the convoy; and coming up to them, they ſcarce ſtood the firſt ſhock, but throwing away their arms, fled, and left the booty to the admiral, who wanting horſes to draw them away, by over-charging the guns, brake them, and blew up the gun-powder, and ſo returned to his camp.

Andelot returning out of Germany, brought with him three thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot; ſo that the prince of Conde having a good army of French and Germans, haſted to Paris; which the Guiſes hearing of, intended to meet him, having gotten a regiment of Swiſſers, in whom they put moſt confidence; and ſo the two armies meeting, a battle was fought, but with a doubtful event; for on the one ſide was the conſtable taken priſoner by one William Stewart, a valiant Scotchman; and on the other ſide the prince of Conde was taken priſoner, which made many of his foot to throw away their arms and fly: but the admiral rallying the horſe, and encouraging them to prefer their religion, country, and honour, before their lives, he valiantly charged the Guiſians, in which medley he ſlew marſhal St Andrew, a potent man at court, and Proſſæus, colonel to the duke of Guiſe, and divers other noblemen.

The fight being ended, the admiral carried the conſtable to Orleance, where he made his abode for a while; but ſhortly after came the duke of Guiſe to beſiege the city, whereupon the admiral leaving his brother Andelot for the defence of it, flies into Normany, and there beſieged the caſtle of Cadonius, where the marquis of Elbœve, one of the duke of Lorrain's brothers, was, and within a few days had it, with all the arms and ammunition, ſurrendered to him.

About this time there was one John Poltrot, a young man, of a noble family, in the army of the duke of Guiſe, who having embraced the reformed religion, and ſerved for ſome months under the prince of Conde, took up privately with himſelf, a reſolution to kill the duke of Guiſe, as a public enemy to his country, and a cauſe of all the preſent calamities: and, ſaid he, 'If I had been bound to him by any oaths, I muſt not have been perfidious; but being free, why ſhould I not venture, as Scævola did, for my country's ſafety?' With this reſolution he went to the duke of Guiſe's camp, and watching his opportunity, ſhot him into the ſhoulder, of which wound he died, within a few days after.

The very ſame day, in the morning, the duke of Guiſe being ready to give an aſſault to Orleance, wrote to the queen-mother, that within twenty four hours he would ſend her word of the taking of that city, and that he would make the day very memorable, by ſparing neither ſex nor age; and that after he had kept his ſhrove-tide there, he would extinguiſh the memory of the town, by utterly ſubverting of it. But man knows not his deſtiny, nor what ſhall happen to him; for that ſame evening he was ſlain, as you heard before.

Preſently after a peace was concluded, and the edict renewed for the free exerciſe of the reformed religion thro' all France, as formerly.

Not many months after, the admiral being ſent for to court by the queen-mother, the widow of the duke of Guiſe comes in, and falls down at the king's feet, crying out, with many tears, for revenge of her huſband's death, charging the admiral as the contriver and author of it. The admiral apprehending that this was but the device of others, which ſet her on to ſeek his deſtruction by fraud, which they could not effect by war; before the king and all the council, he clears himſelf, ſhewing that Poltrot had at his death profeſſed, that he was ſet on by none but God; neither did he doubt, but that he had done God good ſervice in it, and freed his country from a tyrant that raged and thirſted after Chriſtian blood, and therefore he was not ſorry for what he had done, &c.

He alſo deſired, that if they queſtioned the death of the duke of Guiſe, he might have leave alſo to put in a charge againſt him, for that he doubted not but that he could eaſily prove the duke of Guiſe guilty of murdering wickedly the king's ſubjects, and of violating all the ſacred laws and decrees of the king; of taking up arms of his own head without authority, and thereby making himſelf guilty of treaſon, and of kindling thoſe flames in France, which had continued about thirteen months.

Notwithſtanding this reſolute ſpeech of the admiral, his enemies ceaſed not, for ſome years, ſtill to call upon the king for juſtice againſt him; whereupon the king at laſt appointed a convention of all the peers of the kingdom, at the city of Molineum, whither alſo he called his cheifeſt ſenators and counſellors, commanding the cardinal of Lorrain, and the widow of the duke of Guiſe, to produce what proofs they could, and the admiral to defend himſelf againſt them. When both parties had pleaded their cauſe, the king told them that he had referred the judgment to his counſellors, and therefore aſked them, if they had any exceptions againſt any of them; they anſwered, No. Then he aſked them, if they would refer the determination of their cauſe to him, and would ſtand to his judgment, they anſwered that they would willingly do ſo.

Whereupon, Jan. 29. in the year 1566, the king paſſed this ſentence, That having heard both parties, and conſulted with his nobles and counſellors, who were all unanimouſly agreed in the ſame ſentence, he pronounced the admiral clear and innocent from the murder of the duke of Guiſe, and therefore abſolved him from that crime, commanding this proctor, and all others, that they ſhould never dare hereafter to accuſe him for the ſame. He commanded alſo, That neither his preſent accuſers, nor any other of his ſubjects, ſhould dare hereafter to make any mention of it. Nor that any of his judges or parliaments, ſhould ever admit any plea againſt him for it. He declared alſo, that ſeeing both parties had freely referred themſelves to him, his will was, that they ſhould live lovingly and peaceably together, never contriving any thing againſt each other; and that if any of them, their friends, kindreds, or partakers, ſhould violate this decree, that they ſhould be held contemners of the king's majeſty, as guilty of treaſon, as diſturbers of the public peace: And laſtly, That this his definite ſentence ſhould be recorded in all the parliaments of his kingdom.

But to return to ſomething that happened before this, the admiral had in his family one Hambervilleries, born of a noble houſe, whom he made uſe of in his moſt weighty and honeſt affairs; and it pleaſed God, that ſome letters of his being intercepted, came to the admiral's hands, wherein he wrote to ſome great courtiers, that he was ready to obey their commands, in giving the admiral a ſalutiferous potion. Our admiral having read theſe letters, called the man to him, commanding him to write ſome verſes in a paper that lay by, which when he had done, comparing both the writings together, he aſked him whether he would acknowlege his hand in thoſe letters; which he looking upon, being ſtricken with guilt for his wickedneſs, he preſently fell upon the ground, and begged his maſter's pardon. The admiral told him, that he was willing to pardon him, but upon conditions that he ſhould preſently depart out of his houſe, nor ſhould ever come into his ſight again.

Not long after the aforementioned edict of peace was publiſhed, the queen mother took council to go to Baion, to meet her ſon-in law the king of Spain, and to take her children with her. This afterwards proved the cauſe of many tragical events, though for the preſent things were kept very ſecret.

And firſt ſhe ordered her journey to Lions, which hitherto had been in poſſeſſion of thoſe of the religion, becauſe of the great number of them there; and as ſoon as ſhe came thither, ſhe preſently ſet her Italian artificers to work, to build a cindel upon a neighbouring hill, which commanded all the city.

A litle before this, the plague began to be very hot, and now it had ſeized upon the court itſelf, yet could not the queen mother be perſuaded to remove herſelf and children from the danger till ſhe had ſeen the foundation of the caſtle laid. At laſt, making Loſſius governor of that city, a cruel and barbarous man, and an implacable enemy

by to thoſe of the religion, and adjoining to him ſome ſeditious ſoldiers that might daily vex the godly inhabitants to departed. But this is very remarkable, that whitherſoever he removed the court, in cities, towns, caſtles, &c. the plague ſtill followed her, ſo that for three months together the king was in continual danger, and was ſtill forced to remove from place to place by reaſon of the infection. At laſt they came to Baion, where the queen mother met her daughter the queen of Spain, and ambaſſadors for the king, with whom ſhe communicated her counſels.

In the mean time the marſhal Monmorancy, whom the king had made governor of Paris in his abſence, had certain intelligence brought him, that the Guiſes had employed their agents to the common people of Paris, to ſtir them up againſt thoſe of the religion in that city; he heard alſo, that the cardinal of Lorrain, intended ſuddenly to be there with a great number of armed attendants, though the king by ſeveral edicts had commanded, that none in their journies ſhould carry harquebuſhes or piſtols about them. Therefore ſo ſoon as Monſieur Monmorancy heard that the cardinal was entred Paris, with his followers thus armed, he preſently taking his guard, went to them, commanding them to deliver up their arms: this the cardinal and his nephew, the young duke of Guiſes, took as an intolerable affront to them, and were often heard to ſay, that this fact ſhould coſt Monmorancy his life. The cardinal was very potent in this city, and could eaſily have raiſed fifty thouſand armed men to have ſlain the governor; whereupon he reſolved to call in ſome of his friends to his aid, and in the firſt place, he wrote to the admiral to haſten to him who accompanied with three hundred horſe, entred Paris, January 22d. which did ſo terrify the multitude, eſpecially the prieſts, monks and canons of the great church, that they began to think of flying hence.

The day after, Monſieur Monmorancy ſent for the preſidents of the parliament and the chief magiſtrates of the city to come to his houſe, to whom he complained before the admiral, of the audacioufneſs, and factious counſels of the cardinal of Lorrain, as alſo of the ſeditious ſpeeches caſt abroad in the city, as if the admiral taking advantage of the king's abſence at ſo great a diſtance, conſulted about plundering that rich city; and therefore he thought fit to call the admiral before them, that ſo he might clear himſelf from that aſperſion. Then ſaid the admiral, I have long ſince found out what my malicious and implacable adverſaries have aſperſed me withal, as if I intended to ſeize upon this city, which is the bull-wark and eye of France. But ſuch counſels as theſe are fit for thoſe that claim an intereſt, (I know not how it comes in) the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, and contend to have certain dukedoms and countries reſtored to them. For my own part, I neither challenge any right to the kingdom, nor to any part of it; which yet if I ſhould do, I think there hath not been a nobleman in France theſe ſix hundred years, which had the like opportunity to diſturb the public peace as I. Ye remember after the duke of Guiſe was ſlain, that I had the conſtable priſoner in Melun, and what a great occaſion I had thereby of doing great things if I would have embraced it: but, on the contrary, I was never more earneſt with the king and queen mother for peace, than at that time when our affairs proſpered beſt. Who can be ignorant how ſolicitous and importunate I was for peace, at that very time when many great and flouriſhing cities had delivered up themſelves into my hands? and divers other great cities, both of Normandy and Britany ſought my favour and protection? Who knows not that after peace was concluded, inſtead of begging honours and offices ambitiouſly of the king, which eaſily I might have obtained, I retired myſelf to my houſe, and there even to this time have lived a quiet and private life? Being ſent for by Monmorancy, I am come hither, not to diſturb the peace of the city, or to innovate any thing, but rather to preſerve peace againſt the audacioufneſs of ſome that would diſturb it. It is not unknown unto you how much confidence thoſe of the religion do put in me. Theſe being ſtirred up with new tumults, and terrified with the counſels and factions of the Guiſes, do daily flock to me; bring me intercepted letters of the meetings of certain captains, who command their old ſoldiers to be ready in arms, that when they have occaſion to uſe them when they may be at hand. What needs more words? Letters are intercepted written into Normandy, the orignal whereof is ſent to the queen mother, and I will ſhew you a copy of them, wherein amongſt others there is this paſſage: "There is no readier means of reſtoring the crown of France to thoſe to whom it doth belong of old, than by rooting out the houſe of Valois, and by maſſacring all the Hugonots, which are the chief upholders of it; for this end their woods are to be ſold, that with the price thereof we may arm ourſelves and get money; and if the Hugonots ſue for them, the buſineſs being once adjudged againſt them, they will never move for their charge of the ſuit."

Now alſo, what ſhould I ſpeak of the daily plunderings and murders? It is ſufficiently known, that after the peace was publiſhed, more than five hundred of thoſe of the religion were baſely murdered in ſeveral places, and yet not one of the murderers were ever yet puniſhed by the magiſtrates; and they which have complained of theſe things to the king or queen mother, have carried away either only words, or ſome empty paper or parchment inſtead of ſatisfaction. Who knows not that in the city of Turon, lately and openly, many of the religion were cruelly maſſacred even under the enſign, and by the ſoldiers of him, who was ſent thither by the duke of Monpenſier to ſettle the peace? Theſe things being ſo, yet I hear that there are many of your prieſts, who are ſo terrified by my coming hither, that they conſult about leaving the city, and yet there is no place in all France, no city, town or caſtle where the prieſts live, and attend their ſervices with more freedom and ſafety than in my town of Caſtelon.

The admiral having ended his ſpeech, the company was diſmiſſed; and two days after, there came to Monmorancy about thirty delegates from the Pariſian merchants, and with them the biſhop and divers prieſts, to all whom the admiral ſpake very friendly, bidding them be of good cheer, and fear nothing: and within few days after, going to the court of parliament, he made a ſpeech to them, and told them that nothing was more deſirable to him than the peace and welfare of the city, neither did he come to them with any other mind than to advance it; and therefore he exhorted them, that they would alſo do their endeavours that the citizens might behave themſelves peaceably and quietly; and ſo ſhortly after he returned home.

At his return, he was informed, that there was one Maius, who lived not far from him, a famous thief that was hired by the duke of Aumale, the brother of Guiſe, to lie in wait for him when he ſhould ride forth on hunting; for which end, he had given him an hundred pieces of gold and an excellent horſe; many alſo complained to the admiral againſt him for his thefts and robberies; whereupon having gotten ſufficient witneſſes, he complained of him to the parliament at Paris, and a few days after having apprehended him, he cauſed him to be carried to Paris, but when he came before the parliament, this villain accuſed the admiral, as if he had dealt with him about killing the queen mother, and had promiſed him a great reward for the ſame; the parliament after examination, finding this to be but a calumny, and proving him guilty of many thefts, condemned him to be broken upon the wheel, which accordingly was effected.

Shortly after the prince of Conde had a ſon born, to whom the king would be god-father, but becauſe he could not himſelf be preſent by reaſon of his religion, he ſubſtituted the admiral to ſupply his room, which buſineſs was celebrated with very great pomp; for at the feaſt a table was prepared as if it had been for the king himſelf, at which the admiral ſat alone, and was attended like a viceroy, which every one interpreted as a pledge of the king's ſingular love and favour to him.

Not many days after, news were brought that the duke de Alva, had by the command of the king of Spain, brought a great army into the low countries to ſuppreſs and root out the Proteſtants, and this army being to paſs by the borders of France, the admiral moved in the king's council, that Burgundy might be looked to; and leſt any tumults might ariſe about the difference in religion, he adviſed that a guard might either be appointed of the Swiſſers than of the French men; and it was commonly

reported

reported that ſix thouſand Swiſſers ſhould be ready to oppoſe the duke de Alva, in caſe he attempted any thing againſt Burgundy. But a few days after the prince of Rupefurias, of the royal blood, wrote to the admiral, to ſend him ſome truſty perſon, to whom he might communicate a ſecret which would much conduce to his ſafety: he alſo being a friend to the prince of Conde, by reaſon of their propinquity in blood, told him, that there was ſecret counſel taken at Baion, for the utter extirpation of the Proteſtant religion, and all the profeſſors of it, and for that end thoſe ſix thouſand Swiſſers were hired and brought into France, under the pretence of oppoſing the duke de Alva: the admiral alſo was informed of the ſame by many letters and meſſengers from ſeveral of his friends.

Theſe things coming forth, firſt the prince of Conde, and preſently after him the admiral went to the court, and told the king, the queen mother, and all the council, that they ſaw no ſufficient reaſon why ſo many Swiſſers ſhould be brought into France; except it were to oppreſs them and many other honeſt families which embraced the reformed religion; but they ſhould find more that had devoted themſelves to that religion, than commonly was thought of, an experience whereof they had in the late wars. They told them alſo, that if their adverſaries attempted any innovations, they would not be wanting to themſelves, nor like ſheep would ſuffer their throats to be cut by murderers. They therefore earneſtly entreat and beſeech the king's majeſty, that he would be moved to pity ſo many honeſt families, and the afflicted condition of his country, and of the common people who ſuffer much in ſuch wars. But they could get nothing at court but ſcoffs and ſcorns, whereby they perceived their lives to be in great danger, which cauſed them to withdraw, and to conſult about the preſervation of themſelves and the reformed churches: and hereunto they were earneſtly ſolicited by many of the nobility, and by multitudes of honeſt citizens, who complained that they could no longer bear the manifold injuries wherewith they were daily oppreſſed by the magiſtrates in every place.

Theſe things being ſo, the prince of Conde and the admiral, knowing of how great authority the king's name was through all France, which cauſed the Guiſes in the former wars to get him into their power; communicating their counſels but with a few, they reſolved to go privately to the court, to ſee if by any means they could get the king away from the Guiſes and queen mother, that ſo by removing him from his evil counſellors, they might the better eſtabliſh peace; but being betrayed by one of their ſociety, this deſign was wholly fruſtrated, whereby they were forced openly to prepare for war.

The prince with five hundred horſe went to St Denis, where ſome others arriving, in few days after made up the number of two thouſand horſe, and four thouſand ſhot; and the prince conſidering, that the Pariſians were not accuſtomed to faſt, hoped, that if he could take the victuals from them, he ſhould either force them to fight, or draw his enemies to a more aſſured peace: whereupon he ſent Andelot with five hundred horſe to Poiſſy and Pontois, to ſeize upon the paſſages of the Seine beneath Paris, and other troops to ſeize upon ſuch paſſages as were above the town. Some others he ſent to join with the forces that were coming out of Guienne, himſelf and the admiral with about eight hundred horſe, and a thouſand two hundred harquebuſhiers kept St Denis, to curb Paris on that ſide. But the conſtable, who was the king's lieutenant general, hearing, that the prince had thus divided his forces, iſſued out of Paris, with about a thouſand ſix hundred foot, and two thouſand lances, and well furniſhed with artillery, and having choſen a commodious place for the battle, the next day he gives the prince battle, wherein the conſtable was wounded, of which he died within a few days after.

In this battle the admiral had wonderful experience of God's goodneſs in his preſervation: for riding upon a very fierce and head ſtrong horſe, the curb of his bridle being broken, his horſe ran away with him, and carried him twice through his enemies army, yet did not the admiral receive any one wound, though many piſtols were diſcharged at him; but when as his horſe had one bullet ſhot into him, he ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily reduced into his own troop.

In this battle many fell on both ſides, eſpecially on the prince of Conde's, yet was the king's army routed and driven into Paris, whereupon the prince and admiral thought beſt to retreat into Lorrain, to meet thoſe horſe which were ſent for their aſſiſtance from divers of the German princes; for they again thought fit to oppoſe foreigners againſt foreigners.

In their march thitherwards, they were eagerly purſued by their adverſaries, eſpecially by Henry duke of Anjoy, the king's brother, afterwards king, firſt of Poland then of France, who taking all advantages to preſs upon their rear, put them to many inconveniencies.

When they came into Lorrain and met the Germans, who were commanded by Duke Caſſimire, the ſon of the Elector Palatine, they met with new troubles, for the Germans began to mutiny for their arrears, and to cry gelt, gelt, according to their uſual cuſtom; but how to ſatisfy them, or to raiſe the leaſt part of that money, the prince and admiral knew not; yet in this ſtrait our admiral found out this remedy; he adviſed, that a certain tax ſhould be impoſed upon every man in their own army, according to the rank and place which he held; and for example, himſelf diſburſed five hundred crowns; and the treaſurers going through all the regiments, collected the tribute; beſides whatſoever monies the prince, admiral, Andelot, or others had, was all put into the treaſurer's hands; ſo that in all, they collected eighty thouſand pounds, which was given to the Lanſknets, by which prudent advice of our admiral, they were extricated out of that great ſtrait.

Theſe forces being thus united, their adverſaries haſtily retired, and by long journies returned to Paris, which the duke of Anjoy looked upon as a great diſhonour to him.

But the prince of Conde's army being much encouraged hereby, went preſently and beſieged Caen, and having battered the walls, and made a ſufficient breach, juſt as Monſieur Andelot was ready with his brigade to have given the aſſault, the king's trumpeters came upon the ſpur and proclaimed, that peace was concluded, for the effecting whereof, commiſſioners had been ſent from both parties a few days before to Paris, whereupon the ſiege was raiſed, and the prince of Conde diſmiſſed his army.

But ſome days before this, word was brought to the admiral, that his wife, who together with her children in the beginning of the war had betaken themſelves to Orleance, was taken with a violent diſeaſe; whereupon he preſently poſted to Orleance, and ſending for the beſt phyſician he could get, he performed the office of a dear and loving huſband to her, yet it pleaſed God that ſhe died. This was a very great affliction to him, and when many of his friends came to comfort him, being overwhelmed with ſighs and tears, he ſaid, 'Oh my God, wherein have I ſinned and offended thee, that thou correcteſt me ſo bitterly, and loadeſt me with ſo many calamities! O that I could live more holily, and be more exemplary in my life than I have been! moſt holy Father, look upon me with the eyes of tender mercy, and eaſe me of theſe preſſures.

Then being comforted by his friends, he commanded his children to be called to him, and told them, that by this loſs of their dear mother, they might ſee the inſtability of all earthly comforts, and that there was nothing here below which they could confide in; and that houſes and caſtles, though never ſo ſtrong, were not given them for habitations, but as inns; and that therefore they ought not to truſt in any of theſe frail and fading things, but only in the mercy and goodneſs of God, and then they need not doubt but that they ſhould find him always ready at hand for their comfort; and ſo two days after, calling Monſieur Grelleus his ſon's tutor, he told him, that he muſt needs return back to the camp, where he knew not what might befall him, and therefore he required him to have a ſpecial care of his ſons, and as he had often requeſted him, to be careful to bring them up in true religion and the fear of God, as well as to inſtruct them in other arts and learning. His wife had been always very ſtudious of the reformed religion, of an admirable courage and conſtancy in bearing the manifold afflictions which befel

ſel both herſelf and huſband; and amongſt her other excellent qualities and virtues, ſhe was always very pitiful towards poor people and ſick perſons, to whom ſhe was very liberal in relieving and aſſiſting of them: and whereas many ſick and wounded ſoldiers were daily ſent from the camp to Orleance, ſhe frequently viſited them, ſo that the phyſicians judged her diſeaſe to proceed from the ſtench of them.

Peace being proclaimed (as is before ſpecified) in many places by the king's trumpeters, the admiral had ſcarce been three days at his own houſe, before letters and meſſengers came to him from many of his friends, ſignifying, that inſtead of peace, his enemies made great preparations for a more dangerous war; for they obſerved, that in every place ſuch proviſion of war was made, that if the prince of Conde himſelf, and the other aſſociates did not timely prevent it, they would be circumvented by their cruel enemies, before they were aware; and this they gathered from the garriſons put into Orleance, Altiſſiodore, Bleſa, and other cities ſurrendered unto them, as alſo by the adverſaries poſſeſſing themſelves of all the bridges and paſſes over the rivers, keeping the horſe together in the heart of France, and continuing two regiments near Paris, under a pretence of a guard for the king.

Our admiral finding theſe things to be true, thought it moſt for his ſafety to retire into Tantelian to his brother Andelot, and from thence he ſhortly after removed to Nuceria, a ſtrong city under the prince of Conde's government, whether formerly upon the like occaſion he had carried his wife and family.

In his paſſage thither, there fell out this memorable accident; near to the town of Molinius, there is a great lake in the paſſage to Altiſſiodore; when our admiral came near it, there was in his company an old man called Gripperius, that had been a great traveller by ſea, and one that loved the admiral very dearly; this man obſerving a black cloud coming towards them carried with a violent wind, he called to the admiral, deſiring him to gallop to the next town ſo faſt as he could, leſt he ſhould be oppreſſed with the violence of the ſtorm approaching; the admiral hearkening to his counſel, ſpurred on his horſe, but before he had paſſed the narrow paſſages of the lake, there ſuddenly came ſuch a violent tempeſt, accompanied with a whirlwind, that many horſes and men were quite overthrown, many were wounded with the great hailſtones, and almoſt quite ſlain; the wind took off the admiral's hat, which afterwards could never be found, and one of his followers loſt him his hat: but herein the great mercy of God did appear, that the admiral eſcaped unhurt by the hail, only one hailſtone hit and hurt him about the ankle: and had this ſtorm taken him and his company a little ſooner, whilſt they were upon the lake's bank, in all probability it had made an utter end of them.

The tempeſt being over, our admiral comforted his attendants, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he ſaid, 'O almighty God, I thank thee, from whom I know this ſtorm proceeds, to warn us of the tempeſt of danger that is approaching, by which we ſhall be ſorly preſſed, but not oppreſſed.'

When they were met together at Nuceria, they ſent divers meſſengers with letters to the king, ſignifying that they had daily intelligence of the ſnares that were laid for their lives, and therefore they beſeeched his majeſty to ſpy his kingdom waſted already with two civil wars; and that he would not ruin his kingdom, but rather by his clemency and wiſdom quench that fire that is kindled by the Guiſes.

Our admiral alſo wrote to Margaret, daughter of king Francis, and now dutcheſs of Savoy, whom he believed to have great power with the queen mother, entreating her to improve all her authority and intereſt for the diverting of the ſtorm that was approaching to the ruin of her native country. But when he perceived that no arguments nor intreaty could prevail for peace, and underſtood that Tavannes, who was a little after made marſhal of the kingdom, was ſecretly drawing his forces toward Nuceria, thinking to compaſs them in, he adviſed the prince of Conde, that they ſhould preſently depart from thence, and make all the haſte that poſſibly they could to Rochel, which city by reaſon of their antient privileges, had never hitherto admitted of any garriſon.

By the way they were to paſs over the river Liger, and in their train there was the prince of Conde's wife, and ſix little children, whereof one was but a year old; and two days after followed the admiral's, and Monſieur Andelot's children, whom the admiral had ſent for to come to them; at which time this ſtrange providence fell out; when the prince of Conde thought to tranſport his company in two or three little ſhips privately over the river near unto Sancerra, it pleaſed God that a foard was found, whereby fifty horſemen that were of the prince's train rode over, and in the mean time the ladies, women and children were ferried over in boats, and no ſooner were they gotten all over, but, though the day was fair, the river ſuddenly roſe ſo high, that the inhabitants of Sancerra took notice of the wonderful providence of God, praying heartily for the ſafety and welfare of thoſe little ones who had eſcaped ſuch a danger.

The king hearing of this their going to Rochel, by the advice of his courtiers, preſently commanded all his horſe, eſpecially thoſe that were in the countries of Xantone and Poictiers, to haſten to Rochel. He ſent alſo his brother Henry, the duke of Anjou, to raiſe all the forces he could, and preſently to march thitherwards. In the mean time thoſe of the religion, who relying upon the king's promiſe and proclamation of peace, ſtayed in their own cities, were every where baſely murdered.

About this time Joan queen of Navarr, who inthe former troubles had kept her own houſe, abhorring ſuch abominable treachery and perfidiouſneſs after peace ſo often renewed, getting what forces ſhe could together, advanced with them to Rochel, carrying with her, her ſon Henry who after her death was king of Navarr, and her only daughter.

Theſe things being thus ſettled, the admiral drew ſome great guns out of Rochel, intending to beſiege Niort, and within a few days had it ſurrendred to him. Then he led his forces to Engoliſme, which ſtands upon an high and ſteep hill, having only one paſſage to it, and therefore the enemies had a little before ſtrongly fortified it, but the admiral planting his ordinance on that ſide where it was ſuitable, within a few days ſpace had it ſurrendered to him.

Preſently after the van of each army met at Jaſenullius, and fought together, the admiral commanded that of the proteſtants; who charged the enemy ſo gallantly, that they were preſently broken and ſcattered, flying to Luſinian for ſafety, leaving all their bag and baggage behind them, ſo that the booty which the admiral gat, was eſtimated to be more worth than fifty thouſand crowns. Two days after they intercepted letters from Fizius, the king's ſecretary, to the queen mother, much bewailing that loſe.

Preſently after the admiral going to the town of Jarnac, fell into great danger, and without a ſpecial providence had become a prey to his enemies. For the enemy underſtanding that he purpoſed to tranſport his forces over the river in that place by a bridge of boats, they ſecretly laid an ambuſh on the other ſide, and obſerving the admiral where he was, they let fly all their harquebuſhes at him, and others endeavoured to break the bridge; of the admiral's ſide there was one Harquebuſhier that had often ſhot at the enemies, and at laſt was by a bullet ſlain, whereupon twelve more ran to his aid, ſo that a tumult ariſing, the admiral ran with his naked ſword, not having time to put on his arms, and endeavoured to cut in ſunder the cords wherewith the boats were faſtened; all which time the enemies ceaſed not continually to ſhoot at him, yet God wonderfully preſerved him; and from that time forwards he reſolved never to be without a life-guard for his aſſiſtance in ſuch ſudden accidents.

Two days after, the enemies having paſſed over the river Charenton, the prince of Conde feared leſt they would compaſs him about, having lately joined to them three thouſand German horſe, and ſix thouſand Swiſſers, yet being of a very reſolute and courageous mind, he reſolved to ſtop their courſe, yet withal, if poſſible, to avoid a ſet battle. In the mean time word was brought

to the admiral, that ſome of his forces which were quartered in a neighbour village, were circumvented by their enemies, and yet valiantly defended themſelves; our admiral haſtened therefore upon the ſpur to their ſuccour with ſome horſe, whom as ſoon as the enemies eſpied, they compaſſed round about, which being told to the prince of Conde, being more valiant than adviſed, he brake into the midſt of them, where being oppreſſed with the multitude, and his horſe killed under him, which alſo fell upon him, he lifting up his beaver, rendered himſelf to ſome of the king's captains, who gave him their faith for his ſafety; but preſently after came Montiſquius, captain of the duke of Guiſe his guard, not without the ſecret command of his maſter (as it was believed) and ſetting upon Conde behind his back, as he was talking with the captains, diſpatched him with a dagg ſhot into his neck. He was a prince inferior to none that lived in that age for courage and courteſy; he was eloquent in ſpeech, liberal, affable to all, and a moſt excellent commander in war. After his death his body was baſely abuſed, and at the laſt in ſcorn laid upon a ſhee aſs, and carried to Jernac.

The admiral being exceeding grieved with this great loſs, and ſuſpecting the iſſue, made a retreat, together with his brother Andelot, into the town of St. Jan de Angeli; and whereas he might have revenged the indignities done to the body of the prince, by ſhewing the like to the bodies of many of his great adverſaries whom he had ſlain, yet he would not do it, but afforded them decent burial, which thing he alſo did during all the time of the wars.

The queen of Navarr being at Rochell, and hearing of this great loſs, haſtend to the camp, comforted the captains, and exhorted all the ſoldiers not to be diſheartned, nor to forget the former valour, telling them that ſhe had brought her only ſon Henry, that was to ſucceed her in the kingdom, to be their general, profeſſing that ſhe preferred the ſafety of the army before the life of her ſon. To him was alſo Henry prince of Conde, brother to Lewis that was lately ſlain, adjoined in this honour; but the whole care for managing the war, by the joint conſent of all the commanders and officers, was wholly divolved upon the admiral, none having the like credit or authority amongſt thoſe of the religion as he: for it was well known, that, beſides his ſingular ſkill in military affairs, his juſtice and temprance, there was none amongſt all the peers of France that had ſo openly embraced and profeſſed the religion as he. He was the firſt that reformed his family according to the rule of God's word: He was the man that preſumed to prefer their petition to king Francis the ſecond, that was nearly allied to the Guiſes by affinity. He gave the firſt example to the nobility of France of piety, who were grown extreme looſe by reaſon of the diſſoluteneſs of the court; and after he had once embraced the reformed religion, he never gave the leaſt occaſion of ſcandal to the churches. And whereas many delegates repaired often to him from the churches, he always gave them wholſome and prudent counſel. He firſt took up arms, not to fight againſt the king, as ſome miſreported, but at the requeſt and prayers of the queen mother; neither yet did he it, either by his own private counſel or of the queen mother, but by the authority of the parliament of Orleance, the king being not yet twelve years old; as alſo after the king's edict for peace, eſtabliſhed and promulgated by the advice and conſent of all the ſtates of France, becauſe it was ſo notoriouſly violated by the Guiſes, to the utter undoing of many honeſt families, and almoſt the ruin of many flouriſhing cities, and to the great loſe of the lives of many famous captains, to the prejudice of the whole kingdom, and to the oppreſſion of many flouriſhing churches diſperſed almoſt in every town of France. By all which the poor kingdom was laid open to be a prey to any foreign prince that ſhould invade it.

After theſe things a grievous affliction befel the admiral by the death of his brother Andelot, who in the city of Xantone died of a violent diſeaſe ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon; and the rather, becauſe it was an uſual ſaying of Biraguus, ſhortly after made chancellor, that the war was not to be finiſhed with ſo much hazard by armed men, but rather by cooks and kitchin boys.

Upon this occaſion the admiral wrote a letter to his own and his brother Andelot's ſons, who were with their tutor at Rochel, for comforting of them, the tenor whereof was this.

'Although I belive, that the death of my brother Andelot is very grievous unto you, yet I thought fit to admoniſh you, that you have great cauſe to rejoice that you had ſo good a father and uncle, of whom I dare affirm, that he was truly religious and eminent for his valour and ſkill in military affairs, the remembrance of which virtues ought to be dear unto you, that as much as may be, you may be imitators of them; yea, I believe I may boldly affirm this of him, that there is none in all France more ſkilful in warlike affairs than was he; and I doubt not but even foreign nations will ſubſcribe to the truth hereof, eſpecially thoſe which have had experience of his virtues; and this credit he got to himſelf, not by idleneſs and ſlaggiſhneſs, but by undergoing the greateſt labours for his country's ſake; truly, I knew no man that was more devout to God ward, nor more juſt to men than he. Neither am I ignorant that it were unfit for me thus to boaſt of him to ſtrangers; but I mention them more freely to you, becauſe I would have you to be imitators of his virtues; for I even propoſe him for my own imitation; and I pray God from my heart, that when I come to die, I may with the like piety and aſſurance reſign up my ſpirit to God, as I ſaw him do; and that my grief for him may be the more extenuated, I earneſtly deſire, that I may ſee his graces and virtues to live in you; which that it may be ſo, I exhort you with all your hearts to embrace piety and true religion, and wholly to apply yourſelves to your Books, that thereby you may (through God's grace) be led the way of virtue; and though I willingly allow you to recreate yourſelves in thoſe hours which your maſter allots you, yet I charge you, take heed that in your play you neither ſpeak nor do any thing whereby you may offend God; be very careful to reverence your maſter, and obey him no otherwiſe than you would obey me; for I am perſuaded, that he would give you no other counſel than what may be for your honour and profit. In ſhort, ſee that you love me, or rather that you love yourſelves, ſo that I may hear nothing of you but what I may rejoice in; and as you grow in years and body, ſo you may grow in piety and virtue. The Lord bleſs you all, and the holy Spirit preſerve you for ever. From Xantone, May 18. 1569. Caſtellonius.

The courage and magnanimity of our admiral did exceedingly appear in this; for that, though he had loſt ſuch a brother as was ſecond to none in piety, juſtice, virtue, and the glory of his military actions, inſomuch that the admiral called him his right arm; and yet he told his friends often, that he wholly relied on the divine providence, and knew aſſuredly that the church of God was not adminiſtered by human counſels, nor this Chriſtian army led by the providence and valour of its commanders, but by God. And ſpeaking concerning his brother to his friends, he brake out into this expreſſion, 'O bleſſed Andelot, who haſt finiſhed the courſe of thy life ſo holily and happily!'

About this time news were brought him that Wolfgang duke of Bipont, had brought a ſtrong army out of Germany into France, for the aid of the proteſtants, and that he had already paſſed the Loir, and had taken Charity where was a bridge over that river; and when he understood that they were advanced as far as Chalons, he intended to join his forces with them: and that very day on which he came to them, duke Wolfgang died of a violent diſeaſe, whereupon the German army unanimouſly choſe Wolradus, count Mansfield, to be their general. This conjunction of theirs exceedingly troubled their adverſaries, and every one deemed that the king's army would not be able to ſtand before them, but that the courtiers would hereby be brought to ſtoop to them. Yet all good patriots that ſtudied the public peace, did abominate the perfidious authors of theſe wars, publicly ſaying that God never ſuffered ſuch perjury to eſcape long unpuniſhed; and it was verily believed, that if the admiral had

led this gallant army ſtraight to Paris, many great cities would willingly have yielded and put themſelves into the admiral's protection; which opinion was much confirmed hereby, for that the duke of Anjou pitching his tents near to them, and adventuring a battle, he was eaſily overthrown, moſt of his foot being either ſlain or taken, together with their commander in chief, Stroſſius, couſin german to the queen mother.

The admiral having ſo brave an army, hoping that now at laſt the king's heart would be inclined to peace, he ſent an humble ſupplication to him (the duke of Anjou not ſuffering him to ſend ambaſſadors) in his own and the army's name, intreating and beſeeching him no longer to harden his heart, but to pity the afflicted condition of the common people, and alſo to conſider, that if the war ſhould be protracted, it would turn to the great prejudice of all the ſtates of France; there being twenty thouſand auxiliary ſoldiers of both parts: and that things were brought to this paſs, that by theſe civil wars mens minds were ſo far from union and love to their country, that every one ſought the blood, ruin, and deſtruction of each other. They therefore humbly intreated, that he would ſpare his poor ſubjects that had ſo long groaned under theſe heavy preſſures, and that he would no longer be led away by the cardinals and Italians, who had too much power over him, and could not have the like fellow-feeling of the miſeries of France as the French men themſelves.

They ſuggeſted alſo, that this was now the fitteſt time for a treaty, when both parties were ſo confident of their own ſtrength; and that the conditions which he and his army would propoſe were very eaſy, viz. That they might enjoy that peace and liberty for the exerciſe of their religion, which was often confirmed to them by the decrees of all the ſtates, and by the king's own proclamations: That it was extreme madneſs in thoſe Italians and ſtrangers to think that thoſe of the religion, whereof they were at leaſt two hundred thouſand men, could ſo eaſily be rooted out, the truth whereof the experience of the former wars might eaſily demonſtrate.

The duke of Anjou having received that diſgrace which we ſpake of before, by the advice of his council, diſmiſſed a great part of his army, eſpecially of his horſe, for a month or two, bidding them go home and refreſh their bodies.

Things ſtanding thus, the admiral called a council, wherein it was determined, That ſeeing Rochel, and divers other maritime cities and places, were wholly in the power of the proteſtants, that therefore they ſhould take care for the fortifying of them, and then ſhould attempt the taking in of the city of Poictiers, which would be as a bulwark to all that country; but to this there ſeemed a main impediment, which was, the taking in of the caſtle of Lodunac, the ſtrongeſt piece in all France; yet, after they had beſieged it a few days, it was ſurrendered to them; and ſo alſo was Caſtelheraut about the ſame time. Then they proceeded to beſiege and batter Poictiers; but within a few days, the admiral, being quite tired with watching and labours, fell ſick of a flux, which held him ſo violently for thirty days together, that he could neither viſit them with his councils nor preſence; ſo that by this means the city was relieved with much proviſion, and three hundred freſh ſoldiers, which encouraged them to make divers ſallies. The king alſo wrote to them to hold out, promiſing ſpeedy aid, which animated them valiantly to defend themſelves: but it was evident, that if the Lord had not laid that affliction upon the admiral, the city had been theirs.

About this time there was one of the admiral's ſervants called Dominicus Albio, who having been taken priſoner by the king's party, and ſtayed ſome months with them, returned to his maſter, where, after a while, he was ſuſpected, by reaſon of ſome words that fell from him; and therefore being ſtrictly examined, he brought forth a box of poiſon, which one Riverius, a chief man about the duke of Anjou, had given him, together with one of his ſecretaries, both of them promiſing him two thouſand crowns, if he would poiſon his maſter. Upon this his confeſſion he was condemned to death; and though ſome would have had him tormented, yet the admiral cauſed him only to be hanged, for the terror of others.

The admiral being not yet fully recovered of his diſeaſe, news were brought him that Caſtelheraut, being about ſeven miles off, was beſieged by the enemy; whereupon, in his horſe-litter, he preſently advanced thitherward, and having relieved the place with freſh men, he eaſily raiſed the ſiege, and drave away his enemies, killed many, eſpecially of the Italians; neither gave he over the purſuit till they had paſſed the river, which for the depth of it is called Creuſa.

In the mean time, the young duke of Guiſe, who was governor of Poictiers, in the night time removed out of the city with a great company, putting a freſh garriſon into it; and the duke of Anjou having recruited his army with many French, Germans, and Swiſſers, came to Chinon; whereas the admiral's army was tired out with the long ſiege of Poictiers, and much waſted with want of proviſion, and with great tempeſts; and of thoſe which remained there were very many ſick, eſpecially of the Germans, and moſt of thoſe of Xantone were gone home to refreſh themſelves. Many alſo were gone to La Charity and Sancere, which were in the proteſtants hands; for which cauſes the admiral thought it beſt to protract time, reſtrained the eager minds of his ſoldiers from fighting: yet both captains and common ſoldiers would not be ſatisfied, threatening to go home and provide for their own ſafety, if he would not fight. They alſo judged it far more fit to fight there in their own country, where they might be ſupplied with neceſſaries, than in their enemies; eſpecially conſidering that they had divers ſtrong towns in Aquitain, the Delphinate, and Liege, into which they might retreat, and from whence they might make excurſions for the depopulating of their enemy's countries. The Germans alſo cried out, that having wanted their pay for divers months, it were better for them to fight, than to be ſo long from their own country and relations.

Thus it being reſolved that they ſhould come to a battle, both armies advanced to Moncontour ſtriving which ſhould poſſeſs the place; and the van being led by the admiral, was ſuddenly ſet upon by the enemy; the admiral ſeeking for his armour-bearer could not find him, yet unarmed as he was, he ruſhed into the midſt of his enemies, count Mansfield ſeconded him, ſo that they forced them to give ground. Hard by there was a rivulet which the enemies contended earneſtly to paſs over; whereupon the admiral taking ſome harquebuſhiers with him, haſtened to the river's bank to oppoſe them, where he continued all that evening. In the mean time the enemy continually ſhot at him, both with great and ſmall ſhot, who if they could have gotten the paſſage, might have brought great detriment to the army; for the enemies exceeded the proteſtant army by a third part, beſides they were freſh and in good plight, the other were weary and harraſſed out; but this helped them only for two days ſpace, for on the third day ſix hundred Germans ſet upon the admiral, who had only two hundred French horſe with him, and in the fight, the admiral being often ſhot at, at laſt received a wound on his face, by the right ſide of his noſe, the bullet piercing into his mouth, which wound bled ſo faſt that he could not ſpit out the blood: his ſword alſo by many blows fell out of his hand, and the bucklers of his breaſt-plate were ſo broken that it hung by very little: but in this extremity, by the aſſiſtance and faithful help of one Plorinerius, a young Norman, whom he had brought up from a child in his family, he was reſcued and conveyed out of the crowd, and his forces being overthrown, he was by his friends conveyed to Parthenæus. Here we might wonder at his conſtancy and magnanimity; for whereas, in this great calamity, moſt men gave way to deſpondency, he laboured to comfort and confirm each of them. He alſo cauſed his ſecretaries preſently to write into all the parts of France to the proteſtants that were in arms, not to be diſcouraged, or to think that he had received ſo great a blow which might not be repaired within a few days.

The very next day he removed to Niort, where, having ſettled his affairs, he went into Xantone, and there ſtayed ſeven days for the cure of his wound, which could not be

be perfectly healed in leſs than twenty-five days ſpace.

Being thus toſſed up and down with various afflictions word was brought him that the parliament of Paris, September 13. 1569. had made a decree, wherein they had declared him guilty of treaſon, and had propoſed a reward of fifty thouſand crowns to any one that would bring him alive to the king. At the ſame time he had intelligence, that one Martinengus, an Italian, baniſhed his own country for treaſon, being made by the king commander of ſome troops of horſe, had been at Caſtellion, and ſurprized his caſtle, and plundered it of all his rich furniture, which for divers ages had remained there, the value whereof was not leſs worth than one hundred thouſand crowns; beſides, he had ſo burned the whole town adjoining to the caſtle, that there was ſcarce any footſteps remaining of it; which ſad tidings were ſo far from cauſing any dejectedneſs in him, or diſſitting him for his employments, that he did not ſo much as ſhew the leaſt change in his countenance: and when his friends and kindred flocked to him to comfort him, he told them, That, through God's grace, he had this frame of ſpirit given him, that for thoſe things which are uſually called goods, he poſſeſſed them, and not they him; and that his fortunes were ſubjected to him, not he to them. And whereas, in thoſe civil wars, princes, peers, nobles, knights, horſemen and footmen, had large allowances from the king, whereby they maintained themſelves, he, on the contrary, was always careful to diſcharge his quarters, both for himſelf and family, whereby he contracted great debts, taking up money upon uſe to enable him to it; yea, he pawned his very wife's jewels, bracelets, rings, and other rich furniture, thereby to furniſh himſelf with money; by which means he did ſo weaken his eſtate, that in the end of this third civil war, he was forced, in a council of the princes, to move for ſome allowance wherewith to maintain his family.

About this time he wrote another letter to his ſons, and the ſons of his brother Andelot, who were ſtill at Rochel, under the ſame tutor, the tenor whereof was this;

"Truly it would be very grateful unto me if I had opportunity to ſee you, and to ſpeak face to face; but ſeeing I am deprived of that happineſs, I thought fit, by this epiſtle, to admoniſh you always to ſet piety and the fear of God before your faces, eſpecially at this time, when you find by experience, that there is no truſting to thoſe things which are called goods: our hope muſt be placed elſewhere than in this world, and other things muſt be ſought after than thoſe which we ſee with our eyes, and handle with our hands: but becauſe to do that is not in our own powers, we muſt earneſtly pray unto God, that he would lead us in that way which is moſt ſure and ſafe; neither yet muſt you expect that that way will prove pleaſant and delicate, and abounding with worldly felicity, for Chriſt himſelf, who hath gone before us, and is our captain and enſign bearer, muſt be imitated by us. Men indeed have deſpoiled us of thoſe things which are fading and tranſitory; but if we be willing and careful to ſubmit to the will of God, we ſhall be happy, and it ſhall be well with us at the laſt; for thoſe men have wronged you, not for any injury you ever did them, but out of a hatred againſt me, which alſo proceeds from hence, becauſe the Lord is pleaſed to honour me, by being an inſtrument of aſſiſting his afflicted church; and therefore, if for this cauſe we ſuffer loſs and inconveniencies, we have no reaſon to grieve for it, but rather to aſſure ourſelves that he will give us ſuch a reward as men ſhall not be able to take from us.

"I have many other things to write to you of, if I had leiſure; but for the preſent I have ſaid enough, if I may admoniſh and requeſt you for God's ſake, that you go on valiantly in the ſtudy of virtue, and that in all your words and actions, you ſhew an abhorrency of all vices; be obedient to your maſter, and your other governors, that though I ſeldom ſee you, yet I may hear that you increaſe in piety and good manners.

"To conclude, I pray, if it be the will of God, that whatſoever further befals us, either in our eſtates or perſons, we may have it ſanctified to us for our ſpiritual good: And I heartily pray to God, that he will be a refuge and help unto you, and a defence in this your minority. Fare you well. From Xantone, Oct. 16. 1568. Caſtellonius."

The admiral, and all the commanders of his army, having often conſulted about their future proceedings, reſolved to ſtrengthen all their garriſons, and ſo, with their light-horſe, to go into Tholouſe, where they of the religion held Montalban, a place very ſtrong both by nature and art, who alſo had gotten together a good ſum of money for paying the German auxiliaries; beſides, they hoped by paſſing over the two rivers of Garone and Lotters, to join to themſelves thoſe forces which were under the command of Montgomery, a man of great authority by reaſon of his ſkill and experience in military affairs, who alſo had lately, by the aſſiſtance of his forces, quieted Berne, that belonged to the prince of Navarr.

This journey, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way, proved very difficult and painful, eſpecially conſidering that the enemies had garriſoned all the cities, and broken down all the bridges where they were to paſs; yet, at length, with much difficulty, they came to Montalban, from whence the admiral ſent to the king and queen mother, in his own, and in the names of all that were with him, humbly entreating them, that they would not ſuffer ſo many valiant and gallant men as were in both armies, mutually to ſhed the blood of each other, but that rather, out of their clemency, they would put an end to thoſe miſchiefs; that the contrary was the counſel of ſome cardinals and biſhops, that never came into the field to try the miſeries of war, or elſe of certain Italians that rejoiced in the ruins of France; and that it was extreme madneſs to ſuppoſe that two hundred thouſand proteſtants, to whom ſo many of the nobility had joined themſelves, could ſo eaſily be ſuppreſſed and deſtroyed. Beſides alſo, it could not be, but in thoſe wars many papiſts muſt be great ſufferers as well as the proteſtants; ſome in their perſons, and others in their eſtates and families. That the ſpeeches of the courtiers were unworthy the king's majeſty, who uſed commonly to ſay, That the king would not ſpare his popiſh ſubjects, ſo that he might deſtroy his adverſaries; for it was the voice of a tyrant, not of a king, to ſay, *Pereant amici, dum una inimici intereidant.* 'Let my friends periſh, whilſt mine enemies fall together with them.' That the conditions of peace were only viz. That the decrees made by the ſtates of Orleance, and the edicts of Paris, might be renewed and eſtabliſhed, whereby the proteſtants were allowed certain places for public worſhip.

Theſe meſſengers being diſpatched away, they preſently reſolved to paſs the river Garonna, which was between theirs and Montgomery's forces, but the paſſage ſeemed very difficult, by reaſon of the breadth, depth, and ſwiftneſs of the river; whereupon the admiral reſolved to take in the town of Marian, which ſtands upon the river's bank, which he alſo did, and Montgomery coming to the other bank, the admiral intended to make a bridge, which alſo, with admirable art and induſtry he affected, and ſo in two days ſpace, paſſed the German horſe over it. But the night after, a ſhip coming ſwiftly along the ſtream, brake down the bridge, ſo that they were forced to make a new one of boats, whereby Montgomery's army came over ſafe to them, and the German horſe alſo, which brought up his rear; and ſo having ſtaid there two days for the refreſhing of his men, he led his army to Tholouſe, and took in all the neighbouring towns, either by ſtorm or ſurrender, though he had only two great guns in his train, which he brought with him from Montalban. And the proteſtant army was the more incenſed againſt them of Tholouſe, becauſe (ſay they) they have been violent to burn them of our religion: they beheaded captain Rapin, who carried them the edict of peace from the king; they have alſo committed many other inſolencies which now cry for vengeance, and God hath put an opportunity into our hands, which we muſt not neglect, &c.

Having diſpatched theſe things, he reſolved to march to Vivaret, and to the bank of Rhodanus, and underſtanding that ſome were up in arms for him in the Delphinate, who alſo had taken ſome towns, he ſent part of his forces to them, to aſſiſt them in taking in ſome cities of greater conſequence, committing the government of them to count Lodwick of Naſſaw, who arriving in the Delphi-

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nate, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the inhabitants, as cauſed them to fly into the cities; but he, having no guns for battery, only waſted the enemy's country, and ſo with honour returned within a few days to the admiral.

Shortly after the admiral, worn out with cares, watchings, and inceſſant labours, fell ſick; and though he was greatly afflicted with his diſeaſe, yet conceiving that was of great concernment for him to get to the river Liger, he made no ſtay, but in his horſe-litter marched with his army thitherward; for he was informed that about La Charity and Sancerra, there were about two hundred riſen in arms for him, whom he thought to be of great concernment to adjoin to his army, the rather becauſe Coſſeus, marſhal of the kingdom, after the battle in Xantone, by the king made general of the army, in the room of the duke of Anjou, as he underſtood, advanced with his army that way, and began to approach near him. And whereas there came a trumpet from him to the admiral, about exchange of priſoners, the admiral ſent him word by his trumpet, that he ſhould not need to be at ſo much pains to ſeek him, for that he himſelf was haſting towards him, ſo faſt as he could.

When he was advanced ſo far as the forreſt, behold new ambaſſadors met him from the king about a peace; for when the courtiers heard that the admiral, whom they thought to be utterly broken by his former overthrow, had in ſo ſhort a time gotten ſo gallant an army together again, they were extremely terrified, leſt he ſhould march directly towards Paris, and there ſhould plunder and deſtroy the brave country houſes of the courtiers, ſenators, and rich citizens of Paris, the like whereunto they had heard that the ſenators and citizens of Tholouſe had already felt.

The admiral by his march (though in his horſe litter) had his diſeaſe much encreaſed upon him, and the phyſicians gave their judgment, that if he continued ſtill to be preſſed with ſo great cares, and multiplicity of buſineſſes, he could not hold out long, whereupon the treaty with the king's ambaſſadors broke off for a time; but ſome nobles that were weary of the wars, complained, that there was no reaſon that the treaty ſhould ceaſe, becauſe the admiral could not be preſent at it, affirming, that though he ſhould die, yet there were men of honour and intereſt enough that could carry on the treaty, to the eſtabliſhing of peace. The ambaſſadors anſwered them, We wonder that you do not conſider of how great authority the admiral is amongſt you, who if he ſhould die to day, we would not offer to any of you to-morrow ſo much as a cup of cold water. What! do you not yet know, that the only name of the admiral can prevail more for you, than a great army without him?

Within a few days, the admiral being refreſhed, and in a good meaſure recovered, the treaty began again, and at laſt it was concluded, That certain commiſſioners ſhould go along with the king's ambaſſadors, to ſignify to his majeſty, in the name of them all, That they of the religion deſired nothing more than peace, neither was any thing more grievous to them than war; yet was there none of them but would undergo greater miſeries, yea, and death itſelf, rather than to deny the truth which they had embraced: That if the king pleaſed to grant them peace, and the exerciſe of their religion, upon the former conditions, and to put ſome cautionary towns into their power, for their ſecurity, they would willingly, and for ever, lay down their arms.

Theſe meſſengers being diſpatched, the admiral advanced forward, and in his way took in the town of Reneducium, to which ſome of the vantcurriers of Coſſæus were come, and from that day forwards there was no day paſſed without ſome ſkirmiſhes between the two armies; and one day the minds of the ſoldiers on both parts were ſo far inflamed, that it had near come to a general battle, there being only a little brook between the two armies, Monſieur Mongomery having already broken the firſt battle of the adverſaries, wherein were Valetius and Vaſco, men of great authority amongſt the royaliſts: but preſently came new meſſengers from the king, deſiring a ceſſation from arms till the treaty was finiſhed; and, after great debate, an edict was ſent from the king, by which certain places were allotted to the proteſtants, for the exerciſe of their religion in, for the performance whereof they had for two years four cautionary towns put into their hands, viz. Rochel, Montalban, Cognac, and Charity. And the king's proclamations hereof were ſent all over the kingdom; and ſo an end was put to the third civil war.

The admiral bringing the German forces to the borders of their country, diſmiſſed them courteouſly, and ſo taking the two young princes of Navarr and Conde, he went with them to Rochel, where the queen of Navarr was, purpoſing to ſtay there, till the peace was fully ſettled in every place. And, after a few months, truſting to the king's promiſes, and to the oaths of the king's brethren and parliaments, having been tired out with ſo many and great labours, he betook himſelf to reſt; and at the entreaties and perſuaſions of his friends, inclined to diſpoſe of himſelf again in marriage, the rather becauſe he was earneſtly ſolicited thereto by the kindred of Jacoba Monbella, who was daughter of count Intermontanus, of whoſe modeſty, piety, and holy life he had heard much formerly. She therefore being brought honourably to him to Rochel, he ſolemnly married her; and not long after he diſpoſed his own daughter Ludovica in marriage to Monſieur Teligni, a young man of great nobility and virtue. Of all the nobility in France none ſeemed more acceptable and dearer to the king than this Teligni, by reaſon of his admirable ingenuity; and therefore being much about the king, it was he that did afterwards perſuade the admiral of the great eſteem and hearty good will of the king towards him.

But God quickly mixed ſorrow with the joy of theſe marriages, news being brought about that time, of the death of Odet Coligni, cardinal of Chattillion, who had been ſome time in the court of England, as the procurator for the cauſe of the proteſtants with queen Elizabeth, who much favoured him for the amplitude of his family, and the opinion of his virtue and integrity. But the proteſtants affairs being compoſed in France, his brother Gaſpar ſent for him. Whereupon, coming to Queen Elizabeth, he obtained leave for his departure; but being taken with a ſudden diſeaſe, he died Feb. 14. 1571. not without the ſuſpicion of poiſon, and was buried at Canterbury, being about fifty years old. He was a man of rare courage, candour, and faithfulneſs, of a ſharp judgment, ſo that few were to be compared with him in managing great affairs. Guillin his chamberlain poiſoned him with an apple, at the inſtigation of the queen-mother, as he confeſſed at the time of his death, when afterwards he was taken as a ſpy at Rochel, for which he was hanged.

But all this while the duke of Anjou was a great enemy to the proteſtants, and boaſted every where of his victories againſt them, yet the king did what he could to perſuade the king of Navarr and the admiral, of his great good will towards them, that they might be induced the more to confide in him. Notwithſtanding which the Papiſts in ſome places made ſlaughter of the Proteſtants. As in Orenge, whither all the inhabitants returned, who had been driven away in the time of the late wars, the popiſh ſoldiers made an aſſault upon them, and ſlew them without regard of age or ſex. Alſo in Roan, and other places they were ſlain in great numbers by the popiſh rabble. Whereupon the queen of Navarr, the princes and other proteſtant nobles ſent to the king to complain of the violation of the edict, and to require ſatisfaction for the ſame. The king entertained them kindly, proteſted that theſe things were done to his great grief, and that he would ſo puniſh the authors of theſe miſchiefs, as ſhould be for the terror of others.

Not long after, *viz. Anno Chriſti.* 1571. the king wrote very flattering letters to the admiral, giving him very honourable terms, inviting him to his court at Bleſa, entreating him that he would be an inſtrument of concluding a marriage between Henry prince of Navarr, and his ſiſter Margaret: and to prevail the more with him, he ſent him word by his meſſengers, that no furer way could be found out for eſtabliſhing the public peace of the kingdom, and for uniting all ſorts of perſons, than by this marriage.

And the better to delude him, the Guiſes ſeemed to be every day to leſs welcome to him than any other, and Monmorency (the admiral's ſiſters ſon) was uſed very familiar-

ly by the king, who often proteſted to him his good will towards the admiral; communicated to him the counſels of his greateſt affairs, for the managing whereof he told him, that he had need of the admiral for to be his captain and miniſter. The queen mother alſo, according to her manner, proteſted that ſhe liked nothing better than that a certain peace ſhould be confirmed upon equal conditions, the memory of former matters being blotted out.

By theſe means the admiral was drawn to the court, where he was entertained extraordinary lovingly, even beyond expectation; ſo that when he fell down on his knees to do reverence, the king took him up, calling him his father, ſaying often and openly, that a more deſired day never ſhone upon him than that, wherein he ſaw an end put to the war, and a firm peace ſettled in the whole kingdom by his preſence; adding with a ſmiling countenance, 'Now we have you with us, you ſhall never depart from our ſide hereafter.'

He was entertained with the ſame ſerenity of countenance by the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, but eſpecially by the duke of Alanſon, who much favoured him. The king alſo ſeconded his words with deeds, cauſing one hundred thouſand crowns to be paid him out of his treaſury for his private loſſes in the laſt wars; he gave him alſo his revenues of the cardinal his brother, which were very great, for one year, and alſo the furniture and houſhold ſtuff of the ſaid cardinal.

A few days after the admiral's return from the court, the young duke of Guiſe, by the inſtigation of the cardinal of Lorraine, his uncle, would have put in a new complaint againſt the admiral for the death of his father, but the king interpoſing his authority, drew up a form of agreement which he made both of them ſet their ſeals to, and to take their oaths for the keeping of it; notwithſtanding which, the duke of Guiſe ſhortly after entered Paris, accompanied with many armed men, which the admiral hearing of, being then at his houſe at Caſtellion, he moved the king by his ſon in law monſieur Teligni, that he might have leave to keep a ſmall guard for his own ſafety: whereupon the king wrote to him with his own hand, and ſent his letter by Bricmald, a man of great eſteem for his virtue; the tenor whereof was this.

'That it was moſt acceptable to him, that the admiral ſhould be exceeding cautious and careful of his own ſafety and therefore he gave him power to fortify his caſtle, and to raiſe as great a guard as he pleaſed, deſiring him to be confident without doubting of his good will towards him; and that he would be as careful of his ſafety, as a father of his child's.' Theſe letters with many ſuch expreſſions of love being written with the king's own hand, many read with great delight, and were now throughly perſuaded that they ought no longer to doubt of the king's good will and ſincere affection to the admiral.

Hereupon count Lodwick of Naſſaw (whom we mentioned before) thinking this a fit time (and being ſecretly invited to the court) moved the king in the name of his brother the prince of Orange, for aſſiſtance; telling him that there were many cities in the low countries, that being oppreſſed and tired out with the luſt, covetouſneſs, and cruelty of the Spaniards, would willingly ſurrender themſelves unto his hands; and after a few days ſpent in debate about this buſineſs, the king faithfully promiſed count Lodwick, that very ſhortly he would ſend a great army under the command of the admiral thither; and it was further agreed on betwixt them, that if they ſucceeded in that war, the king of France ſhould have all the country from Antwerp to Picardy, and that the prince of Orange ſhould have Holland, Zeland and Friſland.

About this very time letters, were intercepted and ſent to the admiral, written from the cardinal Pelcus to the cardinal of Lorrain to this purpoſe.

That the king was never better affected than now; and therefore becauſe of his good affections, together with the queen mother's, and the duke of Anjou's, he hoped there would be a good iſſue of thoſe affairs which were reſolved on in the private council; that the king at the admiral's coming to court, had carried himſelf more politicly than they could have expected; whereupon the king believed that he had taken away all ſuſpicion from the admiral, and had left him no occaſion of doubting of his love and good will towards him, which Lorrain knew to be the baſis, by their joint conſent, upon which their future proceedings did depend. That ſome ſpeech was indeed raiſed about warring upon the king of Spain, which the king made ſuch uſe of, that the admiral thence collected arguments of his greater good will towards him. That they muſt uſe ſuch artifices whilſt they expected an opportunity to effect what was reſolved on. That the king of Spain was throughly acquainted with all theſe proceedings, that ſo he might ſuſpect nothing by reaſon of theſe great preparations which were made for war; for he was aſſured that this was done upon good grounds, as ſubſervient to the principal end That therefore he deſired the cardinal that whatſoever he had heard, or ſhould hear hereafter, yet he ſhould aſſure himſelf, that the king would never depart from his firſt purpoſe, and that whatſoever he did, did but conduce to haſten the end of their counſels, and that both the king, queen-mother, and duke of Anjou, were all very ſollicitous for this thing, and that as ſoon as ever the buſineſs ſhould be effected, they would inſtantly ſend away meſſengers to acquaint Lorraine with it. And as for the buſineſs of the prince of Navarr's marriage, they hoped that it would quickly be effected, for this was to begin all their future deſigns, &c.

He that ſent theſe letters to the admiral, hoped that he would have been warned by them to look to himſelf and his affairs, but he had ſuch a ſtrong confidence of the king's love and good will towards him, which alſo was daily nouriſhed in him by his ſon-in law Teligni, that he which was moſt provident and ſharp ſighted in all other buſineſs, was fatally blind in this.

In the beginning of May 1571. the king deſired the queen of Navarr to go to Paris, to provide all things neceſſary for the marriage, where ſhe arrived the fifteenth day of the ſame month: and the fourth day of June ſhe fell ſick of a fever, whereof ſhe died five days after, to the extreme grief and ſorrow of all her ſervants and friends. Two days before her death, being in perfect memory, ſhe made a moſt Chriſtian teſtament and laſt will, finiſhing her courſe with ſingular piety and joy in God.

She was a princeſs of great experience by reaſon of her manifold adverſities, in all which ſhe ſhewed an invincible conſtancy, and heroical greatneſs of courage, moſt affectionate to her religion, very careful of the education of her children, training them up in the fear of God. In her words moſt grave and full of motherly affections to them. She had a ready and well adviſed wit, was pitiful and eaſy to be entreated, conſtantly maintained that which ſhe judged to be good, and agreeable to the will and good pleaſure of God. She had a great vivacity of ſpirit, whereby ſhe was able to comprehend all her affairs, and had a lively grace in repreſenting them, either by word or writing. She died Jan 9. 1572. and of her age 44.

It was believed that ſhe was poiſoned by the ſmell of certain perfumes; the doctors and chirurgeons which opened her, were commanded not to open her brain where the miſchief lay, and therefore could not determine about the cauſe of her death.

The admiral in this time, was at his houſe at Caſtillion, where he received many letters and meſſages from the king to come to him; and becauſe he ſtirred not, the king ſent Cavagnes and Briquemand to fetch him, that they might come to a concluſion about the wars in Flanders; and ſpecial commandment was given to the provoſt of merchants and other chief men, that at the admiral's coming to Paris, there ſhould be no affronts done him.

About the ſame time the admiral had many adverti-ſements from his friends, both within and without the realm: that though he could not conceive any ſiniſter opinion of the king, his mother, or brother, that yet at leaſt he would conſider into what place he was about to truſt himſelf, among ſo many implacable enemies. But he, reſting upon the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and the providence of God, rejected all thoſe counſels as proceeding from men's covetouſneſs, or deſire of new troubles

which

which he abhorred worſe than death; and therefore taking a ſmall train with him, he went to Paris, and was very honourably entertained by the king, queen mother, the king's brethren and others, to the great aſtoniſhment of the whole city.

At the admiral's coming to Paris, among other letters that were brought to him, there was one that gave him theſe warnings. Remember the Popiſh maxim, confirmed by the authority of councils, 'That faith is not to be kept with heretics,' in which number the proteſtants are accounted. Remember the implacable ſpirits of the Papiſts at this time, irritated by the laſt wars. There is no doubt but it is the fixed purpoſe of the queen mother to deſtroy the proteſtants by any means whatſoever. Conſider that ſhe is an Italian, of a moſt crafty wit, born of the progeny of popes, who contrives all extreme things againſt her enemies. Remember in what ſchool the king hath been brought up from his childhood; how he hath been taught to ſwear and forſwear: to pollute himſelf with whoredoms and adulteries: to compoſe his countenance: to counterfit faith and religion: how he hath been accuſtomed to cruelty and blood ſhed: how he hath been taught not to ſuffer above one religion in his kingdom: how it hath been whiſpered into his ears, that the proteſtants ſeek to diſpoil him of his life and kingdom: that he is not bound to keep covenants made with armed ſubjects: that he is taught the myſteries of ſtate policy. Remember that Commodus cauſed Julianus to be ſlain, whom he pretended to honour and embrace as a father. That Antoninus Caracalla under the pretence of a maſſer, cauſed all the chief youths of the city to be ſlain. That Lyſander, under the pretence of friendſhip, commanded the throats of four hundred Mileſians to be cut. That lady Antonius Spinola invited all the chief men of Corſica to a banquet, where they were all ſlain. That Chriſtian king of Denmark, uſed the ſame art to commit that horrid maſſacre at Stockholme, &c.

That the king's ſpeech to his mother at Blois was no ſmall, when ſwearing fearfully, he aſked her whether he had not carried himſelf well at the coming of the queen of Navarr? to whom ſhe anſwered, that he had begun well, but that would profit little, unleſs he went on; But I (ſaith he ſwearing often) 'will bring them all into the net.' Wherefore if you be wiſe, haſte both out of the court and city with all ſpeed, as out of a moſt impure ſink.

The admiral having read this letter, though he were diſſuaded, yet leaſt he ſhould ſeem to neglect the prayers, and warnings of his friends, he returned this anſwer; that there was no place left any longer for theſe ſuſpicions; that he was verily perſuaded, that ſo great perfidiouſneſs could not enter the heart of a good king; that indeed the duke of Anjoy was more eſtranged from the Proteſtants; but that hatred would by degrees ceaſe by reaſon of the affinity contracted with the king of Navarr: that the king had entred into a league with the queen of England, and endeavoured to do the ſame with the Proteſtant princes in Germany, which ſufficiently ſhews how he ſtands affected to the Proteſtants. Moreover, that faith was given to the prince of Orange, and to Adolph earl of Naſſau his brother to aid them againſt the Spaniards. That the king's embaſſadors did daily ſearch into the counſels of the duke de Alva, and acquainted the king therewith, as the king daily informed him; that the army under Stroſſius at Brouage, is rigged for no other end but to diſturb the Spaniſh fleet, and to aſſiſt the prince of Orange. That for himſelf they need not fear, the king having made friendſhip betwixt the Guiſes and him, faith being mutually that neither ſhould injure other. To conclude, that the king doth all he can to have peace at home and war abroad: and to tranſlate it into the low countries againſt the Spaniards; wherefore he prayeth his friends, not to trouble his mind any more with ſuſpicions, which is now buſied with weightier matters, and to join with him in prayer to God, that he would bring thoſe things to a good iſſue, which are well begun for his glory, and the good both of church and kingdom.

A little before, Count Lodwick with ſome others, had commiſſions from the king to ſurprize ſome frontier town in Flanders. On the other ſide the duke de Alva had intelligence of every ſtep that Count Lodwick took, yet ſuch was his diligence, that he ſurprized Monts in Henault, wherewith the duke was ſo netled, that he ſaid, the queen mother had ſent him the flowers of Florence, but he would for them return her Spaniſh thiſtles; but upon ſome farther intelligence he was ſoon pacified.

Many lords and gentlemen of the religion, accompanied the king of Navarr and prince of Conde to Paris, and the king drew many of them thither, who otherwiſe would have kept their houſes under pretence of his wars in Flanders.

Count Lodwick was preſently beſieged in Monts by de Alva, whereupon the king gave commiſſion to Monſieur Jealis, to raiſe horſe and foot for his ſuccour; but de Alva being acquainted with all his proceedings, ſurprized him, which the king ſeemed to be much grieved at, and preſently wrote to his embaſſadors in the low countries to procure the deliverance of the priſoners. He alſo encouraged the admiral to ſend all the help he could to the Rutters, whom the prince of Orange had levied for the relief of his brother, cauſing monies to be delivered to him for their pay.

The embaſſadors of Spain alſo ſeemed to be very malecontent, becauſe the king began war in Flanders; and the king's mother played her part in this tragedy, pretending, that ſhe knew nothing of the king's proceedings, and now ſhe did know them, ſhe would leave the court. Theſe juglings were carried ſo handſomly, that the admiral, Teligni his ſon-in-law, and other lords were confidently perſuaded, that the king was wholly guided by the admiral's advice.

July, the laſt, the Rochelers wrote to the admiral, that the king's army approached near them, that from Xantone and Gaſcoine, it daily waſted the country about them, uſing terrible threatnings againſt their town, and menacing to plunder it; whereupon they intreated his advice, eſpecially about receiving eight hundred men, which they ſought to put as a garriſon into the town. The admiral made them an honourable anſwer, Auguſt 7. aſſuring them of the care he had over them, adding, that he found the king ſo well diſpoſed for peace, that all men had cauſe to commend him. Yet the Rochelers neglected not to look to themſelves and to fortify their town. In other towns many were the threats of the papiſts againſt the Proteſtants, which much terrified ſome: others relied upon the admiral's preſence and favour at court; and to ſuch as ſuggeſted doubts to him, he ſaid, that the king had reconciled the differences betwixt the Guiſes and him, cauſing both parties to ſwear friendſhip. That the king gave his ſiſter in marriage, not ſo much to the king of Navarr, as to the whole church of the Proteſtants to join with them thereby in an inviolable union, and therefore he beſought all of them, that either by writing, or words adviſed him of the hatred of the king, queen mother, the duke of Anjoy, or the houſe of Guiſe, no more to trouble him with thoſe things, but rather to commend all in their daily prayers to God, and to give him thanks who of his infinite mercy had brought things to ſo good an end.

Auguſt 17. Henry, king of Navarr, and the Lady Margaret of France, ſiſter to the king, in the evening were conducted to the Louvre, and the next day were married by the cardinal of Bourbon, in the ſight of all the people upon a great ſcaffold made before the gate of the great church in Paris, which day was paſſed over in Banquets, dances and maſks; and that very day the admiral wrote a Letter to his wife great with child in this tenor.

MOST DEAR AND DESIRED WIFE,

"This day was celebrated the marriage between the king of Navarr and the king's ſiſter, and theſe three or four enſuing days will be ſpent in feaſtings, maſkings and dancings. The king hath promiſed me, that after a few days he will ſet a time apart to hear the complaints which are brought from ſeveral parts of the kingdom for violating the edict of peace; for the proſecution whereof, its very neceſſary that I ſhould improve all my intereſt with the king: for, though I have an earneſt deſire to ſee thee, yet it would be grievous to me, and I ſuppoſe to thee alſo, if I ſhould be any ways deficient in a buſineſs of ſo great concern-

concerment; neither will my ſtay here about it be ſuch, but that I hope to come to thee this next week. If I ſhould only reſpect my own content, it would be much more pleaſing to me to be with thee, than to ſtay any longer at court, for ſundry reaſons which I may hereafter impart to thee; but I muſt have more reſpect to the public good than either to my own pleaſure or profit. I have ſome other things to impart to thee ſo ſoon as God ſhall bring us together, which I much long for both day and night. All that I have for the preſent to write to thee is only thus much; at four o'clock this afternoon was celebrated the maſs for the marriage, during which time the king of Navarr walked without the church, with ſome other noblemen of our religion. Some other matters of ſmaller concerment I ſhall reſerve till we have an opportunity to ſpeak together; in the mean time, (moſt dear and loving wife), I pray for thee, that God will protect and keep thee; farewel. Auguſt 18. 1572."

"Three days ſince I was much tormented with the ſtone and cholic but through God's mercy, they held me not above eight or ten hours, and now by the ſame mercy I am wholly freed from them. I promiſe thee, that in theſe great feaſts and paſtimes I will trouble none. Once again, farewel. Thy moſt loving huſband, Chattillion".

About the ſame time, their counſels for the maſſacre being not yet ripened, the king with the greateſt demonſtrations of good will that might be, thus accoſts the admiral; "My father, remember what you have undertaken to me, that you will be injurious to none of the Guiſes whilſt you are in the court, they alſo have interchangeably given their faith, that they will carry themſelves honourably and modeſtly towards you. And truly I put as great truſt as may be in your words, but I have not the ſame confidence in their promiſes. For, beſides that, I know that the Guiſes ſeek occaſion of revenge, I know their diſpoſition to be bold and haughty, and with what great favour and affection the people of Paris do follow them. It would be a great grief to me, if they who have brought into the city many men of war notably furniſhed with arms, under colour of coming to the marriage ſolemnity, ſhould go about any thing for your deſtruction, which would extremely reflect upon me; and therefore I think it fit, if you be of the ſame mind, to bring a regiment of Prætorian ſoldiers into the city, under the command of ſuch men, (meaning ſome that were leaſt ſuſpected) who may not only be ready for the public ſecurity, but upon all emergencies, if turbulent ſpirits ſhould attempt any thing againſt you." This friendly ſpeech ſo prevailed with the admiral, that he gave his conſent, and ſo a regiment was brought in without the ſuſpicion of the Proteſtants, which afterwards helped to cut their throats.

Five days after, as the admiral came from the court as he had been all that morning, accompanied with twelve or fifteen gentlemen, being on foot about an hundred paces from the Louure, walking ſoftly, and reading a petition, juſt over againſt the houſe of one Villemure, a canon and tutor to the young duke of Guiſe, one ſhot with an harquebuſh at him through a lattice window, the gun was loaded with three braſs bullets, one whereof brake the fore finger of his right hand, the other two pierced his left arm; he that ſhot it had a horſe ready at the back door, whereon being mounted, he eſcaped through St Anthony's gate, where, finding the Spaniſh Jennet held ready for him, he poſted away to the place appointed for his retreat. The door of the houſe being burſt open, the harquebuſh was found with a laquey, and another ſervant who belonged to Challey the ſteward of the king's houſe, and a great dealer in the duke of Guiſe's affairs, who alſo the day before had brought this harquibuſhier to that houſe, deſiring that he might be well entertained. The laquey alſo was ſent that morning by this harquebuſhier whoſe name was Maurevel, to the duke of Guiſe's groom of his ſtable, requiring that the horſe ſhould be ready that was promiſed him.

The admiral being brought to his lodging, ſhewed ſingular piety and patience; Chirurgeons were ſent for, and among the reſt, Ambroſe Pareus, the king's chirurgeon, who began firſt with his finger which he cut off, but his pinchers not being keen, he opened and preſſed them three times before he could cut it off. Then he lanced both thoſe places in his arm which the bullets had pierced; all which the admiral bore, not only with a courageous heart, but with a conſtant countenance, inſomuch as ſeeing his friends to weep which held his arm whilſt the inciſions were made, he ſaid unto them, 'My friends, why do ye weep? I judge my ſelf happy that bear theſe wounds for the cauſe of my God.' And withal looking upon monſieur Merlin his miniſter, he ſaid, 'theſe wounds my friends, are God's bleſſings, the ſmart indeed of them is troubleſome, but I acknowledge the will of my Lord God therein, and I bleſs his Majeſty who hath been thus pleaſed to honour me, and to lay any pain upon me for his holy name's ſake; let us beg of him that he will enable me to perſevere unto the end.'

And ſeeing monſieur Merlin to weep and lament, he ſaid to him, 'my Merlin, you ſhould rather comfort me:' to whom he anſwered, indeed there can be no greater comfort than to think upon the honour which God hath done you, in judging you worthy for his name and religion's ſake to ſuffer theſe pains. My Merlin, anſwered the admiral, 'If God ſhould have dealt with me according to my deſerts, or have uſed his power over me, he muſt have dealt far more ſeverely with me; but bleſſed be his name, who hath dealt ſo mildly and lovingly with me his unworthy ſervant.'

Then ſaid another that ſtood by, go on with this your piety, for God ought to be prailed by you who hath left the greateſt part ſafe and untouched, for which cauſe you have greater reaſon to admire his mercy in theſe wounds, than to complain of his juſtice, eſpecially conſidering that neither your head nor your mind are wounded. Then ſaid Merlin, you do very well, Sir, that you turn your thoughts from theſe murderers to God, for truly it was his hand that inflicted theſe wounds, neither ought you at all to think upon the bloody mindedneſs of your adverſaries. Truly, ſaid the admiral, 'I freely and from my heart forgive both him that ſhot at me, and theſe alſo that ſet him on. For I know aſſuredly that it is not in their power to hurt me, no though they ſhould kill me, for my death is a moſt certain paſſage to eternal life.' The ſame words he ſhortly after ſpake to marſhal Danvill who he came to viſit him.

And whereas monſieur Merlin told him that the afflictions and calamities which happen to God's children ule to quicken them more in prayer: the admiral thereupon with an audible voice and fervent ſoul, poured out this prayer unto God.

'O Lord God, and my heavenly Father, have mercy upon me for thy tender mercies ſake; remember not againſt me my former iniquities, neither charge me with the ſins of my youth. If thou Lord ſhouldſt ſtrictly mark what is done amiſs, or ſhouldſt impute to us our breach of covenant, what fleſh could ſtand before thee, or endure thine anger? as for me, diſclaiming all falſe gods and worſhip, I only call upon thee the eternal Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and worſhip thee alone; for Chriſt his ſake, I beſeech thee to beſtow thy holy ſpirit upon me, and give me the grace of patience. I only truſt in thy mercies, all my hope and confidence is placed on thee alone, whether thou pleaſeſt to inflict preſent death on me or to ſpare my life to do thee further ſervice. Behold Lord, I am prepared to ſubmit to thy will in either, nothing doubting, but if thou pleaſeſt to inflict death upon me, thou wilt preſently admit me into thine everlaſting kingdom. But if, Lord thou ſuffereſt me to live longer here, grant, O moſt heavenly Father, that I may ſpend all the remainder of my days in advancing thy glory, and in obſerving and ſticking cloſe to thy true religion.' Amen.

His prayer being ended, Monſieur Merlin asked him if he pleaſed that they alſo ſhould go to prayer with him: yea, ſaid he, with all my heart; and whilſt Merlin was praying, the admiral with his eyes fixed upon heaven joined with great devotion. And after prayer, when Merlin minded him of the example of the antient martyrs, telling him that there was not any man from the beginning of the world, that laid out all his labour and intereſt for God and his true religion, but that he met with manifold afflic-

afflictions; the admiral interrupted him, ſaying, 'I am refreſhed and confirmed with this ſpeech, and the examples of the holy fathers and martyrs do much comfort me, and mitigate my pain.

Preſently after the two marſhals of the kingdom, Monſieur de Coſſe and Danvil came to viſit him, telling him that they were extremely grieved for his miſhap, and that nothing could have happned more bitter to them; yet withal, ſay they, we judge it equal and agreeable to your former valour to recollect and ſhew yourſelf a man, for your virtue hath given you far more than this ill chance can take from you. Then the admiral turning to de Coſſe, ſaid, do you not remember, Sir, what I told you of late? truly ſo much attends you alſo. But ſaid Danvil, my admiral, I purpoſe neither to comfort you, nor exhort you to courage and conſtancy, for yourſelf is the man from whom ſuch conſolations and exhortations uſe to proceed, only I requeſt you to conſider wherein I may be ſerviceable unto you; I wonder from whence this miſchief did proceed! then ſaid the admiral, truly I can ſuſpect none but the duke of Guiſe, yet dare I not affirm that it was he; however, through God's mercy, I have learned neither to fear mine enemies, nor death itſelf, which I am ſure can do me no hurt, but may forward my eternal peace and happineſs: for I know that my God in whom I have put all my confidence, can neither deceive nor lie unto me. Only herein I am ſorrowful, for that by this accident I am diſabled to ſhew the king how much I could have done for his ſervice (meaning in the war of Flanders;) would to God I had an opportunity to ſpeak with his majeſty, for I have ſome things to impart to him, which much concern his intereſt, and I believe there is none that dare tell it him but myſelf.

In the mean time the king of Navarr, and the prince of Conde complained grievouſly of this vile and treacherous fact to the king, curſing and ſwearing grievouſly, called God to witneſs, that he would ſo ſeverly puniſh this wickedneſs towards the admiral, that he would leave the example to all future ages to take heed of ſuch villany; and thereupon the lacquy and woman that were found in the houſe, were apprehended and caſt into priſon.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the king hearing of the admiral's deſire to ſpeak with him, went to him accompanied with the queen mother, his two brethren, the duke of Montpenſier, the cardinal of Bourbon, marſhall Danvill, Tavanne, de Coſſe, &c. When the king came firſt into the admirals chamber, he cauſed all his ſervants go forth, except Monſieur Teligni, his wife, and Merlin; then going to the bed's ſide, the admiral ſaid to him, I humbly thank you, Sir, that you have been pleaſed to put your ſelf to ſo much trouble for my ſake. Then did the king with flattering words congratulate his valiant mind, and bad him be of good courage, and hope well of the iſſue. To whom the admiral replied.

'Sir, there are three things wherewith I was deſirous to acquaint your majeſty; Firſt, to profeſs my fidelity and obedience to your majeſty; and I pray God ſo to be merciful unto me, before whoſe throne I may be brought ſhortly to appear by theſe my wounds, as I was always ſtudious and careful of your honour and dignity. Neither yet am I ignorant how often mine adverſaries have calumniated me to your majeſty, and accuſed me for a diſturber of the public peace, but through God's mercy, though I ſhould hold my peace, yet my actions will ſufficiently clear me from this charge. Indeed this hath been the fountain of all theſe calamities, becauſe I reſiſted their fury, and impudency; and becauſe I aſſerted the authority of your edicts againſt their turbulent and violent proceedings; neither could I endure to ſuffer them ſo often to violate thoſe edicts confirmed by your oaths to your ſubjects. God is witneſs of the ſincerity of my mind herein, who alſo only knows the difference between me and my adverſaries, and will righteouſly judge the ſame. Furthermore alſo conſidering the great honours and offices conferred upon me by your father, and grandfather, and confirmed by yourſelf; I ſhould be ungrateful and unfaithful if I ſhould not humbly requeſt your majeſty to provide a remedy againſt all thoſe maladies and perturbations which already diſturb the peace of your kingdom. And now to proceed to the buſineſs of Flanders, never any of your predeceſſors had the like opportunity of getting honour to yourſelf. You know that many cities in the low countries deſire your favour, and to throw themſelves into your protection. This occaſion I perceive is in your court laught and ſcoffed at, and through the default of ſome few men, the opportunity is like to be overſlipt. Thoſe forces which were lately led by Genliſſe thitherward, were circumvented, and deſtroyed by de Alva; you know what a great number of catholics were in that army; of what religion then I pray you are thoſe that make a jeſt at the ſlaughter of ſo many of their country men, and of their own religion? There is ſcarce any ſecret word ſpoken in your privy council, but preſently the duke de Alva knows of it. I pray you, Sir, what good can we expect when thoſe that ſit in your privy council, and ſhould aſſiſt your majeſty and your brethren, do betray your moſt ſecret counſels to your public and profeſſed enemies? I beſeech you, Sir, that you take care of a buſineſs of ſuch concernment as this is, yea, again and again I entreat it of you. And laſtly, I beg with the like earneſtneſs, that you will not ſuffer your edict of pacification to be ſo ordinarly broken. You know how often you have ſworn to keep it: you know that foreign nations, and all your neighbour princes have taken notice of it. What an unworthy thing is it, Sir, that an oath ſo ſolemnly ſworn, ſhould be ſo much ſlighted and neglected? do you think that foreign princes will hereafter make any account of your oath? But the other day in Champaigne, as the nurſe carried a child home from baptiſm, and from a ſermon which was held in a place by your authority, certain ſeditious perſons lying in wait by the way, baſely murdered the nurſe infant, and ſome other of the company with it. Conſider I pray you, how great the wickedneſs was, and how hodourable, yea, how glorious it will be to your name not to ſuffer ſuch cruelty to eſcape with impunity.'

Unto this ſpeech of the admiral the king returned this anſwer; That he had never called his loyalty into queſtion; that he reputed him a good common-wealths man, and a valiant and excellent captain, before whom he preferred no man in his kingdom. And, ſaid he, if I had any other opinion of you, I had never done as I have heretofore. About the Flemiſh buſineſs he anſwered never a word. But for the third thing he anſwered, that he liked nothing better than that his edicts for pacification ſhould be holily and inviolably obſerved, for which end he had ſent his deputies into all the provinces of his kingdom; for the confirmation whereof he called the queen-mother to witneſs, who turning to the admiral, ſaid, my admiral, there is nothing more true, commiſſaries and deputies are ſent unto all parts; yea, forſooth, ſaid the admiral, 'of thoſe men who have impoſed fifty thouſand crowns as the price of my head.

Then ſaid the king, my admiral, there is danger leſt your earneſtneſs may hinder your health, it is better that you take your reſt; the harm hath befallen you, but the diſhonour reflects upon me; but I ſwear by God's death, that I will ſo ſeverely puniſh this wicked deed, that the memory thereof ſhall continue to all poſterities: the woman and lacquy that were found in the houſe we have committed to ſafe cuſtody, whom further do you require to be examined, or whom would you have to exerciſe judgment? To this the admiral anſwered, I leave this buſineſs to your wiſdom and fidelity, yet becauſe you aſk my judgment, I humbly deſire that Cavannenes and Maſparrot may be employed therein, for I think that the author of this deed is not far off. The king and queen mother coming nearer to the admiral's pillow, ſpake a while ſoftly, and at laſt the queen mother ſaid, although I am but a woman, yet I perceive we muſt provide betimes.

The king at his departure adviſed the admiral to be tranſported into King's-caſtle, and the earl Rhetius preſſed the ſame divers times, ſaying, that he feared leſt ſuch a commotion ſhould be raiſed amongſt the common people of Paris, as the king with all his authority ſhould not be able to quell.

To this it was anſwered, that the phyſicians and chirurgeons would not allow of his removal, leſt the ſtirring of his body ſhould inflame his wounds; that if the king pleaſed to manifeſt his love and favour to the admiral, there was no more fear of the people of Paris, than of a com-

company of women; that the authority of the king's name was ſo great in France, eſpecially in Paris, that were the common people never ſo mad and furious, yet the mention of that alone would eaſily ſuppreſs them.

Then did the king call for the brazen bullet wherewith the admiral was wounded, and asked him if he felt not very great pain when his finger and arm were cut? To which receiving an anſwer, he replied, that there could not be a more conſtant and valiant man found this day in the world; and ſo reſtoring the bullet, the queen-mother looking on it ſaid, I am glad that the bullet is got out, for I remember, that when the duke of Guiſe was ſhot in his camp, the phyſicians often told me, that though it were poiſoned, yet there was no danger when the bullet was out; but, ſaid a by-ſtander, madam, we reſted not upon that, but we gave the admiral phyſic to prevent the danger if there were any poiſon.

After the king's departure, came in John Ferrers, vidam of Chartres, who comforted the admiral with many words, concluding that the enemies had betrayed their great cowardlineſs, in that they durſt not encounter the admiral but through a grated window; but that the admiral was an happy man, who had lengthned out the praiſe of his virtue to ſo great an age, yea, ſaid the admiral, in this I account my ſelf happy, that the Lord hath been pleaſed to ſhew me mercy, for they are truly bleſſed 'whoſe ſins are forgiven, and whoſe tranſgreſſions are covered.'

The king of Navarr, prince of Conde, and ſome other chieftains of the proteſtants being preſent, they reſolved to go down into a lower chamber, to conſult what courſe to take for their preſent ſecurity. At this debate, Ferrers was very earneſt that they ſhould with all ſpeed depart out of Paris, aſſuring them, that this was the firſt act of a more dangerous tragedy that would ſuddenly enſue. Others on the contrary argued, that it was enough for the preſent to require juſtice of the king, deſiring that judgement might be ſpeedily executed; in this opinion Teligni ſtood ſtiff, affirming that he knew the kings mind throughly, and that they ought not to ſuſpect his faith and good will. Yet it was alledged again, that many ſeditious reports were ſcattered about; that many papiſts on the wedding day, when the proteſtants came out of the church, that they might not be preſent at maſs, ſpake publicly, that within a few days they ſhould hear maſs.

Alſo ſome of the chief citizens ſaid, that there ſhould be more blood than wine ſhed at that marriage. Alſo the preſident of the ſenate adviſed a nobleman of the proteſtants to go into the country with his family for a few days. Alſo John Monluc, biſhop of Valentia, when he was going ambaſſador into Poland, adviſed the earl of Rochfaucand, not to ſuffer himſelf to be blinded with the ſmoke of the court and its unuſual favours, which are deſervedly ſuſpected by wiſe and wary men; therefore, ſaid he, be not too ſecure, caſt not yourſelf into dangers, but withdraw yourſelf and other noblemen betimes out of the court. But theſe things could not be heard by reaſon of Monſieur Teligni's confidence.

In the mean time, the woman and lacquy, who were found in the houſe of Villemur, were examined by the preſident of the parliament. The woman confeſſed, that a few days before, Villerius Challius, a retainer to the Guiſes, brought a ſoldier to that houſe, commending him to her as if he had been the maſter of the houſe, but his name was concealed. The boy confeſſed, that he had ſerved this man a few days, who called himſelf one Bolland, and another while Bondol, and that he was ſent that morning to Challius to entreat him, that the horſe might be ready as he had promiſed. Hereupon Challius was ſent for, the more to delude the Proteſtants.

The king alſo wrote to the governors of the provinces, wherein he deteſted the wrong done to the admiral, and required them to do their endeavour, that all might underſtand how greatly it grieved him, and that he would moſt ſeverely puniſh it to the terror of all others.

The day after, ſome of the admiral's friends being certified, that many things were done tumultuouſly in the city, and that weapons were brought together in many places; they thought fit that counſel ſhould be taken betimes, for that no good could be expected from thoſe proceedings; hereupon, one was ſent to the king to certify him of the commotion of the people, and of their carrying of arms, and therefore to requeſt him to charge certain of his guard to ſtand before the admiral's door for his better ſecurity. The king ſeeming to be moved with this news, began to demand of the meſſenger, who had told it him? And whether the admiral knew of it? and withal he ſent for the queen-mother, who was ſcarce entred, when the king with a diſquiet mind, as he ſeemed, ſaid, What a miſchief? what is the matter? He tells me, that the common people are in a tumult, and take arms. She anſwered, They are not in any tumult, neither do they take arms; but you know, that early in the morning you commanded that all ſhould contain themſelves in their own quarters, leaſt any tumult might ariſe. That is true, ſaid the king, but I forbad them to take arms.

Then the meſſenger again requeſted, that he would ſend ſome of his guard to the admiral's lodging. The duke of Anjoy being by; ſaid, takeCoſſen to you with fifty harquibuſhiers; the other anſwered, we deſire only ſix of the king's guard, for their authority will prevail with the people than many armed men. Yea, quoth the king and the duke of Anjoy, take Coſſen's to you, for you cannot have a fitter man: which words were pronounced very imperiouſly. The meſſenger knowing Coſſen to be a great enemy to the admiral, yet held his peace; and not far from the king's chamber he met with Monſieur Thore, brother to Marſhal Monmorency, who whiſpering in his ear, ſaid, no greater enemy could be given us for our keeper; to whom the other anſwered, did you not obſerve how imperiouſly the king decreed it? But pray you remember what I anſwered to the king when he firſt commanded it.

A few hours after came Coſſen with his fifty harquibuſhiers to the admiral's houſe, and choſe two ſhops by to place his guard in. A little after Rambulet, the king's camp-maſter followed, who by the advice of the duke of Anjoy, commanded all the popiſh nobility, that lodged in that ſtreet to remove their quarters elſewhere, that he might diſpoſe of their lodgings to the friends and familiars of the admiral; than which no more crafty counſel could be deviſed for thoſe matters which afterwards fell out.

Towards evening this happened, which gave to many no ſmall occaſion of ſuſpicion; a boy by the command of Teligni, brought two hunting poles to the admiral's houſe; but Coſſen put him back, and would not ſuffer them to be carried in. This being told to the king of Navarr, who was now the admiral, he went down, and aſked Coſſen upon what confidence he did it? Coſſen anſwered, that he had done it at the command of the king; but, ſaid he, ſince you will have it ſo, let them be brought in. That day the king ſent to all the admiral's familiar friends, admoniſhing them to go near to the admiral's houſe, and take up all thoſe quarters.

But upon the former occurrences another council was called, under the admiral's lodging, wherein the Vidam of Chartes again urged his former opinion, that the admiral ſhould preſently be carried out of Paris, and that his friends ſhould go along with him: That every hour they obſerved many things that juſtly encreaſed their ſuſpicion; but were of the contrary opinion, viz. That they were only to require juſtice of the king, and to deſire that the Guiſes and their faction might be commanded out of the city, as being too powerful with the people of Paris; and of this opinion was the king of Navarr, the prince of Conde, and many others; and the rather becauſe Teligni urged that it would be a great injury to the king, if any ſhould call his faith and ſincerity into queſtion, and that it would be ſufficient if juſtice were meekly required of him. At this debate there was one Bucananus, a Pict, who never ſpake a word, he was a profeſſor indeed of the true religion, but very gracious with the queen-mother and very frequent with her familiars, who probably betrayed all to her.

About three o'clock in the night, there fell out another thing which encreaſed the ſuſpicion, for one carrying to the admiral's houſe the coats of mail of Teligni and Guercius, Coſſen turned him back again, which man complaining to Guercius, who was a ſtout and gallant man,

he went to Coſſen, and ſharply taxed him for it, ſo that they had well nigh fallen to blows; but Teligni, who was of a meek and quiet ſpirit, with gentle words pacified them, himſelf being ſo deluded with the fair and flattering words of the king, that he never thought that he ſpake enough in his commendation.

In the mean time a council was held at court, where were preſent the king, queen mother, duke of Anjou, duke of Nevers, the baſtard of Angoliſme, Briage, Tavannes, and Radeſianus; and it was concluded, That ſeeing by the death of one, the miſchief diffuſed amongſt ſo many could not be extinguiſhed, therefore all ſhould be deſtroyed: and that the wrath which God would not have fulfilled with the blood of Coligne alone, ſhould be poured out againſt all the ſectaries: Therefore, ſay they, the bridle is to be let looſe to the common people, who are ſtirred up enough of themſelves; and when the buſineſs is accompliſhed, reaſons will not be wanting whereby the deed may be excuſed, the blame being laid upon the Guiſes, who will willingly undergo the ſame. So they all concluded that all the proteſtants were to be deſtroyed, even every mother's child of them.

Concerning the king of Navarr, and the prince of Conde, it was debated, Whether they were to be exempted from the number of the reſt: and it was alleged, that the king of Navarr was to be ſpared, becauſe of his royal dignity, and his affinity newly contracted; for it would be without all excuſe, if ſo great a prince, next to the king in blood, conjoined in freſh affinity, ſhould be ſlain in the king's caſtle, between the arms, as it were, of the king his brother-in law, and his wife's embraces. Concerning the prince of Conde, the contention was greater; he was much envied for his father's ſake, yet the dignity of his perſon, and the authority of the duke of Nevers, who became ſurety for him, prevailed that he ſhould be ſpared.

After this, the king calling the king of Navarr, told him, that by reaſon of the violence and boldneſs of the Guiſes, and the common people inclining to them, he would adviſe him to command thoſe of his houſhold, whom he knew moſt faithful to him, to come to him to the Louvre, to be at hand upon all occaſions. This the king of Navarr took in very good part, ſending for thoſe that were ſtout of hand to lodge about him.

Now it was obſerved, that armed men rambled up and down in the city every where, and about the Louvre alſo: that the common people grumbled, and gave forth threatning ſpeeches. The admiral being informed of theſe things, ſent one to the king to tell him of it. The king anſwered, That there was no cauſe why Coligni ſhould be afraid, for that theſe things were done by his command, to repreſs the motions of the people, who were ſtirred up by the Guiſes, and therefore bade him to be aſſured.

It was alſo told Coligni, that porters were ſeen carrying arms into the Louvre; but he ſlighted it, ſaying, that thoſe were unneceſſary ſuſpicions, the arms being carried for the winning of a caſtle in the Louvre, that was built for ſport.

Preſently the duke of Guiſe, to whom the charge was chiefly committed to ſee the buſineſs executed, calling together the captains of the popiſh Swiſſers, and the tribunes of the French bands, late in the night, he diſcovered to them what the will of the king was, that the hour was come, wherein, by the king's commandment, puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the head, and, by conſequence, upon the whole faction of the rebels: That the beaſt was caught, and entangled in the net, and therefore they muſt uſe their endeavour that he might not eſcape. Be not afraid, ſaid he, wanting to ſo fit an occaſion of carrying home a moſt glorious triumph over the enemies of the Goſpel: The victory is eaſy, the ſpoils will be rich and great, which you may obtain as the rewards of your good ſervice, without ſhedding your own blood.

Then were the Swiſſers placed about the Louvre, unto whom certain bands of Frenchmen were added, and charge was given them that they ſhould ſuffer none of the king of Navarr's, nor of the prince of Conde's men, to come forth. Coſſen alſo was charged with his harquibuſhiers, to ſuffer none to come out of the admiral's houſe.

That evening Guercius, with ſome others, had proffered Teligni to keep guard in the admiral's houſe, ſuſpecting danger, but he told them, that there was no need for them to trouble themſelves; and ſo with gracious words diſmiſſed them: by which means it came to paſs that none lodged in the admiral's houſe but Cornaton, Labonnius, Yolett the maſter of his horſe, Merlin his chaplain, Paræus the king's chirurgeon, and ſome four or five ſervants. Teligni was gone to the next houſe, where he lay with his wife. In the admiral's court were the five Swiſſers, whom the king of Navarr had ſent him.

Then did the duke of Guiſe ſend for John Caronius, lately made proveſt of merchants, whom he commanded to ſignify to the aldermen, that they ſhould bid thoſe in their ſeveral wards, to appear in arms at the town-houſe, about midnight, to underſtand the king's pleaſure. He commanded alſo Macellus, who was very gracious with the people, to ſignify to them, that liberty was given them from the king to take arms to deſtroy Coligni, and all the other rebels; that therefore they ſhould ſee diligently that they ſpared none, nor ſuffered them any where to be concealed: That order ſhould be taken to do the like in all other cities of the kingdom, who would follow the example of Paris: That the ſign for the beginning the aſſault ſhould be the ringing of the little bell in the palace: That the ſign whereby they ſhould know one another, ſhould be a white handkerchief about their left arm, or a white croſs in their hats: That therefore they ſhould come armed in good numbers, and with good courages, taking care to have candles lighted in their windows, that no tumult might ariſe before the ſign was given. And thus the duke of Guiſe, and the baſtard of Engoliſme, did all they could that things might be effected according to the agreement.

At midnight, the queen-mother fearing the king's wavering, who was ſomewhat ſtartled at the horridneſs of the fact, reproved him for it, ſaying, that by his delays he would ſlip ſo fair an occaſion offered by God, for the utter vanquiſhing of his enemies. The king being nettled with this, which ſeemed to charge him with cowardlineſs, commanded the matter to be put in execution, which word the queen-mother ſpeedily taking hold of, cauſed the little bell to be rung in St Germanes-church, about an hour before day, Aug. 24. being St Bartholomew's day, and on a Sabbath.

Preſently the duke of Guiſe, with Engoliſme, and d'Aumal, went to the admiral's houſe, where Coſſen watched; and a noiſe being raiſed the admiral was awakened with it, and heard of a ſedition, yet reſted ſecure, relying upon the king's word and favour: but the tumult growing greater, when he perceived a gun to be diſcharged in his court, he then conjectured, though too late, that which was the truth; and ſo riſing out of his bed, and putting on his night-gown, he ſtood and prayed againſt the wall. Then came a ſervant to Labonius, and told him, that there was one at the door, who, by the command of the king, deſired to be brought to the admiral; Labonnius therefore taking the keys, ran down and opened the door, then did Coſſen catch at him, and ſtabbed him with his dagger, and ſo, with his harquebuſhiers, he ſet upon the reſt, killing ſome, and chaſing away others: Thus all things were filled with noiſe, and another door at the ſtair-foot was eaſily broke open, and one of the five Swiſſers, ſent by the king of Navarr, was ſlain; yet were the ſtairs ſo barricado'd with cheſts, that he could not preſently enter. In the mean time Monſieur Merlin went to prayer with the admiral, and the reſt; and, at the end thereof, a ſervant coming in, ſaid to the admiral, 'Maſter, it is God who calleth us to himſelf, they have broken into the houſe, neither is there any ability to reſiſt.' Then ſaid the admiral, 'I have prepared myſelf for death a good while ago; ſhift you for yourſelves, if poſſibly you can; for your endeavour to help me would be in vain. I commend myſelf into God's hands.' It was obſerved, that the admiral's countenance was no more troubled than if no danger were at hand.

Thuanus relates his words thus: I perceive what is in doing, I was never afraid of death, and I am ready to undergo it patiently, for which I have long ſince prepared myſelf: I bleſs God that I ſhall die in the Lord, through whoſe

whoſe grace I am elected to an hope of everlaſting life. I now need no longer any help of man. You therefore, my friends, get ye hence ſo ſoon as you can, leſt ye be involved in my calamity, and your wives hereafter ſay, that I was the cauſe of your deſtruction. The preſence of God, to whoſe goodneſs I commend my ſoul, which will preſently fly out of my body, is abundantly ſufficient for me.' Then all his company gat up into an upper room, and crept out at a window upon the tiles, and, by the benefit of night, ſome eſcaped

By this time Coſſen, with ſome Swiſſers of the duke of Anjou's guard, had removed the cheſts, and were come up the ſtairs. One Beheme, a German, was the firſt that entered the chamber, who ſeeing the admiral ſitting there ſaid, Are not you the admiral? I am, quoth he; but you, young man, ſhould have regard to my hoary head and old age. But Beheme exchanging no more words, ſtruck him with his ſword and firſt embrued himſelf in the admiral's blood; then Coſſen, Atinius and the reſt, followed, and ſlew him with many wounds. This Atinius reported afterwards, that he never ſaw a man in ſo preſent a danger, to have born out death with ſo great a conſtancy.

Then did the duke of Guiſe from below, aſk if the buſineſs were done? anſwer was made, that it was: But, ſaid he, the duke of Engoliſme will not believe it, except he ſee him himſelf, therefore caſt down his body out at the window; with that they hurled it down headlong into the court, all defiled with gore blood; whereupon the baſtard of Engoliſme, wiping the blood from his face with his handkerchief, and thereby knowing him, kicked him in a ſcornful manner. Some ſay, it was the duke of Guiſe that did it. Then one of the duke of Never's ſervants cut off his head, and carried it to the king and queen mother, who cauſed it to be embalmed, and ſent it as a preſent to the pope, and the cardinal of Lorrain, to aſſure them of the death of their capital enemy.

The people fell upon his corps as mad men, one cuts off his hands, another his feet, another his privy-members; and, for three days ſpace, drag his poor carcaſe about the ſtreets, with all indignity. Then ſome boys would have thrown it into the river Seine, but others dragged it to the gallows at Mountfaucon, where they hung it up by the thighs, and the ſhoulders downwards: but within few days, Francis Monmorency, who had ſeaſonably withdrawn himſelf from the danger, cauſed ſome truſty perſons to take it down by night, and bury it in the chappel at Contilia.

This was the end of that brave man, who was the very firſt nobleman in all France, that durſt profeſs himſelf a proteſtant, and a helper of them.

He was marvellous zealous in performance of the exerciſe of religion: he uſed to riſe very early, and then putting on his night gown, and calling his ſervants about him, he went to prayer with them; then he ſet time apart to hear the deputies of the churches which were ſent to him, or for ſuch like public buſineſſes.

Each other day, in the forenoon, he had a ſermon preached before him, after which he returned to his buſineſs till dinner; which being ready, his ſervants came in, and there the admiral ſtanding by the table, and his wife by his ſide, one of David's pſalms were ſung, and a bleſſing craved upon the meat; which courſe he did not only obſerve at his own houſe, but every day in his camp, without intermiſſion. When the cloth was taken away, he preſently aroſe, and ſtanding, with his wife by him, either himſelf or his chaplain, returned thanks.

At ſupper-time the ſame was done, both with prayers and pſalms: And becauſe he found it difficult to get all his ſervants together at bed time, in regard of their various employments, he cauſed them all to come in preſently after ſupper, where, after a pſalm, he went to prayer with them.

By this his excellent example, very many of the French nobility were enduced and encouraged to uſe the ſame diſcipline in their families; the admiral often admoniſhing them, that if they would embrace godlineſs, in the life and power of it, it was not enough for the maſter of the family to hear ſermons, and to order his life in an holy and religious manner, unleſs, by his authority and example, he brought all his houſhold to join with him in the ſame.

When the time for receiving the Lord's ſupper approached, he uſed to call his friends, and all his family to him, and ſhewed them, that he muſt render an account to God for them, as well as for himſelf. If any diſcord was between them, he reconciled it. If any were ignorant, he took care that they ſhould be better inſtructed. If any were obſtinate, he plainly gave them notice, that it was better for them to remain at their own homes, than for him to maintain ſuch ungodly perſons in his retinue.

He always eſteemed the careful education of children in good ſchools a ſingular benefit of God, and he called it the ſeminary of the church, ſaying that ignorance of good letters was the cauſe of error both in church and ſtate; and that popery crept in, and was kept in by that means. Hereupon he erected a fair ſchool at Chatillon under his caſtle, in a pleaſant and wholeſome place, and beſtowed great coſt on it, where he maintained learned interpreters of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues; he maintained alſo many poor boys, and young men in that ſchool.

He was modeſt, and moderate in his deſires after the world; for though he had great honours and offices conferred upon him, whereby he might have enriched himſelf, yet he added not ſo much as one lordſhip, or plough of land, to the inheritance left him by his fathers. He huſbanded his eſtate and houſhold affairs frugally: yet, having very many noblemen and gentlemen that reſorted to him upon public buſineſs, he gave them free and hearty entertainment, whereby he ſpent all that he ſaved at other times by his frugality. Yea, his extraordinary expences were ſo great, that he left his heir in debt no leſs than forty thouſand crowns, paying to his creditors yearly uſe-money, no leſs than ſix thouſand crowns.

There was ſuch incredible love and concord betwixt him and his two brethren, that all three ſeemed but to have one mind betwixt them.

He lived fifty three years, ſix months, and eight days, was ſlain Aug. 24 1572.

He was of a middle ſtature, of a ruddy colour, his members equal and well compacted; of a mild and cheerful countenance, of a ſmall and pleaſant voice, yet ſomewhat ſlow and gentle; of a healthy conſtitution, of a comely gait and geſture; abſtemious in the uſe of wine; of a moderate diet and ſleep, for he never uſed to ſleep above ſeven hours at the moſt.

After the edict for pacification, he ſuffered no day to paſs, but before he went to bed, he ſet down the things in his journal which fell out in the civil wars, that were of any moment; which being found after his death, was carried to the king and admired by his very adverſaries, who thereby ſaw his quiet, conſtant, and compoſed mind, in the midſt of his greateſt buſineſſes.

When the war was finiſhed and he was retired to Rochel, no day paſſed over his head, wherein he did not, morning and evening, read over one of Calvin's ſermons upon Job, which hiſtory he uſed to call his Pantreſtus, or phyſic for all diſeaſes, which greatly comforted his heart in all his afflictions.

By his firſt wife he had five children: He left alive Lewis his eldeſt daughter married to Monſieur Teligni, who was murdered the ſame night with his father in law. Then Francis, Odet, and Charles, the two elder, ſurvived that furious maſſacre; the third, being not eight years old, in whom he took much delight for his prettineſs, was taken by his enemies, and taught to bear the croſs of Chriſt in his tender years.

He left his ſecond wife great with child, who was brought to bed four months after of a girl; and returning to her native country, in the borders of Savoy, was, not long after, committed to priſon, by the command of prince Philibert, duke of Savoy, for marrying againſt his conſent.

The

The Life of JOAN, *Queen of Navarr, who was poiſoned at Paris, a few Days before the bloody Maſſacre,* Anno Chriſti 1572.

JOAN of Albert was daughter to Henry II. king of Navarr, and to Margaret of Orleance, ſiſter to Francis, the firſt of that name, king of France, and by her parents was carefully trained up in the proteſtant religion from her childhood, which ſhe conſtantly adherred to all the days of her life.

She was married to Anthony of Bourbon, ſon to Charles duke of Vendoſme, by whom ſhe had Henry, the fourth of that name, king of France, by his father's right, and the ſecond of that name, king of Navarr, by his mother's.

This Anthony, king of Navarr, in the minority of Charles the ninth, being the firſt prince of the blood, was to be his protector; but the queen-mother, and the Guiſes, ſeeking to draw all the power and management of affairs into their own hands, laboured, by all means, to withdraw the king of Navarr from the proteſtants, that is, by weakening them thereby, they might rule the roſt as they liſted, for which end they employed the ambaſſador of Spain, the cardinal of Tournon, Eſcars, and ſome other houſhold flatterers to him, who perſuaded him, that carrying himſelf a neuter, and cauſing the prince his ſon to go once to the maſs, the king of Spain would give him the realm of Sardinia, in recompence for that of Navarr, which he had lately taken from him. The pope likewiſe confirms him in this hope, which indeed was but to take from him all means of recovering his kingdom of Navarr, when he ſhould attempt it. Yet, he being drawn by theſe Spaniſh and Lorrain practices, eſtrangeth himſelf by little and little from the proteſtants, ſolicited the queen his wife to return into the boſom of the Romiſh church, and to draw her children thereunto: but ſhe, being better grounded in the truth, than ſo eaſily to forſake it, refuſeth; whereupon a breach grew betwixt them, and the king her huſband falls in love with one of the queen-mother's maids.

The forenamed Guiſian inſtruments ſeeing this, perſuade him that hereſy is a ſufficient cauſe of diſſolving marriage, and that therefore he might be divorced from Joan Albert his wife, as being infected with the poiſon of hereſy. They tell him alſo, that, notwithſtanding his divorce, he ſhould retain to himſelf the poſſeſſion of, and intereſt in all the dominions and kingdoms belonging to her, of which ſhe ſhould be deprived as unworthy of them, by reaſon of her hereſy: and, inſtead of her, he ſhould marry Mary queen of Scots, whoſe dowry, ſay they, is the kingdom of England; and as ſoon as the marriage is contracted, the pope would ſtrip Elizabeth of it, as unworthy thereof, for the ſame cauſe, and ſettle it upon them, &c.

But the king of Navarr abhoring to be divorced from his wife, it remained, that he ſhould accept the condition about the kingdom of Sardinia, for the effecting whereof, they left no means unaſſayed; and at laſt prevailed ſo far, that they gulled the king of Navarr, and ſet him at odds with his brother, the prince of Conde, Coligni the admiral, and the other proteſtants.

The queen his wife diſtaſting his change of religion, and his adhering to the popiſh party, retired into Podium, in the country of Bearne, where ſhe kept her court. But it pleaſed God, that, ſhortly after, in the ſiege of Orleans, the king of Navarr was ſhot into the ſhoulder, whereof he died about three weeks after.

The next deſign was to ſeize upon the queen, together with her ſon Henry, and her daughter Katherine, and to bring them before the inquiſition of Spain; and the contrivers doubted not, but that Philip king of Spain would moſt willingly hearken to this counſel, for that this exploit would make for the advantage of his religion, the reſcuer whereof he proudly boaſted himſelf to be: as alſo the buſineſs about the kingdom of Navarr, which he unjuſtly detained, would be hereby diſpatched, by the taking away of the lawful heirs thereof. They conceived alſo, that the buſineſs might eaſily be effected by the means of the king of Spain's ſoldiers, that lay at Barcelona, ready to be tranſported into Africk; who, by the ways of the mountains, might come upon, and ſurprize the queen of Navarr, and her children, at Podium, before they were aware.

One Dominick, a captain, born in the territories of Bearne, was ſingled out to go to the court of Spain, to communicate theſe counſels with the king, and to receive further inſtructions from him. But it pleaſed God, that this Dominick falling ſick by the way, Annas Heſpins, an honeſt man that tended on him, ſmelt out the occaſion of his journey, and, by giving timely notice, prevented the effecting of it; by which deliverance God ſhewed his watchful providence over his handmaid, this religious queen of Navarr.

Not long after, in the time of the third civil war for religion, this queen having raiſed great troops, led them to Rochel, together with her ſon Henry, and her daughter Katherine, from whence ſhe wrote letters to the king, the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, and the cardinal of Bourbon.

To the king ſhe wrote, That in the common cauſe of religion, in regard of the duty which ſhe owed to the king, and the neceſſity of blood whereby ſhe was joined to the prince of Conde, ſhe could not be wanting to him upon ſuch an occaſion, having always rejected the bloody counſels of the Guiſian faction, and eſpecially the ambition of the cardinal of Lorrain, from whoſe friendſhip ſhe earneſtly exhorted the duke of Anjou, beſeeching him that he would not yield up himſelf a miniſter of his wicked will, in cutting up the royal ſtock by the roots.

In her letter to the cardinal of Bourbon, ſhe ſharply chideth him for not being warned by his former danger. For, how long, ſaith ſhe, will you be the ſuffragan of the cardinal of Lorrain? Have you forgotten the treacherous plots that were laid by him for your head? And, are you ſo credulous as to believe his oaths, when he ſweareth that he mindeth no treachery? &c.

But theſe letters prevailing nothing, the war went on, and in the battle of Baſſac, the proteſtants were worſted, and the prince of Conde ſlain; which news being carried to Rochel, the queen of Navarr poſted to the proteſtant army, where, before a great aſſembly of nobles and ſoldiers, ſhe made an oration to confirm their minds, praiſing the virtue and conſtancy of the prince of Conde, who had employed his faithful endeavours, even unto death, in the defence of ſo juſt a cauſe; and thereupon ſhe exhorted the reſt to imitate his example, and to perſevere in maintaining the truth of Chriſt, and the liberty of their country: For, ſaith ſhe, the good cauſe is not dead with the prince of Conde, neither ought good men to give way to deſpondency in ſuch caſes, God having ſo provided for his cauſe, that he gave Conde companions whilſt he lived, that may ſucceed him now when he is dead. I have brought with me mine only ſon Henry, and Conde's own ſon, who, as he is heir of his name, ſo is he of his virtues. Theſe with other nobles beſides, I truſt, will never be wanting to ſo good a cauſe. And having thus ſpoken to the nobles and army, and many things privately to her ſon, whetting his youthful ſpirit, ſhe returned again to Rochel to provide new ſuccours.

In the mean time a commiſſion was granted to Terride, governor of Quercy, to ſummon the queen of Navarr, and the prince her ſon, to leave the party of the proteſtants; and, in caſe of refuſal, to invade the countries of Berne, Foix, and Navarr, in which he ſo prevailed, that he reduced all to the king's obedience, but only Navaren, which he beſieged, as the only ſtrong place that remained to the queen.

Hereupon the queen and the princes ſent the earl of Montgomery to encounter him, who with a ſmall army of five hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, forced Terride to raiſe his ſiege, and retire himſelf to Ortheze. His men were diſperſed, and to prevent his gathering them together again, the earl beſieged him, forced the town, and to beat Terride with his own weapons, he turned his cannons which he found in the town againſt the caſtle, whereupon it was ſurrendered to him: after which all other places were ſuddenly reduced to the obedience of the queen; and the earl having garriſoned the towns of his new conqueſt, ſpeedily returned to the princes.

Not long after, peace being concluded betwixt the king and the proteſtants, the king publiſhed an edict, wherein, amongſt other things, he hath this paſſage.

"Let it be lawful for the queen of Navarr, the king's

aunt, besides the benefit which is common to all those which have the highest jurisdiction, to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in the dukedom of Albert, in the earldoms of Armignac, Foix, and Bigorre, in one place of all those dominions which she holdeth in her own possession, or which may be assigned to her by the king; so that all that will come to that place (though she herself be absent) may enjoy it without danger. Moreover, lest any doubt should arise, concerning the right meaning of the queen of Navarr, the king's aunt; as also of the princes of Conde, both father and son; the king doth declare, That he acknowlegeth them all for his faithful cousins and subjects; and that they, and all that have managed the wars under them, shall be free, and not bound to render an account for monies received or taken," &c.

The peace being concluded, the malice of the popish party was no whit abated; whereupon they sought by policy to effect that which they could not by power; and for this end Biron was sent to Rochel, in the king's name, to treat with the queen of Navarr, about the marriage between her son Henry, and the king's sister, the lady Margaret; for which end he invited them to come to the court, where business might be fully debated and concluded: he added also, that hereby a fair occasion was offered from God to settle their affairs in peace, &c.

The queen of Navarr having returned thanks in a set oration, answered, That the matter was of that importance that she would take time to herself in deliberating of it; and albeit she did profess and acknowlege that that affinity would be a great ornament and profit to her, yet she was, for the present, doubtful what to do, in regard of the near kindred betwixt her son and the lady, and the difference in their religions: Wherefore, saith she, I will consult with my divines, and what I shall find to make for God's glory, and the good of the kingdom, and that may stand with a good conscience, that I will readily and willingly embrace, being desirous, in all that I may, to satisfy the pleasure of the king and queen, to whom I owe all due observance.

Yet there remained two scruples which troubled the king and the queen of Navarr, in respect of the place and manner of celebrating the marriage, for the queen would not have it done at Paris, which city being extremely addicted to the popish religion, she feared was long since an enemy to the family of Navarr, and therefore she judged it not safe to have it celebrated there. The king, on the contrary, said, That it would make for a certain sign of sure peace to have the celebrity of the marriage seen in the metropolis of the kingdom, as it were on a public theatre. The other doubt was about the manner of the celebration, for the queen of Navarr being most addicted to the reformed religion, would never endure that it should be contracted after the popish manner, nor the queen-mother after the fashion of the protestants. But the king prayed the queen of Navarr to pardon him in that matter, for that it would tend to his great dishonour if he should suffer the marriage of his sister to be solemnized in any other form, than according to that antient religion which he had received from his fore fathers; therefore to resolve this doubt, there was time taken on both sides.

In the mean time, the queen of Navarr consulted with the ministers of the reformed religion, what might be done in this matter. Some of them insisting upon the simplicity of God's word, said, That it was utterly unlawful for such marriages to be contracted, especially by illustrious personages, in whom it is more dangerous, because of more public concernment. Others judging that this marriage would be a sure, and, as it were, an everlasting foundation of a most happy peace, assented to it.

The queen of Navarr, and the protestant nobles, striving to find out remedies, both for the kingdom, which was grievously afflicted, and for their own bruised estates, lifted these mens judgments best; and so the business proceeded, and the conditions of marriage were agreed upon betwixt the parties. The king was to give his sister for her dowry three hundred thousand crowns, each crown being valued at fifty-four shillings.

About this time, the queen of Navarr, being zealously careful to propagate the protestant religion in Cantabria, a province of the jurisdiction of Navarr, the first pastors, who had learned the country language, which is understood by almost none of the neighbours, and was before believed that it could not be written. She took care also that the New Testament, the Catechism, and the prayers used in the church of Geneva, should be translated into the Gascoine or Cantabrian tongue; which she caused to be printed at Rochel, on a most fine letter, and sent to them.

And so, upon the earnest solicitation of the king she went, the march following, in the year 1572, from Rochel to the court, which was then at Blois, with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what welcome she had on all sides, especially from the king and his brethren, who yet, when all was done, could boastingly say to his mother, 'Now, Madam, have not I acquit myself well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net.'

In April following were the articles concluded concerning the marriage of the prince of Navarr with the king's sister. And, in the beginning of May, the king wooed the queen of Navarr again, to come to Paris, for preparing things fitting for the marriage, which she at last consented to: and so, May 6. she took her journey from Blois, and came to Paris, May 15. After which she went from place to place in the city, into sundry houses and shops, to find out such things as might tend to the adorning of the day of so great a solemnity.

The queen mother, in the mean time, who could not endure this good queen, and yet not finding with what colour she could dispatch her with the rest; though she feared the greatness of her spirit, in case she should survive them, and judged it impossible to work upon the flexibility of the young prince her son whilst she lived. She therefore consulted with one Rene, an Italian, whose practice was to impoison things; by whose devilish help she brought her accursed purpose to pass. This Rene sold the queen of Navarr certain perfumes, whereby he found out the way to poison her therewith; and afterwards he was heard to make brags of it, saying also, that he had the like in store for two or three more, who suspected no such matter.

By this means, June 4. this good queen fell sick of a continued fever, and (though others slighted it, yet) she perceiving, by the strength of her disease, that she could not long continue, prepared herself to receive from the hand of God, her merciful Father, that which he had appointed concerning her. And calling her son Henry, she commanded him, above all things, carefully to serve God, according to the confession of faith wherein he had been educated, and not suffer himself to be plucked or diverted from the same, by the smoky pleasures and delights of the world, and other incentives unto vices; and that he should take care that the constitutions concerning the same, which she had published in the principality of Berne, and the Lower Navarr, be inviolably kept: That he should throughly purge his family, and cause all bad counsellors to begone from thence, which thought ill concerning God; as also, all flatterers, the abusers of princes, and all other vicious persons: That he should retain with him all good men, as Bellovarius, Francutius, and Beraldus, who were men of an unblameable life: That he should have a special care of his sister Katharine, ruling her gently and lovingly, without bitterness, causing her to be brought up in the town of Berne, in the same school of godliness which himself had been trained up in; and when she should grow marriageable, that he should marry her to a prince of equal dignity, professing the same religion: That he should love Henry Bourbon his cousin germain as his brother; and also Francis marquis of Conteus, taking care that as great concord as may be, be cherished betwixt them and the admiral Coligni, for the advancement and propagation of God's glory. Lastly, she makes her son her heir: entreating the king, the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Alençon, the king's brethren, to undertake the protection of the prince her son, and of Katharine his sister, and to permit them the free exercise of their religion.

Then she requested that she might have such nigh about her as might comfort her in her sickness out of the word of God; as also to pray with her and for her, according to that of Saint James, 'Is any sick amongst you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him,

life, knowing that the prayers of a righteous man prevail much with God.

According to her desire, a minister resorted to her, shewing out of the Scriptures, that Christians ought in all things to submit to the will of God, as to the 'Father of spirits, that they may live;' and albeit by reason of the severity of his chastisements, sometimes it may seem to our flesh as if they were sent for no other end but for our affliction; yet ought we to consider that the just God can do nothing but justly, and being withal a merciful father, he cannot but therein seek the welfare of his afflicted children.

To this she replied, I take all this as sent from the hand of God my most merciful Father. Nor have I during this extremity, feared to die, much less murmured against God for inflicting this chastisement upon me, knowing that whatsoever he doth, he doth so order the same, as that in the end it shall turn to my everlasting good.

Then said the minister, the causes of sickness and diseases must be sought beyond the course of physic, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or of the distemper in the more noble parts of the body. And, though it be not amiss to have respect to these things as to secondary causes, yet ought we to ascend higher, namely, to the first, even to God himself, who disposeth of all his creatures, even as best pleaseth him. He it is that makes the wound, and heals; that kills and makes alive, Deut. xxxii. 39. and therefore to him we ought to direct our prayers, for our comfort in all our griefs and sufferings, and in the end to expect full deliverance, seeing it is only with him to restore our health, if it stand with his good pleasure.

To this she answered, That she depended wholly upon God's providence, knowing that all things are wisely disposed by him; and therefore she besought him to furnish her with all such graces as he saw to be necessary for her station. As for this life, said she, I am in a good measure weaned from it, in regard of the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto; but especially because I cannot live without offending my God, with whom I desire to be with all my heart.

Then said the minister' Yet long life, how full of trouble soever it be, is to be esteemed amongst the blessings of God, seeing his promise implies so much; and not only so, but because our lives may many ways serve to his glory; and long life is not only an honour, but a pledge of his favour; even as it is to him whom a prince long employs in his service, having had experience of his fidelity many years together. Hereupon he earnestly requested her to pray, that if it was the will of God he would employ her yet longer in his service, for the further enlargement of his gospel; and that he would grant unto her such recovery of health, and such a good disposition of body, that, with renewed strength, she might be enabled to finish her course much more nobly than ever heretofore.

To this she replied, That in regard of her own particular, her life was not dear unto her, seeing so long as she lived in this frail flesh, she was still prone and apt to sin against God; only she said, her care was somewhat for her children which God had given her, in respect that they should be deprived of her in their young years; yet, said she, I doubt not, but though he should please to take me from them, himself will become a Father to them, and a protector over them, as he hath ever been to me in my greatest afflictions, and therefore I commit them wholly to his fatherly care.

Then the minister blessed God for working in her mind this assurance of faith, and ability to cast her care upon the providence of God, intreating her still to persevere therein, which would sufficiently seal unto her the truth of her faith. And thus, said he, did the patriarchs in their time, commit the care of their posterity into the hands of God, as may appear by the several blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: but yet he told her, that it was very requisite she should make choice of such, who, for their sincerity both in life and doctrine, might continue to water in these young princely plants, the seeds of piety that had been sown in them by her so great pains and industry; seeing, it was to be hoped, that the example of her faith and constancy in the service of God, wherein she had gone before them, would serve as a perpetual inducement to them to follow her noble virtues. And whereas she had declared, that death was not terrible to her, because it was the way by which she was to pass to her eternal rest, he told her, that Christians had little cause to fear death, in regard that they should not die at all, according to that of our Saviour, 'He that lives and believes in me, shall never die,' John viii. 21. For, saith he, to speak properly, death is no death to them, but a sweet sleep, being often so called in the scriptures: and therefore Christ, for their sakes, hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own person; so as now we may cry out with St Paul, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

After this he admonished her to make confession of her sins before God, shewing that bodily diseases tend to the dissolution of nature, and that death was the wages of sin: Further declaring, That by this her chastisement she might discern what she had deserved, if God should enter into judgment with her, not only in regard of the fall of our first parents, in which guilt she was enwrapped as well as others; but also, by her own personal sins, seeing the best in the world are in themselves but poor, miserable, and wretched sinners: yea, if the Lord should punish us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hand but eternal death and damnation.

At these words she began, with her eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, to acknowlege, that the sins which she had committed against the Lord were innumerable, and therefore more than she was able to reckon up; but yet she hoped, that God, for Christ's sake, in whom she put her whole trust, would be merciful to her.

From hence the minister took occasion to declare at large, upon what ground she was to expect the fruit of this mercy of God in Christ; adding, The whole have no need of a physician, but the sick. And Christ saith, 'He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' And, that he is ready to fill the hungry with good things; whereas, in the mean while, he sends the rich empty away. Of these things, saith he, you ought so much the rather to be persuaded in your conscience, by how much the more the holy spirit of God witnesseth to your spirit that you are the child of God, and enables you to cry Abba Father; for what is faith else, but a firm trust and assurance of the good will of God manifested towards us in his blessed son?

But the minister fearing, lest by his long discourse he might be troublesome, or cause her too much to spend her spirits, would have given over; which she taking notice of earnestly requested him not to forbear speaking to her, about these matters of life and eternal salvation; adding, that now she felt the want of it, in regard, that, since her coming to Paris, she had been somewhat remiss in hearing such exhortations out of the word of God; and therefore I am the more glad, saith she, to receive comfort out of it in this my great extremity.

Then did the minister endeavour to set before her the happiness of heaven, and what those joys were that the faithful possess in the presence of God, which the scriptures intending to discover, tell us, that 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, what those things are which God hath prepared for them that love him.' For, saith he, it is as if a king, minding greatly to honour some noble personage, should bring him to his court, and there shew him his state and attendance, his treasures, with all his most precious jewels: Even so will the Lord one day reveal to all his elect, and faithful people, his magnificence and glory, with all the treasures of his kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himself, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption, and immortality. Therefore, saith he, since this happiness is so great, your highness ought to be the less solicitous about leaving this transitory life, and know that you are to change this earthly kingdom for an heavenly inheritance; these temporal good things, which vanish and come to nothing in the using, to enjoy for ever those things which are eternal and everlasting. For your faith, being now firmly set upon our Lord Jesus Christ, you may be assured to obtain eternal salvation by him. Then did he proceed to propose to her this question;

ſtion; Madam, Do you verily believe that Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave you? And do you expect the full forgiveneſs of all your ſins, by the ſhedding of his blood for you? Yea; ſaid ſhe, I do; believing that he is my only Saviour and Mediator; and I look for ſalvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly ſatisfied for the ſins of all his people; and therefore I am aſſured that God, for his ſake, according to his gracious promiſe in him, will have mercy upon me.

During all the time of her ſickneſs ſhe ceaſed not to continue in ſuch fruitful and comfortable communications; ſometimes intermixing them with moſt affectionate ſighs to God, as a teſtimony of that hope and deſire ſhe had of enjoying his preſence, often uttering theſe words, 'O my God in thy good time, deliver me from this body of death, and from the miſeries of this preſent life, that I may no more offend thee; and that I may attain to the felicity which thou, in thy word, haſt promiſed to beſtow upon me.' Neither did ſhe manifeſt her pious affection by words only, but by her conſtant and cheerful countenance, ſo far forth as the vehemency of her diſeaſe would ſuffer; thereby giving a clear teſtimony to all that beheld her, that the fear of death could not drive her from the ſtedfaſtneſs of her faith. The miniſter alſo went often to prayer with her; the uſual tenor whereof was this which follows:

"O Lord our God, we confeſs here, before thy divine majeſty, that we are altogether unworthy of thine infinite mercies, by reaſon of our manifold iniquities; and that we are ſo far from deſerving to be heard of thee in our requeſts, that we are rather worthy that thou ſhouldeſt reject both our perſons and our prayers. But ſeeing it hath pleaſed thee to make us a gracious promiſe of hearing and granting our requeſts, we humbly beſeech thee freely to forgive all our offences, and to cover them under the obedience and righteouſneſs of thy dear ſon, that, through him, ourſelves and our ſervices may be well pleaſing unto thee. For, Lord, we acknowlege, that all our afflictions are meaſured out to us by thine hand, who art a moſt juſt Judge, in regard that we have every way provoked thee to wrath, by our infinite ſinnings againſt thee; yea, by our rebellions which now teſtify againſt us: for, alas, Lord! our life hath been no way anſwerable to that perfect obedience which thou, by thy holy law, doſt juſtly require at our hands, which we from day to day do tranſgreſs; and therefore do here caſt down ourſelves at this time before thy glorious preſence, unfeignedly acknowleging our miſery and wretchedneſs, from the very bottom of our hearts. Yet, Lord, mercy is with thee; and becauſe thou art our father, therefore thou deſireſt not the death of ſinners, but rather that they ſhould convert and live. For this cauſe we now fall down before the throne of thy grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted mercy, which thou haſt promiſed to ſuch as call upon thee in truth; beſeeching thee, who art the Father of mercies, to have compaſſion on all ſuch as thou haſt humbled under thy mighty hand; but more eſpecially on this thy ſervant the queen, who lieth here before thee ſick of a dangerous diſeaſe; that as thou haſt righteouſly afflicted her for her ſins, (which ſhe alſo doth with us acknowlege) ſo it would pleaſe thee in pardoning them all to her, for thy beloved ſon's ſake, to grant that ſhe may profit by this thy correcting hand for the time to come. Above all, O Lord! give her a ſweet ſenſe, yea, a full aſſurance of thy eternal joys, that ſo ſhe may, with the greater patience, take down this bitter potion miniſtered unto her from thy hand, and that the ſole deſire of enjoying thy preſence may cauſe her to forget all wordly greatneſs and magnificence, knowing that they are nothing in reſpect of thy glory which is now ſet before her. Endue her alſo with meekneſs of mind to bear the tedioufneſs of her affliction; for, 'though the ſpirit be willing, the fleſh is weak;' yea, full of reſiſting and unbelief; that ſo receiving all things from thee as a Father, ſhe may the more willingly ſubmit her will to thine. And becauſe, O good God, thou haſt made her hitherto an happy inſtrument for the advancement of thy glory, and defence of thy poor afflicted people, we pray thee, if it may ſtand with thy good pleaſure, reſtore her to health again, that ſo the excellent work that thou haſt by her means begun, may not be left unperfected; but by virtue of this her deliverance, ſhe may, with renewed ſtrength, undertake the ſame, in better ſort than ever heretofore, eſpecially for the well educating and training up the children that thou haſt given her. But, Lord, if thou haſt a purpoſe now to call her home to thyſelf, who are we that we ſhould contradict thy holy will? Only we pray thee that thou wouldeſt confirm her more and more in the knowlege of thy bleſſed goſpel, and thereby alſo in the certainty of her ſalvation, which thou haſt given her by faith in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, that thus ſhe may not ceaſe to ſanctify and call upon thy holy name to her laſt breath. And as touching ourſelves, who are here by thy good providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life, that ſo, according to our duty, we may behold the ſame in this mirror that thou haſt ſet before us, as knowing that even the greateſt in the world are ſubject to the ſame calamities as well as the ſmall, that ſo our chief care may be to employ the remainder of our time to thine honour and ſervice. All which we crave of thee in the name of Jeſus Chriſt thy Son, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen."

During the time of prayer, ſhe ceaſed not, with hands and eyes lift up to heaven, to fetch many deep ſighs, eſpecially when mention was made of the mercy of God in Chriſt, which he extended to poor ſinners; ſo that all preſent might evidently ſee, that her heart and affections were joined to the prayer that was made by and for her. And whilſt ſhe thus lay, ſhe ſtill continued in her holy deſires to depart hence, that ſhe might be with Chriſt, taking great delight in the holy and Chriſtian exhortations which were made to her by many godly and learned men, who came to viſit her, to whom alſo ſhe manifeſted no ſmall teſtimonies of that faith and hope which ſhe had in God, touching the ſalvation of her ſoul, by her holy and ſavoury ſpeeches, which for brevity's ſake are omitted. Yea, although the Lord exerciſed her with the ſenſe of her inward diſeaſe, yet could you not at any time diſcern any ſpeech, ſavouring of diſcontentment, or impatience, to proceed out of her mouth, nay ſcarcely ſo much as a groan. But if at any time ſhe found any refreſhings from the violence of her diſeaſe, (there being no malady ſo vehement which hath not ſome intermiſſions and breathing times) ſhe declared her willingneſs to obtain the recovery of her former health, and for that end ſhe refuſed no good means preſcribed for her by her learned phyſicians. Again, when ſhe perceived her ſickneſs to encreaſe upon her, and that ſhe grew worſe and worſe, ſhe was no whit appalled thereat, but ſhewed herſelf to be armed with an invincible conſtancy, to undergo the utmoſt that death could do againſt her, preparing herſelf willingly for that laſt conflict. And when ſhe ſaw her ladies and gentlewomen weeping about her bed, ſhe blamed them for it, ſaying, Weep not for me, I pray you; forasmuch as God doth, by this ſickneſs, call me hence to enjoy a better life, and now I may enter into the deſired haven, towards which this frail veſſel of mine hath been a long time ſteering. Yet ſhe ſhewed herſelf grieved that ſhe wanted opportunity to reward them, and many more of her family and train which had done her faithful ſervice, as ſhe could have wiſhed, excuſing herſelf to them, and profeſſing that it was not want of good will, but her being prevented by this her ſudden ſickneſs: But, ſaid ſhe, I will not fail to give order about the ſame, to the utmoſt of my ability.

In the end, perceiving her ſtrength to decay more and more, ſhe gave order to have her laſt will and teſtament made, and thereby ſettled her outward eſtate. And the eighth of June, which was the day before ſhe died, ſhe called for a miniſter; and finding that ſhe was drawing nigh unto her end, ſhe deſired him to ſpeak ſomewhat largely of the temptations which Satan is wont to aſſail God's elect with in their laſt conflict.

To this the miniſter anſwered, Indeed that is the hour wherein the ſworn enemy of all the faithful doth moſt buſily beſtir himſelf, if poſſible, to deprive them of the comfort of their ſalvation, not ſparing, eſpecially, at that time, to ſet upon them with might and ſlight; but yet, even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their hearts with ſuch joy and comfort of the Holy Ghoſt, as ſhall make them in the end more than conquerers. His firſt engine wherewith he would drive them to diſpair,

diſpair, is, by preſenting before their eyes the innumerable heaps of their ſins and pollutions, wherewith they have been any way defiled in their whole life: and then he preſents to them God's juſtice, before which no fleſh can be able to ſubſiſt, unleſs it were pure and ſpotleſs; whence he infers, that ſuch miſerable ſinners can expect and look for nothing but utter death and condemnation: but againſt theſe aſſaults we muſt, as David, Pſal. li. ſet the infinite multitudes of God's compaſſions, which do infinitely ſurpaſs the multitudes of our ſins. And as for the juſtice of God, we confeſs that no creature that is defiled by ſin can abide to be ſtrictly examined by it, if God ſhould call us to a ſevere account. But we know that God will never enter into judgment with thoſe that believe in his Son, but imputes unto them that righteouſneſs and obedience which was accompliſhed by him, which is ſufficient to oppoſe againſt the juſtice of God; therefore in it alone we muſt expect to ſtand before his face, and not by our own dignity and worthineſs. Indeed, if we were to appear before the ſeat of juſtice, to receive there what we have deſerved, we had good reaſon to be overwhelmed in utter diſpair; but turning our eyes upon him, who being the eternal Son of God, hath clothed himſelf with our human nature, to bear on him the ſame puniſhment that was due to our ſins, and thereby hath acquitted us; then God's juſtice doth no whit affright us, but rather yields us aſſured comfort, becauſe God being juſt, cannot require the ſame debt twice. Having therefore received full and perfect ſatisfaction from Chriſt, whom he hath ordained to be our ſurety, and who hath paid our debts for us, thence we gather aſſurance that he will no more require it at our hands. To which purpoſe theſe ſentences are to be well obſerved. 'It is Chriſt who hath born our grief, and carried our ſorrows. The chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and by his ſtripes we are healed. That we all like ſheep have gone aſtray, and have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. Chriſt is our peace, and the propitiation for our ſins. The Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſins of the world.' Upon theſe conſiderations God's juſtice need not terrify ſuch as believe in Chriſt, of whoſe righteouſneſs and redemption they are made partakers, ſeeing that Jeſus Chriſt, 'who knew no ſin, was made ſin (that is an oblation for ſin) for us, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.'

I grant, ſaid he, that theſe things belong not to all indifferently, but only unto ſuch as, believing in the Son of God, do wholly caſt themſelves upon the merit of his death and paſſion, which, as St Peter ſaith, is ſufficient for their ſalvation, Acts iv. 12.

Then did he aſk her, Whether ſhe placed her whole truſt and confidence on Chriſt crucified, who died for her ſins, and roſe again for her juſtification? To this the godly queen anſwered, That ſhe neither expected ſalvation, righteouſneſs, nor life, from any elſe, but only from her Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, being aſſured that his merit alone did abundantly ſuffice for the full ſatisfaction for all her ſins, albeit they were innumerable.

This being your faith, Madam, quoth the miniſter, you cannot come into condemnation, but are paſſed from death to life, neither need you fear God's ſeat of juſtice, ſince it is turned into a throne of mercy and grace unto you, and therefore the hour of death will be exceeding welcome to you, being but a ſweet paſſage into a far better life; as alſo the time in which all tears ſhall be wiped from your eyes; therefore, I beſeech you, Madam, think often of that ſweet text, 'Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, and their works follow them.' Now the time approaches wherein you ſhall enjoy the beatific viſion, the ſociety of your huſband Chriſt, the fellowſhip of the bleſſed angels and celeſtial ſpirits, with the holy patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs of Chriſt, partaking with them in the ſame felicity and glory. He alſo further ſaid, Madam, If it ſhould pleaſe God, by this your ſickneſs, to put an end to this weary pilgrimage of yours, and to call you home to himſelf, as by ſome evident ſigns it appears that he will, Are you willing to go unto him? to this ſhe anſwered with much Chriſtian courage, Yea, with all my heart.

After a ſhort prayer, the miniſter diſcerning in her the undoubted teſtimonies of unfeigned repentance, and of the ſorrow that ſhe conceived for the offences which ſhe had committed againſt God, together with the aſſured confidence which ſhe had in his mercies, as a miniſter of the goſpel, and ambaſſador of the Son of God, by the authority given to him, having the word of reconciliation committed to him; he aſſured her, in the name of Chriſt, that all her ſins were forgiven by God, and that they ſhould never come in account againſt her at his judgment-ſeat; yea, that ſhe ſhould no more doubt thereof, than if the Son of God from heaven ſhould ſay unto her, Daughter, be of good comfort, thy ſins are forgiven thee. And to the end, that troubled conſciences might the better be quieted, Chriſt hath uſed theſe words, ſpeaking to his miniſters, ſaying, 'Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted,' &c. And the reaſon is, becauſe the word which they pronounce is not the word of a mortal man, but of the immortal God, being of no leſs weight than if himſelf had uttered the ſame. Then he aſked her majeſty if ſhe accepted of ſo gracious a meſſage, which aſſured her of the free pardon of all her ſins? Yes, ſaith ſhe; with all my heart, and make no doubt thereof.

Not long after came in the admiral Coligni, and with him another miniſter, to whom ſhe gave ear a good ſpace together, his ſpeech tending to prepare her for death; and when he had finiſhed his ſpeech, he alſo prayed with her, which ſhe attended to, with great affection. Then ſhe requeſted that thoſe two miniſters might ſtay all night with her in her chamber, and that they would in no wiſe leave her.

The greateſt part of this night was ſpent in holy admotions, which theſe miniſters gave to this gracious lady, one after another; beſides which, ſhe required them to read to her ſome chapters of the holy ſcriptures, which were pertinent to her condition, and ſo they read out of St John's goſpel, from the fourteenth to the end of the ſeventeenth chapter. After which they went to prayer with her, which being ended, the queen deſired to take ſome reſt; but it was not long 'ere ſhe commanded them to read again; whereupon one of them made choice of certain of David's pſalms, full of ardent and affectionate prayers, ſuiting to this princeſs's preſent condition, by reaſon of her affliction; and for a concluſion read pſalm xxxi. wherein the prophet, amongſt other things, doth commend his ſpirit into the hands of God, 'Becauſe,' ſaith he, 'thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.' Then the queen willed them to pray with her again; and thus was the moſt part of that night ſpent in ſuch holy exerciſes, during all which time the miniſters never diſcerned in her the leaſt ſign of impatience, notwithſtanding the violence of her affliction. Yea, whereas immediately before her ſickneſs ſhe had ſhewed how affectionately ſhe was bent to provide things moſt magnificent for the day of her ſon's marriage, according as the ſtate of ſo great an alliance required; yet it was admirable to obſerve, that after this ſickneſs had ſeized on her, God wrought in her ſuch a neglect and forgetfulneſs of all ſuch matters, that ſhe never ſhewed to have ſo much as thought thereof. The night being thus ſpent, and paſt, by this noble queen, ſhe perſevering in the expreſſions of ſuch like affections, and ardency of faith, the next morning, between eight and nine o'clock, ſhe departed this life, to take poſſeſſion of a far better, ſweetly yielding up her ſpirit into the hands of God, June 9. in the year 1572, being the ſixth day after ſhe fell ſick, and of her age forty four.

She had her perfect ſpeech and memory, even to the hour of her death, ſhewing not only that ſtayedneſs and ſoundneſs of judgement, which ever in times paſt ſhe had, in the care about the ſalvation of her ſoul, but alſo in the well ſettlement of her worldly affairs.

The king made as if he had conceived great grief for her death, putting on mourning attire, wherein alſo the whole court followed his example, leſt by this ſudden accident their counſels and future deſperate deſigns might be prevented. Alſo, to avoid all jealouſies, and ſuſpicions of her being poiſoned, by reaſon of her ſudden ſickneſs and death, her body was opened by ſundry expert and learned doctors of phyſic and chirurgery, who found her heart and liver very ſound, only ſome ſcirrouſneſs on one ſide of her lungs; but her head they might not open, where the malady lay, by which means the diſcovery was prevented.

The End of CLARK'S MARTYROLOGY *and* LIVES.

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE AND SUFFERINGS OF THE CHURCH OF *SCOTLAND*,

From the Reformation to the Reſtoration.

With an INTRODUCTION, containing the moſt remarkable OCCURRENCES relating to that CHURCH from the Reformation to the Reſtoration.

By WILLIAM CROOKSHANK, A. M Miniſter of the *Scots* Congregation in *Swallow-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

ALEXANDER, EARL of LEVEN.

MY LORD,

I ESTEEM it no ſmall honour to have your Lordſhip's countenance in the deſign of the following performance, and permiſſion to put the ſame under your patronage. I wiſh it had been in my power to render it more worthy of your approbation and acceptance: but as your Lordſhip is able to ſpy out the failings in this work, ſo I doubt not of your candour to throw a vail over them.

HAD I been capable to preſent the world with a moſt exact, impartial and perfect hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, during this period, I know none who had a juſter claim to have it dedicated to them than your Lordſhip; for the great actions and ſufferings of your worthy progenitors, on account of the proteſtant religion and liberties of mankind are well known.

SIR Alexander Leſly, from whom your Lordſhip is deſcended in the maternal line, gained ſo much honour abroad, that the great Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden promoted him firſt to be lieutenat general, and then feldt marſhal of his armies. And when the emperor had reduced all Germany except Stralſund, which was then inveſted by count Walſtein with a formidable and victorious army, General Leſly, to whom that heroic Prince gave the command of the place, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege 1628; and in the year 1630, drove the Imperialiſts out of the iſle of Rugen, and thereby opened a way for Guſtavus to march into Germany.

HAVING gained ſuch laurels abroad, he returned to his native country, and was choſen general of the Scots army, which was raiſed in defence of the Covenanters and the liberties of his country; and, in 1641, was created Earl of Leven. His Lordſhip performed many ſignal ſervices after this, too tedious to be related here. This Nobleman's grand-ſon dying without male iſſue, and his grand-daughter marrying George Earl of Melvil, the honours and eſtate of Leven came, in proceſs of time to David Melvil, Eſq; your Lordſhip's father.

AND nothing is better known, than that the family of Melvil, from which your Lordſhip is lineally deſcended, has been remarkable, ever ſince the dawn of the Reformation, for an uninterrupted and ſteady adherence to that glorious cauſe.

YOUR Lordſhip's grand-father, the ſaid George Lord Melvil, ſuffered not a little in the infamous period deſcribed in the following work, ſo that he was obliged to fly over to Holland for ſafety. But that great judge of men and things, the illuſtrious Prince of Orange, had ſuch a value for him, that, after the glorious revolution, he appointed him to be his high commiſſioner to the parliament 1690, in which the Confeſſion of Faith was ratified, Preſbyterian government eſtabliſhed, patronages were aboliſhed, and the church of Scotland reſtored to the freedom of all her judicatories. This noble Peer enjoyed many other high offices under the crown; he was not only made an Earl, but was ſucceſſively ſole Secretary of State for Scotland, Lord Privy-ſeal and Preſident of the privy council.

HIS ſon David your noble father, did great ſervice in the happy deliverance brought about, under God, by the great King William; for, when he was abroad, he raiſed a regiment of foot, and brought it over with that illuſtrious Prince. He likeways commanded thoſe brave people who guarded the convention of eſtates, which was an aſſembly of patriots, whoſe names will ever be dear to true Proteſtants. During all the reign of King William, and a great part of Queen Anne's, his Lordſhip was governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh; and held likeways, under that Princeſs, the offices of general of the ordnance for Scotland, and commander in chief of all the forces in that kingdom, till towards the end of her reign, he was by the influence of her Tory miniſtry, removed from all public employments: but his Lordſhip perſevered in a ſtedy attachment to the the intereſts of the preſent royal family, from the act of ſettlement 1701, to the day of his death.

AS your Lordſhip is thus deſcended from a race of patriots, who were always firm to the proteſtant cauſe, ſo it is well known, that you my Lord, maintain the ſame principles, and adhere to the ſame intereſt; ſo that, as your noble grand father was king William's high commiſſioner to that brave parliament who reſtored the church and kingdom of Scotland to their religions and civil privileges,

vileges, & your Lordſhip has had the honour to repreſent the royal perſon of his majeſty King George the II. in the general aſſemblies of that church, ever ſince the year 1741, and to partake of ſeveral other marks of the royal favour; ſuch is the confidence his majeſty places in your Lordſhip, and ſuch the aſſurance he has of your loyalty to his royal perſon and government, attachment to the Proteſtant religion, and hearty affection to the church of Scotland. That God almighty may bleſs and long preſerve your Lordſhip and excellent Lady, and make your family always patrons of religion and liberty, according to the example of your noble progenitors, is the ſincere deſire of,

My LORD,
Your LORDSHIP'S
moſt humble,
moſt obedient, and
much obliged ſervant,

WILL. CROOKSHANK.

PREFACE.

THE deſign of the following work is to give the Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland during the reigns of the royal brothers,—to preſerve the memory of the ſufferers, and ſhew the cauſe of their ſufferings,—to ſhew us what we have to expect, ſhould ever any of the pretended race of the Stuarts fill the Britiſh throne,—and, if poſſible, to convince us of the unſpeakable obligations a good and gracious God has laid us under, in delivering theſe nations from the tyranny of their oppreſſors.

It is but a general and imperfect account that is given of the ſufferings of the church of Scotland in this period by the Engliſh hiſtorians; for they had neither proper informations nor materials. The Rev. Mr Robert Wodrow, Miniſter at Eaſtwood is the only perſon who has given a large account of theſe things in his excellent hiſtory; but, as that work is contained in two large volumes in folio, ſo there are but few that have either time to peruſe it, or can afford to purchaſe it; and, ſince the reducing ſuch a performance into a more narrow compaſs was thought proper, for making the hiſtory of this period more univerſally known, I was prevailed with, by many of my friends to undertake this difficult taſk.

The worthy hiſtorian, juſt now mentioned, had excellent materials for his performance, having in his hands the records of the nation, beſides original papers and well atteſted narratives from thoſe who were immediately concerned, or were preſent at the facts he has recorded; and many gentlemen and miniſters, related to the ſufferers, favoured him with well atteſted accounts of the ſufferings of particular perſons, as his preface ſufficiently declares: ſo that it is eaſy to ſee what labour and pains he muſt have been at in compoſing a work from ſuch a multitude of papers he had to peruſe, there being no hiſtorian before him from whom he could have much aſſiſtance. As this, I think, is a ſufficient excuſe for the voluminouſneſs of his hiſtory, ſo it ſhews the expediency of this undertaking.

The account that is here given is indeed tragical, for it is the hiſtory of a moſt cruel and bloody perſecution, and opens a ſcene that may juſtly fill us with horror. The laws againſt the ſufferers were written in blood, and executed by a military force. All methods of cruelty were made uſe of by a prelatical faction, who not only invaded the properties of the ſubject, but even the prerogatives of the Mediator as the only head of the church. Many were exorbitantly fined, unjuſtly impriſoned, oppreſſed by ſoldiers, plundered by dragoons and a lawleſs highland hoſt. Multitudes were forced to wander about in dens and caves of the earth. Not a few were tortured by boots, thumbkins, fire-matches, &c. Some were beheaded, others were hanged and quartered; women, as well as men, ſuffered death; ſome of them were hanged, and others drowned: priſons were crouded, and ſhips were loaded with priſoners, who were baniſhed from their native country, of whom many periſhed, &c. &c. &c.

But what had they done? Were they murderers of fathers or murderers of mothers? were they thieves or robbers? quite the reverſe; for they were pious and religious perſons. Their enemies indeed have pretended that it was not ſo much for religion as rebellion that they ſuffered. Accordingly Sir George MacKenzie, in his Vindication of the reign of King Charles II. has the aſſurance to ſay, p. 17. 'That there did not die, upon any 'public account twelve in all that reign; and that not one 'died for any principle of religion, unleſs it be thought 'a religious principle to die for actual rebellion;' and elſewhere, p. 8. 'That no man in Scotland ever ſuffered 'for his religion;' than which nothing can be more falſe; and the following hiſtory will ſufficienty refute the many lies and malicious miſrepreſentations in the Advocate's vindication, and clearly ſhew, that whatever ſteps the ſufferers took were the effect of unparallelled cruelty and unſupportable oppreſſion. It is well known, that, though no people could be more attached to any prince, than the Scots Preſbyterians were to King Charles II. and no prince was ever under greater obligations to protect any ſubjects and maintain them in the inviolable poſſeſſion of their religious and civil liberties, than Charles was to protect them; yet he was no ſooner reſtored, but he and his wicked miniſtry proclaimed to all the world their horrid diſſimulation, ingratitude and perjury. For notwithſtanding the covenanted ties which lay upon the King and all the nation, they overturned the Preſbyterian ſettlement, which all, with uplifted hands, had ſworn to maintain, eſtabliſhed Prelacy, which, with the greateſt ſolemnity, they had ſworn to extirpate, and obliged all to make a declaration againſt the covenants, and perſecuted thoſe who could not comply; ſo that Preſbyterians were counted rebels, becauſe they could not perjure themſelves, according to the example of the King and his miniſters, nor ſubmit to Prelacy and the Supremacy; becauſe they eſteemed dioceſan biſhops as contrary to the word of God, and therefore could never own and acknowledge them without acting contrary to their conſciences. They likeways looked upon the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy as an uſurpation of Chriſt's throne and dignity; eſpecially as it was aſſerted, in the preamble of act 1. ſeſſion 2. parl. 1. Charles II. 'That the ordering and diſpoſal of the external govern-'ment and policy of this church doth properly belong 'unto his Majeſty, as an inherent right of the crown. Their noncompliance with theſe things was the cauſe of their ſuffering in the manner related in the following work.

It is true, many of them took arms in their own defence, being conſtrained thereto by horrid oppreſſion and diſmal tyranny, and at laſt ſome renounced the authority of the two tyrants, but not till after they had been denounced, intercommuned, and put from under the protection of the laws of their country; and if that was rebellion, ſo was the revolution: but the accuſation of their enemies on this ſcore deſerves very little regard, ſince after the Revolution, the forfeitures paſſed in theſe two reigns were reverſed by act of parliament, and they who were moſt active, in the defence of themſelves and their religious and civil rights, are expreſſly mentioned, as Mr John King, Mr John Kid, Mr william and Alexander Gordons, elder and younger of Earlſtoun, Henry Hall of Haughhead, Mr Cargil, Mr Robert Baily of Jerviſwood, Archibald Earl of Argyll, George Earl of Melvil, nay, and Mr James Renwick, &c. &c. &c. The reader may ſee the act in the laſt number of Mr Wodrow's appendix to his ſecond volume.

Little regard, I conceive, is to be paid to what others have alledged, that many of them threw away their lives, and that they ſuffered only for trifles; nay, if that was the caſe, was it not baſe for the miniſters of ſtate, and others, in this diſmal period, to ſhed the blood of ſo many innocent people for trifles? But was it a trifling matter to act againſt their conſciences, to renounce their principles, to own the authority of a Prince who had uſurped the authority of Chriſt over his own church, and that in the very exerciſe of his uſurpation? But I ſhall not here anticipate what the reader will, I hope, find cleared up in the

the hiſtory. In ſhort, they were brave martyrs for their religion and liberties, and a covenanted work of reformation, in oppoſition to Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, &c. and it is well known, that whatever reſiſtance was made by any Preſbyterians during the ſway of tyranny and arbitrary power, yet they of that denomination have ever ſhewn themſelves ſtrict adherers and firm friends to legal government.

As the following hiſtory is intended to preſerve the memory of thoſe who ſuffered for their religion and liberties, ſo it gives us a view of what may be expected, ſhould ever the Pretender, or any of his race, aſcend the Britiſh throne; or ſhould ever Prelacy, not to ſpeak of Popery, be eſtabliſhed in Scotland. It is a juſt obſervation of the author of the Memoirs of the church of Scotland, p 194. 'That Epiſcopacy never got ground in 'that kingdom but by violence, and never failed to exer'ciſe what power it had there to oppreſs and deſtroy its 'oppoſers, being always animated with a ſpirit of perſecution in the church, and abſolute tyranny in the ſtate,' as will appear moſt evident from the following work; in which we have a view of the diſmal methods the Prelats and their abbetors were pleaſed to take to ſupport their power, and that they never ceaſed to vent a ſpirit of perſecution againſt their fellow Proteſtants while they were able; and there are not wanting proofs that the Epiſcopalians have ſhewen the ſame inclinations to this day, and only want an opportunity to give further demonſtrations of them. As they were inveterate enemies to the revolution, ſo they have made many attempts, ſince that time to overturn our preſent happy ſettlement, and bring us again under the intolerable yoke: but by the interpoſition of a kind providence, all their counſels have hitherto been defeated, and all their meaſures diſconcerted. And happy was it for thoſe nations that it was ſo, for, had they ſucceeded, we could have expected nothing but that the ſame bloody ſcene, that is here preſented, would have been opened again, and the ſame methods of oppreſſion and tyranny made uſe of. It has been alleged, that we had nothing to fear, becauſe their king, as they call him, would have come under the moſt ſolemn engagements to maintain the Proteſtant religion. But who will queſtion that? Is it poſſible for him to come under ſtronger engagements than King Charles II. or make fairer promiſes than his pretended father James VII? The Pope no doubt, would give him liberty to ſwear all the oaths that could be invented, and break them too whenever it ſhould be in his power. Popiſh princes may promiſe and ſwear whatever they have a mind, but they cannot perform what they pleaſe, becauſe their conſciences are in the keeping of others, to whom they ſtand ſolemnly engaged, as their infallible guides in matters of religion.

Had therefore the Jacobites been ſo numerous or powerful as to ſucceed in their deſigns, and raiſe the Pretender to the throne, to what dreadful circumſtances muſt the nation have been reduced? Would not the Pretender have reſented to the higheſt, the oppoſition made by the Preſbyterians to his pretended father and himſelf, or the inviolable attachment they have retained to the Revolution-ſettlement, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

As all firm Proteſtants in England appeared againſt every attempt made in favour of that abjured race, ſo the Preſbyterians in Scotland were exceeded by none in ſtanding up for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment. With what firmneſs and conſtancy, with what boldneſs, reſolution and courage, did they eſpouſe and plead for this cauſe, even in the preſence of the Rebels themſelves, when it was not in their power to oppoſe their ravages? How miniſters expoſed themſelves to the fury of the enemy, by praying for King George, preaching againſt Popery and Rebellion, &c. &c. is well known. What then muſt they, and all the other hearty friends of their King and country, expect, ſhould it ever be in the power of this emiſſary of Rome and France to revenge his quarrel? if their ſufferings were ſo great under Charles and James, what they muſt be under this bigotted tool is eaſy to conceive.

This work is alſo deſigned to convince all true Proteſtants, eſpecially thoſe of the church of Scotland, what obligations we are under to God, for the remarkable interpoſition of his providence, in delivering theſe nations from the intolerable yoke of a race of Tyrants, who did all they could to eſtabliſh arbitrary power, and ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom; a race who paid no regard to promiſes, oaths and laws; a race who ſtudied more to gratify the French King than how to conſult the happineſs of their own ſubjects: for who can read an account of the miſeries of the nation under their tyranny, and not ſee the greatneſs of that mercy in delivering us from them? eſpecially when we conſider, that the ſame providedce to which ſuch a deliverance was owing, has frequently ſince appeared in defeating all the attempts that have been made to enſlave us.

But have our returns of gratitude been anſwerable to the greatneſs of our mercies? What means then that deluge of atheiſm, blaſphemy and profaneneſs, that ſo much abounds? whence are the complaints of the more ſerious in all places of the nation, of a lamentable courſe of defection from our Reformation-principles? And, in a particular manner, whence is it that ſo many worthy perſons have ſeceded from the judicatories of the church of Scotland? And how comes it, that many of thoſe, who have not ſeceded, are ſo much diſſatisfied with the conduct of theſe judicatories? For my own part, though I look upon ſeceſſion to be a very tender point, yet I cannot in charity think that ſome of thoſe that have ſeceded, however they might have carried matters ſo far, have acted without any provocation; but, as I know not the ſprings of the conduct of the different parties now in Scotland, I ſhall only ſay, that, where diviſions prevail, matters are generally carried to extremeties on all hands, and, in order to a reconciliation, conceſſions ought to be made by all the parties, if it can be done without making truth a ſacrifice to peace. May God himſelf heal our diviſions, put a ſtop to our defections, unite the hearts of all who have a real concern for the advancement of his glory, and revive a work of reformation among all ranks and degrees of perſons.

I have heard it objected, that a hiſtory like this ſhould not be publiſhed, becauſe it may give offence to the Epiſcopal church of England. But what ground there is for this, is not eaſy to be imagined, unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe the preſent biſhops of England, of the ſame perſecuting diſpoſition with the old Scots biſhops, or with ſeveral of their own predeceſſors; which is not the caſe; for though according to true Preſbyterian principles, Prelacy is bad in itſelf, and contrary to the word of God; yet the preſent Prelates, to their honour I ſpeak it, have not ſhewn the leaſt inclination to perſecute thoſe of different ſentiments from themſelves; ſo that it would be a reflection upon them to ſuppoſe that they would be offended at a hiſtory of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. And what if they ſhould be offended? muſt truth be concealed for fear of giving offence? There is no queſtion but it may offend the Scots Epiſcopalians, who are generally Jacobites, as they have ever been ſince the Revolution: however, I neither court their favour nor regard their reſentments, as they have always appeared, not only of a perſecuting ſpirit, but alſo enemies to their country and our preſent happy eſtabliſhment.

It has alſo been urged, that a hiſtory of this nature can only ſerve to revive old quarrels; but thoſe perſons do not conſider what attempts have been made to bring us under the old yoke of bondage, how the enemies of our preſent happy conſtitution have once more endeavoured to ſubvert it; and therefore, as the Rev. Mr Wodrow publiſhed his hiſtory a few years after the unnatural rebellion in 1715, to many of my friends, both in England and Scotland, have thought it both proper and ſeaſonable that this ſhould appear in the world after the rebellion in the year 1745. If was the Jacobites that revived old animoſities: and this hiſtory, as has been already obſerved, ſhews the miſeries in which we ſhould have been involved, had God, in judgment for our many defections, and the crying abominations of the land, permitted them to be ſucceſsful. If it be further conſidered what a degree of reformation the church of Scotland attained to, both with reſpect to doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government, and how zealouſly our worthies reſiſted even unto blood, a faithful account of theſe things has rather a tendency to excite to a holy

a holy concern, for having a ſtop put to the defections of the preſent degenerate age, for a revival of a work of reformation, and for quickening our reſentments againſt popery, prelacy, and every thing that tends to reduce us to that ſtate of ſlavery and perſecution deſcribed in the following work.

When I firſt engaged in this undertaking, I only intended to abridge Mr Wodrow's hiſtory; but, at the advice of many friends, I was induced to bear other helps for making the hiſtory of this perſecuting period more clear and full. Accordingly, when I mention any thing not to be found in Wodrow, I generally tell my author; ſo that I though there is nothing thought material in that author which I have omitted, yet the author will find many things of conſequence in the following work, which the other takes no notice of.

But, inſtead of the great number of letters that paſſed between Sharp and Mr Douglas, and others, which make up the greateſt part of Mr Wodrow's introduction, I thought it would be more to the advantage of the curious reader, to give a ſhort account of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation; but I am ſorry that I have it to ſay, that, after the end of Calderwood's hiſtory, there is a chaſm in the hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, from the death of king James VI. to the Reſtoration, though it appears, from Mr Wodrow's Preface, that there are ſufficient materials, not only for rendering the hiſtory of that church, from the Reformation to the death of the ſaid prince, more perfect, but alſo for continuing the ſame down to the Reſtoration; and therefore I am of opinion, it would be of great ſervice, if they, in whoſe hands theſe materials are, would favour the world with them.

It is not for me to ſpeak much concerning my own performance, which muſt ſtand or fall according to the judgment of others; and indeed, it would be an unpardonable piece of vanity, ſhould I pretend to have given a perfect or faultleſs hiſtory. There will doubtleſs be found ſeveral miſtakes; and therefore I ſhall take it very kind in my friends, if they find any thing in this work, either miſtaken, or through inadvertency miſrepreſented, to let me know it, that, if I have another opportunity, I may rectify the ſame. However, I have endeavoured to ſet things in as clear a light as I could. And for this end have reduced the facts mentioned, as much as poſſible, in the order of time when they happened, and where my reader is at a loſs to underſtand the Scoticiſms which occur through the book, he will have recourſe to the gloſſary at the end thereof.

As to the unhappy differences that aroſe among the Preſbyterians, concerning the indulgence, the paying of ceſs, the toleration of king James, &c. I have given the reader an account of what was ſaid by both parties, in as fair and candid a manner as I could: and ſome, perhaps, will think it had been much to the advantage of the common cauſe, againſt popery and prelacy, had the contending parties ſhewn more Chriſtian forbearance than it appears they did. Many worthy and holy men thought it their duty to accept of the indulgence, &c. and the generality of the Preſbyterians embraced the toleration; and their conduct was, perhaps, too ſeverly cenſured by thoſe who could not comply, ſo thoſe non-complyers were too bitterly exclaimed againſt by others; but ſuch are the conſequences when diviſions prevail.

If I had been favoured with more materials than I could have recourſe to, as the manuſcript hiſtory of the Rev. Mr Ward, ſome things might poſſibly have appeared in a clearer light. The Rev. Mr Wodrow told my honourable friend Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlſtoun, that, had he ſeen that hiſtory, and the letters that paſſed between the ſocieties in Scotland and their correſpondents in England, his hiſtory would have had a different turn; I thought it therefore my duty to apply for the ſaid hiſtory, but could not obtain it. Upon the whole, I have given a full and diſtinct account of what happened, during thoſe two infamous reigns, as I could; and if the imperfections or miſtakes in this performance ſhall excite any better qualified for ſuch an undertaking, to favour the world with a more diſtinct account of theſe things, I ſhall be very well ſatisfied, and ſhall not be altogether diſappointed in my deſign of publiſhing this.

I ſhall only add, That I have, in this edition, corrected many literal miſtakes, which had ſome way been overlooked in the firſt, and made a few alterations and additions, which, I hope, will render this ſtill more uſeful.

To the AUTHOR of the HISTORY of the STATE and SUFFERINGS of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

By THOMAS GIBBONS.

THE ſcenes of diſtant æras to diſcloſe,
Paint o'er their bleſſings, and recal their woes,
To ſet each virtue in it's native light,
And from each vice to ſtrike the cloud of night;
To trace a country's genius, ſtrength and laws,
Their various workings, and their latent cauſe,
Is Hiſtory's great taſk; and thus thy page
Unfolds, O CROOKSHANK! the departed age.
Of late Rebellion, like ſome ſudden ſtorm,
That dares the boſom of the deep deform,
And ſtrives to mingle in one wreck of woe,
Earth, air, and ſkies, and ocean's gulph below,
With gloomy tempeſts our horizon ſpread,
And thunder'd inſtant ruin o'er our head;
But, thanks to Heav'n, the dreaded danger paſt
Britannia ſmiles triumphant from the blaſt.
Yet ſtill ſome minds (while raving frenzy ſings
Of richer bleſſings under worthier kings)
Would fain renew the wild deſtructive rage,
Dethrone our monarch, o'er our golden age
The rayleſs glooms of Popiſh error caſt,
And bind us in eternal fetters faſt.
O may ſuch minds, for ev'n ſuch minds remain
In Britain's realms beneath a Brunſwick's reign!
Roll back the annals of preceding times.
The people's miſeries, and the monarch's crimes;
Then match the horrors with our happy days,
Enjoy the bliſs, and ſhout the thankful praiſe.
In Mary's reign, her guardian promiſe broke,
Our land received the Antichriſtian yoke;
Beat were our fathers with the iron load,
That gall'd their ſhoulders, and that drunk their blood
Whom ſee I there the murd'rer's chain partake,
Corded and burning at the ſocial ſtake?
Ridley and Latimer; illuſtrious pair!
This all their guilt.—to live divinely fair,
And reſolutely good;—nor theſe alone,
Hark, from the realm the univerſal groan!
Triumphant Pop'ry hurls the flaming brand,
And martyr'd victims blaze through all the land.
Mary no more; the bloody harpy flies
From Albion's cliffs, and ſeeks her Weſtern ſkies;
But ſtill it's genius half ſurvives behind,
And half infects the brave Eliza's mind:
On Puritans, averſe to modes and forms,
She bends her brow in unrelenting ſtorms:
The deep damp dungeon wails with pious breath,
And cords and gibbets ſhriek with guiltleſs death.
James mounts the throne; but proud of empty fame,
Extravagantly liſts the royal name;
Monarch's muſt ſhake an undiſputed rod,
And nations bow to their deſpotic nod:
He dies,—but, oh! the father's madneſs lays
The ground of woes for his ſucceſſor's days:
Then Prelacy, by regal pow'r ſuſtain'd,
The native freedom of our ſoul's reſtrain'd,
Then great in vengeance roſe pontific Laud,
Rear'd his tribunal, and the kingdom aw'd:
The ſcourge was crimſon'd with the Tyrant's rage,
And life long priſons mourn'd the iron age.
Next Charles the ſon aſſum'd imperial ſway,
And Britons hop'd a more propitious ray,

But hop'd in vain; for from its duſt aroſe,
Graſping ten thouſand thunders for its foes,
Prelatic pow'r. What numbers ſhall relate
Its headſtrong fury, and its iron weight?
The ſtars that blaz'd in Albion's hemiſphere,
And long diſpens'd, unclouded radiance there,
No more were ſuffer'd to indulge their light,
Torn from their orbs, and ſunk in endleſs night.
On all that durſt not to the mitre bow,
Harſh laws were yok'd, and edg'd with penal woe,
Charg'd from the throne, here all rapacious theft
Widows and orphans of their mites bereft.
Here cruelty the royal mandate pleads
For peace moleſted, and inhuman deeds:
Aſſembled ſaints, their paſtors at their head,
Theſe met to give, and thoſe to take the bread,
Were dragg'd by wolves, to ev'ry pity ſteel'd,
From the thick woodland or ſequeſter'd field,
To ſhare with thieves their half-defrauded cell,
And there in long and painful durance dwell.
But Albion bears the lighter lot of ills;
See the thick tempeſt burſts in Scotia's hills:
See, by that Prince, the ſacred compact torn,
Who late to guard th' uninjur'd rights had ſworn:
See at his nod Epiſcopacy ſpread,
Its ſov'reign mitre tow'ring on its head;
Pale famine, rage, and terror lead its way,
And death upholds the ſtandard of its ſway.
'Tis not enough felonious caves to fill,
'Tis not enough for cords and ſteel to kill;
But on the ancle the ſharp wedge deſcends,
The bone reluctant with the iron bends,
Cruſh'd is its frame, blood ſpouts from ev'ry pore,
And the whole marrow ſwims in purple gore.
Next James ſucceeds; and ſtill the ſlaughter ſpread,
And blacker woes impended o'er our head:
Pop'ry, before unwilling to be known,
Tempts a bold flight, and ſeats her on the throne;
'Triumphant wantons in the tyrant's ray,
Her talons whet, and dooms the world her prey.
Then Monmouth's ſtar, aſcending in the weſt,
Appears, but ſinks with crimſon clouds oppreſt;
While dogs of death, commiſſion'd to deſtroy,
Ruſh, rend, and havoc with remorſeleſs joy:
The weſtern vales unbounded murder fills,
And Scotia wails thro' her unnumber'd hills.
But ſee from Belgia's leſs'ning ſtrands advance,
While gales exulting in the ſtreamers dance,
The great Naſſau; to Albion's coaſt he bends,
The firſt of heroes, and the beſt of friends.
The ocean, proud the bleſſing to convey,
Wafts him with ſpeed along the wat'ry way.
See on our ſhores he brave Deliv'rer ſtand
Loud ſounds th' extatic welcome o'er the land,
While abject tyranny avoids the ſight,
As rav'ning wolves deteſt the riſing light;
And now his angels and his own renown
With peaceful olives leads him to the throne
Triumphant; recreant at his vital ſmile
Religion blooms, and Freedom o'er our Iſle
Shoots her glad array; and ſtill the bliſs divine
Full and unclouded ſhines in Brunſwick's line:
Oh! may it ſhine, till time has ſpent its ſtore,
Till Heav'ns revolving fire ſhall blaze no more,
Till that great day ſhall break upon our eyes,
That melts the ball, and takes us to the ſkies,
Where pure Religion o'er the bliſsful plains
Pour her eternal beam, and endleſs Freedom reigns.

To all into whoſe hands the following HISTORY ſhall come eſpecially the Succeſſors of thoſe whoſe ſufferings are therein related.

"THE righteous ſhall be in everlaſting remembrance *," ſaid the Pſalmiſt; and the ſacred hiſtory doth abundantly demonſtrate how dear unto the Lord the memory of thoſe are, who have had trial of cruel mockings and ſcourgings; yea moreover, of bonds and impriſonments; who were—tempted were ſlain with the ſword: —who wandered about in ſheep ſkins and goat ſkins in the deſarts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented *." And tho' to ſuch of our anceſtors as have not only endured the like, but farther ſufferings, as 'quenching the violence of fire †', and facing the ox, the gibbet, and other engines of torture, not accepting deliverance, it will be infinitely more than a ſufficient reward, that they ſhall on that account be acknowledged before the Father, at the ſecond coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yet gratitude, and the deference we owe unto their judgment and authority, oblige us to perpetuate the memory of their zeal, their courage, their faithfulneſs and patience, and to examine the principles and points of teſtimony for which they ſuffered, that, if agreeable to the divine pattern, (of which, for my own part, I have no doubt) we may tread in their ſteps, and, as opportunity is offered, imitate their example.

And, as this leſſon is taught us by revelation, ſo may it be inferred from the very dictates of reaſon. The practice of all nations doth give ſuffrage unto this, That what is tranſmitted by the parents, not only deſerves the preference in point of enquiry, but generally obtains the preeminence in reſpect of influence; a title, an eſtate, office, or whatever elſe hath been our father's, is more dearly accounted of by us than that of any other; yea, amongſt the rudeſt of the Heathen idolaters, the traditions, rites, and ceremonies of the fathers are held in reverend eſtimation with their children. And ſhall we be leſs zealous for our holy religion, than they are for their idolatry? 'Hath a nation changed their gods which yet are no gods: and ſhall we change our glory for that which doth not profit,' or forego a profeſſion of and adherence to our attained to reformation? Surely this were directly repugnant to 'a knowing the God of our fathers, and walking before him with a perfect heart.'

The grounds upon which our fathers ſuffered, viz. the alone headſhip and ſovereignty of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt over his church, as his free and independent kingdom, the ſpiritual and intrinſic power of the church, the divine right of preſbytery, as the only government thereof appointed in his word, and the covenant obligations which the nation hath come under unto God, are no novel tenets: they were not eſpouſed only by our martyrs, nor were peculiar unto the period wherein they ſuffered, but were introduced with our reformation from popery, and, when true religion and holineſs flouriſhed amongſt us, were accounted our glory. While we walked in theſe paths, the Lord was with us, and owned us remarkably both as a church and nation.

But, alas! it is both our ſin and our ſhame, that, being weighed in our own balance, we are found wanting: for, without reckoning upon the multitudes who are given up to a ſpirit of deiſm and infidelity, are not the practices of profeſſors diſagreeable to the rule of the Lord's word? Either a deteſtable neutrality and indifference, inconſiſtent with the belief of one Lord, one faith, and one rule of life, hath crept in amongſt us, or a ſtraitning of the door of church-communion and fellowſhip is like to be carried the length of eradicating love, the neceſſary cement of union amongſt the brethren. Becauſe our ſins againſt the Lord are encreaſed; he hath 'mingled a perverſe ſpirit in the midſt of us, which cauſeth us to err in every work,—as a drunken man ſtaggereth in his vomit, and we eat every man the fleſh of his own arm. The yoke of our tranſgreſſion is bound by his hand, it is wreathed and come up upon our neck; and in the day of our calamity he hath covered us with a cloud in his anger, that, like the blind, we grope for the wall, and cannot find either our ſin or our duty. Some cry, that there be many of our prophets who have not diſcovered our iniquity to turn away our captivity; and others complain, that not a few of them have ſeen for us falſe burdens and cauſes of baniſhment: and, for all this, the Lord's anger is not turned away, but his hand is ſtretched out ſtill. When thus it is with us, have we not reaſon to cry out, Alas! who ſhall live when God doth this? Or, with the men of Bethſhemiſh, who ſhall

* Pſalm cxii. 6.

* Heb. xi. 36, 37, 38.
† Witneſs Mr Patrick Hamilton, Mr George Whiſhart, and others.

ſhall ſtand before this holy Lord God? Surely it is meet to be ſaid unto God, ſhew me wherefore thou contendeſt with me; I have born chaſtiſement, I will not offend any more; that which I ſee not, teach thou me —until the Lord ſhall reveal it unto us, and in the mean time, as far as preſent circumſtances will permit, let us walk by the ſame rule, and mind the ſame thing.'

It remains to be noticed, that though it was propoſed to have prefixed recommendations to this edition, and though part of theſe were obtained, and others could eaſily have been procured from ſeverals who were ſuppoſed moſt acceptable; yet ſome, nearly concerned in, and encouragers of this edition, having ſignified a diſlike of any recommendations, as unneceſſary, conſidering the good acceptation the former editions met with, and that laudable deſign ſupport themſelves, I have therefore been prevailed with to leave out all recommendations whatever.

The Reader will alſo obſerve, that the author's marginal explication of Scots words in the former impreſſion, are, for eviting repetitions, ſubjoined by way of gloſſary at the end of the ſecond volume of this, and that wherever there is a reference in this, by an aſterriſm, thus [*] it is to former pages of the Hiſtory itſelf, that whoever wants to ſee the connection of things may have the more eaſy recourſe unto them.

I have ſaid nothing to the advantages this edition muſt have of the firſt, from the firſt corrections thereon, and even additions made thereto, theſe being acknowleged by the reverend Author in the end of his preface, and will be obvious to any who will take the trouble to compare this with the former edition.

That the preſent republication may be of uſe, and have a due effect upon you all, is the earneſt deſire of,

Your much obliged, and
moſt obedient humble ſervant,

EDINBURGH,
March 25. 1751.

THE PUBLISHER.

INTRODUCTION, containing the moſt remarkable Occurrences of the Church of *Scotland* from the Reformation.

OUR hiſtorians generally agree, that Chriſtianity was planted in Scotland, a few years after the aſcenſion of our Saviour, by ſome of the diſciples of the apoſtle John, who fled thither to avoid the perſecution of the bloody tyrant Domitian, though it was not publicly profeſſed till the beginning of the third century, when Donald I. his Queen, and ſeveral of the nobles were ſolemnly baptized. That Prince did his utmoſt to extirpate idolatry, and ſettle a goſpel miniſtry, but was not able to accompliſh his pious deſign, by reaſon of the continual wars in which he was engaged with the Romans.

But afterwards Chriſtianity was much promoted by ſeveral miniſters and private Chriſtians, who were obliged to come from the ſouth parts of Britain, on account of the perſecutions under Aurelius and Dioclefian. And theſe, for their ſingle and retired life, were called Monachi, or Monks by abbreviation; and, for their diligence in the worſhip and ſervice of God, Colidei, or Culdees. The overſeers of them were commonly termed, by the writers of that time, Scotorum Epiſcopi, the biſhops of the Scots, though without any definition of place, or pre-eminence of one above another.

For many years the Scots had nothing to do with the biſhop of Rome; for as the goſpel was planted among them without his help, ſo they retained it in its purity, till, in proceſs of time, they became infected with the Pelagian herſy. Caleſtine, then biſhop of Rome, is ſaid to have ſent Palladius into Britain, to aid the orthodox inhabitants againſt this ſpreading contagion. Eugenius II. hearing of his ſucceſs in the ſouthern parts, ſent for him to Scotland. He came; and, having been of great ſervice in ſuppreſſing this herſy, at laſt ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the hearts of the people, that he obtained their conſent to have the government of the church changed into prelacy. Boëtius, John Mair, John Leſlie, John of Fordon, Baleus of the Britiſh writers, Baronius, Proſper, &c. as my author evinces, all maintain, that the Scots, before Palladius, had no biſhops at all, or at leaſt their biſhops were not of any diſtinct order from other prieſts or Culdees, by whom they were ordained.

Thus matters continued, for near 1000 years after Chriſt; but, after that time, Satan being let looſe from his chains and priſon of darkneſs, as the General Aſſembly 1690 expreſſes it, began to trouble and almoſt ruin the church, and, by his arts, brought matters to that paſs, that for the ſpace of 500 years, a perpetual and almoſt univerſal night of errors ſat down upon her. Notwithſtanding, the Lord had his witneſſes in Scotland, who, even during the above time of groſs darkneſs, bore an honourable teſtimony to his truth, in oppoſition to the errors and idolatries of popery; and, about the year 1494, the reformation began to dawn, and the light of the goſpel to ſhine again in ſeveral parts of the country, and particularly in the ſhire of Ayr; which ſo enraged the Romiſh prelates, and our rulers then influenced by them, that with fire and faggot they endeavoured to deſtroy all that profeſſed the true religion *. Howbeit, the bleſſed Bible having got in amongſt the people in ſeveral parts of the country, and being ſeconded with the powerful teaching of the Holy Spirit, prevailed ſo far, that, about the year 1535, a farther work of reformation began to be carried on by ſome eminent perſons whom God raiſed up, particularly Mr John Knox whom both our own, and other reformed churches, have accounted a man truly worthy of great eſtimation; and the Lord's hand was ſo ſtrong upon theſe poliſhed ſhafts, that in the year 1557, not only the common people, but alſo the nobility and gentry, began to abhor the tyranny of the biſhops, and to doubt whether they could, without ſin, give their bodily preſence to the maſs, or offer their children to the Papiſtical baptiſm: whether thoſe that were in any public truſt could, with a

* Though it may ſeem inconſiſtent with our purpoſe to deſcend to particulars here, yet, conſidering that the burning of two of theſe, viz. Mr Patrick Hamilton, brother's ſon to the earl of Arran, in the 1527, and Mr George Wiſheart in the 1546, tended greatly to the ſpreading of the truth, through the enquiry made by many into the grounds of their ſufferings, we will take the liberty to hint at the honourable mention made of them by the famous hiſtorian Knox.

Of the former he relates, That, having returned to his own country from the univerſity of Wittemberg, the bright beams of the true light, which, by God's grace, was planted in his heart, began moſt abundantly to burſt forth, as well in public as in private, and the fame of his doctrine, a ſummary whereof is afforded us by that hiſtorian, ſo troubled the clergy, (though like life from the dead to many others) that they ſoon brought him to the end you have heard, which he endured with great patience, and admirable courage, and ended his days in the midſt of the devouring flame, ſaying, 'Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit. How long will darkneſs overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou ſuffer this tyranny of men?' And

Of Mr Wiſheart the ſame hiſtorian ſaith, He was a man of ſuch graces, as before him was never heard within this realm. He was not only ſingularly learned, as well in all godly knowlege, as in all honeſt human ſciences, but alſo he was ſo clearly illuminated with the ſpirit of prophec, (inſtances whereof are by that author condeſcended on) that he foreſaw ſeveral things pertaining to himſelf and others, to ſundry towns, and to the whole realm, as they afterwards felt, and which he foretold in the audience of many: but what more particularly calls for a thankful remembrance, eſpecially conſidering the time of it, was the great power and remarkable efficacy that accompanied and followed his miniſtry. The author of The fulfilling of the Scriptures, ſpeaking of the large meaſure of the Spirit which did convincingly follow the preaching of the goſpel in theſe laſt times, inſtanceth the great ſucceſs which did attend the miniſtry of Mr Wiſheart in Scotland---whence ſo great a change did quickly follow in theſe places where he preached, through Angus, Lothian, and the weſtern parts, and how much the ſpirits of the people were then raiſed and affected with the word. And Mr Knox relates, That Mr Wiſheart made ſo notable a ſermon at Ayr, as enemies themſelves were confounded.---Again, of another at Mauchlin, where ſome of the moſt wicked were converted: and that he having returned to Dundee, while the plague, of which he foretold them, raged there, he ſtood betwixt the whole and the diſeaſed, and preached from Pſalm cvii. 20. 'He ſent his word and healed them;' whereby the hearts of moſt that heard him were ſo elevated, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy who ſhould depart, than ſuch as ſhould remain behind, conſidering that they knew not if they ſhould have ſuch a comforter with them at all times.

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safe conscience, serve the higher powers, in maintaining of idolatry, persecuting their brethren, and suppressing Christ's truth: or whether they might suffer their brethren to be executed for religion, without any declaration that such tyranny displeased them. And, from the scriptures, they were resolved, that a lively faith requires a plain confession when Christ's truth is impugned; and that not only they be guilty who do evil, but also they that consent to evil; and this they should do, if seeing such things openly committed they should be silent, and so allow whatever was done. From doubts they came to determinations, to endeavour that the glorious gospel should be preached, the holy sacraments truly ministred, and superstition, idolatry, and tyranny suppressed. For this end, having calculated both their right and their strength, they sent eminent persons to the remote parts of the kingdom, to incite the gentlemen and boroughs, to adhere to the mutual defence of religion, and of one another in the profession thereof. Accordingly, upon the 3d of December 1557, several of the nobility and others met at Edinburgh, where they entered into a bond, covenant, or association, wherein they promised, before God and his congregation, "That, by his grace, they would, with all diligence, apply their whole power, substance, and their very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the blessed word of God, and his congregation; and would labour, according to their power, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people; that they would maintain, nourish, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, with their whole power, and hazard of their lives; and declare themselves manifest enemies to all superstitious abominations and idolatry." This was subscribed by the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Morton, Archibald Lord of Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, &c. who, after this, were called The Lords of the Congregation, and the people who adhered to them were called The Congregation.

And though in all this they proceeded with that moderation which became wise subjects, attempting nothing of themselves, without first supplicating the Queen regent for her concurrence, yet, at last, she appeared openly against the Reformers, and made preparations to suppress them openly by force; and in order to this, she summoned all the ministers in Scotland, to appear at Stirling, on the 10th of May 1559, which being understood, and endeavours for appeasing her proving abortive, it was agreed, That the gentlemen should accompany their preachers to the day and place appointed. Accordingly the town of Dundee, with the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, came unarmed with theirs to Perth, and sent the Laird of Dun before, to assure the Queen that they came in a peaceable manner, only to give confession with their preachers; but they being numerous, she desired him, being one to whom they gave great ear, to intreat them to disperse; with which he readily complied, and by a letter to them, shewed what promise and hope he had of the Queen's favour, whereupon they resolved not to go forward: but she, like a true Papist, paying no regard to her promises, held the meeting intended, called over the names, and outlawed those that were absent for contempt.

The Lords of the Congregation, observing the storm that was coming upon them, assembled at Perth, May 31. and entered into another covenant, or association, for the defence of themselves and their religion; and, on the first of August that same year, they entered into another; and God so favoured their designs, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Queen regent and her French auxiliaries, they made their way, got possession of Edinburgh on the 17th of October 1559, and at last the whole government of the kingdom into their hands. And what contributed greatly to this remarkable æra, was the death of the Queen-regent upon the 10th of June 1560, and of Francis II. King of France, the same year, within a few months thereafter, whereby Mary, our Queen, having become a widow, and the popish party therewith much confounded, both she and they were, in a great measure, at the mercy of the Reformers.

In the mean time the privy council met, and, on the 29th of April that same year, gave orders to the ministers to assemble, and draw up in writing, and in a book, a common order for reformation and uniformity to be observed in the discipline and policy of the church: whereupon the first book of discipline was drawn up, and presented to the council on the 20th of May following. In this book the government of the church by prelates is overthrown, church-sessions are established, the thrusting ministers into reclaiming congregations is condemned, the way of the trial of ministers, contrary to the Episcopal method, is appointed, the superstitious observation of fast-days, or days dedicated to saints, is likewise condemned; and several other things tending to the right government of the church are determined. This was afterwards approved of by the council, who engaged to promote it to the utmost of their power, provided that the bishops, abbots, &c. should possess the revenues of their benifices during life.

It is true, Superintendents were allowed for a short space, because of the paucity of settled ministers, and void of literature in some, which the necessity of these times required a bearing with; yet so zealous were our first Reformers against Popery, that they would not acknowledge them to be Bishops, nor suffer any who had formerly born that character in the time of Popery, to enjoy the place and power of superintendents, lest those might be abused, and at last degenerate into the old power of the prelates. They were chosen by consent of the whole bounds where they were to visit, were tried and examined by the ministers in these bounds, and had neither the sole power of ordination nor excommunication. They were subject to the censure and excommunication of the province, who might, in some cases, depose them, or lay them aside. Their main work was preaching, for they were to preach at least thrice every week; and they had their own particular flocks besides, where they were to reside, except when they were visiting the bounds committed to their care: neither did they ever moderate, or preside, in general assemblies, unless they had been chosen by a majority of votes.

The book of policy being thus far settled, affairs rested for the present, until the meeting of a convention or parliament, the calling whereof was, by the treaty of peace concluded by the ambassadors of England and France, with the estates of Scotland, in Summer 1560, committed to a council of twelve.

In this parliament, which met in August 1560, the Reformers, by their order, drew up a large confession of their faith, which was read in the house, and then openly avowed, professed, and ratified by them; for hitherto they had only the Geneva confession, which was reckoned too brief and general. Further, this parliament made several acts against Popery, and in behalf of the Reformers, ordaining, that the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, have no jurisdiction nor authority within this realm in any time coming; and that no bishop, or other prelate within this realm, use any jurisdiction for the time coming, by the said Bishop of Rome's authority, under pain, &c. And thus the reformed religion was established by law, and church government by prelates virtually discharged, because prelates then had no power but what they derived from Rome.

Popery and prelacy being thus discarded, the first General Assembly was held at Edinburgh, the 20th of December 1560, in which ministers and readers were appointed unto several parishes through the country; and it was ordered, that the election of ministers and elders should be in the public church; that intimation should be made the Lord's day preceding; and that a petition should be presented to the estates of the realm and lords of the privy council, craving, that all judges, magistrates, &c. should be professors of the truth according to the word of God.

A covention of estates met in January 1561, at which the book of discipline was subscribed by many of the nobility and gentry. But Queen Mary having arrived in Scotland from France, in the month of August following, had the mass said on the next Lord's day, which gave great offence to many; and particularly Mr Knox openly rebuked some of the courtiers, who, though professors, suffered this without opposition.

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The ſecond national aſſembly met in December, when ſome debates aroſe concerning their meeting without the Queen's authority, and concerning the book of diſcipline; but matters were amicably adjuſted. At the next aſſembly in June 1562, it was ordained, That, at every aſſembly, ſuperintendents, miniſters, and elders, be tried concerning their life, doctrine, and the diſcharge of their office. And it is remarkable, that this aſſembly would not acknowledge Mr Alexander Gordon, Biſhop of Galloway, for a ſuperintendent, nor admit him to that charge, till they underſtood that the churches in Galloway had elected him, and till he had ſubſcribed the book of diſcipline.

The Queen's marriage with Henry Stuart, Lord Darnly, in July 1565, gave a general diſguſt. On the 19th of June next year, ſhe was brought to bed of a prince, afterwards James VI. The general aſſembly, ſitting at that time, ſent ſome of their number to congratulate her Majeſty, and to deſire the prince might be baptized in the Proteſtant church. But the Queen, diſregarding their reaſonable requeſt, ordered the Prince to be baptized after the Popiſh manner, at Stirling caſtle, by the Archbiſhop of St Andrews. Soon after King Henry was murdered by the Earl of Bothwel, who afterwards married the Queen, on the 15th of May 1567. This horrid ſcene, and many other acts of miſconduct, iſſued in the Queen's being obliged to reſign the government in favours of her ſon, who was proclaimed King of Scotland, and crowned the 29th of July. Mr Knox preached the coronation ſermon, and the Earl of Murray was made Regent, who next year, on the 13th of May 1568, defeated the Queen's forces in the battle of Langſide. Whereupon the Queen fled to England, where ſhe was afterwards beheaded.

In the midſt of theſe troubles the judicatories of the church convened, pariſhes had miniſters ſettled among them, and the diſcipline of the church was in a great meaſure eſtabliſhed. In this agreeable poſture matters continued for a few years; but Satan envying the proſperity of this infant church, excited ſome of the ſtateſmen againſt her, who, having poſſeſſion of the church rents, and the richeſt benefices, contrived a method for ſecuring the poſſeſſion of them to themſelves, by getting in ſome Tulchan biſhops *, as they were called, who might have the name of the whole benefice, but receive only a ſmall part, leaving the reſt in the hands of theſe nobles. Accordingly the Earl of Morton got the Earl of Marr, then Regent, to call an aſſembly at Leith, by means of the ſuperintendent of Fife, who, upon their meeting the 12th of January 1571, nominated ſix of their number to attend ſix appointed by the council; and theſe twelve agreed to ſeveral things tending to introduce the Prelates; and, according to theſe reſolutions, the Earl of Morton procured one Mr Douglas to be made biſhop of St Andrews, Mr Boyd of Glaſgow, Mr Paton of Dunkel, and Mr Graham of Dumblain.

Mr Knox was then at St Andrews, and refuſed to have any hand in ſetting apart the biſhop; nay, bore an open teſtimony againſt it. The general aſſembly, held at St Andrews the 6th of March, appointed ſome of their number to examine into theſe things.

On the 24th of November, the famous, pious, learned, and zealous Mr John Knox departed this life. The day before he died, he ſighed and groaned much in his ſleep; and when he awoke, one Campbell and one Johnſton, who attended him, having aſked him the reaſon, he anſwered, "In my time I have been often aſſaulted by Satan, and oft he hath caſt my ſins in my teeth, to bring me into deſpair, but God gave me grace to overcome all my temptations: and now that ſubtle ſerpent, who never ceaſed to tempt, hath taken another courſe, he ſeeks to perſuade me that my labours in my miniſtry, and the fidelity I have ſhewn in that ſervice, have merited heaven and eternal life. But bleſſed be God who brought to my mind theſe ſcriptures, 'What haſt thou that thou haſt not received?' and, 'Not I, but the grace of God in me.' Which he hath gone away aſhamed, and ſhall no more return. And now I am ſure my battle is at an end, for that, without pain of body, or trouble of ſpirit, I ſhall ſhortly change this mortal life for that happy and immortal life." After prayer he was aſked whether he had heard it? he replied, "Would God that ye had heard it with ſuch an ear and heart as I have." Then he ſaid, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.' After which he ſpoke no more, but without any emotion reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his God and Father. Thus the church was deprived of a burning and a ſhining light.

The above mentioned innovations were ſo diſagreeable, that they were condemned by ſeveral after aſſemblies; and particularly, it was agreed by the general aſſembly in October 1578, that all biſhops already elected ſhall be required particularly to ſubmit themſelves to the general aſſembly, and if they refuſe, after admonition, the cenſure of excommunication was ordered to be paſſed upon them. And in the year 1580, the aſſembly unanimouſly ordained, That all who were called biſhops ſhould demit ſimpliciter, becauſe that office had no warrant in the word of God; and at the ſame time ordained provincial ſynods to call before them ſuch biſhops as lived in their bounds, and ordered them to give obedience to this act; whereupon preſbyteries began to be eſtabliſhed in this kingdom.

On the 28th of January 1581 *, the Confeſſion of Faith, or National Covenant, was ſubſcribed by the king and his houſhold, together with a great many others, and afterwards by all ranks in the land. In this confeſſion, under the name of Hierarchy, is condemned Epiſcopal government; ſo that one might think that Preſbyterial church-government was now eſtabliſhed upon ſure and laſting foundations. But the king had no reliſh for the preſbyterial eſtabliſhment, and had thoſe about him who increaſed his prejudices. In ſhort, he was in the hands of the duke of Lenox, the earl of Arran, and others, who were diſagreeable to the reſt of the nobility.

Wherefore, on the 20th of Auguſt 1582, happened the famous raid of Ruthven, when the earls of Marr and Gowrie, the maſter of Oliphant, young Lochleven, &c. came to Perth, after the king had returned from a hunting match in Athol, and conveyed him to Ruthven caſtle. At the ſame time they preſented a declaration, ſignifying the reaſons of their conduct, and then carried him to Stirling, where they gave him the full liberty of his perſon and government, only taking the adminiſtration out of the hands of Lenox and Arran. The king never forgave this attempt, but reſented it againſt the miniſters, as if they had been the chief inſtruments concerned. However, he complied with their terms, and publiſhed a proclamation for reſtoring the liberties of the kirk, with the freedom of her judicatures. The aſſembly ſat down in October and recognized the reformation, erected preſbyteries in the north of Scotland, and impowered them to ſummon the biſhops before them. And thus prelacy was born down, and the church had a little ſun ſhine: but the king ſecretly hated them, and, notwithſtanding all his ſubſcriptions and proclamations, was determined to run them down.

Accordingly, in May 1584, his Majeſty having got a parliament to his mind, they diſcharged all church judicatures, gave the king power over all cauſes eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, diſcharged all declining of him and his council in any matter under pain of treaſon, and likewiſe all miniſters to meddle, in their ſermons, with the affairs of his highneſs or the eſtate. But in this parliament matters were ſo ordered underhand by the court, that it ſeemed rather a private council than a parliament; the miniſters had no acceſs to be heard, and ſuch as proteſted againſt their illegal proceedings, as Mr James Lowſon and Mr Walter Balcanquel, were forced to fly into England to eſcape the fury of the prevailing party: Mr Andrew Melvil was likewiſe obliged to make his eſcape. Upon this the biſhops were appointed, who immediately exerciſed their tyranny and rage againſt the reſt of the miniſters, obliging them to proteſt obedience to them as their ordinaries, upon pain of baniſhment, confinement, &c. ſo that many were forced to retire, and none durſt ſo much as pray publicly for thoſe miniſters who fled, under the pain of treaſon. From this

* Tulchan is a calf's ſkin ſtuffed with ſtraw to make the cow give milk. The biſhop had the title, but my lord had the milk. Calderwood.

* N. B. In the title of the National Covenant, in the Confeſſion of Faith, it is ſaid, That it was ſubſcribed by the king's majeſty and his houſhold in the year 1581. The reaſon of the difference of the calculation here ſeems to be this, that the Engliſh (amongſt whom the National Covenant, as prefixed to the Weſtminſter Confeſſion, was firſt printed) do not begin their year till the 25th of March, whereas Calderwood reckons by the Scots calculation.

the author of the Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, p. 104. juſtly obſerves, That no ſooner was Epiſcopacy upon any occaſion ſet up in Scotland, but it began always to perſecute the Presbyterian church.

The parliament ſat again the 24th of Auguſt, and enjoined all miniſters and other eccleſiaſtical perſons to appear within forty days, and ſubſcribe the new conſtitution of the church, as it was called, and ſubmit to their dioceſan, on pain of loſing their ſtipends. This brought no ſmall trouble upon thoſe who refuſed, and many went into a voluntary baniſhment.

However, it was not long before matters took another turn. Epiſcopacy was not able to ſupport itſelf, ſo that aſſemblies and provincial ſynods were reſtored, and the king again profeſſed a ſingular regard for the presbyterial eſtabliſhment. In ſhort, matters were carried on with ſo much ſucceſs, that,

In the year 1590, the National Covenant was again ſubſcribed by all ſorts of perſons. The general aſſembly met at Edinburgh on the 4th of Auguſt, and then the king and the church ſeemed perfectly reconciled; for to the eight ſeſſion his majeſty came in perſon, and being ſeated in a chair of ſtate, the moderator, Mr Patrick Galloway, propoſed to him theſe three things, viz. The ratification of the liberties of the kirk; the purging of the land of Jeſuits, ſeminary prieſts, &c. and providing ſtipends or ſalaries in every pariſh for the miniſters. To the firſt the king anſwered, That in all parliaments the liberties of the church were firſt ratified; that they knew his good will to purge the land of Jeſuits; and for the third he referred them to the council, and deſired that Meſſ. Bruce, Lindſay, Pont, and the moderator, might be ſent as commiſſioners to treat on the ſubject. In a word, to pleaſe the aſſembly, he ſtood up, and taking off his bonnet, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, ſaid, "That he praiſed God that he was born in the time of the light of the goſpel, and in ſuch a place as to be king of ſuch a kirk, the ſincereſt kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keeps Paſch and Yule: what have they for them? they have no inſtitution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their ſervice is but an ill ſaid maſs in Engliſh, they want nothing of the maſs but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, miniſters, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to ſtand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the ſame, and I, forſooth, ſo long as I brook my life and crown, ſhall do the ſame." Thus the king flattered the aſſembly; and they were ſo moved with this unexpected declaration, that, for a quarter of an hour, there was nothing heard but praiſing God, and praying for the king.

While his majeſty continued in this mood all things went on eaſy, the church flouriſhed, her judicatures were acknowleged, and her prelatical enemies fell before her. On the 21ſt of May 1592, the aſſembly met, and agreed to preſent the following articles to the king. 1. That the acts of parliament made 1584, againſt the authority, diſcipline, and government of the church be reverſed, and the preſent government eſtabliſhed. 2. That the act of annexation be aboliſhed, and the patrimony of the church reſtored. 3. That abbots, priors, and other prelates, have no more liberty to vote in parliament. And, 4. That the country, which is fearfully polluted with idolatry and blood, be purged.

The aſſembly directed their brethren, and others who were appointed to preſent theſe articles, to go immediately to his majeſty, and admoniſh him gravely, in the name of the eternal God, to have reſpect in time to the ſtate of the true religion, to the many murders and oppreſſions daily multiplied through impunity and lack of juſtice, and to diſcharge the kingly office in both, as he will eſchew the fearful challenge of God, and avert his wrath off himſelf and the whole land: and, that he might be the better informed, to lay down the particulars to him, and crave his anſwer. The king did not much reliſh this faithful warning. However,

The parliament ſat down on the 29th of May, and ratified the privileges and government of the church, and particularly the powers of general aſſemblies, ſynods, presbytries, and kirks or kirk-ſeſſions, and reverſed the act 1584, granting commiſſion to biſhops and other judges conſtituted in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, &c. The miniſters improved theſe advantages, and their judicatures exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to ſuppreſs popery and profaneneſs. And the better to gain this great and important point,

The provincial ſynod of Fife met 1593 and gave it as their opinion, that commiſſioners repair to the king, "To tell plainly to his majeſty, that which all his true ſubjects think, touching his too much bearing with, favouring and countenancing of papiſtical teachers, his negligence in ſuppreſſing of idolatry and eſtabliſhing the kingdom of Chriſt within the realm; and to declare freely to his majeſty the reſolution of all his godly and faithful ſubjects, viz. That they are ready to give their lives rather than to ſuffer the ſame." Accordingly Mr Melvil and others were appointed. The ſynod next proceeded to excommunicate the popiſh lords, without regard to the countenance they received from his majeſty.

This plain dealing could not but excite the church's enemies to contrive methods for her overthrow. The papiſts, on the one hand, plainly perceived that they could have no quiet ſettlement in Scotland, unleſs the authority of the church was broken: and profane politicians and courtiers, on the other, not being able to bear the ſtrictneſs of the diſcipline eſtabliſhed, prevailed with the king, notwithſtanding of all his former promiſes and proteſtations, to oppoſe, and at laſt to overthrow it.

The aſſembly 1596 ſolemnly renewed the National Covenant, and made a faithful repreſentation to the king of the ſins of his perſon and family. But after that the church had not another like it during his reign, for ever after this he encroached upon their liberties; and, about the end of this year, a bond was deviſed to be ſubſcribed by all the miniſters of Scotland, on pain of loſing their ſtipends, in which they were to acknowlege the king as their ſovereign judge in all cauſes of ſedition and treaſon,—and of all their ſpeeches which may import the ſaid crimes, though uttered in the pulpit or any other place. This faithful miniſters would by no means ſubſcribe; becauſe, when they ſubſcribed the Confeſſion of Faith and National Covenant, they there acknowleged his majeſty's lawful authority; and becauſe they perceived that it was deviſed on purpoſe for a ſnare, and their ſubſcription would be a virtual acknowleging of the king as ſupreme and only judge of miniſters in all cauſes. Thus early did the church of Scotland teſtify againſt the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy.

On the 27th of December a proclamation was publiſhed at the croſs of Edinburgh, requiring all magiſtrates, barons, and gentlemen of power, to interrupt miniſters, if they ſhould utter any ſpeeches tending to ſedition from their pulpits, in reproach, contempt, or diſdain of the king, his parents, or progenitors, his council, and their proceedings, to put them in ſure firmance till the king and council were advertiſed to take farther order, or at leaſt to hinder them from preaching within their bounds or juriſdictions. Theſe were great encroachments. The moſt of the miniſters refuſed the bond with abhorrence,

After this the king called a convention of miniſters to meet at Perth, the 28th of February 1597, the generality whereof were nominated by the king, and members came from the north in unuſual numbers: and therefore the honeſt part of the miniſters denied this to be a lawful aſſembly, and proteſted againſt it, and whatever ſhould be tranſacted in it. Eight presbyteries entirely oppoſed it, but eleven approved of it under the name of extraordinary. And as the members of this meeting were ſuch as generally ſubſcribed the bond, they gave way to his majeſty's meaſures.

The lawful aſſembly had been appointed to meet at St Andrews, whither Mr Robert Pont, the moderator of the laſt aſſembly, went on the 27th of April. Though the number of commiſſioners was but ſmall, yet they met in form, conſtituted themſelves regularly, and having begun the aſſembly with prayer, as uſual, and with the confeſſion of ſins, which had cauſed the preſent ſad alteration of affairs, they proteſted for the liberty of the church, and referred all other affairs to the next meeting.

Mean while the king appointed another aſſembly of his own model to meet at Dundee, in the month of May. The king's deſign, at this aſſembly, was to get the popiſh lords, who

who had been excommunicated, abſolved, and the aſſembly at Perth acknowleged. By this time, one way or other, he got ſeveral of the poorer ſort of the miniſters to come in to his meaſures, ſome complying for preferment, and others for honour and profit; and thus a rent was made in the church, which grew wider and wider every day. Accordingly this aſſembly abſolved the lords, ratified the Perth aſſembly, ordained, that there be no meeting of miniſters without his majeſty's conſent; and indeed all eccleſiaſtical matters, which were to be treated in general aſſemblies, were, hence forward, firſt propoſed and determined by the king.

At his majeſty's deſire, this aſſembly chooſe fourteen of their number, authoriſing them, or any ſeven of them, to adviſe with him about a method of preſenting the petitions and grievances of the church, ſettling miniſters ſtipends, &c. However plauſible the pretences were for this commiſſion, yet the event ſhewed what was the real deſign; for ſoon after they gave in a petition to the parliament then ſitting, in the name of the church, (though falſly, for the main body of the church abhorred the thought of ſuch a thing) that miniſters, as repreſenting the church, the third eſtate of the kingdom, might have liberty to ſit and vote in parliament. The eſtates in parliament aſſembled, judging that there was no inconveniency in complying, being of opinion that no honeſt miniſter would aſſume any prelatical title, paſt the ſame into a law, and ordained, That ſuch paſtors and miniſters, as at any time his majeſty ſhall pleaſe to provide to the office, place, title and dignity of a biſhop, abbot, or other prelate, ſhall at any time hereafter have vote in parliament, as much as ever any eccleſiaſtical perſon had in times paſt, &c. And this was approved by the royal aſſembly, which met at Dundee the following March. At this aſſembly the king would ſuffer nothing to be done till Mr Andrew Melvil was removed. Nay, this Mr Melvil, together with Mr John Johnſton profeſſor of divinity in St. Andrews, were charged to depart out of the town under the pain of horning. When the act of approbation paſſed by a ſmall majority, after many threatnings to ſome, and promiſes to others, then Mr John Davidſon entered a ſolemn proteſt in his own name, and in the name of all the miniſters of Scotland who adhered to him, againſt that and the two preceeding aſſemblies, as void and null. It is certain their acts were afterwards reverſed, both by the parliament and aſſembly.

In ſhort, there were ſeveral meetings, as one at Falkland the 29th of July 1598, where were ſome debates upon this affair, and ſome cautions limiting theſe parliamentary miniſters, to propoſe nothing in parliament without expreſs warrant from the church, to be accountable to the general aſſembly, and ſubject to their preſbytery and ſynod, and every way to behave as other miniſters; and all theſe, and other neceſſary points, they were bound to ſwear and ſubſcribe, but all this was artifice, the better to bring in Epiſcopacy by art and flattery, and by degrees; for even Spotiſwood ſays, It was neither the king's intention, nor the minds of the wiſer ſort, to have thoſe cautions ſtand in force, but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy made (*i. e.* Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed) without any noiſe. From hence it is plain, that Prelacy was eſtabliſhed in Scotland on the foundation of royal flattery and diſſimulation, and of open avowed perjury.

In July 1599, Monſieur Bethune arrived ambaſſador from the moſt Chriſtian king, for renewing the ancient league between France and Scotland; and in September following the king wrote a flattering letter to the Pope, at the inſtigation of ſecretary Elphingſton, intreating him to promote the biſhop of Vaizon, a Scotſman, to the dignity of a cardinal, that by his means there might be a correſpondence between the king and the court of Rome. In this letter his majeſty ſtyles the pope, *Beatiſſime Pater, Pontifex Maximus*, &c. The king afterwards pretended that another perſon wrote this letter, and that he ſigned it in haſte, in a croud of other papers which were to paſs the ſign-manual. The curious reader may ſee the letter itſelf in Calderwood's hiſtory p. 427, ſince I have not room to inſert it here.

On the 17th of November following began the famous conference at Holy-rood houſe, to which ſundry miniſters were ſummoned, but the king took care to ſecure a majority of his own party. For formality's ſake thoſe things were debated and reſolved, which his majeſty had before reſolved without debating. The queſtions were not, if the giving miniſters votes in parliament ſhould be confirmed; that was paſt already: but how many they ſhould be who ſhould chuſe, and what title they ſhould bear. In a word, their number and choice were left to the king, and it was propoſed that they ſhould have the title of biſhops: and thus a foundation was laid for bringing in of prelacy.

On the 19th of November 1601 the queen was delivered of a prince, afterwards king Charles I. Matters continued much in the ſame ſituation during the time the king continued in Scotland: the aſſemblies were abridged of their liberty, and the parliamentary miniſters were appointed. But,

About the end of March 1603, an expreſs arrived from England, with the news of the death of Queen Eliſabeth, and with letters of recognition from the privy-council there; upon which James was congratulated by the lords, &c. and proclaimed King of England, France and Ireland.

On the 3d of April he made a ſpeech in the great church of Edinburgh, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'As God hath promoted me to a greater power than I had, ſo I muſt endeavour to eſtabliſh religion, and to take away corruption in both countries. Ye need not doubt, but, as I have a body as able as any king in Europe, whereby I am able to travel, ſo I ſhall viſit you every three years at leaſt, or oftner, as I ſhall have occaſion, (for ſo have I written in my book directed to my ſon, and it were a ſhame to me not to perform that which I have written) that I may, with my own mouth, take account of the execution of juſtice of them that are under me; and that ye yourſelves may ſee and hear me, and from the meaneſt to the greateſt, have acceſs to my perſon, and pour out your complaints in my boſom. This ſhall ever be my courſe.'

Theſe were fair promiſes, but not one word of them was performed; for no ſooner did he become a king of an Epiſcopal Church, but, as was always natural to the ſpirit of Prelacy in Scotland, he became a perſecutor of that very church, which in the moſt ſolemn manner, he had declared to be the ſincereſt or pureſt church upon earth.

In the month of July 1606, the parliament met at Perth, and acknowledged his majeſty's ſovereign authority, princely power, royal prerogative and privilege of the crown, over all eſtates, perſons and cauſes, and reſtored the biſhops to the antient and accuſtomed honour, privileges, livings, lands, &c. and repealed the act of annexation; by which they were reſtored to their votes in parliament, and had the title of lords of parliament. But though they were thus advanced to civil dignities, yet no eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was given them. The commiſſioners from the ſeveral preſbyteries through Scotland, being met at Edinburgh, gave in a moſt excellent proteſtation againſt this, in the name of the church in general, and in name of their preſbyteries from whom they had commiſſion in particular. This was ſubſcribed by a great many miniſters, and among others by Mr Adam Bannantine, Mr John Abernethy, and Mr William Couper, who afterwards became biſhops themſelves.

When prelates were thus advanced to their civil dignities, methods were next fallen upon to advance them to ſpiritual power. Accordingly, on the 10th of December this ſame year, an aſſembly was called to meet at Linlithgow; but then only ſome preſbyteries, in whom the king moſt confided, had notice of it; nay, matters were ſo ſecretly managed, that the moderator of the laſt aſſembly knew nothing of the matter. Here it was agreed, that there ſhould be conſtant moderators in preſbyteries choſen, and that, where the biſhops reſided, they ſhould moderate both in ſynods and preſbyteries. When this act came down refined from court, about half a year afterwards, all ſynods and preſbyteries were charged under pain of rebellion, to admit the conſtant moderators

This was ſo diſagreeable to the church of Scotland, that not one of the provincial ſynods accepted the conſtant moderator, except the ſynod of Angus, and even there it met with

with no ſmall oppoſition. But the ſynod of Perth remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, at their meeting in April 1607. Lord Scoon came with a commiſſion from the king, and threatned them in his majeſty's name, if they refuſed to admit a conſtant moderator. But, notwithſtanding all threatnings and unjuſtifiable inſults, Mr Row, their laſt moderator, took the roll of the ſynod in his hand, and, when Scoon would have pulled it out, Mr Row kept his hold, and called all the names of the members, who choſe Mr Henry Livingſton for their moderator. He beginning with prayer, according to the cuſtom of the judicatories at that time, Scoon profanely interrupted him, and threw down the table, but he ſtill continued. In ſhort, when they returned to the next meeting, the church doors were ſhut againſt them, ſo that they were obliged to meet at the ſouth-church door, and agreed, that every preſbytery, at their firſt meeting after the ſynod, ſhould chuſe their own moderator.

In the month of February 1610, a commiſſion given under the great ſeal to the two archbiſhops, together with ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, to hold two courts of high commiſſion, was proclaimed at the croſs of Edinburgh; by virtue of which the archbiſhops, &c. obtained power to excommunicate, impriſon, fine and confine, for cauſes eccleſiaſtic, whether in doctrine or manners, whether in noblemen, miniſters, or common people; and there was ſcarce any kind of injuſtice or oppreſſion that was not practiſed in conſequence of this.

And that the biſhops might have the ſanction of a general aſſembly, one of the king's appointment was held at Glaſgow in June. All the conſtant moderators, who had their hundred pounds a-year, reſorted to this pretended aſſembly. The earl of Dunbar was ſent thither with a ſtrong guard to intimidate the miniſters, ſo that ſeveral, who were coming from the weſt to proteſt, were forced to return back. There was likewiſe money brought to hire votes. At this corrupt meeting it was, among other things, agreed, that the calling of aſſemblies belonged to the king, that every miniſter, at his admiſſion, ſhall ſwear obedience to his ordinary; that ſynods ſhould be moderated by prelates; that no miniſter ſhall preach or write againſt the acts of this aſſembly; and that the queſtion about the parity or imparity of miniſters, ſhall not be mentioned in the pulpit, upon pain of deprivation, &c. But though theſe were great encroachments, yet there was not a word of this meeting concerning the conſecration of biſhops.

However, it was judged neceſſary that the biſhops elect ſhould be conſecrated by ſome of the ſame order; for this purpoſe the king ſent for three of them into England *viz.* Mr Spotiſwood archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Mr Lamb biſhop of Brechen, and Mr Hamilton biſhop of Galloway, and iſſued a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to the biſhops of London, Ely, Bath Wales, and Rocheſter, requiring them to proceed to the conſecration of the above mentioned biſhops according to the Engliſh ordinal. They were accordingly conſecrated in the Chapel at London-houſe, October 21. 1610. In the month of December the three conſecrated biſhops returned to Scotland, and conſecrated Mr George Gladſtones archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and in January and February 1611, the reſt of the biſhops were conſecrated, ſome at St. Andrews, and ſome at Leith.

Thus the original conſtitution of the church of Scotland was overturned by an uſurped authority, and other violent and indirect means, contrary to the inclinations of the people, and the repeated proteſtations of the aſſembly. Biſhop Burnet, though an adverſary, in the hiſtory of his own times, acknowleges that great oppoſition was made to all theſe ſteps; and adds, that the whole force of the government was ſtrained to carry elections to thoſe meetings, or to take off thoſe who were choſen, in which it was thought that no ſort of practice was omitted.

In the year 1612, a parliament met, and inſerted in their regiſters the oath which every miniſter was to ſwear at his admiſſion, by which they declared that the king was the ſupreme governor in all cauſes eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil, and that they held their churches of his majeſty and the crown royal of the realm. They were alſo to ſwear obedience to the biſhop of the dioceſe. Thus were matters carried on with a high hand in favour of prelacy, contrary to the general ſenſe both of miniſters and people.

On the 4th of March 1614, the miniſters were commanded by proclamation at the croſs of Edinburgh, to prepare the people for the Lord's ſupper, and to adminiſter it to them on Eaſter-day the 24th of April. The people were likewiſe charged to communicate on that day at their own pariſh churches, which was contrary to ſeveral acts of aſſembly.

In the year 1617, the king made a tour to Scotland, ſtill further to advance the cauſe of prelacy there. The chapel at Holy-rood-houſe was adorned after the manner of that at Whitehall, pictures being carried from London with the ſtatutes of the twelve apoſtles, and four evangeliſts, curiouſly wrought in timber, in order to be gilded and ſet up. But the people murmuring, the biſhops diſſuaded the king from ſetting them up. His majeſty made his public entry into Edinburgh on the 16th of May, and next day the Engliſh ſervice, ſinging of quiriſters, playing on organs, and ſurplices, were firſt ſeen and heard in the chapel royal. And the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was adminiſtred on Whitſunday after the Engliſh form. However ſtill greater alterations muſt be made; for, when the parliament did meet, it was propoſed, that whatever his majeſty ſhould determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the archbiſhops, biſhops and a competent number of the miniſtry, ſhould have the ſtrength of a law. About fifty five miniſters entered a humble and reſpectful proteſt againſt this, for which ſeveral of them ſuffered exceedingly; as Mr Archibald Simſon, Mr David Calderwood, Mr Peter Hewet and others, who, having been ſummoned before the high commiſſion, were deprived and confined, or impriſoned, and Mr Calderwood was ordered to depart furth of the kingdom. So that the biſhops being once got in, the king and they were reſolved to carry matters as far as poſſible. Accordingly

On the 25th of Auguſt 1618, a meeting was called at Perth, to which his majeſty ſent ſeven noblemen, ſeven barons and gentlemen. Here the honeſt party was borne down. Spotiſwood who took upon him to moderate, told them, that he would ſend the names of all who refuſed to the king. He aſked the votes of many who had not commiſſion, and ſo theſe five articles, *viz.* 1. Kneeling at the holy ſacrament; 2. Private communion; 3. Private baptiſm; 4. Confirmation of children; and 5. The obſervation of holy-days, had the approbation of all, except ſeven noblemen, one doctor, and forty-five miniſters. All theſe unſcriptural innovations Spotiſwood got ratified in the high commiſſion.

But theſe not being ſufficient to eſtabliſh the articles into a law, it was reſolved to uſe all the intereſt of the court to carry them through the parliament, which was not, however, attempted till the year 1621, and then they were ratified on the 4th of Auguſt, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made thereto by ſeveral faithful miniſters. But the methods uſed were contrary to the ordinary forms of parliament. Care was taken that none of the miniſters ſhould get into the houſe to proteſt, for they knew that they had a proteſtation ready to deliver. And in the parliament itſelf they met with great oppoſition. The lords Boyd, Monteith, Egliſton, Linlithgow, Kintail, Gray, Yeſſer, Cathcart, Couper, Burlie, Balmarino, Elphinſton, Torphichen and Forbes, all publicly voted againſt it. However, the act paſſed and the articles were thereby ratified. But it is remarked, that when the king's commiſſioner roſe to touch this act with the ſceptre, there came in at the window a great flaſh of lightning; after that a ſecond, and a third. Then there ſucceeded an extraordinary darkneſs, to the aſtoniſhment of all the houſe. The lightnings were followed by three loud claps of thunder, which ſome thought were the firing of the caſtle guns. Then there fell a ſurpriſing ſhower of hail, ſucceeded by ſuch rain as made the ſtreets run like rivers, ſo that the parliament were forced to ſtay within doors for an hour and an half, and afterwards to go home without their robes.

The prelates having now all power in their hands, tyrannized over all ranks in ſuch a manner, that the nobility were more afraid of diſobliging them than his majeſty, for they baniſhed or impriſoned what gentlemen or miniſters they pleaſed upon the ſlighteſt pretences, ſuch as having

ing their own old miniſters and the like. The priſons were filled with deprived miniſters, and the remote parts with the baniſhed. And thus far king James went in eſtabliſhing prelacy, and thereby ſhewed his gratitude to thoſe by whom his life was preſerved in his infancy, and by whoſe means he obtained the crown; and what a regard he had for the National Covenant, and for that which he called the pureſt church upon earth. But I leave the reader to his own reflections. He died not without ſuſpicion of poiſon 27th march 1625. It is certain, ſays Biſhop Burnet, no king died leſs lamented or leſs eſteemed than he was. This took the credit of the biſhops of Scotland; who, as they were his creatures, ſo they were obliged to a great dependance on him, and even thought guilty of groſs and abject flattery towards him.

His ſucceſſor Charles I. was no leſs zealous than his father for prelacy, but being left embaraſſed in a war with Spain, and afterwards entering into another raſhly with France, he had not leiſure to purſue his deſigns upon the church of Scotland for ſome years. However, at length, he carried things in ſo arbitrary a manner, both there and in England, that he never deſiſted till he tumbled headleſs from the throne.

Though, about the end of the laſt reign, the perſecution was hot againſt ſome eminent miniſters; yet many, by the kind providence of God, had a peaceable reſidence at their former paſtoral charges. Some of them were protected by perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, but not a few of the meaner rank in Scotland diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a concern for the purity of goſpel ordinances, and remarkable ſucceſs attended the miniſtry of thoſe who had not conformed to prelacy. Solemn faſts were likewiſe obſerved through the land, on account of the deplorable ſtate of the church of Scotland, and for a revival of the Lord's work in that nation; and God was pleaſed to give a gracious return to their prayers, as we ſhall relate.

In the year 1633, the king made a tour to Scotland, attended by Laud, biſhop of London, together with the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Holland, Pembroke, Southampton, and other lords, where he was crowned on the 18th by the biſhops of Roſs and Moray. One Lacy in his 15th of June, by Spotiſwood archbiſhop of St Andrews, ſpeaking of the king's coronation, ſays, "The archbiſhop of Canterbury ought to have been on the right of the archbiſhop of St Andrews; but Laud, who had the direction of the ceremony, ſeeing he was not in his pontifical robes, as the others were, being a perſon who abhorred pomp, had the boldneſs to pull him forcibly from his place, and to ſubſtitute the biſhop of Roſs in his ſtead. To this outrageous inſult Laud added words that were not leſs inſulting. Are you a churchman, and dare you appear here without a habit ſuitable to the epiſcopal dignity, and the gravity of this day? The Scots ſaw, by this action, what was to be expected from ſuch a man, who was zealous for popery even to ſuperſtition; but they knew much more ſoon after."

On the 20th of June the parliament met and gave his majeſty the largeſt ſubſidy that ever had been granted to any king in Scotland before him. After which he propoſed ſeveral things relating to religion, the one concerning his royal veſture and the apparel of churchmen, and the other for ratifying the former acts touching religion. Theſe were the only acts that met with any oppoſition, on account of conſequences which ſome feared the king would afterwards draw from them. Some of the members of this parliament ſuſpected the king would make uſe of this act to impoſe the ſurplice. And being aſked, whether he intended it, he made no anſwer, but taking a liſt out of his pocket, ſaid, Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and know who will do me ſervice and who not this day. When it was carried in the negative, thirteen lords and ſeventy of the commons voting againſt it. The lords having agreed to the act ſo far as it related to his majeſty's prerogative, but diſſented from that part of it, which related to the apparel of churchmen, fearing leſt under colour the ſurplice might be introduced. But his majeſty, he would have no diſtinction, but commanded them to ſay yes or no to the whole bill. The king marked every man's vote, and upon calling them up, the clerk declared, that it was carried in the affirmative, which ſome of the members denying, his majeſty ſaid, the clerk's declaration ſhould ſtand, unleſs any of them would go to the bar, and accuſe him of falſifying the record of parliament, at the peril of his life. This method of proceding juſtly diſguſted all ranks of people, eſpecially as the king would not look upon the diſſenting lords, nor ſuffer them to kiſs his hand.

When the king left Scotland, he erected a new biſhopric at Edinburgh, and about two months after, Laud being advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, framed articles for the reformation of his majeſty's royal chapel in that city, which were ſent to Scotland, with a declaration under the king's own hand, that they were intended as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and pariſh-churches in that kingdom. The Liturgy was to be read in the choir, the ſacraments to be received kneeling, the dean to appear in his whites, &c. Matters were come to a ſorry paſs, when ſuch innovations were made by an Engliſh prelate, without the conſent of either parliament or general aſſembly in Scotland. Surely faithful miniſters had juſt reaſon to preach againſt the Engliſh hierarchy, and to warn the people againſt ſurrendering up their liberties into the hands of a neighbouring nation.

Accordingly, their endeavours were not fruitleſs; for, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, though the Biſhops were cheriſhed by the king with all imaginable expreſſions of kindneſs and confidence, yet being charged with popery, Arminianiſm, and breach of Sabbath, they loſt all their eſteem with the people. Neither, ſays he, ſtood they in better terms with the nobility, who were at that time as conſiderable as ever Scotland ſaw them. They were offended, becauſe the biſhops ſeemed to have more intereſt with the king than themſelves. Spotiſwood, archbiſhop of St Andrews, was made chancellor, and Maxwell, biſhop of Roſs was fair for the treaſury. They were no leſs hateful to the miniſtry, becauſe of their pride, which was cried out upon as inſupportable; ſo that the reader cannot be ſurprized at the nation's being roufed, and at the methods which were afterwards taken to throw off the diſmal yoke of prelacy.

When the king was in Scotland, it was reckoned a blemiſh in the church, that it had no liturgy nor book of canons. To ſupply this defect, the king ordered the biſhops to prepare draughts of both, and remit them to London to be reviſed by the biſhops Laud, Juxon and Wren. The book of canons being firſt finiſhed, was preſented to the king, and by him delivered to Laud and Juxon to be examined, altered and reformed at pleaſure, and to bring it as near as poſſible to the Engliſh canons. The biſhops having executed their commiſſion, and prepared it for the preſs, the king confirmed it by letters patent under the great ſeal, dated at Greenwich, May the 23d, 1635. Theſe canons were ſubverſive of the whole conſtitution of the church of Scotland; for the firſt canon excommunicates all who affirm the power and prerogative of the king not to be equal with the Jewiſh kings, that is, abſolute and unlimited. The ſecond excommunicates theſe who ſhall affirm, that the worſhip contained in the book of Common-prayer, which was not yet publiſhed, or the government of the church by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. to be corrupt ſuperſtitious, or unlawful.—The book farther decrees, that no aſſembly of the clergy ſhall be called but by the king; and that none ſhall receive the ſacrament but on their knees. After ſundry other canons of this nature as appointing fonts for baptiſms church-ornaments, communion-tables or altars, &c. the book appoints, that no perſon ſhall be admitted to holy orders, or to preach, or adminiſter the ſacraments, without firſt ſubſcribing the foreſaid canons. Theſe things could never go down with the people of Scotland. Nothing could be a greater evidence of infatuation, than to think that they would ſubmit to canons dictated for them by a few foreign biſhops, without ſo much as aſking their advice or conſent. Theſe proceedings, and ſuch an unprecedented ſtretch of the prerogative, and to them hateful ſupremacy could not miſs to enflame them.

And, to crown all, the king was reſolved to have a public Liturgy or book of Common prayer uſed in Scotland. This his father could never accompliſh, and his ſon ſoon found it impracticable. It was, however, appointed to be read on Eaſter-day, 1637, againſt which time all pariſhes

were to be provided with two books at leaſt, It was firſt ſet up in the chapel-royal at Holy rood-houſe, but the more the people ſaw the ſervice performed, the more hateful and abominable it appeared to them.

On the 23d of July, there was a great concourſe of people in the great church at Edinburgh, and when the hour of ſervice was come, the dean in his ſurplice came out of the veſtry, the people gazing as at a great ſhow, paſſed through the croud to the reading deſk, and began the ſervice, the people as yet continuing quiet; but on a ſudden, at ſome words that diſguſted Janet Geddes, an old woman, ſhe ſtarted up and ſaid, Villain, doſt thou ſay maſs at my lug? And taking up a little ſtool, on which ſhe ſat, threw it at the deſk. Some that ſat next followed her example, till the whole church was in an uproar, and the dean obliged to leave the deſk and pull off the ſurplice, for fear of being torn in pieces. The biſhop of Edinburgh being preſent, went into the pulpit and beckoned for ſilence, but to no purpoſe: ſo both biſhop and dean were obliged to give over, and retire to the veſtry for their ſafety. As the lords of council complained to the king of this diſorder, they ſpared not to lay the greateſt blame of it upon the biſhops. After the ſtricteſt enquiry, it did not appear that any above the meaner ſort were acceſſory to this tumult. However, the lords of council thought proper to diſpenſe with the ſervice next Lord's day, till they ſhould hear from his majeſty. But Land diſpatched their meſſenger with all expedition, telling them, It was the king's firm reſolution that they ſhould go on with their work: and blaming them highly for ſuſpending it.

The country people having then been engaged in their harveſt, things went on pretty ſmooth; but when that was over, it was ſoon found that the generality of the nation was diſguſted at theſe impoſitions: accordingly, in the middle of September, a vaſt number of gentlemen of rank, and others, preſented a petition to the council, requeſting them, that the ſervice book might be no farther preſſed upon them, till theſe things might be repreſented to the king, and his pleaſure be farther known. The council not regarding this petition, and being averſe to a being importuned, removed the ſeſſion to Linlithgow; whereat the citizens of Edinburgh were ſo enraged, that a vaſt mob aroſe and ſurrounded the council-houſe, while the members were ſitting, and demanded a more favourable anſwer to their petition, and that the ſervice book might be laid aſide till the king was fully informed of the matter. Next day another petition was preſented, ſigned by nineteen noblemen, three hundred gentlemen of note and by the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh. But though this petition was ſent to the king, yet inſtead of returning a ſoft anſwer, he ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed from Stirling, to forbid all tumultuous meetings on pain of rebellion, &c.

Upon this ſundry noblemen, barons, miniſters, and burghers met together, and ſigned the following proteſt. '1. That it is the undoubted right of the ſubjects of Scotland to have immediate recourſe to the king by petition. 2. That archbiſhops and biſhops ought not to ſit in any judicatory in this kingdom, civil or eccleſiaſtical, till they have purged themſelves of thoſe crimes which are ready to be proved againſt them. 3. That no proclamation of council, in preſence of the archbiſhops or biſhops, ſhall be prejudicial to any of our proceedings. 4. That neither we, nor any that adhere to us, ſhall incur any damages for not obſerving the liturgy, or book of canons, as long as it is not eſtabliſhed by general aſſembly, or act of parliament. 5. That if any inconvenience fall out, which God prevent, upon preſſing the late innovations, we declare the ſame is not to be imputed to us. 6. That all our proceedings in this affair have no other tendency, but the preſervation of the true reformed religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.'

The council being apprehenſive of danger from theſe large aſſemblies and combinations of people, agreed, That if they would return peaceably to their habitations, they might appoint ſome of their number, of all ranks, to repreſent the reſt, till his majeſty's pleaſure concerning their proteſt ſhould be more fully known. Accordingly they erected four tables at Edinburgh, one of the nobility, another of the gentry, a third of the boroughs, and a fourth of the miniſters. Theſe prepared and digeſted matters for the general table formed of commiſſioners from the other four, where the final reſolutions were taken.

Theſe, rightly judging that the main procuring cauſe of all the calamities of the nation was the violation of the National Covenant, unanimouſly reſolved to renew the ſame; and accordingly they drew it up, with ſome additions and confirmations out of the acts of parliament, and bound themſelves 'to adhere unto, and defend the true religion, and (forbearing the practice of all novations already introduced in the worſhip of God, or approbation of the corruptions of public government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirk-men, till they be tried and allowed in free aſſemblies and parliaments) to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the goſpel, as it was eſtabliſhed and profeſſed before the foreſaid innovations, and promiſe and ſwear to continue in the profeſſion and obedience of the foreſaid religion, to reſiſt all contrary errors or corruptions; and that they had no intention to attempt any thing that might tend to the diſhonour of God, or to the diminution of the king's greatneſs and authority, and to defend themſelves mutually in the ſame cauſe,' &c. This was ſubſcribed by all preſent; and copies of it, being ſent to thoſe who were abſent, were read in the churches, heartily approved of, and ſubſcribed and ſworn to, with tears and great joy, on the firſt of March 1638, in the Gray friars church at Edinburgh. The flower of the nation was preſent. This ſolemn meeting conſiſted of the nobility, of the barons and gentlemen from the ſeveral ſhires, of burgeſſes from burghs, with miniſters and others. The town of Aberdeen was the only place of any note in the kingdom that declined to join in the covenant. Therefore the general meetings at Edinburgh ſent M.ſſ. Alexander Henderſon, David Dickſon, and Andrew Cant, to that town; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with from the doctors and miniſters of the place, ſuch was their ſucceſs, that ſeveral of ſpecial note cheerfully put their hands to the covenant, which was ſworn by the generality of all ranks through the nation before the end of April.

The king, being informed of all theſe proceedings, ſent the marquis of Hamilton, as his high commiſſioner, to uſe his utmoſt to diſſolve the tables, and get them to deſiſt from the covenant. The Covenanters, for ſo they were after this called, abſolutely refuſed, and inſiſted upon a free parliament, and a general aſſembly. The marquis, finding he could make no impreſſion on theſe faithful men, returned to court: mean while the general meeting agreed to publiſh a paper, intitled, 'Reaſons for a general aſſembly,' and came to a reſolution, That, if the king ſhould refuſe, or delay to call a general aſſembly, they would fall upon the moſt proper meaſures themſelves for convening a free national aſſembly of the church of Scotland. The marquis returned about the 12th of Auguſt, and propoſed from the king the granting of an aſſembly, but upon ſuch conditions as had an evident tendency to fruſtrate the deſigns of theſe faithful contenders for the cauſe of Chriſt. The marquis returning again to court, it was agreed, That if he did not come back by the 22d of September, they ſhould proceed in the election of commiſſioners for a general aſſembly. The marquis, according to his inſtructions, had made ſeveral conceſſions, ſuch as, the revoking the liturgy, the canons, the high commiſſion, and the five articles of Perth; but as the main thing was omitted, viz. the abliſhing of dioceſan Epiſcopacy, they juſtly rejected all propoſals. He returned at the time appointed, and publiſhed a proclamation for an aſſembly to meet at Glaſgow the 21ſt of November 1638.

The aſſembly met, conſiſting of 143 miniſters, together with profeſſors from the univerſities, and 95 ruling elders from the preſbyteries and burghs. Forty-eight burghs were preſent by their commiſſioners, ſo that there were only 47 elders from the preſbyteries. The Rev. Mr Henderſon miniſter at Leuchars was choſen moderator. The earl, afterwards marquis of Argyll, though a member of the privy council, attended all the ſeſſions of this aſſembly, in order to hear their debates and determinations concerning dioceſan Epiſcopacy, and the five articles of Perth, and declared his full ſatisfaction with their deciſions. It was here that this noble peer began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by a concern for the Redeemer's glory, and he continued ſtedfaſt

ſtedfaſt unto the end, dying a martyr for that cauſe which he now eſpouſed; and, at their 8th ſeſſion, ſeveral others of the nobility expreſſed themſelves after the ſame manner with Argyll.

The marquis finding, after ſeven days attending upon the aſſembly, that they reſolved to carry on the deſign of the tables, thought it fit to diſſolve them in the king's name. But, as they found not his reaſons for diſſolving them of equal weight with thoſe which called them together, they entered a humble proteſt thereagainſt, and continued to ſit until they finiſhed their buſineſs. In their proteſt they ſay, That it is unlawful in itſelf, and prejudicial to the privileges that Chriſt has left his church, for the king to diſſolve or break up the aſſemblies of this kirk, or ſtay their proceedings; for then it would follow, that religion and church-government depended abſolutely on the pleaſure of the prince, &c. The aſſembly therefore continued ſitting till they paſſed the following acts: An act for diſannulling all the aſſemblies by which prelacy was countenanced and eſtabliſhed, particularly thoſe held in the years 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618: An act for abjuring and aboliſhing Epiſcopacy: An act for condemning the five articles of Perth, book of canons, book of ordination, and the high commiſſion: An act for reſtoring presbyteries, provincial and national aſſemblies; and ſeveral others of the ſame nature. They likewiſe pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt the biſhops, eight of whom were excommunicated, four excluded from the miniſterial function, and two only allowed to officiate as paſtors or preſbyters. They then wrote to the king complaining of his majeſty's commiſſioner for declaring them traitors, and praying that he would look upon them as his good and faithful ſubjects.

But the king, partly from his averſion to Presbytery, and partly from his conſulting with none but the avowed enemies of Presbytery, publiſhed his reſolutions on the 26th of January 1639, to go in perſon againſt the Scots covenanters, at the head of an army. They, on the other hand, hearing of the preparations which were making againſt them, provided as well as they could for their own neceſſary defence. The king went againſt them with an army; but matters were ſo managed, that his majeſty thought proper to yield to a pacification, by which all differences were to be referred to a general aſſembly, to be held Auguſt 12. and a parliament to meet in a fortnight thereafter. Both armies were to be diſmiſſed; however the Scots, knowing with whom they had to do, prudently kept their officers in pay, that they might be ready in caſe of neceſſity.

The aſſembly met at Edinburgh, and the earl of Traquair was commiſſioner: they unanimouſly confirmed the aſſembly at Glaſgow, appointed the covenant to be taken throughout the kingdom, and, with one conſent, determined that diocеſan Epiſcopacy was unlawful; all which the commiſſioner aſſented to. The parliament ſat down on the 31ſt of Auguſt; but, things being managed contrary to the king's inclinations, it was prorogued to the 2d of June 1640.

Mean while the king reſolved to renew the war, in order to force the Scots to a compliance with his deſigns. Both parties made preparations accordingly. The Scots were victorious at Newburn, and took Newcaſtle. At laſt the king, finding it impoſſible to carry on the war, appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, who agreed to a ceſſation of arms for two months, and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a free parliament was immediately to be called.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the parliament of Scotland ſat down on the 2d of June, which was the time to which it was adjourned, and, by their fourth act, they ratified, and ſpecially ratified an act of the general aſſembly 1639, condeſcending on the impoſing of prelacy, the ſervice-book, and book of canons, the five articles of Perth, &c. as the cauſes of their bygone evils, with the remedies thereof. They alſo ratified the covenant, and ordered it to be inſerted in their regiſters. So that, if we may not ſay with ſome authors, that, in this parliament, all the acts of the aſſembly 1639 were ratified, we may, at leaſt affirm, that the ſum and ſubſtance of the reformation then attained to, and contended for, was ſo.

The king not reliſhing the proceedings of the parliament at Weſtminſter, made another progreſs into Scotland, with a view, whatever was pretended, to break the confederacy that was then between the Scots and the Engliſh parliament. He arrived in Edinburgh in Auguſt, and on the 19th the parliament ſat down, and there he approved of all their late proceedings, in oppoſing the Engliſh liturgy, and erecting tables in defence of their liberties. And it was enacted, That every member of ſucceeding parliaments ſhall take and ſubſcribe the National Covenant, and give an oath in parliament relative thereunto. And thus Presbyterian government and diſcipline were re-eſtabliſhed by king, parliament, and aſſembly, and abjured Prelacy legally abrogated.

While Charles was at Edinburgh, it is ſaid that he ſifted the Scots, to ſee whether he could prevail with them to invade England, to aſſiſt him to ſubject the parliament there to his will; and that he offered them the three northern counties for this ſervice. Yea, the author of the Myſtery of Iniquity, printed at London 1643, ſays, 'That the king ſent propoſitions to the Scots while at Newcaſtle, of joining with the Engliſh army againſt the parliament, and that for this ſervice he offered them three hundred thouſand pounds to be paid down, the four northern counties, and the plunder of London, the quitting of his revenues and cuſtoms in that kingdom to their public uſe, the king's reſidence at York, for the better accommodation of both nations; but that the Scots not only refuſed theſe offers, but likewiſe acquainted thoſe who were moſt intruſted with the affairs of the Engliſh parliament, of their readineſs rather to aſſiſt them in ſecuring their juſt privileges, and in ſettling both nations in truth and peace.' Whatever be in theſe things, it is certain his majeſty's deſign, in this progreſs, was to gain over the Scots, that he might be at liberty to enſlave the Engliſh parliament, and therefore he complied with every thing. At this time the marquis of Hamilton was made a duke, and the earl of Argyll a marquis. But the king no ſooner returned to England, than he repented of all his conceſſions in Scotland.

During the civil war in England, the Engliſh parliament called an aſſembly of divines to ſit at Weſtminſter, for conſulting about religion and church government, in order to carry on a work of reformation in that kingdom. Theſe divines were men of eminent learning and godlineſs, miniſterial abilities and fidelity. In the year 1643 commiſſioners were ſent to Scotland to treat with the aſſembly there concerning theſe things. The commiſſioners arrived at Edinburgh, Auguſt 9th, and were favourably received. On the 12th they preſented their propoſals to the convention of eſtates, and on the 15th to the aſſembly, deſiring, That, becauſe the popiſh prelatical faction is ſtill purſuing their deſign of corrupting and altering the religion through the whole iſland, the two nations might be ſtrictly united for their mutual defence againſt them and their adherents, and not to lay down arms, till thoſe their implacable enemies be diſarmed, &c. It was agreed, at the firſt conferences, that the beſt and ſpeedieſt means for accompliſhing the union and aſſiſtance deſired, was, for both nations to enter into a mutual Covenant and League, which was ſoon drawn up and approved of, and ſent into England by the hands of Lord Maitland, afterwards duke of Lauderdale, and Mr Henderſon and Mr Gilleſpie, where it met with the approbation both of the parliament and the aſſembly then ſitting at Weſtminſter, and was ſolemnly ſworn and ſubſcribed almoſt in all parts of that nation.

When thus it was ſworn in England, the commiſſioners of the general aſſembly, October 11. 1643, ordered the ſame to be, with public humiliation, and all religious ſolemnities, received, ſworn, and ſubſcribed by all miniſters and profeſſors within the church of Scotland; and next day the commiſſioners of the convention of eſtates appointed the ſame thing. All this was approved and ratified by act of parliament, June 15. 1644, and by the general aſſembly 1645. And thus both nations, in a moſt ſolemn manner, abjured Popery and Prelacy, &c. and by this means the ſtrength of the popiſh and prelatical faction was in a great meaſure broken.

By this time the king's affairs grew deſperate, wherefore, on the 5th of May 1646, he ſurrendered himſelf to general

general Leven, and marched with the Scots army from Newark to Newcaſtle; but he would by no means approve of the Solemn league and covenant, nor yet comply with the propoſitions made to him by the parliament of England. At laſt he was, upon the intreaty of the Engliſh parliament, and their promiſe for uſing him honourably, delivered up to them, and their commiſſioners conveyed him to Holmby houſe, where he continued for ſome time.

In the year 1648 the duke of Hamilton, by his intereſt and intrigues, prevailed with the convention of eſtates to raiſe an army and appoint him general of it, in order to reſcue the king from his captivity. This undertaking and engagement was entirely diſagreeable to many, and the commiſſion of the aſſembly remonſtrated againſt it; not that they were againſt the king's reſcue, as appears from their declaration, but they found, that, under the colour of acting againſt the independents of England, the royaliſts, the mortal enemies of Scotland and of all Preſbyterians, were to be reſtored: beſides this was chiefly promoted by thoſe who were never friends to the reformation then attained to; nay, they obſerved, that men were ſent for to Edinburgh, who were enemies thereto, as Langdale, Muſgrave, Glemham, and others; that the junction with the king's party, conſiſting of papiſts and epiſcopalians, was a moſt manifeſt breach of the covenant; that, in ſhort, by this the covenant, which was the baſis and foundation of the union between the two nations, would be deſtroyed, whilſt it was pretended to raiſe an army for its ſupport. And indeed providence blaſted the whole deſign; for though duke Hamilton invaded England with a numerous army, yet he was routed by Cromwel, taken priſoner, and afterwards beheaded.

Soon after this defeat, the parliament not only condemned the engagements, for the reaſons above mentioned, but likewiſe paſſed an act againſt the engagers, ranking them in ſeveral claſſes, whence it got the name of an act of claſſes, whereby they were excluded from all offices of public truſt and vote in parliament. Of this number were William earl of Lanerk, brother to the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and ſeveral others who formed a faction, which Rapin calls the *Hamiltonian*. In ſhort, this act included all who had oppoſed the work of reformation. The commiſſioners of the aſſembly likewiſe, appointed church cenſures to be inflicted on thoſe who had been concerned in the engagement, in order to bring them to repentance.

At laſt the ſectarian party came to ſuch a height in the Engliſh army, that they over ruled the parliament of England; for they put down the houſe of lords as uſeleſs, modelled the houſe of commons as they thought fit, and erected a new court, which the called an high court of juſtice, before which they arraigned the king, and violently took away his life, Jan. 30. 1649. againſt which the commiſſioners both of the church and ſtate of Scotland did ſolemnly proteſt.

The prince of Wales received the news of theſe things at the Hague, and immediately received the title of king, being then 18 years of age and made thoſe of his father's council, who attended him, to be ſworn of his privy council, with the addition only of one perſon, viz. Mr Long, his ſecretary. In the mean time his condition was deplorable, not having wherewith to maintain his houſhold, or any table but that of the prince of Orange, his brother-in-law, and ſubſiſting intirely by his aſſiſtance, which could not laſt very long.

When advice came of the king's death to the parliament of Scotland, which was then ſitting, they, on the 5th February 1649: ordered prince Charles to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, promiſing humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain and defend him, according to the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, with their lives and fortunes; and at the ſame time declaring, that, before he be admitted to the exerciſe of the royal power, he ſhall give ſatisfaction to the kingdom in thoſe things that concern the ſecurity of religion, the unity between the kingdoms, and the good and peace of the kingdom of Scotland, according to the covenants, &c.

Immediately commiſſioners were ſent to treat with his majeſty at the Hague, who returned without ſatisfaction. Next year commiſſioners were ſent to him at Breda. The parliament pitched upon the Earls of Caſſils and Lothian, Alexander Brodie of that ilk, Mr George Winram of Libberton, theſe two laſt being lords of ſeſſion, together with Mr John Smith and Alexander Jaffray. The commiſſion of the kirk choſe the reverend Mr John Livingſton, Mr James Wood, and Mr George Hutchiſon. Caſſils and Brodie ſuſtained the characters of ruling elders. It was with great reluctance that Mr Livingſton engaged in this ſervice. The day theſe commiſſioners landed at Campvere, Lothian and Libberton propoſed that letters might be written to duke Hamilton and the earl of Lauderdale, and ſome other malignants then at the Hague, to repair to Breda to aſſiſt at the treaty; which was rejected. However, after the commiſſioners got to Breda, duke Hamilton, &c. came likewiſe. The parliament had limited the time of treaty to thirty days, and yet it was ſeveral days before the firſt papers were delivered to the king, and ſome days after before his majeſty gave his anſwers. The king complied at laſt to all the conditions required, yet the Reverend Mr Livingſton, one of the commiſſioners, ſays, That, all the time of this treaty, he continued the uſe of the ſervice book and of his chaplains, and that there did not appear any thing of ſincerity on his part, for he granted nothing until he was in a manner compelled; and it was the very laſt day they had to treat before the treaty was concluded.

The king poſtponed the ſigning of the treaty, on account of the great hopes he had entertained from the expedition of the marquis of Montroſe, who had picked up 2 or 3000 men in Denmark and Holſtein, with intention to prepare the way for the king's reception in Scotland, without being obliged to comply with the terms propoſed. Part of theſe troops landed firſt in Orkney, and the reſt at Caithneſs, during the time of the treaty. The parliament having notice of this, ordered David Leſly to march againſt him; but before he could come up, Colonel Strachan fell upon, and entirely defeated them. Montroſe farrendered himſelf to Aſtin, by whom he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to David Leſly, who carried him to Edinburgh, where he was hanged drawn and quartered. It was found that he had the king's commiſſion; whereupon the commiſſion of eſtates determined to recal their commiſſioners from Breda, and break off the treaty; and for this end ſent an expreſs with letters, which falling into the hands of Libberton, were, without the knowlege of the other commiſſioners, delivered by him into the king's hands; who ſeeing how matters ſtood, thought proper to comply with all the propoſals. He engaged to remove from his council all who ſtood excommunicate by the kirk; that he would take the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and proſecute the ends thereof; that he would ratify and approve all acts of parliament enjoining the ſame and eſtabliſhing preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, the Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms, &c. and that all civil matters ſhould be determined by the preſent and ſubſequent parliaments, and all eccleſiaſtical by the enſuing general aſſemblies of the church. But though he agreed to all this, it is plain he did not intend to perform the ſame. All was artifice and diſſimulation.

For on the Saturday before the king left Breda, the miniſters, who were commiſſioners for the church, having intelligence that his majeſty intended next day to communicate kneeling, went to him and ſhewed him the ſin of ſo doing; how it would provoke God to blaſt all his deſigns, was inconſiſtent with his conceſſions, and would offend ſome, who were of opinion that he was only dallying with God and them. They left him, to think of what they had ſaid, till after ſupper; and when they returned, they found him fixed in his reſolution. He ſaid, his father uſed always to communicate at Chriſtmaſs, Eaſter, and Whitſunday, and he behoved to do ſo likewiſe and that people would think ſtrange of him, if, having reſolved to communicate, he ſhould forbear it, and that he did it to procure a bleſſing from God on his intended voyage. In ſhort all they ſaid could not prevail, ſo that in effect his majeſty broke the treaty before he left Breda.

The king embarked, and, beſides the commiſſioners, was attended by duke Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and other malignants, ſo that Mr Livingſton had no inclination

…ion to go aboard; for he says, that he thought, …ith in regard of the profane malignant company, and …ow matters stood in the treaty, they were taking the …ence of God with them to Scotland; and therefore he …ade to go back to Rotterdam, and come home with the …rst opportunity. However under some pretence used to …ecoy him, he was got aboard, and the king arrived in the …outh of the Spey on the 23d of June. There had been de…ates during the passage concerning the king's taking the …ovenant, to which he seemed refractory; however, at last …e declared his willingness. Mr Livingston would fain …ave had the king's swearing postponed, because he did not …ook upon him to be sincere, but the rest urged, that it …ould give great offence if the king's offer of swearing …he covenant should be rejected.

Mr Livingston, not being able to get this affair delayed, …as prevailed with to preach on the occasion; which hav…ing done, he distinctly read the National Covenant and So…lemn League and Covenant. His majesty standing, and lift…ing up his right hand, swore the same in the presence of the …ommissioners and others, in the following words subjoin…ed to both Covenants.

'I CHARLES, king of Great Britain, France and …Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath, …in the presence of the almighty God the searcher of hearts, …my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, …and of the Solemn League and Covenant above written, …and faithfully oblige my self to prosecute the ends there…of in my station and calling: and that I, for myself and …successors, shall consent and agree to all acts of parlia…ment enjoining the national Covenant and Solemn League …and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterial go…vernment, the directory of worship, the Confession of …faith, and Catechisms in the kingdom of Scotland, as …they are approven by the general assembly of this kirk …and parliament of this kingdom. And that I shall give …my royal assent to the acts of parliament enjoining the …same in the rest of my dominions, and that I shall observe …them in my own practice and family, and shall never …make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change …thereof.'

And immediately subscribed the same. We shall see …what regard he paid to this. However, for the present, he …did his part as well as he could, and submitted to every …thing required, even to part with Hamilton, Lauderdale …and others. But all this was against the grain. He had an …inward averſion to every thing that looked like strictness …in religion, and was uneasy at the faithful reproofs he re…ceived from time to time.

But while these things were a-doing in Scotland, the …parliament of England recalled Cromwel from Ireland to …take the command of an army which was to act against …the king. Accordingly, about the middle of July, that …general was at the head of an English army, consisting of …fifteen or nineteen thousand men, and marched to the …borders of Scotland, where he published his manifesto.

At this time both church and state were taking mea…sures for the further security of their religion and liberties, …and any encroachments that might be made by the young …king; accordingly the commission of the assembly made …the following act at the West kirk of Edinburgh, which I …shall here insert.

West kirk, August 13. 1650. 'The commission of the …general assembly, considering that there may be just …ground of stumbling from the king's majesty's refusing to …subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him by the …committee of estates and the commission of the general as…sembly concerning his former carriage and resolutions for …the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the ene…mies and friends thereof, doth therefore declare, that this …church and kingdom doth not own or espouse any malignant …party, or quarrel or interest, but that they fight merely …upon their former grounds and principles, and in the de…fence of the cause of God, and of the kingdom, as they …have done these twelve years past; and therefore, as they …disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king, and of his house, …so they will not own him nor his interest, otherways than …with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and …prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his fa…ther's opposition to the work of God, and to the Covenant, …and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, …with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers …lately sent unto them by Oliver Cromwel, and vindicate …themselves from all the falsehoods contained therein, espe…cially in those things wherein the quarrel betwixt us and …that party is mis-stated, as if we owned the late king's …proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain …his present majesty's interest, before and without acknow…ledgment of the sin of his house and former ways, and …satisfaction to God's people in both kingdoms.

ALEX. KER.

The same day, August the 13th 1650, 'The committee of estates having seen and considered a declaration of the commission of the general assembly anent the stating of the quarrel wherein the army is to fight, do approve the same, and heartily concur therein.

ALEX. HENDERSON.'

These were doubtless things of hard digestion with his majesty, especially at this time all his thoughts were bent to get in his old friends the Hamiltonian and Malignant faction; but he could not make the attempt now, for Cromwel was coming against him, and both church and state had declared themselves very plainly; wherefore Charles the better to disguise his intentions, emits a most remarkable declaration from Dunfermline, on the 16th of August 1650, of which I give the following extract, as far as it relates to his former oath.

CHARLES R.

'HIS majesty taking into consideration that merciful 'dispensation—by which he hath been recover'ed out of the snare of evil counsel.—doth, in refe'rence to his former deportments, and to his resolutions 'for the future declare as follows:

'Though his majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to 'honour the memory of his royal father, and have in 'estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he 'desire to be deeply humbled—before God, because of 'his father's hearkening to and following evil counsels, 'and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the 'Solemn League and Covenant,—and for the idolatry of 'his mother; the toleration of which in the king's house, '—could not but be a high provocation to him, *who is 'a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon 'the children*. And albeit his majesty might extenuate 'his former carriage and actions, in following the advice 'and walking in the way of those who are opposite to the 'covenant and to the work of God,—yet knowing that 'he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuously acknow'ledge all his own sins, and all the sins of his father's 'house, craving pardon, and hoping for mercy and recon'ciliation, through the blood of Jesu Christ.—

'And his majesty having, upon the full persuasion of the 'justice and equity of all the heads and articles thereof, 'now sworn and subscribed the National Covenant,—and 'the Solemn League and Covenant,—doth declare, that 'he hath not sworn and subscribed these Covenants and 'entred into the oath of God with his people, upon any 'sinister intention and crooked design, for attaining his 'own ends, but, so far as human weakness will permit, in 'the truth and sincerity of his heart, and that he is firmly 'resolved in the Lord's strength to adhere thereto, and to 'prosecute to the utmost of his power, the ends thereof 'in his station and calling, really, constantly and sincerely, 'all the days of his life. In order to which, he doth, in 'the first place, profess and declare, that he will have no 'enemies but the enemies of the Covenant, and—no friends 'but the friends of the Covenant; and therefore as he doth 'now detest and abhor all popery, superstition and idola'try, together with prelacy and errors, heresy and schism 'and profaneness, and resolves not to tolerate, much less 'allow any of these, in any part of his majesty's dominio'ns, but to oppose himself thereto, and to endeavour the 'extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power: so doth 'he as a Christian exhort, and as a king require, all such 'of his subjects as have stood in opposition to the solemn

'league and covenant, and work of reformation, upon a 'pretence of kingly intereſt, or any other pretext whatſo 'ever, to lay down their enmity againſt the cauſe and 'people of God, and to ceaſe to prefer the intereſt of man 'to the intereſt of God, which hath been one of thoſe 'things which hath occaſioned many troubles—and being 'inſiſted in, will be ſo far from eſtabliſhing the king's 'throne, that it will prove an idol of jealouſy to provoke '—him who is *King of kings, and Lord of lords*. The king 'ſhall always eſteem them beſt ſervants and moſt loyal 'ſubjects who ſerve him and ſeek his greatneſs in a right 'line of ſubordination to God, giving unto *God the things 'that are God's*, and unto *Ceſar the things that are Ceſar's*; and reſolveth not to love or countenance any 'who have ſo little conſcience and piety, as to follow his 'intereſt with a prejudice to the goſpel and the kingdom 'of Jeſus Chriſt, which he looks not upon as duty, but 'as flattery, and driving of ſelf deſigns, under pretence 'of retaining royal authority and greatneſs.

'Given at our court at Dunfermline, Aug. 16. 1650. 'and in the ſecond year of our reign.'

Now, who can compare theſe ſolemn oaths and proteſtations with this prince's after-conduct without horror, both on account of his wicked diſſimulation and horrid perjury? It is alledged, that the neceſſity of his affairs forced him to theſe compliances. But ſurely he was one that had no ſenſe of religion, in being capable of mocking God in this manner. When the rev. Mr Gilleſpie put the pen in his hand, to ſubſcribe the above declaration, he told him, 'That, if he was not ſatiſfied in his ſoul and conſcience, beyond all heſitation, of the righteouſneſs of the ſubſcription, he was ſo far from over-driving him to run upon that to which he had no light, that he obteſted him, yea, charged him in his maſter's name, not to ſubſcribe that declaration, no not for the three kingdoms.' To which the king anſwered, 'Mr Gilleſpie, Mr Gilleſpie, I am ſatisfied, I am ſatisfied, and therefore will ſubſcribe it.' The truth is, Charles could ſwallow any thing; for, notwithſtanding the above declaration, meaſures were, at this time, concerting for bringing the enemies of the covenant both into the army and judicatures, and to divide the preſbyterians among themſelves.

We have ſeen how Cromwel invaded the country. A good army was raiſed againſt him under the command of General Leſly, but it was intirely routed by Cromwel at Dunbar on the 3d of September. The king was pleaſed at this defeat of his ſubjects; for now he thought he would have an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign of getting the Hamiltons and malignants both into his armies and counſels. Clarendon has a ſtrange remark upon this. 'Never, ſays he, was victory obtained with leſs lamentation: for as Cromwel had great argument of triumph, ſo the king was glad of it, as the greateſt happineſs that could befal him, in the loſs of ſo great a body of his enemies.' So that, according to the noble hiſtorian, his majeſty looked upon his ſubjects as his enemies.

As the king was well received by the marquis of Argyll, ſo he profeſſed, at this time, a great regard for his lordſhip, as appears from the following letter and declaration under his own hand, which I cannot but inſert, that the reader may ſee what regard his majeſty had afterward to his royal promiſes and engagements.

"HAVING taken into my conſideration the faithful endeavours of the marquis of Argyl, for reſtoring me to my juſt rights, and the happy ſettling of my dominions, I am deſirous to let the world ſee how ſenſible I am of his real reſpect to me, by ſome particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may ſee the truſt and confidence which I repoſe in him, and particularly, I do promiſe, that I will make him duke of Argyll and knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed chamber, and this to be performed when he ſhall it think fit. And I do further promiſe him to hearken to his counſels—(worn out) —whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore me to my juſt rights in England, I ſhall ſee him paid the forty thouſand pounds ſterling which is due to him. All which I do promiſe to make good upon the word of a king.'

St. Johnstoun, 24th Sep. 1650. 'CHARLES R.'

We ſhall afterwards ſee how theſe fine things were performed

After the battle of Dunbar it was propoſed that the reſtraints ſhould be taken off, by which the malignants were hindered from ſerving his majeſty. This was at firſt refuſed: but the defeat at Hamilton, falling out in a little time, was made a new argument for admitting of malignants into the army, becauſe, as was alledged, the preſent ſtanding forces were not ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom, unleſs all the fencible men, without diſtinction were raiſed. The king therefore wrote from Perth, where the parliament then ſat, to the moderator of the commiſſion, deſiring him to call a commiſſion, *pro re nata*, to give their judgment in this matter. The oppoſers of the reſolutions alledged, that many members had no notice, and that the time for meeting was ſo ſoon after the notice, that the members could not attend.

When a quorum of the commiſſion was met at Perth, the parliament inquired, 'What perſons are to be admitted to riſe in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity for defence thereof, againſt the armies of the ſectaries, who, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, and treaties, have moſt unjuſtly invaded, and are deſtroying the kingdom?'

The commiſſion on the 15th of December 1650, anſwered, 'In this caſe of ſo great and evident neceſſity, it cannot be againſt raiſing all fencible perſons in the land, and permitting them to fight againſt this enemy, for the defence of the kingdom, except ing, ſuch as are excommunicated, forfeited, notoriouſly profane or flagitious; or ſuch as have been, from the beginning, or continue ſtill, and are at this time, obſtinate and profeſſed enemies and oppoſers of the covenant and cauſe of God. And, for the capacity of acting, that the eſtates of parliament ought to have, as we hope they will have, ſpecial care, that, in this ſo general a concurrence of all the people of the kingdom, none be put in ſuch truſt and power, as may be prejudicial to the cauſe of God; and that ſuch officers as are of known integrity and affection to the cauſe, and particularly ſuch as have ſuffered in our former armies, may be taken ſpecial notice of.'

Upon this anſwer ſome of the moſt conſiderable Malignants were employed in the army. Some of the general officers, and more than half of the colonels, were of this ſtamp, and not a few of them had been with Montroſe; but their proceedings were very offenſive to many miniſters and preſbyteries, particularly thoſe of Stirling and Aberdeen. The Rev. Mr James Guthrie and Mr David Barnet miniſters at Stirling, in conjunction with the reſt of that preſbytery, wrote to the commiſſion at their next meeting, declared their diſſatisfaction with their reſolutions, which was likewiſe done by many other preſbyteries. Theſe two miniſters ſpoke their mind with freedom, and plainneſs, and preached againſt the public reſolutions, as involving the land in a conjunction with the malignant party.

About the end of this year matters were brought to this paſs, that a conſiderable number of noblemen, gentlemen and others, was to riſe and form themſelves into an army under Middleton's command, and the king was to throw himſelf into their arms. Accordingly, all of a ſudden, he withdrew from St Johnſton, and repaired to the place appointed. But not finding things to anſwer his expectation, he returned to St. Johnſton with major-general Montgomery, whom the committee of eſtates had ſent after him. This was a plain proof that all his majeſty's compliances were inſincere. Middleton was excommunicated by the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, and the ſentence was pronounced by the ſaid Mr James Guthrie; however, the commiſſion at their next meeting took it off.

Mean while on the 1ſt of January 1651 king Charles II. was crowned at Scoon; the noble marquis of Argyll put the crown upon his majeſty's head. After an excellent and ſuitable ſermon preached by the Rev. Mr Douglas, from 2 Kings xi. 12. 27. the ſolemnity began with the king's moſt ſolemn renewing of the National and Solemn League and Covenant, in this manner, The king kneeled, and lifted up his right hand, before the three eſtates of the kingdom, the commiſſioners of the general aſſembly, and all the congregation, and, by his ſolemn oath, in preſence of the almighty God the ſearcher of hearts, he aſ-

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ſured and declared his allowance of the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, promiſing faithfully to proſecute the ends thereof, and to eſtabliſh the ſame with the Preſbyterial Government, and the whole work of God in all his dominions: then he was preſented to the people, and the queſtion was put, Whether they were willing to have him for their king, and ſubmit to his authority? they expreſſed their willingneſs, by ſaying, 'God ſave king Charles II.' After this he took the coronation-oath; and, when the ſword was put into his hands, he was deſired to receive the ſame for the defence of the faith of Jeſus Chriſt and of the true religion, according to the covenants, and for the miniſtration of juſtice, &c. which he accepted accordingly. Juſt before the crown was ſet upon his head, the miniſter prayed, that the Lord would purge the crown from the ſins and tranſgreſſions of them that did reign before him; that it might be a pure crown; that God would ſet the crown upon the king's head, &c. and then the marquis ſet the crown upon his head. Upon this the noblemen came, one by one, and kneeling, with their hand touching the crown, ſwore by the eternal and almighty God, to be true and faithful ſubjects, according to the national Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant: then the people's obligatory oath was proclaimed, whereby they all ſwore by the eternal God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the king, according to the National and ſolemn League and Covenant. Thing after this inſtalled and ſet upon the throne, the miniſter exhorted him to remember that his throne is the Lord's throne, 1 Chron. xxix. 23. And, being a covenanted king, he ought, under God, to rule for God; and eſpecially to beware that he made not the Lord's throne a throne of iniquity, to frame miſchief by a law, even ſuch miſchievous laws as had been enacted by his predeceſſors, deſtructive to religion, and grievous to the Lord's people. Then the nobles, being called one by one, and kneeling before the king on the throne, and holding their hands between his hands, ſwore by the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever, to be true and faithful to the king, according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. The ſolemnity was concluded with a ſolid and pertinent exhortation, both to the king and people, to keep the covenant, and beware of breaking it; and both king and nobles were certified, that if the king, and they who were engaged to ſupport his crown, ſhall conſpire together againſt the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, both the ſupporters and ſupported ſhould fall together.

This was a very ſolemn action, and all the ſolemnities of it were ſo interwoven with the covenants, that it muſt be acknowleged, that never king and people under the ſun could be more ſtrictly bound to God, and to one another, than theſe were; but his majeſty, notwithſtanding all theſe oaths and declarations, ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of getting the malignants into the judicatures, as he had got them into the army. And, as Mr James Guthrie and Mr David Dickſon preached openly and faithfully againſt the public reſolutions, ſo, in the month of February, the chancellor, by a letter, ordered them both to repair to Perth on the 19th, and to anſwer, before the king and the committee of eſtates, for their letter to the commiſſion and their doctrine. The two miniſters, on account of the indiſpoſition of one of them, excuſed their appearing on that day, but promiſed to attend about the end of the week. Accordingly, on the 22d of February, they appeared at Perth, but gave in a proteſtation, ſignifying, that though they paid all due regard to his majeſty's civil authority, yet they did not acknowlege his majeſty, or their lordſhips, as proper judges of their doctrine, or of what concerned their miniſterial calling; that being the province of the judicatories of the church. This matter was put off for ſome days, till the king's return from Aberdeen, and, in the mean time, the two miniſters were confined to Perth and Dundee; whereupon, February 28th, they preſented a ſecond paper, containing a proteſtation to the ſame purpoſe with the former, though in ſtronger terms, and ſupported by a great many excellent arguments. After theſe proteſtations, the king and the committee of eſtates thought proper to diſmiſs the two miniſters, and to proceed no farther in this affair. However, we ſhall find that Mr Guthrie's declining the king's authority, at this time, in matters eccleſiaſtical, was made a principal article in his indictment ten years after this.

Mean while, the commiſſion of the aſſembly, finding their anſwer to the parliament's queſtions cenſured and condemned, publiſhed a warning, and a large anſwer to the letter from the preſbytery of Stirling, in their own vindication: this occaſioned many debates, eſpecially as all miniſters and preachers were, by the commiſſion, diſcharged to ſpeak or write againſt theſe reſolutions. And an act was made, ordaining preſbyteries to proceed, with the cenſures of the kirk, againſt thoſe who ſhould oppoſe them; and the copy of another act was tranſmitted to preſbyteries, ordaining thoſe who oppoſed the reſolutions to be cited to the next aſſembly at St Andrews: by which means many of theſe were prevented from being members of the aſſembly.

It is eaſy to ſee how agreeable this was to his majeſty, who, notwithſtanding his being a covenanted king, and ſworn to maintain and promote preſbyterial government, yet hated preſbytery, and would be glad of every thing that tended to its overthrow. Accordingly, while theſe things were a-doing, the gentlemen, who, by means of the former reſolutions, had got into the army, next wanted to get into the judicatures, from which they were excluded by the act of claſſes. In order, therefore, to get this act reſcinded, the king and parliament propoſed the following queſtion to the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, 'Whether or not it be ſinful and unlawful, for the more effectual proſecution of the public reſolutions, for the defence of the cauſe of the king and the kingdom, to admit ſuch to be members of the committee of eſtates, who are now debarred from the public truſt, they being ſuch as have ſatisfied the kirk for the offence for which they were excluded, and are ſince admitted to enter into covenant with us?'

The commiſſion delaying their anſwer, on the 3d of April the moderator received a letter from the king and parliament, deſiring the commiſſion to meet at Perth on the 17th, not only to give a poſitive anſwer to the laſt query, but their judgment and reſolutions, if it be ſinful and unlawful to repeal the act of claſſes; and on the 23d they received another letter to the ſame purpoſe.

To both which, the commiſſioners, after ſome previous cautions, anſwered, 'As for the Solemn League and Covenant, the ſolemn acknowlegement and engagement, and former declarations emitted by this church, (which are ſet down as grounds in the narrative of the act of claſſes) we find they do not particularly determine any definite meaſure of time, of excluding perſons from places of truſt for bypaſt offences, but only bind and oblige accordingly to puniſh offenders, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme judicatures of the kingdom, or others having power from them to that effect, ſhall judge convenient, to purge all judicatures, and places of power and truſt, and to endeavour that they may conſiſt of, and be filled with ſuch men as are of known good affection to the cauſe of God, and of a blameleſs Chriſtian converſation, (which is a moral duty commanded in the word of God, and of perpetual obligation) ſo that nothing, upon the account of thoſe grounds, doth hinder, but that perſons, formerly debarred from places of power and truſt for their offences, may be admitted to be members of the committee of eſtates, and the cenſures inflicted upon them by the act of claſſes may be taken off, and reſcinded, without ſin, by the parliament, in whoſe power it is to lengthen or ſhorten the time of their cenſures, as they ſhall find juſt and neceſſary, providing they be men that have ſatisfied the kirk for their offences, have renewed and taken the covenant, and be qualified for ſuch places, according to the qualifications required in the word of God, and expreſſed in the ſolemn acknowlegement and engagement,' &c.

Upon this anſwer, the act of claſſes, in all its articles, was repealed; ſo that great numbers, formerly excluded, were brought into parliament, nominated as members of the committee of eſtates, and made capable of places of truſt; and in a little time the bulk of the malignant party got the management of all into their own hands.

Theſe reſolutions and proceedings gave great offence to many

many godly and eminent miniſters, and even to ſome preſbyteries. As they who adhered to the reſolutions were called Reſolutioners, ſo the oppoſers of them were called Proteſtors and Anti-reſolutioners. 'On the one hand it was ſaid, that every government might call out all that were under its protection to its defence. This ſeemed founded on the law of nature and nations. And, if men had been miſled, it was a ſtrange cruelty to deny room for repentance: this was contrary to the nature of God, and to the goſpel, and was a likely mean to drive them to deſpair.—But the Proteſtors objected, 'That to take men of known enmity to the cauſe, was a ſort of betraying it, becauſe it was putting it in their power to betray it; that, to admit them to a profeſſion of repentance, was a profanation and a mocking of God. It was viſible they were willing to comply, though againſt their conſcience, only to get into the army; nor could they expect a bleſſing from God on an army ſo conſtituted.' And, ſays the biſhop, this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great ſcandal. And the following hiſtory will abundantly ſhew, that the Proteſtors were not out in their ſentiments; for theſe men afterwards did betray the cauſe, and perſecuted thoſe that maintained it.

However, when the parliament met, they thought proper, in the month of June, to ratify all the preceeding treaties, tranſactions, engagements and actions concluded and enacted by the king, whereby the ſame did paſs into a perpetual law. And it was expreſsly provided, his majeſty being preſent, 'That, in all ſucceeding parliaments, every member, before they entered upon buſineſs, ſhould ſign and ſubſcribe the covenant, and without this the conſtitution of the parliament, and all they do, is declared void and null.' Thus the covenant became at laſt a fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom. Mr Wodrow ſays, that the acts of this parliament were not printed, (as indeed that could ſcarce, in the then unſettled ſtate of the kingdom, and eſpecially of the court, be obtained) but that, from perſons then alive, and ſeveral papers ſtill extant, he was fully aſſured that ſuch an act was made.

The general aſſembly met at St. Andrews in July, when the Anti-reſolutioners proteſted againſt the lawfulneſs of the aſſembly. Three of the ſubſcribers were, after citation, depoſed, and one ſuſpended, and the actings of the commiſſion approved.

Soon after this, the king and his army marched into England, and, on the 3d of September, 1651, were totally routed at Worceſter, his majeſty moſt narrowly eſcaping. By this blow his affairs were reduced to ſuch an extremity, that he found himſelf obliged to remove from the kingdom, which with difficulty he accompliſhed, and retired to France. In the mean time, general Monk, who was left in Scotland quickly reduced that kingdom to the obedience of the Engliſh republic.

Soon after this, the juſt privileges of the church were infringed, and commiſſioners, chiefly of the independent perſuaſion, were ſent into Scotland to viſit the univerſities, and to ſettle an unlimited toleration and liberty of conſcience, inconſiſtent with their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, and contrary to the covenants. On the 26th of July, 1652, a declaration was preſented to the aſſembly in favour of the congregational diſcipline, and for liberty of conſcience; but the faithful members (whom Mr Neal, in deriſion, calls the ſtubborn aſſembly men) inſtead of yielding to the declaration, gave in a proteſtation againſt it. When the aſſembly met at Edinburgh next ſummer, and were juſt entering upon buſineſs, lieutenant-colonel Cotterel went into the church, and, ſtanding upon one of the benches, told them, that no eccleſiaſtical judicatories were to ſit there, unleſs by authority of the parliament of England; and, without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the weſt gate of the city with a troop of horſe and a company of foot, and enjoined them not to aſſemble any more above three in a company. In the like manner, on the 10th of April, 1655, the ſynod of Perth and Stirling was no ſooner met at Dumblain, but it was diſſolved, in a violent manner, by open force, (of which I have an account from the regiſters tranſmitted to me by a reverend miniſter of that ſynod;) for one lieutenant Belvia came with a band of ſoldiers, and commanded them to diſmiſs, alledging, that he had orders from their ſuperiors. But though the ſynod deſired to ſee them, yet he abſolutely refuſed, and, upon their demurring and delaying to obey orders, the ſoldiers laid hands on them, and thruſt them violently out of the church. Thus were the liberties of the church invaded.

Mean while the unhappy differences between the Reſolutioners and Proteſtors ſtill went on, till at laſt, in the years 1655 and 1656, conferences were agreed on for an union, and the matter was carried up to London before Oliver Cromwel, who had uſurped the government, and was declared protector, but without effect. However, both Reſolutioners and Proteſtors agreed on this, that they were enemies to the uſurpation, and loyal to the king though it was not yet in their power to contribute any thing to his reſtoration, which they ſincerely wiſhed for upon proper terms. But, as they had little reaſon for their zeal in behalf of his intereſt, ſo they were ill rewarded for it, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn.

For, when the king arrived in France, he immediately threw off the maſk of a Preſbyterian, and never went to the proteſtant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the moſt reſpectful manner; but Lord Clarendon diſſuaded him, becauſe the Hugonots had not been hearty in his intereſt, and becauſe it might look diſreſpectful to the old church of England. But the truth is, the court, not having a proſpect of the king's reſtoration by the Preſbyterians, turned their eyes to the Roman catholics, and many of the king's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the legenda lignea, publiſhed about this time, with a liſt of fifty-three new converts, among whom were ſeveral names in red capitals, not to mention the king himſelf, of whoſe father Huddleſton, his confeſſor, writes in his treatiſe, intitled, 'A ſhort and plain way to the faith of the church,' publiſhed 1685, that he put it into the king's hand in his retirement; and that, when his majeſty read it, he declared he did not ſee how it could be anſwered. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'Before king Charles left Paris, (which was in June 1654), he changed his religion, but by whoſe perſuaſion is not yet known, only cardinal de Retz was in the ſecret, and lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. Chancellor Hide had ſome ſuſpicion of it, but would not ſuffer himſelf to believe it quite. Sir Allen Brodrick, when on his death-bed, ſent Doctor Burnet an account of this matter, which he believed was done in Fontainebleau before king Charles was ſent to Colen.' And it is certain, ſays Mr Neal, that he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year (1659), at the Pyrenean treaty concluded between France and Spain, whither he had repaired incognito to engage them in his intereſt. Here the king ſtayed twenty days, in which time he, with the earl of Briſtol, and Sir H. Bennet, embraced the Roman catholic religion; ſo that this covenanted king broke all his ſolemn engagements, and turned Papiſt before his reſtoration. However, his majeſty, rightly judging that it was not his intereſt to avouch what he had done, by making an open profeſſion of Popery, as his brother afterwards did, ſtill pretended to be a Proteſtant himſelf, and to have a real concern for the Proteſtant religion.

After Cromwel's death, which happened September 3d, 1658, things went pretty ſmooth, till the king, upon his return, declared his diſpleaſure with the oppoſers of the reſolutions ſome of whom were among the firſt of the ſufferers in the tragical period of which I am to treat, while other honeſt Preſbyterians were afterwards made partakers with them.

Mean while, England was embroiled in confuſions. In April 1659, Richard the young protector diſſolved his parliament, and ſoon after was himſelf obliged to reſign; after which matters took a new turn almoſt every month, till at laſt the whole government was managed by a committee of ſafety, appointed by the officers of the army; ſo that the Engliſh nation became ſick of theſe changes, and willing to prefer any government to the preſent anarchy. Many of the gentry, therefore, from ſeveral parts, ſent letters to general Monk, inviting him to march his army into England, to obtain a free parliament.

Monk managed every thing in Scotland, apprehended and impriſoned the earls Marſhal, Montroſe, Eglinton, Selkirk, Glencairn, and Loudon, lord Montgomery, lieutenant-general David Leſlie, viſcount of Kenmure, lord Lorn,

[illegible] earl of Seaforth, Sir James Lumſden, colonel James [illegible] earl of Kelly, major Livingſton, and earl of Rothes. [illegible] of them as took the tender, and gave bond for their [illegible] behaviour, were ſet at liberty. However, the [illegible] had a great ſhare in the reſtoration of the royal [illegible], which was now approaching.

In Scotland, the Rev. Mr Robert Douglas was the firſt, [illegible] any author, as far as he could find, who adventured to [illegible] the king's reſtoration to general Monk. It is ſaid [illegible] travelled incognito in England, and in Scotland enga- [illegible] conſiderable numbers of noblemen and gentlemen in [illegible] project.

On the 19th of October the general aſſembled all the [illegible] of the army in Scotland, and engaged them by [illegible] to ſubmit to and ſerve the parliament, caſhiered all [illegible] ſuſpected, and managed every thing according to his [illegible] mind, and then reſolved to march up with his army [illegible] England, and reſtore the privileges of parliament. Be- [illegible] he departed, he ordered the commiſſioners of ſhires, [illegible] magiſtrates of burghs, and many of the nobility, to meet [illegible] at Edinburgh. They aſſembled in the parliament- [illegible] November 15th. He told them, that he was to [illegible] to England to re eſtabliſh the liberties of parliament, [illegible] recommended to them to maintain the peace, and ſup- [illegible] all riſings and commotions during his abſence.

On the 22d, he marched towards England, and when at [illegible]ington, received articles from the council in Eng- [illegible]. But theſe not pleaſing him, he returned with his [illegible] to Edinburgh. Mr Douglas met him, and inter- [illegible] with him to attempt the reſtoration. After con- [illegible]ation, he and his officers rejected the articles, as con- [illegible] to their principles, which were to be governed not by the ſword, but by a parliament lawfully called, in the [illegible]ntenance of which they were engaged by oath. Ac- [illegible]ingly he returned his anſwer on the 24th, and on the [illegible]d of December, he marched with his army to Berwick, [illegible]ere he continued ſome time. On the 12th, he ſent or- [illegible]ers to the commiſſioners of the ſhires for keeping the [illegible] during his abſence.

About this time, Portſmouth and part of the fleet re- [illegible]ed and declared for a free parliament, as did ſeveral de- [illegible]chments of the army, which made way for Monk's en- [illegible]ing into England. The committee of ſafety, ſeeing all [illegible] in confuſion, reſigned their authority, and reſtored [illegible] parliament, which met on the 26th of December, and [illegible]ed a committee to govern the army in their name, and [illegible]der their direction.

Monk entered England with his army, January 2d 1660, [illegible] ſome days after received a letter from the ſpeaker, [illegible]nking him for his kind intentions, and inſinuating, that [illegible] might ſave himſelf the trouble of coming to London, [illegible] the parliament was in peaceable poſſeſſion of their [illegible]ority: but this did not interrupt his march, ſince he [illegible]anded a new, as well as a free parliament.

While matters were thus carried on for bringing about [illegible] king's reſtoration, Mr David Dickſon, and Mr Robert [illegible]glas, in their letter to general Monk, dated January [illegible]th, 1660, ſignified their entire confidence in him as to [illegible] affairs in Scotland, and the neceſſity of one from them [illegible] be near his perſon, to put him in mind of what ſhould [illegible] neceſſary, and to acquaint them with the ſtate of things [illegible] time to time. Accordingly they deſired his paſs for [illegible] James Sharp; but, before the receipt of this, the [illegible]al ordered Mr Auditor Thomſon to write from York [illegible] Mr Sharp, and in his name to deſire him to undertake [illegible] ſhorter journey, and come to him at London with all [illegible]; and on the 17th wrote to Meſſrs Dickſon and [illegible]glas, aſſuring them, that the welfare of their church [illegible]ould be a great part of his care, and that he had ſent [illegible] paſs for Mr Sharp.

When the general got to Harborough, commiſſioners [illegible] to him from London on the 23d, with an addreſs to [illegible] the re admiſſion of the members ſecluded 1648. and [illegible] he continued his march, he received many addreſſes of [illegible] like nature; at laſt he entered the city of London in [illegible] ſort of triumph, on the 3d of February 1660. After [illegible] had given orders for quartering his troops, he repaired [illegible] the council of ſtate, but was refuſed admittance till he [illegible] had taken the oath of abjuration, renouncing the king's [illegible]

title to the crown, and engaging to be faithful to the parliament and commonwealth.

On the 6th of February he went to the parliament, where, by the mouth of the ſpeaker, he received the thanks of the houſe for his many ſervices. He returned the compliment, and told them, among other things, that, as he marched from Scotland, ſeveral applications had been made to him for a free and full parliament, and that they would determine the time of their ſitting, and likeways for the admittance of the members ſecluded before the year 1648, without any previous oath or engagement. And proceeded the general, 'I muſt ſay, with pardon of you, that the leſs oaths and engagements are impoſed (with reſpect had to the ſecurity of the common cauſe) your ſettlement will be the ſooner attained to.' And after he had recommended the caſe of Ireland, he proceeds, 'As for Scotland I muſt ſay, the people of that nation deſerve to be cheriſhed; and I believe your late declaration will much glad their ſpirits; for nothing was to them more dreadful than a fear of being over-run with fanatic notions.

The ſame day that Monk was conducted to the parliament, ſeveral miniſters met at Edinburgh, and agreed to ſend up Mr. Sharp to take care of the affairs of the church of Scotland. His inſtructions were theſe:

1. You are to uſe your utmoſt endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her eſtabliſhed judicatures, ratified by the laws of the land. 2. Whereas by the late toleration, which is eſtabliſhed, a door is opened to very many groſs errors and looſe practices in this church, you ſhall therefore uſe all lawful and prudent means to repreſent the ſinfulneſs and offenſiveneſs thereof, that it may be timeouſly remedied. 3. You are to repreſent the prejudice the church doth ſuffer by the intervertiſing of the vacant ſtipends, which by law were dedicated to pious uſes, and ſeriouſly endeavour, that hereafter vacant ſtipends may be intromitted with by preſbyteries, and ſuch as ſhall be warranted by them, and no others, to be diſpoſed of and applied to pious uſes, according to the 20th act of the parliament 1644. 4. You are to endeavour that miniſters, lawfully called and admitted by preſbyteries to the miniſtry, may have the benefit of the 39th act of parliament, intitled, Act anent aboliſhing patronages, for obtaining ſummarily, upon the act of their admiſſion, decreet and letters conform, and other executorials, to the effect they may get the right and poſſeſſion of their ſtipends, and other benefits, without any other addreſs or trouble. If you find that there will be any commiſſion appointed in this nation, for ſettling and augmenting of miniſters ſtipends, then you are to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to have faithful men, well affected to the intereſt of Chriſt and his church, employed therein.' Theſe inſtructions, directed to Mr James Sharp, were ſubſcribed by Meſſrs. David Dickſon, Robert Douglaſs, James Wood, John Smith, George Hutchiſon and Andrew Ker. On the 13th Mr Sharp arrived at London, met with a kind reception from Mr Manton, and had immediate acceſs to the general, who recommended him to Mr Anthony Aſhly Cowper and Mr Weaver, two members of parliament. But inſtead of following the inſtructions he received from his conſtituents, he treacherouſly betrayed that very cauſe he was ſent to promote.

On the 21ſt of February Monk repaired to Whitehall, attended by the ſecluded members, who were moſtly preſbyterians, having made them previouſly to ſubſcribe theſe four articles. 1. To ſettle the conduct of the armies, ſo as might beſt ſecure the peace of the common wealth. 2. To provide for the ſupport of the forces by ſea and land, and money for their arrears, and the other contingencies of the government. 3. To conſtitute a council of ſtate for the civil government of Scotland and Ireland; and to iſſue out writs for the ſummoning a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the 25th of April. And 4. To conſent to their own diſſolution, by a time that ſhould be limited to them. But all this while the general, the better to diſguiſe his real deſign, ſtill profeſſed himſelf to be againſt the reſtoration.

When the ſecluded members took their place in the houſe, they were ſuperior in number to the rump, and ſo carried all before them. They annulled the engagement of 1649.—repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart,—ordered the earls of Crawford and Lauderdale to be ſet at liberty,—agreed to a bill, March 2d, for approbation of public miniſters, and named Mr Manton, and ſeveral others of the preſbyterian perſuaſion for that ſervice, which paſſed into an act March the 14th. They declared for the aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith, reſerving the 30th and 31ſt chapters for farther conſideration, declaring it to be the public Confeſſion of Faith of the church of England; and the ſame day ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be reprinted, and ſet up in every church in England, and read publicly by the miniſter once every year. And thus the re-eſtabliſhment of preſbytery with the Solemn League and Covenant, was judged neceſſary for bringing in the king. After this the long parliament paſſed an act for their own diſſolution, and for the calling a new parliament to meet the 25th of April; the candidates for which were to declare, under their hands, 'That the war againſt the late king was juſt and lawful, and that all who had aſſiſted in any war againſt the parliament, ſince January 1ſt 1641, they and their ſons were made incapable of being elected, unleſs they had ſince manifeſted their good affection to the parliament.' Then they appointed a new council of ſtate, to take care of the government, and on the 16th of March diſſolved themſelves, after they had ſat, with ſundry intermiſſions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

All this time Sharp kept up his correſpondence with Mr Douglas, and acquainted him with the occurrences of the time, ſtill profeſſing a zealous concern for the intereſt of preſbytery, and for the covenants. In his letter of the 4th of March he named five whom he called warping brethren, and no friends to the covenant-intereſt. and that the great fear is, that the king will come in, and that with him moderate epiſcopacy, at the leaſt, will take place in England. But the Revd. Mr Douglas, in his letter to Sharp of the 15th, ſays, among other things, 'We know by experience that moderate epiſcopacy (what can it be otherways than biſhops with cautions?) is the next ſtep to epiſcopal tyranny which will appear very ſoon above board, if that ground once be laid, &c.' But though Mr Douglas inſiſted that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from Scotland, yet Sharp, in his anſwer, declared, that this would be neither for their reputation nor advantage; and, in another letter after this, he ſays, 'I continue in my opinion, that Scotland ſhould make no application till the king come in.' Thus Sharp managed affairs.

The elections for the new parliament, or rather convention, went generally in favour of the royaliſts; and Mr Neal ſays, that in ſome places men were choſen who had no religion at all. They ſat down on the 25th of April, and appointed the 30th to be obſerved as a faſt. And the next day the king's declaration from Breda was read in the houſe, granting a general pardon to all his ſubjects who ſhould lay hold on it within forty days, except ſuch as ſhould be excepted by parliament, and declaring a liberty to tender conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom. Immediately after reading this declaration, the commons voted, that, according to the ancient conſtitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords and commons; that the king of Scotland is king of England, &c. And a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter inviting his majeſty to return to his dominions; and a deputation of lords and commons was ſent to convoy him home. Thus the king was invited back in a hurry, without any terms.

Had the preſbyterians in England exerted themſelves as they might, on this occaſion, in all probability the miſeries that afterwards came upon themſelves and the whole nation, had been prevented. They had been kept under ſince 1648, and being by this time weary of the independants, and watchful to keep all republicans out of the parliament, they ſecretly courted the epiſcopalians ſays Mr Neal, who diſperſed papers among the people, proteſting their reſolutions to forget all paſt injuries, and to bury all rancor, malice and animoſities. In ſhort, they put that confidence in them, which afterwards turned out to their own unſpeakable diſadvantage; nay, the majority of them declared themſelves ſatisfied to yield to a moderate epiſcopacy, according to the plan of archbiſhop Uſher; but the church of Scotland ſtood to their principles.

In April and May the provincial ſynods met, and there appeared a very great diſpoſition towards making up the differences between the reſolutioners and proteſtors, had not Mr Sharp by his letters from London, diverted this upon the king's return, and put him and the managers about him upon beginning the perſecution, with attacking the remonſtrators or anti reſolutioners. For this vile apoſtate had a private pique againſt the Rev. Mr Samuel Rutherfoord, Mr James Guthrie, lord Wariſtoun, and others of the proteſtors, and therefore put the government upon thoſe meaſures we ſhall afterwards relate, by which all attempts for a reconciliation were rendered abortive, till both were thrown into the furnace together. Sharp was joined in this by thoſe noblemen who could not bear the ſcriptural ſtrictneſs of the preſbyterian diſcipline, and government.

The ſynod of Lothian ſat down on the 1ſt of May, when Mr Douglas preached an excellent ſermon from 2 Cor. iv. 1. where he bore an excellent teſtimony againſt prelacy, and warned his brethren againſt moderate epiſcopacy; for, ſays he, 'Tis a plant which God never planted and the ladder whereby antichriſt mounted his throne;' and farther obſerves, that kingly government in the ſtate, and preſbyterian in the church, are the greateſt crubs to profaneneſs; and ſo confuted that fooliſh propoſition, No biſhop, no king. He likewiſe bore his teſtimony againſt ſectarianiſm, which he compared to quickſands on the ſhore, which ſwallow up people before they are aware.

The king was proclaimed at London on the 4th of May, and at Edinburgh on the 14th. Many at this time went to compliment his majeſty; among others Sharp was ſent, of whom Dr Burnet writes thus. 'He carried with him a letter from the earl of Glencairn to Hyde, made ſoon after earl of Clarendon, recommending him as the only perſon capable to manage the deſign of ſetting up epiſcopacy in Scotland: upon which he was received into great confidence. Yet as he had obſerved very carefully the ſucceſs of Monk's ſolemn proteſtations, againſt the king, and for a common wealth, it ſeems he was ſo pleaſed with the original, that he reſolved to copy after it, without letting himſelf be diverted from it by ſcruples; for he ſtuck neither at ſolemn proteſtations, both by word of mouth and by letters, (of which there is a multitude in Mr Wodrow's introduction) nor at appeals to God of his ſincerity in acting for preſbytery, both in prayers and on other occaſions, joining with them many dreadful imprecations on himſelf if he did not premeditate. He was all the while maintained by the preſbyterians, as their agent, and continued to give them a conſtant account of his negotiations in their ſervice, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was ſo viſible, he having repeated his proteſtations to ſo many perſons, as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the maſk, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of ſuch a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man's whoſe diſſimulation and treachery were ſo well known, and of which ſo many proofs were to be ſeen under his own hand.

The king landed at Dover May 26th, and on Tueſday the 29th rode in triumph, with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidſt the acclamations of an innumerable croud of ſpectators. As he paſſed along, the London miniſters, in their places, attended him with all demonſtrations of joy, and by the hands of old Mr Arthur Jackſon preſented his majeſty with a rich embоſſed Bible, which he was pleaſed to receive, and to declare it his reſolution to make that book the rule of his conduct. Thus was his majeſty reſtored; and we ſhall relate that he kept this laſt reſolution in the ſame manner that he obſerved all his other engagements.

Abſtract of the proteſt referred to p. 629. *of the foregoing Introduction.*

After apoligizing for this ſtep, they ſay,—To your honours is our exhortation, that ye would endeavour —to advance the building of the houſe of God, reſerving always

always into the Lord's own hand that glory which he will communicate neither with man nor angel, to wit, To preſcribe from his holy mountain a lively pattern, according to which his own tabernacle ſhould be builded; remembering always, that there is no abſolute—authority in this world, except the ſovereign authority of Chriſt,—to whom it belongeth as properly to rule the church according to the good pleaſure of his own will, as—to ſave her by the merit of his own ſufferings: all other authority is ſo encroached within the marches of divine commandment, that the leaſt overpaſſing of the bounds ſet by God himſelf, bringeth men under the fearful expectation of temporal and eternal judgments—

Next, remember that God hath ſet you to be nurſing fathers of the church, craving—ye would advance—that church which he hath faſhioned—but not that ye ſhould preſume to faſhion—a new portraiture of a church, and a new form of divine ſervice, which God in his word hath not before allowed,—as, namely, the eſtate of biſhops—thereby ye ſhould bring in—the ordinance of man—which the experience of former ages hath ſhewed to be the ground of idleneſs,—pride—tyranny and—ambition in the church of God; and, finally, to have been the ground of that Antichriſtian hierarchy which mounted up on the ſteps of preeminence of biſhops, until that man of ſin came forth as the firſt ripe fruits of man's wiſdom, whom God ſhall conſume with the breath of his own mouth.—

Above all things, my lords, beware to ſtrive againſt God with an open and diſplayed banner, by building up again the walls of Jericho, which the Lord hath not only caſt down—but laid them under an—execration; ſo that the building of them again muſt needs ſtand to greater charges to the builders, than the re-edifying of Jericho to Hiel the Bethelite—for he had nothing but the interdiction of Joſhua.—But the eſtates of this realm have the reverence of the oath of God, made by themſelves, and ſubſcribed with their own hands—to hold them back from ſetting up the dominion of biſhops.—This pre-eminence of biſhops is that Dagon which once already fell before the ark of God in this land, and no band of iron ſhall be able to hold him up again—the inſtitution of Chriſt was anterior thereto—and ſhall ſtand within the houſe of God, when this new faſhion of altar ſhall go to the door.—Remember, my lords, that in times paſt your authority was for Chriſt—God forbid that ye ſhould now leave off, and fall away from your former reverence born to Chriſt, in preſuming to lead him whom the Father hath appointed to be leader of you: and far leſs to trail the holy ordinances of Chriſt, by the cords of your authority, at the heels of the ordinances of men.—And albeit your honours have no ſuch intention,—yet remember that ſpiritual darkneſs, flowing from a very ſmall beginning, doth ſo inſinuate itſelf into the houſe of God, as men can hardly diſcern by what ſecret means the light is dimmed; and darkneſs creeping in gets the upper hand, and in the end, at unawares, all is involved within a miſty cloud of horrible apoſtacy.—

The HISTORY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the apprehending the Marquis of Argyll; the proceedings of the committee of eſtates; the ſupplication of the miniſters, and their impriſonment, and the ſufferings of others, to the end of the year 1660.

WHEN King CHARLES II. was reſtored on the 29th of May 1660, never any prince came to the poſſeſſion of ſuch large dominions with greater advantages to have done good to himſelf, to his ſubjects at home, and to his allies abroad: but he was no ſooner placed on the throne, than, through the influence of evil council, and his own effeminate and vicious diſpoſition, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of voluptuous pleaſures, and in a little time became a perſecutor of thoſe very perſons to whom he was obliged for being placed on the throne of his anceſtors.

The Engliſh Preſbyterians were not long before they felt the diſmal effects of their appearance for a monarch who had no ſenſe of gratitude for their kind ſervices, nor any regard to his moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements. And the church of Scotland, to whom he was ſo much indebted, and for the ſupport and eſtabliſhment whereof he had entered into covenant, was, in a little time, made to feel the direful conſequences of royal diſſimulation and perjury, though ſhe had an undoubted claim to all manner of favour and protection.

On the 19th of June a thankſgiving was obſerved at Edinburgh, for the king's reſtoration, which began with feigned devotion, and ended in open impiety. When the ſermons were over, the city magiſtrates and council, preceded by his majeſty's heralds and trumpeters, and diffrent kinds of muſic, and attended with the officers of ſtate, a multitude of nobility and gentry, judges and others, went in proceſſion to the croſs, where, a large theatre being erected for that purpoſe, and a table covered, they drank to the health of the day with the utmoſt pomp and levity poſſible, the trumpets ſounded, the bells rung, the guards fired, the very croſs run with wine, and all manner of demonſtrations of joy were ſhewed; from thence they repaired to the town-hall and chief inns in the city, where the evening was ſpent as if it had been a great ſacrifice to Bacchus; a direful preſage of the woful days a coming, and a literal verſification of that ſaying of the wiſeſt of mere men, 'Even in laughter the heart is ſorrowful, and the end of that mirth is heavineſs.'

Soon after the king's return, the noble marquis of Argyll was very much ſolicited to repair to court; and no doubt he was himſelf inclined to wait on a prince on whoſe head he had placed the crown. But ſeveral of his beſt friends, and particularly Mr Robert Douglas, uſed many arguments to divert him from his purpoſe, till matters were come to ſome ſettlement, eſpecially as his enemies at London had been at pains to raiſe calumnies on his lordſhip's perſon and conduct. However, Argyll being perſuaded that he was able to vindicate himſelf from all aſperſions, was he only admitted to his majeſty's preſence, ſet out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall.

When the king heard of his being come thither, he, notwithſtanding his former promiſes, ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend and carry him directly to the tower, there he continued under cloſe confinement till he was ſent to Scotland. This noble peer was one of the chief of the covenanters, and had been ſingularly active in the reformation of his country from the inſupportable yoke of Prelacy.

From the tower he was conveyed in a man of war to Scotland, to be tried by the parliament. They landed at Leith on the 20th of December, and he was committed to Edinburgh caſtle the ſame day.

Sir John Swinton, one of the judges under Cromwel, who, from being a zealous profeſſor of the reformation, turned Quaker, and had been apprehended in a Quaker's houſe in London, was ſent down to Scotland with the marquis.

While theſe things were a doing, on the 24th of July orders came down to major-general Morgan to ſecure Sir James Stewart provoſt of Edinburgh, Sir Archibald Johnſtoun of Wariſtoun, and Sir John Chieſly of Carſwell, who proteſted againſt the death of king Charles I. and was knighted in the iſle of Wight. The firſt and laſt were ſeized, but Wariſtown eſcaped for ſome time. And therefore he was ſummoned by ſound of trumpet to ſurrender himſelf, and the general iſſued a proclamation for apprehending him, promiſing 100 pounds Scots to any who ſhould do it, and diſcharging all from concealing or harbouring him under the pain of treaſon. This was the firſt arbitrary ſtep; for here is not only a reward offered by a general for apprehending a worthy gentleman, but declaring it treaſon for any to harbour him, and that without any cauſe aſſigned.

On

On the 26th of July, one William Giffen, or Govan was apprehended, and committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh, upon a falſe information, that he had been on the ſcaffold when king Charles I. was beheaded.

About this time his majeſty ſettled the miniſtry in Scotland. The earl of Middleton was declared his commiſſioner for holding the parliament, and general of the forces that were to be raiſed. The earl of Glencairn was made chancellor, the earl of Lauderdale ſecretary of ſtate, the earl of Rothes preſident of the council; the earl of Crawford was continued in the treaſury, and Primroſe was clerk-regiſter. The reſt depended on theſe; but Middleton and Lauderdale were two heads of the parties. Dr Burnet farther ſays, that Middleton had a private inſtruction, to try the inclinations of the nation for Epiſcopacy, and to conſider of the beſt method for ſetting it up. If this be true, we may ſee what regard this prince had for the ſolemn engagements he had entered into.

How ſoon as the king had leiſure to conſider the ſtate of Scotland, he iſſued a proclamation, dated at Whitehall, the 2d of Auguſt, for the committee of eſtates, nominated by him and the parliament 1651, to meet at Edinburgh the 23d of that month, for managing the affairs of the kingdom till the parliament ſhould meet.

All the members of this committee had appeared hearty profeſſors of the true religion, had concurred with the king in taking the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and ſome of them had adviſed him to make that remarkable declaration at Dunfermline in Auguſt 1650. So that every one might have expected ſome good from their adminiſtration; but their little finger became heavier than the loins of all the former oppreſſors, of which they gave a ſpecimen on the very firſt day of their meeting.

Thus, upon the 23d of Auguſt, Meſſ. James Guthrie at Stirling, John Stirling and Robert Trail at Edinburgh, Alexander Moncrieff at Scoon, John Semple at Carſphairn, Thomas Ramſay at Mordingtoun, John Scot at Oxnam, Gilbert Hall at Kirkliſtoun, John Murray at Methven, and George Nairn at Bruntiſland, miniſters, together with Mr Andrew Hay at Craignethan, and James Kirkco of Sandiwell, elders, aſſembled at a private houſe in Edinburgh, to draw up an humble addreſs and ſupplication to the king.

The occaſion of their meeting was this: The oppoſers of the public reſolutions, juſtly ſuſpecting the deſigns now hatching againſt the church, and the conduct of Mr Sharp at London, applied to the public reſolutioners either to concur with them in a dutiful addreſs to his majeſty, at ſuch a conjuncture as this, or addreſs him themſelves: But they, confiding too much in Mr Sharp, would not comply with either of theſe; and therefore theſe faithful men found themſelves obliged to do ſomething in ſuch a criſis. Accordingly they met, and drew up an humble ſupplication and addreſs, wherein they declared, 'how hateful the actings of the late uſurping Powers were to them, in offering violence to the parliament of England, in murdering the late king, in ſecluding his majeſty from his government, &c. and above all, in their impious encroachments upon the kingdom and liberties of Jeſus Chriſt—how thankfully they acknowleged the Lord's ſignal preſerving his majeſty's perſon.—and in bringing him back after a long exile.—How it was their ſincere purpoſe and reſolution, as it was their preſent practice, to power forth their fervent deſires and ſupplications for his majeſty, hoping that he would allow them that protection, countenance and encouragement, which they had reaſon to expect from a gracious king.—What dangers threatened religion, and the work of reformation in theſe kingdoms, from the deſigns and endeavours of the remnant of the popiſh, prelatical, and malignant party therein,—to re-introduce prelacy, the ceremonies, and the ſervice-book, which were formerly caſt out as inconſiſtent with that pure and ſpotleſs rule of church-government, diſcipline, and worſhip in the word of God,—and from the endeavours of the ſpirit of error, that poſſeſſeth the ſectaries in theſe nations, — and therefore, with bowed knees and bended affections, they humbly ſupplicate his majeſty, to employ his royal power, for the preſervation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, and for the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland,—and that all places of truſt under his majeſty might be filled with ſuch as have taken the covenant, and are of approven integrity and known affection to the cauſe of God,—and that his majeſty would be pleaſed, for removing the beginnings of ſtumbling that had already been given to remove the ceremonies and ſervice book from his own chapel and family, and other places of his dominions, and give public ſignification of his approbation of the covenant, and of his purpoſe to adhere unto the ſame, which they put him in mind he had formerly done in a moſt ſolemn manner, — for it was the deſire of their ſoul, that his majeſty may be like unto David, a man according to God's own heart, to Solomon of an underſtanding heart to judge the Lord's people,' &c.

This is that which biſhop Burnet calls a warm paper, in which, after ſome cold compliments to the king upon his reſtoration, they put him in mind of the covenant, &c. But the reader may judge whether they could well ſay ſincerer expreſſions of loyalty. Did they put him in mind of any thing but what all honeſt and faithful ſubjects ought to have done? Had not his majeſty ſworn to every thing, which, in the moſt reſpectful manner, they deſired? Was there any thing treaſonable, like a ſeditious reflecting on his majeſty, or on the government of the kingdom of England, or the conſtitution of the preſent committee of eſtates?

The earl of Glencairn, the chancellor, and others, being informed of that meeting, ſent ſome perſons to apprehend thoſe who were met together. They who were ſent came upon them when the ſcrolls and other papers were before them. Theſe papers were no other than the firſt draughts of letters to ſome brethren, deſiring another meeting at Glaſgow, in September, about the ſupplication, with inſtructions to ſome of their number, when they went weſt with a copy of the ſupplication, that it might be conſidered by the ſynod of Glaſgow, in order to their joining with them in it, if they judged it needful.

When the unfiniſhed ſcrolls and ſupplication were read before the committee, they were directly ſent to court, and all who had been preſent at the meeting, except Mr Hay of Craignethan, who happily eſcaped, were committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh, without ever calling the miniſters before them, or hearing what they had to ſay in their own defence. So great injuſtice exerciſed towards thoſe who were manifeſting their love and reſpect to their prince, by putting him in mind of his moſt ſacred engagements, and of the duty he owed both to God and his ſubjects, juſtly alarmed all the faithful in the land, eſpecially the congregations who are now rendered deſolate.

Next day the committee of eſtates publiſhed a proclamation againſt all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles, without his majeſty's ſpecial authority, and againſt all ſeditious petitions and remonſtrances, under what pretext ſoever. But can the reader imagine that it was unlawful for a ſmall number of miniſters to meet in a private room, when their only deſign was to congratulate his majeſty upon his being reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, and put him in mind of his duty? Or that it was a ſeditious petition and remonſtrance, to intreat the king to obſerve his coronation-oath, when many uſed all their intereſt to get him to act a part inconſiſtent with what he had ſworn in the preſence of God?

The miniſters under confinement agreed upon a petition, and ſent it to the committee; but the chancellor inſiſted that they ſhould acknowlege their fault in meeting upon the deſign they did. This they could not in conſcience comply with, notwithſtanding the advocate, who had taken the tender, and thereby renounced allegiance to the king, when many of them were ſuffering for their loyalty, threatened to found a proceſs of treaſon upon the ſupplication. And therefore they continued a conſiderable time in priſon; at laſt ſeveral of them were let out of the caſtle, and confined to their lodgings in Edinburgh, till the ſitting of the parliament, when they were all liberated except Mr Guthrie, who remained in priſon till a glorious martyrdom ſet him free.

During the proceedings of the committee, that vile apoſtate Sharp arrived at Edinburgh on the laſt of Auguſt, and next day delivered the following letter from his majeſty, directed to Mr Robert Douglas, to be communicated to the preſbytery of Edinburgh.

CHARLES

CHARLES R.

"TRusty and well beloved, we greet you well. By the letter you sent us with this bearer Mr James Sharp, and by the account he gave of the state of our church there, we have received full information of your sense of our sufferings, and of your constant affection and loyalty to our person and authority; and therefore we will detain him here no longer, of whose good services we are very sensible, nor will we delay to let you know by him our gracious acceptance of your address, and how well we are satisfied with your carriages, and with the generality of the ministers of the church of Scotland, in this time of trial, whilst some, under specious pretences, swerved from that duty and allegiance they owed to us. And, because such, who by the countenance of usurpers, have disturbed the peace of that our church, may also labour to cause jealousies in the minds of well-meaning people, we have thought fit, by this, to assure you, that, by the grace of God, we resolve to discountenance profanity, and all contemners and opposers of the ordinances of the gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation; and to countenance, in the due exercise of their functions, all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care, that the authority and acts of the general assembly at St Andrews and Dundee 1651, be owned and stand in force, until we shall call another general assembly, (which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs will permit); and we intend to send for Mr Robert Douglas, and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what may farther concern the affairs of that church. And as we are very well satisfied with your resolution not to meddle without your sphere, so we do expect that church-judicatures in Scotland, and ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastic, and promoting our authority, and interest with our subjects, against all opposers; and that they will take special notice of such, who, by preaching, or private conventicles, or any other way, transgress the limits of their calling, by endeavouring to corrupt the people, or sow seeds of disaffection to us or our government. This you shall make known to the several presbyteries within that our kingdom; and as we do give assurance of our favour and encouragement to you, and to all honest deserving ministers there, so we earnestly recommend it to you, that you be earnest in your prayers, public and private, to almighty God, who is our Rock and our Deliverer, both for us and our government, that we may have fresh and constant supplies of his grace, and the right improvement of all his mercies and deliverances, to the honour of his great name, and the peace, safety, and benefit of all our kingdoms. And so we bid you heartily farewel."

"Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th of August 1660, and of our reign the twelfth year.

"By his majesty's special command,

"LAUDERDALE."

This letter seems to have been penned by Sharp; and, though calculated to lull all asleep till matters were ripe for a thorough change, yet there is in it an inuendo, as if some of the ministers had deviated from their duty; howbeit, some of them had taken the tender, nor complied with the measures laid down by Cromwel, as Sharp did. The reader will likewise observe, that this covenanted king took care not to mention one word of the covenants, but only promised to protect the government of the church of Scotland as it is settled by law. And as for his calling an assembly, if it was intended, we are sure it was never performed. However, the presbytery of Edinburgh sent a loyal answer to the king's letter, with another to Lauderdale. But to return to the proceedings of the committee.

When his majesty's letter came down, it rather increased than lessened the committee's proceedings against gentlemen and ministers. The brethren for the public resolutions made too much of it; and those who opposed these resolutions were looked upon as enemies to the king, and therefore many of them were harassed and imprisoned.

Thus, on the 14th of September John Graham provost of Glasgow, and John Spreul town-clerk there, were imprisoned, by their order, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, because they were reckoned to favour the remonstrance. The next day, Mr Patrick Gillespie, principal of the college of Glasgow, was made prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards sent to Stirling castle, where he continued till the parliament sat down. Mr William Wisheart and Mr Robert Row were confined to their chambers at Edinburgh, and within a few days Mr Wisheart and provost Jaffray were imprisoned in Edinburgh jail; about the same time the Rev. Mr James Guthrie was sent from Edinburgh castle to Stirling, where he continued till near the time of his trial.

On the 19th of September a proclamation was published against two noted books, viz. Mr Rutherford's Lex Rex, and the causes of God's wrath, as if they contained many things injurious to the king, and laid the foundation and seeds of rebellion. But the truth is, the principles maintained in the first were never yet disproved, and the facts in the other were directly contrary to the measures now pursued; and therefore they were called in, and burnt at Edinburgh by the common hangman.

Next day a proclamation was issued against all whom the committee were pleased to call remonstrants, and their adherents; by this the most zealous of the ministers were laid open to persecution, and many gentlemen of the best estates and greatest interest in the nation, who appeared for the reformation since the year 1637, and had given the greatest evidences of concern for the royal family, were now struck at, with a view to model the elections for the ensuing parliament to the mind of the court. Accordingly some were summoned before the committee, and others confined, that their influence upon elections might be prevented. And if they had any tolerable information against them, with respect to their compliances in the time of the usurpation, or their inclination to the remonstrance and protestation, they were to sign a bond obliging themselves to do nothing tending to the prejudice of his majesty's person, family, and authority,—and that they shall not in any time coming, directly or indirectly, own, promote, or abet the remonstrance under the highest pains.

On the 10th of October Sir Archibald Johnstoun of Warristoun, colonel Ker, colonel Barclay, John Hume of Kello, Robert Andrew of Little-tarbat, and William Dundas late supervisor, were declared fugitives by the committee.

Many ministers were at this time brought to trouble; particularly, on the 13th of October, Mr John Dickson minister at Rutherglen was imprisoned at Edinburgh, upon an information given by Sir James Hamilton of Elistoun, of some expressions used in a sermon, which, as was alleged, reflected on the government and committee, and tended to sedition and division. Mr James Nasmyth minister at Hamilton was imprisoned for words alleged to have been spoken by him many years ago, and Mr James Simpson minister at Airth, when going to settle with a congregation in Ireland, was seized at Port patrick, without any cause shewn him. Now it cannot be alleged that these persons suffered for rebellion or treason; for all of them owned the king's authority, and many of them had suffered much for his majesty when in exile. After this the committee adjourned for some days.

On the 1st of November a proclamation was published, with much solemnity, for holding a parliament at Edinburgh on the 13th of December following: but the king being engaged in several important affairs at London, the affairs of Scotland were postponed till the 31st of December, when his majesty's high commissioner arrived at Holy-rood-house, and by that time all was ready for business.

I shall close this chapter by observing, that though, in November, George Campell, sheriff depute of Argyll, was imprisoned for being concerned in some things with the marquis, yet he was soon pardoned.

CHAP. III.

Of the acts of the first session of parliament, the conduct of the church judicatures, the sufferings of the marquis of Argyl, Mr James Guthrie and several others.

WE have had a short view of the arbitrary proceedings of the committee of estates, by which not a few suffered contrary to law: and therefore the first step of the managers was, to open a door for a more legal prosecution of honest people who stood up for religion, liberty, and property.

Accordingly when the parliament met upon the 21st of January 1661 they passed many acts, which were illegal, and subversive of the constitution both in church and state. To trace this matter more particularly—the greatest part of the members of this parliament were men of a very infamous character. The commissioner, the earl of Middleton, was of a fierce and violent temper, bishop Burnet says, 'His way of living was most splendid, but at the same time was most scandalous; for vices of all sorts were the open practices of those about him.' The nobility and gentry were remarkably changed to the worse. Few that had been active in former years were now alive, and these few were marked out for ruin. Several of the leading managers finding that the strictness of the presbyterian discipline stood in the way of their licentiousness, took a disgust thereat: besides great pains had been taken at the elections to get those chosen, who were entirely at the devotion of the court; and if any of another disposition had been chosen, some pretence or other was made to set aside the election.

When they had taken their seats in the parliament-house, Mr Robert Douglas preached an excellent sermon from 2 Chron. xix. 6. 'Take heed what you do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment.' After calling the rolls the earl of Glencairn, was chosen preses, and the commissioner had a speech recomending peace and unity.

It is to be observed, that according to former unrepealed acts, the covenants were to be taken and subscribed by every member of succeeding parliaments, before they entered upon business: but a new oath of allegiance, or rather supremacy, being now imposed, the same was taken by all present, except the earl of Cassils; so that this parliament sat down and proceeded in a method directly contrary to standing laws.

On the 8th of January the commissioner moved that the parliament might proceed to business, in the ancient way, by the lords of the articles, without devolving their power on them, which he declared was not his intention; accordingly after some debate, it was resolved, 'That 12 noblemen, 12 Barons, and 12 burgesses, with the officers of state, shall be in the place of the lords of the articles. These were authorised, in their several meetings, to hear all matters presented to them, to receive proof of what they found relevant, and report to the parliament twice a week.' And to these the nation was chiefly indebted for the laws made in this session.

It is very evident that the main design of this parliament was to make the king absolute: and this was not a little performed by the fulsom sermons preached by too many before them. The preachers were not then appointed by the assembly of commission, who used formerly to sit in time of parliament, but the king's advocate by his letter, appointed what preachers he pleased. Their ordinary themes were the wickedness of rebellion, the extensiveness of the king's power, passive obedience, &c. and bishop Burnet says, though they did not speak out, they insinuated the necessity of a greater authority than was then in the church for keeping them in order. One or two spoke plainer: upon which the presbytery of Edinburgh went to the earl of Middleton and complained of that as an affront to the law and the king's letter. He dismissed them with good words, but took no notice of their complaints. It will not be amiss now to consider some of the acts made in this session of parliament, since they laid the foundation for all the injustice and cruelty that were exercised afterwards.

The first printed act is concerning the president and oath of parliament, by which it was enacted, that all members should at their first down sitting, take an oath of allegiance in the following form:

'I——for testification of my faithful obedience to my most gracious and redoubted sovereign Charles king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, do affirm, testify and declare, by this my solemn oath, that I acknowledge my said sovereign only supreme governor of this kingdom, over all persons, and in all causes; and that no foreign prince, power or state, nor person civil or ecclesiastic, hath any jurisdiction, power or superiority over the same: and therefore I utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdiction, powers and authorities, and shall, to my utmost power, defend, assist, and maintain his majesty's jurisdiction foresaid, against all deadly, and never decline his majesty's power or jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God.'

Members of parliament were to add; 'and I shall faithfully give my advice and vote in every thing that shall be propounded in parliament, as I shall answer to God.'

The title of the act calls it an oath of parliament, the body of it, an oath of allegiance; and it is evident that it includes the supremacy. The words are general, but very comprehensive, and capable of different senses. Thus, when the king is affirmed to be supreme over all persons and in all causes, and to be assisted and maintained in that jurisdiction, this would require some limitation, restriction, or explication to clear the meaning; for though the commissioner and chancellor declared once and again in the face of parliament, that they did not intend to give his majesty any ecclesiastical, but only a civil power, yet in a little time, when ministers offered to take the oath in this sense, they were not permitted. And it would seem these declarations from the throne were made from other views than at that time appeared; for, when the earl of Cassils and the laird of Kilburny moved that these declarations might be entered into the registers, it was peremptorily refused. In fine, this oath came to be the Shibboleth of the state, and in a little time was imposed upon all subjects of any influence.

By their 4th act they decree, that no conventions leagues, or bonds be made without the sovereign. By the 6th act they declare the convention of estates 1643, who entered into the Solemn League and Covenant, void and null. By their 7th act they discharge the renewing of the Solemn League and Covenant, or any other Covenants, or public oaths concerning the government of the church or kingdom, without his majesty's special warrant and approbation, By their 11th act it is ordered, that all persons in public offices take the oath of allegiance before mentioned, and subscribe a declaration asserting his majesty's royal prerogatives; the substance whereof is as follows: 'Forasmuch as the estates of parliament—have—declared, that it is an inherent privilege,—and an undoubted part of the royal prerogative of the kings of this kingdom, to have the sole choice and appointment of the officers of state, privy councellors and lords of session; that the power of calling, holding and dissolving parliaments, and all conventions and meetings of the estates do solely reside in the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, and that —no acts nor statutes, to be passed in parliament, can be binding on the people, or have the authority or force of laws, without the special approbation of his majesty, or his commission—That the power of arms, the making peace or war, the making treaties with foreign princes and states, or at home by subjects among themselves, doth properly reside in the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, as their undoubted right, and theirs alone, and that it is high treason in the subjects of this kingdom, or any number of them, upon whatsoever ground, to rise or continue in arms, without his majesty's authority first interponed thereto. That it is unlawful for subjects, of whatsoever quality or function,—to assemble themselves to treat or determine in any matters of state, civil or ecclesiastical, (except in the ordinary judgments) or to make leagues or bonds—without his majesty's special consent. That the League and Covenant, and all the treaties following thereupon,—are not obligatory on this kingdom,

or on the ſubjects thereof, to meddle or interpoſe, by arms, or any other ſeditious way, in any thing concerning the religion and government of the churches of England and Ireland,—and that none—preſume, upon pretext of any authority whatſoever, to require the renewing or ſwearing of the ſaid League and Covenant, or of any other covenants or public oaths—and that none offer to renew the ſame without his majeſty's ſpecial warrant and approbation, &c. I do, conform to the acts of parliament aforeſaid, declare, that I do, with all humble duty, acknowlege his majeſty's royal prerogative, right and power in all the particulars, and in the manner aforeſaid, and that I do heartily give my conſent thereto, by theſe preſents ſubſcribed by me at——.'

As the oath of allegiance before mentioned was in it ſelf unlawful, becauſe to ſwear unreſtricted and unlimited allegiance to any man is a manifeſt enſlaving of mankind to a ſervile obligation to maintain and uphold the perſons and government of mutable men, let them act as they pleaſe; and becauſe there is in it an acknowlegement of univerſal ſupremacy inherent in the king; ſo this inſtrument or declaration, aſſerting the king's prerogative is equally ſo; for, 1. all in public offices hereby acknowlege an abſolute and unlimited power in the king; 2. they renounce the ſolemn and lawful covenants; and 3. they condemn the moſt innocent means of ſeeking redreſs of grievances; for they are todeclare it to be treaſon for ſubjects, upon any pretence, to riſe in arms, and unlawful for ſubjects to aſſemble together to treat of any matters of ſtate, civil or eccleſiaſtical, without his majeſty's approbation; ſo that here all defenſive arms are condemned; and none of the judicatures of the church are to aſſemble but when the king pleaſes. By this alſo a door was opened for the utter overthrow of theſe judicatures, ſeeing the king is declared to be the fountain of all church power. And therefore it was no wonder, though many of thoſe who were bound by the national covenant and ſolemn league and covenant, refuſed to take the oath or ſubſcribe the declaration; and it is evident, that they who ſuffered for this refuſal can never be ſaid to ſuffer as evil doers, but only for conſcience ſake.

One might think that the parliament had made ſufficient progreſs, for one ſeſſion, in overturning preſbyterian government and diſcipline; but they were determined to make all ſure, and therefore by their 9th act, they annulled the parliaments and committees kept after the year 1648, and by their 15th act they annulled all the parliaments that had been held betwixt the year 1640 and 1648. And thus they took away the greateſt human ſecurities that could be given to a church and nation. Biſhop Burnet ſays of this laſt mentioned act, what he might with equal reaſon have ſaid of both, namely 'That it was a moſt extravagant act, only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It ſhook all poſſible ſecurity for the future, and laid down a moſt pernicious precedent.' When this act reciſſory was brought in to the houſe by the lords of the articles, great debates aroſe upon it, ſo that it could not paſs that night; however, after great ſtruggle it was carried next day.

By their 16th act, concerning religion and government, the true proteſtant reformed religion was ordered to be ſettled as it was before the year 1638, and the government of the church to be ſecured as the king finds moſt conſiſtent with Scripture, monarchy and peace. Hereby the king was ſet at the head of all eccleſiaſtical afairs; for the government of the church was entirely unfixed, and the ſettlement of it put into the king's power: and though ſeſſions, preſbyteries and ſynods were permitted for a few weeks; yet we ſhall ſee how their liberties were taken from them, and their proceedings violently interrupted, ſo that preſbyterian government ſcarcely lived out this year.

By their 17th act they ordained that the 29th of May be obſerved as an anniverſary thankſgiving for the king's reſtoration, and be for ever ſet apart as an holy-day unto the Lord, &c. Though many gave obedience to this act, yet others could not in conſcience ſubmit to it, not only becauſe it is not in the power of any, under heaven to appoint anniverſary holy-days, that being the prerogative of the Creator alone, but alſo becauſe, though the day was ſet apart, for ever to be kept holy to the Lord, yet diverſions were appointed for ſpending the day after the public worſhip was over.

And the better to ſecure the model of their church government, by the 56th act they reſtored the heavy grievance of patronages, which they knew had always been a dead weight upon, and inconſiſtent with preſbyterial government. Nay, this act ordained all who ſhall be preſented to take the oath of allegiance, before they were ſettled, under ſevere penalties. Inſtead of making any remarks upon this, I ſhall only lay before the reader what were the ſentiments of the parliament of Scotland when they aboliſhed patronages 1649. 'Conſidering, ſay they, that patronages and preſentations are an evil and bondage under which the Lord's people, and miniſters of this land have long groaned, and that it hath no warrant in God's word, but is founded only on the common law, and is a cuſtom popiſh, and brought into the kirk in time of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and that the ſame is contrary to the 2d book of diſcipline, in which, upon found and good grounds, it is reckoned among abuſes that are deſired to be reformed, and unto ſeveral acts of general aſſembly; and that it is prejudicial to the liberty of the people and planting of kirks, and unto the free calling and entry of miniſters unto their charge'—Nevertheleſs this parliament not only reſtored patronages, but impoſed the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy on all miniſters who ſhould be preſented.

Having then conſidered ſome of the moſt remarkable acts of this ſeſſion of parliament, by which the conſtitution of the church was overturned, and a foundation laid for introducing abjured prelacy, and proſecuting all who ſhould oppoſe the ſcheme then forming, it is proper that we next take a view of the conduct of the miniſters and judicatures while theſe things were a doing.

It is too evident they did not make ſuch a ſtand againſt theſe encroachments as they might have done. Some indeed, in their private capacity, bore an honourable teſtimony thereagainſt, but very little was done by ſynods and preſbyteries. However, for the honour of thoſe who made any ſtand for the liberties of the church, take the following account;

Mr Robert Douglas, in his ſermon at the opening of the parliament, dealt very faithfully with the members; and, in ſeveral parts of the country, miniſters gave full and faithful warning of the dangers threatning the church of Scotland, particularly Meſſrs Robert Mac Ward at Glaſgow, William Guthrie at Finwick, and John Livingſton at Ancrum, and not a few miniſters kept congregational faſts; but all this time very little was done in a judicative capacity. Nevertheleſs the following efforts were made, tho' they proved fruitleſs.

The parliament having paſſed ſeveral acts ſubverſive of the work of reformation the brethren in and about Edinburgh preſented ſeveral overtures to the commiſſioner, namely, that there might be an act of parliament explaining the meaning of the oath of allegiance, that the parliament would declare, that they had no intention to annul or make void the ſolemn League and covenant, and that they would approve and ratify the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms, and the directory for worſhip, together with the diſcipline, government and liberties of this church. Theſe overtures the commiſſioner and chancellor promiſed to communicate to his majeſty, and afterwards return an anſwer, and at the ſame time deſired the brethren to draw up an act of ratification, as they would have it, and it ſhould be conſidered. This was accordingly done and given to the commiſſioner, but it all came to nothing; for the miniſters were kept in hopes, and got fair words, till matters were paſt remedy; and inſtead of this act of ratification, the act reciſſory, above mentioned, was made and ratified.

When the nature of this laſt act came to be known, the preſbytery of Edinburgh prepared a ſupplication to the houſe, and ſent it to the commiſſioner by three of their number; but partly by promiſes, and partly by threatnings, he prevailed upon them not to give it in that day, and preſently the parliament met, and in all haſte paſt the act. Upon which the preſbytery, next day, ſent Mr David Dickſon, and others to the commiſſioner, to intreat acceſs for having their ſupplication preſented to the houſe, but all to no purpoſe.

poſe. After this they ſent their ſupplication to the king, which met with no regard; and when they heard of farther intentions to alter the government of the church, they wrote to the earl of Lauderdale to interpoſe with his majeſty to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, till all things be ſettled by a free and lawful general aſſembly; and in March following they ſent up an information to court repreſenting, among other things, the inconvenience and ſad conſequence of a change in the government and conſtitution of the church; in which alſo they were diſappointed: for the managers were reſolved to pleaſe the high-flyers in England, to follow Mr Sharp's ambitious deſigns, and to carry their project againſt all reaſon and juſtice.

Before April and May, when the ſynods were wont to meet, the parliament made great progreſs in their work. However, the ſynod of Glaſgow and Ayr met on the ſecond of April, and taking the ſtate of the church under conſideration, they appointed a committee to draw up an addreſs and ſupplication for a new ſecurity to religion and the church, ſeeing the old fences were taken away; and Mr William Guthrie having read, from the committee, a draught of ſuch addreſs, ſome of the reſolutioners, eſpecially theſe who were gaping after a biſhopric, vehemently oppoſed the ſupplication, and threatened to diſſent, becauſe they alledged, that now was not a proper time; and therefore urged that this matter might be delayed; whereto others yielded, from a conſideration, that without harmony their addreſs would loſe much of its weight: however, they agreed upon a conſideration of their being fixed in, and reſolved to adhere to the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government of the church; but many were juſtly grieved, that they made no mention of dioceſan Epiſcopacy, nor of the obligation of the covenants. When they met again at Glaſgow in May, they were diſcharged by a proclamation from the market croſs. Thus were they deprived of an opportunity of conſidering their ſupplication. And though the miniſters in town ſent three of their number into Edinburgh, with a petition to his majeſty's commiſſioner, yet no return was given to it. This was the laſt ſynod of Preſbyterian miniſters who met at Glaſgow before the year 1687.

On the 11th of April the ſynod of Perth and Stirling met, and, out of their exceſſive loyalty, ordered the remonſtrance, which was drawn up by that ſynod the 9th of October 1650, and afterwards preſented to the king and committee of eſtates, to be razed out of their records, as containing ſeveral things reflecting on his majeſty and the eſtates. I ſhall only ſay, that it had been well if there had never been a cauſe for that remonſtrance.

The ſynod of Fife met at St Andrews in April, but, before they had formally voted their intended petition, and finiſhed the warning they deſigned to give, they were interrupted by the earl of Rothes, appointed inſpector by the commiſſioner. His lordſhip came in, while they were in the midſt of their buſineſs, commanded ſilence in the king's name, required they would inſiſt no more upon what was before them, and diſmiſs immediately; accordingly they obeyed, without proteſting againſt ſuch a plain invaſion of the liberties of Chriſt's houſe; however, the preſbyteries, in their bounds, at their firſt meeting, approved of what the ſynod could not get finiſhed; and all of them, in a very ſolemn manner, declared their adherence to the principles of the church of Scotland.

This new office of inſpector of ſynods had no act of parliament for its conſtitution; and, though it had, that could not juſtify the ſame, there being no precedent for it in the word of God; but that was what our managers did not conſult. They were much vexed that ſynods ſhould bear a teſtimony againſt their proceedings, and therefore theſe were appointed as ſpies, in order to diſſolve them when they determined to petition againſt threatening grievances, as was the practice when Prelacy was firſt introduced after the reformation, in the time of king James VI.

Accordingly the ſynod of Dumfries was diſſolved by Queenſberry and Hartfield, who were both drunk at that very time. The ſynod of Galloway was diſſolved by the the earl of Galloway, as they were drawing up a ſupplication againſt Epiſcopacy; but the moderator, Mr John Park, faithfully proteſted againſt what was done, as an injury to a court of Jeſus Chriſt, and the miniſters would not remove till he prayed, and regularly concluded their meeting.

In the ſynod of Lothian they were not ſuffered ſo much as to ſpeak of any teſtimony; nay, ſome of the members, who were ripe for a change, and devoted to the intereſt of the managers, moved that the proteſtors ſhould be cenſured. While this was in debate, the earl of Callendar and Sir Archibald Stirling came in, and required the moderator to purge the houſe of rebels, meaning the proteſting miniſters, elſe they would diſſolve them, and make them anſwer before other judges. Upon this the ſynod ſuſpended five miniſters of great piety, viz. Meſſ. Alexander Livingſton at Biggar, John Greg at Skerling, Archibald Porteous and James Donaldſon in the preſbytery of Biggar, and Gilbert Hall at Kirkliſton. They likewiſe removed two from their charges, upon the application of ſome malignant and diſaffected perſons in their pariſhes, viz. Mr William Weir at Linlithgow, and Mr William Creighton at Bathgate. Mr Weir, refuſing to deliver up to the magiſtrates the church emoluments and regiſters, was put into the thieves-hole by provoſt Glen; and, after being ſome time in that dungeon, he was carried to a room in the palace, where he was kept ſix weeks, till, at laſt, he was forced to make the beſt terms he could. But, notwithſtanding all this ſinful compliance of the ſynod, becauſe the majority would not yield to ſome propoſals made in favour of prelacy, they were diſſolved in the king's name, and forced to diſmiſs without prayer.

In the northern ſynods the proteſtors began to feel the oppreſſions of the times. I only mention, that Mr Thomas Hog, miniſter at Kiltearn, was depoſed by the ſynod of Roſs, who ſat down the beginning of this year, for refuſing judicially to diſown and diſclaim the proteſtation. At the ſame time a motion was made for depoſing Mr James Frazer of Lisy from his office as ruling elder, but what was the iſſue of it I know not.

By this time we may ſee the diſmal conſequences of admitting malignants into places of power and truſt, and what efforts were made againſt the before named encroachments. It is certain more might have been done, there being as yet no law againſt their meetings, or their petitioning for a redreſs of thoſe grievances that were coming upon them. However, the generality of the miniſters were againſt prelacy. Biſhop Burnet ſays, The ſynod of Aberdeen, at which he was preſent, was the only body that made an addreſs looking towards Epiſcopacy.

It is now proper that we give an account of what many ſuffered during this ſeſſion of parliament, when we ſhall find ſome attacked in their name and reputation, others in their liberties, and others in their lives; ſuch as the noble marquis of Argyll, the Rev. Mr James Guthrie, and Mr Govan.

We noticed that the marquis was committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh the 20th of December laſt.

On the 13th of February this year his lordſhip was brought to the bar of the houſe, where Sir John Fletcher, the king's advocate, accuſed him, in common form, of high treaſon; and, producing an indictment, craved that it might be read. The marquis himſelf begged liberty to ſpeak before that was done; but the houſe refuſed his reaſonable deſire, and ordered it to be read; and though he entreated them to hear a petition he had to preſent, yet that was too great a favour to be granted.

The indictment, which was more months in forming than Argyll had days allowed at firſt to bring in his defences, conſiſted of fourteen articles, wherein a heap of ſlander, perverſion of matters of fact, and miſrepreſentations, are collected together againſt this good and great man. 1. That he roſe in arms againſt the king's good ſubjects, the Anti-covenanters; and ſaid to Mr John Stuart, that it was the opinion of many divines that kings might be depoſed. 2. That he marched with an armed force and burnt the houſe of Airlie. 3. That, in 1640, he beſieged and forced his majeſty's caſtle of Dunbarton to ſurrender to him. 4. That he called, or ordered to be called, the convention of eſtates 1643, and entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with England, levied ſubſidies from the ſubjects, and fought againſt his majeſty's forces. 5. That, in 1655, he burned the houſe of Mar-

ſtir.

ſtrie. 6. That, in 1646, he, or thoſe under his command, beſieged and took the houſes of Towart and Eſcoge, and killed a great many gentlemen. 7. That he marched to Kintire, and killed 300 MacDonalds and MacCouls, in cold blood, and tranſported 200 men to the uninhabited iſle of Jura, where they periſhed by famine. 8. That he went to London and agreed to deliver up the king to the Engliſh army at Newcaſtle, upon the payment of 200,000l, pretended to be due for the arrears of the army treaſonably raiſed 1643. 9. That he proteſted againſt the engagement 1648 for relieving his majeſty; raiſed an army to oppoſe the engagers; met with Oliver Cromwel; conſented to a letter wrote to him on the 6th of October, and to the inſtructions given to Sir John Chieſly to the parliament of England; and, in May following, ſigned a warrant for a proclamation againſt the lords Ogilvie and Ire, the marquis of Huntley, John now earl of Middleton, declaring them, their wives and families, to be out of the protection of the kingdom. 10. That he clogged his majeſty's invitation to the kingdom of Scotland 1649 with many unjuſt limitations; conſented to the murder of the marquis of Montroſe; correſponded with Cromwel; approved and conſented to the act of the Weſt-kirk 1650, and the declaration following upon it. 11. That, in 1653 and 1654, he abetted, or joined with, or furniſhed arms to the uſurper's forces, againſt Glencairn and Middleton, and gave remiſſion to ſuch as had been in the king's ſervice. 12. That he received a preſent from the uſurper of 12,000l. ſterl. conſented to the proclamation of Richard Cromwel; accepted a commiſſion from the ſhire of Aberdeen, and ſat and voted in his pretended parliament. 13. That he rebuked the miniſters in Argyll for praying for the king. 14. That he poſitively adviſed Cromwel and Ireton, in a conference 1648, that they could not be ſafe till the king's life was taken away; at leaſt he knew and concealed that horrid deſign.

After the indictment was read the marquiſs had leave to ſpeak, and diſcourſed, at ſome conſiderable length, to exceeding good purpoſe. The parliament fixed the 26th of February for bringing in his defence, which was too ſhort a time for replying to a charge conſiſting of ſo many particulars. However, at his requeſt, they protracted it till the 5th of March, when he appeared before the lords of the articles, who ordered him immediately to produce his defence; whereupon he made a very moving ſpeech, and gave in a moſt affecting petition, remitting himſelf to the king's mercy, and beſeeching the parliament to intercede for him, which are too long to be inſerted here.

Next day, being brought before the parliament, it was reported from the articles, that he had offered a ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, with a deſire that the parliament might recommit it to the king; but his ſubmiſſion was voted not ſatisfactory, and he was commanded to give in his defences next day to the lords of the articles. When he came before them, and told that his defences were not yet ready, he was appointed to give them in on Monday, April the 9th, otherwiſe the lords would take the whole buſineſs before them, without any regard to what he ſhould afterwards ſay. But it ſeems, on the day appointed, his defences were given in, wherein the marquis's management is vindicated from all the falſehoods, calumnies, and miſrepreſentations in the indictment. Mr Wodrow does not give an abſtract of them, becauſe they contain thirteen pages of ſmall print, but inſerts a paper which contains the ſubſtance of them, of which I give the following abridgment.

Information for my Lord Argyll againſt the dittay given in againſt him by the king's advocate.

THE deeds alleged to be done, either before, or ſince his majeſty left Scotland, were either of a public or private concern. As for the public, he never acted without the approbation of parliament, and general aſſemblies, which were ratified by their late and preſent majeſties. As to particular perſons, he was never acceſſory to any thing but what is warranted by acts of parliament, approved by his majeſty and his royal predeceſſors. As to things, after his majeſty left Scotland 1651, the marquis was ſtill a priſoner on demand, and did never capitulate till Auguſt 1652, being ſurprized in his houſe lying ſick, and that long after the deputies had taken the tender, —and all others in arms had capitulated, and the whole kingdom was—under the power—of the uſurper.

The firſt deed is a ſpeech in 1640,—where it is affirmed that he ſaid, It was the opinion both of divines and lawyers that a king might be depoſed.—But it is not relevant to infer any crime, though thoſe words had been ſpoken in the abſtract terms related, no more than if any ſhould ſpeak the tenet of the Sorbonet or canon law upon the pope's power. — This deed is 1640, the act of oblivion 1641.

The 2d deed is the ſlighting the houſe of Airlie.—It is anſwered, Theſe houſes were kept out in oppoſition to the committee of eſtates, and ſo might be deſtroyed—and the ſaid ſervice had the approbation of parliament 1641, *rege preſente*—the king being preſent.

The 3d deed is the taking the caſtle of Dunbarton.—This was done by order of the committee of eſtates, and before the act of oblivion.—

As to the calling a convention of eſtates, and going into England with an army.—This was done by the conſervators of the peace, ſecret council, and commiſſioners of public burdens appointed by the king,—and ratified in parliament ſince,—and was allowed by the king in his agreement at Breda, and by his act of oblivion 1651.

As to the burning of Menſtrie by his command, he denies any ſuch command. Whereas it bears by men under his command, there is no law to make that treaſon, nor is it relevant or reaſonable; for *noxa caput ſequitur, et delicta ſuos tenet auctores*. It was remitted by the act of oblivion 1651. And general Baillie had the command, whoſe ſervice in that expedition was approved in parliament 1646. And though he had done this he had commiſſion from the parliament 1644.

As to the taking of Towart and Eſcoge, and murdering a number of men after capitulation, it is anſwered, The marquis was not in the country, but in England at that time. To the murdering of 200 men after the taking of Dunavertie, it is anſwered, That David Leſlie had the command there, and what was done was by a council of war, and Leſlie's ſervice was approved by the parliament 1648.—That my lord Argyll cauſed take 200 perſons from Iſlay to Jura, where they periſhed. This is falſe; for he knew nothing of the matter, nor ever heard of it till he received his dittay.

To the giving up of the king at Newcaſtle, it is anſwered, It was a parliament deed, and—a voice in parliament cannot be cenſured —But the truth is, my lord Argyll was not in Scotland when the king came to the Scots army at Newark—neither did the marquis ever meddle in that affair, but in the parliament 1647.

As to the proteſt in parliament 1648, calling in the ſectarian army, writing to Cromwel,—and emitting a proclamation againſt certain families, it is anſwered, That there was no proteſt, but a declaration before the vote, that the aſſembly ought to be conſulted anent the engagement. —As for the letter, no anſwer can be given till the letter be ſeen; and though there was a letter in the terms libelled, yet it is an act of the committee; and as matters went, the army being loſt at Preſton, and the enemy lying on the border, if they had demanded the ſtrengths of the kingdom,—it would not have been refuſed.—Beſides, he never ſaw Cromwel till 1648, and he was called in by the committee, and the marquis did what he could to ſtop his career. As to the proclamations, nothing can be ſaid till they be produced.—

To the clogging his majeſty's proclamation, murdering Montroſe, correſponding with Cromwel, and his acceſſion to the act of the Weſt-kirk and declaration, it is anſwered, That it was the act of the parliament then ſitting by which the firſt allegation was done, and the king acknowleged that to be good ſervice, by admitting the marquis to places of truſt, and accepting the crown from him —As to Montroſe, he had no acceſſion to his death, or the manner of it. —His correſponding with Cromwel is falſe.—As to the act of the Weſt-kirk, the marquis was at no committee of the kirk after his majeſty's happy arrival, until they came to Perth, nor did he know of it.—As to the declaration—he adviſed the king to go as far as he could; but would not adviſe him, for the world, to ſign the declaration

claration againſt his mind—and deſires the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Dunfermline's depoſitions may be taken herein, and his ſacred majeſty conſulted as to the truth hereof.

To the oppoſition to Glencairn and Middleton, when appearing for their king, and his joining with the Engliſh, It is anſwered, That their commiſſion was never intimated to him,—that he ſent to Middleton to have a conference, but received no anſwer. As to joining the Engliſh in their expedition to the hills, he denies any joining with them; but being a priſoner, and required to be with them, he durſt not refuſe; and denied any kind of acting either by council or deed. As for taking pay from the uſurper for a foot company,—general Monk allowed payment for one hundred ſoldiers to guard the country, and becauſe they did not oppoſe the forces in the hills, the general diſcharged payment.——

As to the aſſiſting at Richard Cromwel's proclamation, his receiving a precept of 12,000l. ſterling, and ſitting in the parliament of England, it is anſwered, He was not at all at Richard's proclamation, but by command, indeed, he was at Oliver's, but not at Dunbarton. Being Monk's priſoner, he was commanded to come to the Engliſh council, and aſſiſt at the proclamation, and could not refuſe, without having his life and fortune made a prey. No law can make this a crime, far leſs treaſon; and it cannot be inſtructed, from any hiſtory, that a people overcome by an enemy, and commanded to do outward deeds of ſubjection, were ever queſtioned by their lawful prince when he hath pardoned the invader; or that the ſubject ſhould be proſecuted for doing what he, being a priſoner could not refuſe, without hazarding life and fortune. The 12,000 l. is falſely adduced. The parliament of Scotland gave the marquis, in payment of juſt debts, half of the exciſe on wine and ſtrong waters. As for his ſitting in the parliament of England, after ſo long an uſurpation, no precedent can be ſhewn, in any age in this country, whereby this was made a crime far leſs treaſon.——

To his forbidding to pray for the king, and the reſt of the alledged ſpeeches, it is anſwered, They are falſe and calumnious. His pariſh miniſter and chaplain did always pray for the king in the time libelled, and that in the face of the Engliſh.——

The laſt head: It is baſely falſe, and he oppoſes thereto the marquis's oath given in parliament 1649. and leaves it to all to judge how unlikely and improbable it is that he would ſpeak any thing contrary to the oath that he had ſworn.

From this information ſome tolerable view may be had of the defences of this worthy peer. Mr Wodrow declares that he had it from a very good hand, that upwards of thirty different libels were formed againſt him, for alledged injuries, oppreſſions, and the like; but, when they went to prove them, they all came to nothing, ſo that, after their moſt diligent ſearch, they were forced to fix upon his neceſſary compliance with the Engliſh, after Scotland had been obliged to yield to the conquerors. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that, in one ſpeech, excuſing his compliance with Cromwel, he ſaid, What could he think of that matter, after a man ſo eminent in the law as his majeſty's advocate had taken the engagement? This inflamed the other ſo much, that he called him an impudent villain, and was not ſo much as chid for that barbarous treatment. Lord Argyll gravely ſaid, He had learned, in his afflictions, to bear reproaches; and if the parliament ſaw no cauſe to condemn him, he was the leſs concerned at the king's advocate's railing.

When he was brought to the bar to receive his ſentence, on the 25th of May, the houſe was very thin; for all withdrew, except thoſe who were reſolved to follow the courſe of the times. He put them in mind of the practice of Theodoſius the emperor, who enacted, that the ſentence of death ſhould not be executed till thirty days after it was paſſed; and added, I crave but ten, that the king may be acquainted with it. This was refuſed; and he was told, that he muſt receive the parliament's ſentence kneeling. He immediately kneeled, and ſaid, I will, in all humility. Then the ſentence was pronounced, 'That he was found guilty of high treaſon, and adjudged to be execute to the death as a traitor, his head to be ſevered from his body, at the croſs of Edinburgh, upon Monday the 27th inſtant, and affixed on the ſame place where the marquis of Montroſe's head was formerly, and his arms torn before the parliament and at the croſs. Upon this he offered to ſpeak; but the trumpets ſounding, he ſtopped till they had ended, and then ſaid, 'I had the honour to ſet the crown upon the king's head, and now he haſtens me to a better crown than his own.' And, directing himſelf to the commiſſioner and parliament, he ſaid, 'You have the indemnity of an earthly king among your hands, and have denied me a ſhare in that; but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings, and ſhortly you muſt be before his tribunal I pray he mete not out ſuch meaſure to you, as you have done to me, when you are called to account for all your actings, and this among the reſt.'

As for his compliance with Cromwel, it was ſo far from being treaſonable, that the advocate himſelf, and other lawyers, had actually taken the engagement, and many of the members of this parliament were equally guilty. Was it not therefore ſtrange, that a parliament ſhould condemn one for a crime of which ſo many of themſelves were guilty, and that, of all the compliers in Scotland, not one was proſecuted but this noble peer? What law will make compliance with a conqueror, for the good and ſafety of the country, after all means of defence are taken away, an act of treaſon? It is therefore certain that the ſentence paſſed againſt the marquis was without all warrant of law. But it ſeems it was neceſſary the foundation of prelacy, and of thoſe arbitrary meaſures now on foot, ſhould be laid in blood.

The marquis, after his ſentence, was ordered to the common priſon, where his excellent lady was waiting for him. Upon ſeeing her, he ſaid, They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it. She, embracing him, wept bitterly, and ſaid, The Lord will require it, the Lord will require it. Which drew tears from all in the room. But, being himſelf compoſed, he ſaid, 'Forbear, forbear, truly I pity them; they know not what they are doing. They may ſhut me in where they pleaſe, but they cannot ſhut out God from me. For my own part, I am as well content to be here as in the caſtle, and as content in the caſtle as in the tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty; and I hope to be as content upon the ſcaffold as any of them all.' &c.

He ſpent all his ſhort time, till Monday, with the greateſt ſerenity and chearfulneſs, and in the proper exerciſes of a dying Chriſtian. He ſaid to ſome miniſters who were permitted to attend him. 'That ſhortly they would envy him who has got before them; and added, mind that I tell you, my ſkill fails me, if you who are miniſters will not either ſuffer much, or ſin much; for though you go along with theſe men in part, if you do it not in all things you are but where you were, and ſo muſt ſuffer; and if you go not at all with them, you ſhall but ſuffer.' At his own deſire his lady took her leave of him on Sabbath night. On Monday morning, though he was much engaged in ſettling his affairs, and in the midſt of company, yet he was ſo overpowered with a ſenſible effuſion of the joy of the Holy Ghoſt, that he broke out in a rapture, and ſaid, 'I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodneſs, but it will not do; I am now ordering my affairs, and God is ſealing my charter to a better inheritance, and juſt now ſaying to me,' 'Son, be of good cheer, thy ſins are forgiven thee.' Some time before he went to the place of execution, he wrote a moſt loving letter to the king, and dined precisely at twelve with his friends with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, and then retired a little in ſecret. Upon his opening the door, the Reverend Mr Hutchiſon ſaid, 'What cheer, my lord?' He anſwered, 'Good cheer, Sir; the Lord hath again confirmed, and ſaid to me from heaven,' 'Thy ſins be forgiven thee.' Upon this tears of joy flowed in ſuch abundance, that he retired to the window and wept there; from that he came to the fire, and made as if he would ſtir it a little to conceal his concern, but all would not do, his tears ran down his face; and, coming to Mr Hutchiſon, he ſaid, in a perfect rapture, 'I think his kindneſs overcomes me; but God is good to me, that he lets not out

eat too much of it here; for he knows I could not bear it. Get me my cloak, and let us go.' Upon receiving notice to come down, he called for a glass of wine, and ask'd a blessing upon it standing, and in a very little said, 'Now let us go, and God go with us.'

When he took leave of those in the room who were not to be with him on the scaffold, he said, 'I could die like a Roman, but chuse rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first goes cleanliest.' When going down stairs he called the Rev. Mr James Guthrie, who at parting addressed the marquis thus, 'My lord, God hath been with you, he is with you, and will be with you; and such is my respect for your lordship, that, if I were not under the sentence of death myself, I could cheerfully die for your lordship.' So they parted to meet again in a better place on the Friday following. The marquis, attended by several noblemen and gentlemen all in black, mounted the scaffold with the greatest firmity and gravity, like one going to his father's house, and saluted all that were upon it. Then Mr Hutchison prayed. After that his lordship delivered a moving and pertinent Speech with the utmost composure, in which, among other things, he said, 'I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the king home, and in my endeavours for him when he was at home, and had no correspondence with the adversary's army, nor any of them, when his majesty was in Scotland; nor had I any accession to his late majesty's horrid and execrable murder.—I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others. It is well known, it is only for compliance, which was the epidemical fault of the nation. I wish the Lord to pardon them: I say no more:—God hath laid engagements upon Scotland:—we are tied by covenants to religion and reformation.—Those that were then unborn are yet engaged:—And it passeth the power of all the magistrates under Heaven to absolve from the oath of God.—These times are like either to be very sinning or very suffering times, and let Christians make their choice. There is a sad dilemma in the business, sin or suffer; and surely he that would chuse the better part, will chuse to suffer: others that will chuse to sin, shall not escape suffering.'—When he had delivered his Speech, which is recorded at length in Naphtali *, Mr James Hamilton prayed; after him his lordship prayed himself, and then took his leave of all his friends on the scaffold, and having given the executioner an handkerchief with some money, and small presents to his friends, he went to the instrument, called *The Maiden*, kneeling down most cheerfully, and after he had prayed a little, he gave the signal, whereupon his head was severed from his body, and then placed on the west-end of the tolbooth, as a monument of the parliament's injustice and the land's misery. His body was delivered to his friends, and decently interred. Thus died the noble marquis of Argyll, the proto-martyr for religion after the Restoration, who was a great promoter of and support to the Work of Reformation during his life, and stedfast in witnessing to it at his death.

I am next to relate the martyrdom of the Rev. Mr. James Guthrie minister at Stirling.—Mr Guthrie was son to the laird of Guthrie, a very ancient and honourable family. For some time he taught philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, where he gave sufficient proof of his being a good philosopher and an exact scholar. Tho' bishop Burnet says, he was a resolute and stiff man, yet my author assures us, that his temper was very stayed and composed, and would reason upon the most controverted points with great solidity, and, when every one about him was warm, his temper was never ruffled; and that he had, perhaps, the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness of any in his time. He was entirely prelatical in his judgment when he first came to St. Andrews; but, by conversing with the Rev. Mr Rutherford and others, and especially by his joining the weekly societies there, for prayer and conference, he was entirely brought off from that way.

His conduct in the year 1650 and 1651 was now remembered: but the real spring of the hard measure this excellent man met with, was the sentence of excommunication, which by appointment of the commission of the general assembly, he had pronounced against the earl of Middleton in the year 1650, which Middleton never forgot; and his personal resentment abundantly discovered itself in his trial before the parliament.

In the beginning of the year 1661, Mr Guthrie was brought to Edinburgh, and had his indictment given him for high treason by the king's advocate. It was read before him in the house on the 20th of February. The heads of it were, 1. 'His contriving, consenting to, and exhibiting before the committee of estates, the paper called the *western remonstrances*, 2. His contriving, writing and publishing that abominable pamphlet, called, *The causes of God's wrath*. 3. His contriving, writing and subscribing a paper, called, *The humble petition*, of the 23d of August last, when he was apprehended. 4. His convocating of the king's lieges at several times without warrant or authority, to the disturbance of the peace of the state and of the church. 5. His declaring his majesty, by his appeal and protestation, incapable to be judge over him, which he presented at Perth. And, 6. some treasonable expressions he was alledged to have uttered in a meeting 1650 or 1651.' The curious reader will find the whole of his indictment and defences at large in Mr Wodrow's appendix.

His indictment being read, he made an excellent speech to the parliament, of which I shall insert the following brief abstract.

My Lord Chancellor,

'I Being indicted—upon things alledged to be seditious and treasonable, humbly desire—that my lord commissioner—will patiently, and without interruption, hear me as to a few things I have to say for myself.—I am glad that the law of God is named in the first place; —I hope your lordship, in all your proceedings, will have most respect to this, that I may be judged by the law of God especially, and by other laws in subordination thereto.'

'As to those laws—mentioned in the indictment, concerning his majesty's royal prerogative,—I hope—they are to be understood according to the sense and meaning given by posterior acts of parliament,—and—by our solemn public vows and covenants, contracted with God by his majesty and his subjects.—I am first charged, in general, of sundry seditious and treasonable remonstrances, &c. To which I say, that *generalia non pugnant*; they can have no strength in the inferring of a crime or guilt,—except they are instanced in particulars.'

'One thing there is in the general charge that I cannot and ought not to pass, to wit, that I have seditiously and traiterously purposed the eradicating and subverting of the fundamental government, &c.—It is an unjust charge; there was never any such purpose or design in my heart.—As I had never any compliance with the councils or designs of the late usurping powers against his majesty's royal father or himself,—so there was no part of their ungodly or unjust actings, but I did, in my station and calling, bear open and public testimony against both by word and writing. My lord,—I can hardly refrain expressing some grief of spirit,' (here he gives an account of what he suffered under the usurpation) 'that notwithstanding all those things, I should now stand indicted before your lordships, as intending the eradicating and subverting of the ancient civil government of this nation.—The God of heaven knows that I am free of this charge, and I defy all the world, allowing me justice and fair proceeding, which I hope your lordships will, to make out the same against me.

'The first particular wherewith I am charged,—is, that I did compile and draw up a paper, commonly called, The Remonstrance, and presented it, or caused it to be presented to his majesty and committee of estates the 22 of October 1650.—I never did compile or contrive that remonstrance, nor did I present it, or cause it to be presented—then, or at any other time. I indeed, being a member of the commission of the general assembly, when they gave their judgment upon it, did dissent from

* A book intitled Naphtali, or, The wrestlings of the Church of Scotland.

from their sentence, which cannot be reckoned any culpable accession thereto, every man being free, without hazard of punishment, to give his judgment freely in the judicature whereof he is a member.—

'The next particular I am charged with, is the book of The causes of God's wrath, especially the 5th and 6th articles—But I humbly profess to your lordship and this honourable court of parliament,—1. That—my accession thereto did not flow from any disrespect unto, or dissatisfaction with his majesty's person or government,—but merely and singly from a constraining power of conscience, to be found faithful, as a minister of the gospel, in the discovering of sin and guiltiness, that it being taken with, and repented of, wrath might be taken away from the house of the king, and from these kingdoms.—Next, my lord, I wish it may be seriously pondered, that nothing is asserted in these causes, as matters of sin and duty, but what hath been the common and received doctrine of the church of Scotland.

'The 3d particular—is the supplication at Edinburgh, August the 23d, to which I acknowledge my accession, but deny it to be treasonable or seditious, because—it doth contain nothing but a humble petition concerning those things to which his majesty and all the subjects of this kingdom are engaged, by the solemn and indespensible oath of the Covenant, with a sober and serious representation of the danger that threatens religion—The indictment is pleased to say, that I charged his majesty with dissimulation and perjury; but there is no such thing in the supplication, which doth only put him in remembrance of holding fast the oath of the covenant.

'As to what is alledged against the lawfulness of our meeting—That meeting cannot fall within those acts of parliament that strike against unlawful conventions; because every meeting, for business in itself lawful, is agreeable to the word of God, and the laws of the land, and, when kept without tumult and multitude, such as that was, needs no particular warrant from authority:—yea, such meetings are clearly exempted from a breach of those acts of parliament, by a posterior act of parliament, viz. act 29. parl. 2. Charles I.

'As to the last particular in my indictment. viz. my declining his majesty's authority, I confess I did decline the civil magistrate as a competent judge of ministerial doctrine in the first instance. His authority in all things civil, I do with all my heart acknowledge.—But that the declining of the civil magistrate's being a judge of ministers doctrine, in the first instance, may appear not treason and sedition, but lawful and warrantable, I humbly offer, 1. That such declinatures are agreeable to—God's word, and to the confession of Faith, and doctrine of this church confirmed and ratified in parliament—And therefore it hath been the ordinary practice of this kirk, in such cases, to use such declinatures since the time of the reformation from popery—2, Such declinatures are agreeable to, and founded upon the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant by which the king's majesty himself, and all the subjects of this kingdom, are bound to maintain the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this church.—Upon these grounds I did give in, and do assert that declinature for vindicating the crown, dignity, and royal prerogative of Jesus Christ'—But with all due respect to his majesty, his greatness and authority.

'As to that act of parliament 1584, it was made at a time when the settled government of this church—was wholly overturned—and hath been often repealed—and stands repealed now, at the down-sitting of this parliment, it was reversed 1592—and by the 4th act, parl. 2. Charles I. and by the 6th act, parl. 2. Charles I.—

'The sum of what I have said I comprise in these two. 1. That I did never propose, or intend to speak or act any thing disloyal, seditious or treasonable, against his majesty's person, authority or government, God is my witness.—Next—I have founded my speeches and writings, and actings in those matters, on the word of God, and on the doctrine, confessions of Faith, and laws of this church, and kingdom, upon the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant between the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland. If these foundations fall, I must fall with them; but if they sustain and stand in judgment, as I hope they will, I cannot acknowledge my self, neither, I hope will his majesty's commissioner, and the honourable court of parliament, judge me guilty of sedition and treason, notwithstanding any thing contained in the indictment.'

This pointed and pathetical speech had some influence upon several of the members of the house; but his death was designed. It was resolved, says bishop Burnet, to make a public example of a preacher, and so he was singled out.

On the 11th of April, when the process against him was read in the house, he immediately delivered a speech so affecting and close to the purpose, which though it had not the influence that might have been expected, made such impressions upon many of the members, that they withdrew, declaring to one another, as they went out of the house, that they would have nothing to do with the blood of this righteous man: but his judges were determined to proceed, and accordingly, at that very time, his indictment was found relevent. Bishop Burnet says p. 127, 'The earl of Tweddale was the only man that moved against putting him to death, He said, banishment had been hitherto the severest censure that had been laid on the preachers for their opinions,—yet he was condemned to die.' Though the day of his execution was not named till the 28th of May, when the parliament ordained 'Mr James Guthrie and William Govan to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, Saturday June 1st, and the head of the first to be affixed on the Nether bow, his estate to be confiscate, and his arms torn, and the head of the second on the west-port of the city of Edinburgh.' A gentleman who was present at the trial, told my informer, one of the present ministers of Aberdeen, that when Mr Guthrie received his sentence upon his knees, he rose up with cheerfulness, and thus addressed the parliament, 'My lords, may never this sentence more affect you than it does me, and let never my blood be required of the king's family.'

The iniquity of this sentence is very obvious: nay, the king himself was so sensible of his good services to him and his interest, when at the lowest, and of the parliament's severity, that, when he got notice of it, he asked with some warmth. And what have you done with Mr Patrick Gillespie? It was answered that Mr Gillespie had so many friends in the house, his life could not be taken. Well said the king, if I had known you would have spared Mr Gillespie, I would have spared Mr Guthrie. But had his majesty known his true interest, he would have put the management of his affairs into other hands.

Mr Guthrie was in a most serene frame all the time between his sentence and during his execution on the 1st of June. Dr Burnet, who was present at his execution, observes, that he was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composedness of one delivering a sermon, rather than his last words. His last speech and testimony is in Naphtali, where, among other things becoming a martyr for the cause of Christ, he saith, 'One thing I would warn you all of, that God is—very wroth with Scotland, and threateneth to depart and remove his candlestick. The causes of his wrath are many; and would to God it were not one great cause, that causes of wrath are despised. Consider the case that is recorded Jer. xxxvi. and the consequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, That there is a great addition of wrath; 1. By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land—in so far that many have lost not only all use and exercise of religion, but even of morality. 2. By that horrible treachery and perjury that is in the matter of the Covenant and cause of God, and work of reformation; 'Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this,' &c. 3. Horrible ingratitude. The Lord, after ten years oppression—hath broken the yoke of strangers from off our necks, but—the fruit of our delivery is to work wickedness, and strengthen our hand to do evil, 4 A most dreadful—sacrificing to the creature. We have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almost all their salvation—and have turned that which might have been a blessing into an idol of jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-serving

serving ministers. I know, and bear testimony, that in the church of Scotland there is a true and faithful ministry —and I pray you to honour—these for their work's sake. But, oh! that there were not too many who mind earthly things, and are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the hands of evil doers, who make themselves transgressors, by studying to build again what they did formerly warrantably destroy: I mean, Prelacy, and the ceremonies, and the Service-book, a mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great whore Babylon, the mother of fornications; or whosoever else he be that hath builded this Jericho again, let him take heed of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite, and of that dying evil threatened Zech. v. &c. I do bear witness unto the National Covenant of Scotland, and Solemn League and Covenant between the three kingdoms. These sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed nor dispensed with by no person, or party, or power upon earth, but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter, and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls since our entering therein. I bear my witness to the protestation against the unconverted assemblies, and the public resolutions —I take God to record, upon my soul, I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and has revealed his son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel, and that he hath deigned, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of his people: and especially in the station wherein I was last, I mean the congregation and presbytery of Stirling.—Jesus Christ is my light and my life, my righteousness, my strength, and my salvation, and all my desire. Him! O him, I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you;—' Bless him, O my soul! from henceforth, even for ever." He concluded with the words of old Simeon, ' Now let thy servant depart in peace, since mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

At the same time was executed the above mentioned William Govan, in some papers called Captain Govan, who was reckoned a pious good man. There were different accounts of the reasons why the parliament condemned him. In his last speech he says, It was for laying down his arms at Hamilton, as all the company did; and takes notice, that he carried up Montrose's standard through the streets of Edinburgh. It was alleged that he was present on the scaffold when king Charles I. was beheaded; but, to the conviction of all he proved himself to be elsewhere. His last speech, being omitted in Naphtali, is inserted by Mr Wodrow in his appendix. When he went up the ladder, he said, ' Dear friends, pledge this cup of suffering before you sin, as I have done: for sin and suffering have been presented to me, and I have chosen the suffering part.' The rope being about his neck, he said, ' Now I am near my last, and I desire to reflect on no man: I would only acquaint you of one thing: the commissioner and I went out to the field together for one cause; I have now the cord about my neck, and he is promoted to be his majesty's commissioner; yet for a thousand worlds I would not change lots with him, praise and glory be to Christ for ever.' After he again prayed a little he gave the sign and was turned over. He concluded his last speech with these words: ' I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, in general assemblies, synods and presbyteries, and also to the protestation against the public resolutions. I bear witness to the Covenants, National and Solemn League, and am now to seal them with my blood. I likewise testify against all popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service-book; for I have taken not a little pains in searching out those things, and have found them to be but the relics of Romish superstition and idolatry, left in king Henry VIII'ths time.'

Mr Wodrow says it was confidently affirmed, that some weeks after Mr Guthrie's head had been fixed upon the Netherbow port, the commissioners coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell from the head upon the top of the coach, which all their art and diligence could not wipe off; and that when physicians were consulted, whether any natural cause could be assigned for such a strange phænomenon, they declared they could think of none. This odd incident beginning to be talked of, and all methods being tried in vain to wipe the blood off, at last the leather was removed, and a new cover put on, which indeed was much easier done, than to wipe the guilt of this innocent blood from those who were accessory to the shedding it.

On the 15th the proclamation for keeping the 29th of May was published. On the 22d the Solemn League and Covenant was by order of two houses of the English parliament burnt with triumph, at London, by the hand of the common hangman; and thus the king's perjury was published in the face of the sun. The 29th of May was observed with the greatest solemnity at Edinburgh: but it is well known that the church of Scotland, since the reformation, had still vigorously opposed the observation of anniversary holy days, even though they were set apart in honour of Christ himself, such as Christmas and Easter; they could never therefore think of doing that for their king, which our Saviour did not require to be done for himself. Besides, this was a most dismal day to Scotland, being the triumph of the wicked between the unjust execution of Argyll and Mr Guthrie.

Many worthy gentlemen suffered greatly during this session of parliament, merely for compliance, which every one was obliged to give during the usurpation. In January the lairds of Ardkinglass and Mackdonochy were forfeited. On the 1st of February the indictment against the Lord Waristoun, William Dundas, and John Hume, was read in the house, none of them being present. Waristoun was forfeited, and his forfeiture was publicly proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, by the heralds, on the 31st of May. The indictment was much to the same purpose with that against the marquis of Argyll. On the 22d of February the laird of Swinton was brought before the parliament, and, when his indictment was read, had a very accurate and pointed speech in his own vindication, which so effectually prevailed upon them, that they recommended him to the king as a fit object of his mercy; and, according to Mr Wodrow, the papists at court interposed in the quaker's behalf, and he had favour shewn him, though he had as great a share in joining with the usurper as any man in the kingdom. Such was the partiality of those times! for little or no favour was shewn to those who had been active in the work of reformation, and faithfully adhered to their principles; as appears from the treatment several eminent ministers and others met with, which I am now to relate, beginning with those who were apprehended with Mr Guthrie on the 23d of August last. Though one or two of them fainted, and upon making some verbal acknowlegements, were permitted to retire to their own habitations, yet others suffered greatly for their faithfulness, particularly Mr Alexander Moncrieff, and Mr Robert Trail.

During the usurpation Mr Alexander Moncrieff minister at Scoonie in Fife, endured much persecution for his attachment to the royal family. He was then hunted as a patridge upon the mountains, and suffered imprisonment for praying for the king; but all the return he had, was to be apprehended when petitioning according to law. He had his indictment given him about the same time with Mr Guthrie. No solicitations could move him to retract his principles, though his life was in danger: and when the earl of Athol and others told his wife, that it was impossible to save his life, if he did not recede from some things, this excellent woman answered, ' That they all knew she was happy in a good husband; that she had great affection to him, and many children; yet she knew him to be so stedfast in his principles, where his conscience was concerned, that no body needed to deal with him upon that head; for her part, before she would contribute any thing that would break his peace with his Master, she would rather chuse to receive his head at the cross.' However, Providence so over-ruled this affair, that his life was spared; but then he was declared to be for ever incapable of exercising any public trust, civil or ecclesiastical, and discharged from going to his parish; and all this for owning his accession to the remonstrance and causes of God's wrath. Many were the hardships he underwent, and as many

many the preservations he met with after this, as we shall relate.

About the beginning of March, Mr Robert Trail, Mr John Stirling, and other ministers, were before the lords of the articles; but it seems none of them were brought before the parliament except Mr Trail, who was indicted for high-treason, for being concerned in the remonstrance 1656, in the book of the causes of God's wrath, in the supplication of August last, and in the imperfect scroll of a letter and instructions which were found at that meeting.

Mr Trail, as appears from his speech in the house, was one of those who declared against the tender, when imposed in the time of the usurpation, and always endeavoured to keep in mind that great precept, 'Fear God and honour the king. As to the remonstrance, he told them, 'That he was neither at the contriving or presenting of it; that he was at that time besieged in the castle of Edinburgh by the unjust invaders of the land.—That he run a very great hazard by a dangerous wound he received in the defence of his king and country.—As to the book of the causes of God's wrath, he owned that he was present at that meeting when those things were spoke of, and confessed, and mourned for, and prayed against; but he could not see that this was either treasonable or seditious. As to what is said in the book of closing a treaty with the king, after he had given such evidences of his disaffection and enmity to the work of God, he said, That he never denied his majesty's just right and title to these kingdoms, but always acknowleged him to be the only righteous heir; but that he thought there was not care enough taken to get him brought off from his prejudices against the work of reformation.—The next article in that book, concerning taking malignants into the army and judicatories, he said, There is nothing asserted there, but what is consonant to the word of God, and the received doctrine of this church.—For, if it be a commanded duty to put into places of trust and power, men fearing God, men of truth, and hating covetousness, then the neglect thereof must be a sin, and so a cause of wrath. As to the supplication in August last, he said he most cheerfully subscribed it, as a testimony of his loyalty to his king, and of his ardent desire to have wrath kept from his throne and dominions, by a humble minding him of the sacred ties of the covenant, and by earnestly supplicating him to walk according to them, both in his court and family, and in the government of his kingdoms.—As to the imperfect scroll of a letter and instructions found in their meeting, he acknowleged they were intended to be sent to some of their brethren, in another part of the country, for procuring their subscription to the petition, without the least thought of disloyalty.'

This is the sum and substance of his defence; from which it plainly appears how unjustly he and others were at that time charged with treason. Whether the parliament passed any sentence against him at this time, my author does not say; only it appears that he was in prison after the session was over.

Mr John Murray minister at Methven, who was at the meeting in August last, was likewise charged with high-treason; but what the issue of the process was is not yet known.

But the ministers who were apprehended in August last were not the only sufferers during this session; for Mr James Simpson, minister at Airth, who had been apprehended at Port-patrick, after a copy of his indictment was sent to him to answer in prison, was, by this parliament, banished the king's dominions, without being allowed a hearing, or so much as being summoned before them. He died in Holland, and so had the same fate with the Rev. Mr Macward, whose singular case I am now briefly to relate.

Mr Robert MacWard, minister at Glasgow, was remarkable for his learning, zeal, and other ministerial abilities. This good man observing the design of the managers, to overturn the whole covenanted work of reformation, in February gave a faithful and seasonable testimony against the glaring defections of the times, in an excellent sermon in the Tron-church of Glasgow, from Amos iii. 2. He concluded his sermon with these words: 'As for my own part, as a poor member of this church of Scotland, and an unworthy minister in it, I do this day call you, who are the people of God, to witness that I humbly offer my dissent to all acts which are, or shall be passed against the covenants, and work of reformation in Scotland: And, 2. protest that I am desirous to be free of the guilt thereof, and pray that God may put it upon record in heaven.' This sermon, especially this conclusion of it, made great noise, and therefore he was brought in to Edinburgh under a guard, and committed to prison, and soon after had an indictment given him by his majesty's advocate, for sedition and treasonable preaching.

When he was before the parliament, June 6th, he delivered himself with great eloquence and judgment, as his very enemies acknowleged; and, among other things, said, 'I humbly desire it may be considered, that a ministerial protestation against, or dissent from any acts, or act, which a minister knows, and is convinced to be contrary to the word of God, is not a legal impugnation of that or those acts, much less of the authority enacting them, which it doth rather presuppose, than deny or impugn; but it is a solemn and serious attested declaration or witness and testimony against the evil and iniquity of these things; which, by the word of God, is a warrantable practice, and here, and at this time, a necessary duty; and for which way of protesting, or testifying, or witnessing, a minister hath the prophets a pattern for his imitation, as is clear, 1 Sam. viii. 9. 'Howbeit, yet protest solemnly unto them, and shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them.' Where the Lord, to signify his great resentment and dislike at the people's course and carriage towards him, commands the prophet, in his name, to protest against their procedure. 'Howbeit, yet protest solemnly unto them,' saith he; or as the words are rendered on the margin of our Bible, 'Notwithstanding, when thou hast protested solemnly against them,' &c. which reading seems best to agree both with the scope, and what is said verse 19. It is clear also, Jer. xi. 7. when the Lord sums up all his serious exhortations to obey his voice, and all his sharp expostulations for not obeying his voice and keeping his covenant, in this very term of protesting earnestly: 'For I earnestly protested unto your fathers in the day,' &c. 'rising up early, and protesting, saying, Obey my voice.' So that my protestation, testimony, and dissent, not being without a precedent practice in the prophets, and so not without divine precept, cannot be called, nor ought to be accounted a contravention of the acts libelled in the indictment; neither can I, for this, come under the lash of the law; unless it be said and asserted, which I know will be denied with abhorrence and detestation, that these acts do discharge, under pain of treason, what God the supreme lawgiver commands his servants to do under pain of his displeasure, as they would not, by their unfaithful silence, lose their own, and betray the souls of others; so that, take the word protesting, in the scripture sense, for solemn declaring and witnessing against sin, and for duty, in which sense alone I take it, it will not be liable to any just exception—there being nothing more frequent in the word than such protesting, declaring, and witnessing against sin, and for duty.—And, besides, it will not a little contribute to remove what matter of offence is taken at the manner of my testimony, because, in the term of dissenting, and protesting, if it be consid red, that all the reformed churches of Christ this day have their denomination and distinction from the church of Rome, from a solemn public protestation against the decree which was made by Charles V. and the estates of the empire *anno*—in prejudice to religion and reformation, though I do not plead a perfect parallel between this and that.

'As to the matter of my protestation,—My practice seems neither contrary to reason nor religion, but consonant to both; it being commonly taken as a principle, rather than tossed as a problem, that, where there is a *jus quæsitum domino*, it is competent, incumbent and necessary, for the servant and ambassador, in the behalf and interest of his lord and master, to dissent from and protest against all acts made to the prejudice of that right. But so it is, that there was a right acquired to the Lord my master, whose servant and ambassador I am, though most unworthy, to wit, the confirmation civil of those covenants

covenants and vows, made to and with him, for reformation in this church, according to his will revealed in his word, and the obligations civil of the lieges thereunto by the interpoſition of civil authority: therefore I humbly conceive, that, as a right cannot, at leaſt ought not to be taken away in prejudice to a third party, ſo far leſs in things concerning the Lord and his intereſts, the public faith of the kingdom being engaged to God to promote and ſecure that: ſo that in this caſe, for me to have proteſted for my maſter's intereſts, to whom there was a civil right made, and to diſſent from all acts prejudicial to the ſame, will, I hope, be thought to be the duty of the man who deſires to approve himſelf to God, and who expects, in the day of his accounts, the approbation of well done, good and faithful ſervant.'——

Mr Sharp and his friends reſolved now to be rid, as much as poſſible of the moſt eminent of the preſbyterian miniſters, and therefore Mr Mac ward was baniſhed; however, he was allowed to continue ſix months in the nation, one of which only in Glaſgow, and had power given him to receive the following year's ſtipend at his departure. Accordingly he ſubmitted to the ſentence, and tranſported himſelf and family to Rotterdam; where, upon the death of the Rev. Alexander Petrie, (the author of a compendious hiſtory of the catholic church, from the 600 to 1600, printed at the Hague 1662) he became miniſter of the Scots congregation there, where he wrote a hiſtory of this church, during his own time, which, if it had been publiſhed, and not concealed by the inconſiderate or ill deſigning cuſtodier thereof, might have been of very ſingular uſe, and ſuperſeded all other hiſtories for that time. He died about 20 years after this, having been eminently uſeful in his day and generation.

Thus the acts of this parliament were ſealed with blood, and with the many tears of numbers, who had their beloved paſtors violently taken from them and baniſhed into foreign countries, and that merely for the teſtimony of a good conſcience. But that the reader may have another proof of the partiality of this parliament, I cannot omit the caſe of Mr Patrick Gilleſpie.

He was firſt miniſter of the town, and principal of the college of Glaſgow, a man of great learning, ſolidity, and piety. It is plain that he made great compliances with Cromwel during the uſurpation, and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed that he was perſecuted by the preſent managers, when ſo many, who had firmly adhered to the king's intereſt, were ſo ungratefully uſed. Beſides, he was againſt the public reſolutions, and had no ſmall ſhare in the weſtern remonſtrance. We took notice of his impriſonment laſt year. On the 6th of March this year he was brought before the parliament, and his indictment was read, containing his compiling and ſubſcribing the Weſtern remonſtrance, his conſenting to the pamphlet called *The cauſes of God's wrath*, his conſtant correſpondence with Cromwel, &c. But he had friends in the houſe, and favour was ſhewn him. It muſt indeed be owned that he ſadly departed from his former teſtimony; for he acknowledged, 'he had given offence to his majeſty by the remonſtrance, and otherwiſe, which he now was ſorry for, and did diſclaim, and therefore caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy, &c.' The parliament upon this, interceded for him, and in a little time he was taken out of priſon, but confined to Ormiſtoun and ſix miles round it. His acknowledgment gave juſt offence to many, who looked upon it as an inſtance of great fainting, in a perſon of his forwardneſs, zeal, and activity in former years.

The parliament roſe on the 12th of July, after which the management of affairs were lodged in the hands of the council. On the laſt day of July their acts were proclaimed with great ſolemnity, at the croſs of Edinburgh. During all this ſeſſion there was not the leaſt motion made for an act of indemnity; the ſecret whereof according to biſhop Burnet, was this, That, ſince diocеſan epiſcopacy was to be ſet up, and as thoſe who were moſt like to oppoſe it were, on other accounts, obnoxious, it was thought beſt to keep them under that fear, till the change ſhould be made.

I ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome account of the great Mr Rutherford who died about the end of March this year, 1661, and may very juſtly come in among the ſufferers during this ſeſſion of parliament, for he was certainly a martyr, both in his own reſolution, and in the deſign of the managers.

This pious and learned, diligent and faithful miniſter of Chriſt, was a gentleman by extraction, and gave early proofs of his great abilities; for when he was very young, he was pitched upon for a profeſſion of philoſophy in the college of Edinburgh, where he was educated. From thence he was called to the miniſtry at Anwoth, and entered on that charge, by the means of the then viſcount of Kenmure, without coming under any engagement to the prelate. There he laboured with great diligence and much ſucceſs, and there he wrote his *Exercitationes apologeticæ*.

The prelates were ſo heterodox, as to accuſe him for writing that book, and ſo apoſtatized, as to find fault with him for preaching againſt the ſins of the land. He was ſummoned before the high commiſſion court 1636, and upon declining its authority, as none of the courts of Chriſt, was depoſed from his miniſtry, and ſent priſoner to Aberdeen; where, ſays my author, the doctors found, to their confuſion, that the puritans were clergymen as well as they. It was from thence that he wrote many of his admirable letters to his friends.

Upon the great turn of affairs 1638, he was reſtored to his former charge at Anwoth, and ſoon after appointed profeſſor of divinity at St. Andrews by the general aſſembly. He was likewiſe called to be colleague in the miniſtry with the worthy Mr Blair. And by the indefatigable pains of Mr Rutherford, both teaching in the ſchools, and preaching in the congregation, St. Andrews, the ſeat of the archbiſhop, and ſo the nurſery of all ſuperſtition error and profaneneſs, ſoon became, as my author expreſſes it, a Lebanon out of which were taken 'cedars for building the houſe of God through the whole land.

He was one of the commiſſioners ſent by the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland to the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, where he was held in great reputation. In the year 1651 upon the death of the learned Mr Dematius, the magiſtrates of Utrecht being abundantly ſatisfied as to the learning, piety and zeal of this great man, invited him to the divinity chair there. But he choſe rather to ſuffer affliction in his own country, than to leave his flock and charge in time of danger. And therefore he continued at home till the day of his death.

The parliament this year 1661 were to have an indictment laid before them againſt this eminent perſon; for after his book, Lex Rex, had been ordered to be burnt at the croſs of Edinburgh, p 67. and at the gate of the new college of St Andrews, where he was divinity profeſſor they moſt barbarouſly ordered him to be ſummoned before them, to anſwer to a charge of high treaſon, though every body knew he was then in a dying condition; but, ſays Mr Woodrow, he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where his judge was his friend. Accordingly he died on the 29th of March, the very day before the act reciſſory was paſſed, and ſo was taken away from the evil to come.

Some of his laſt words are theſe. 'I ſhall ſhine, I ſhall ſee him as he is, and all the fair company with him, and ſhall have my large ſhare. It is no eaſy thing to be a Chriſtian: but, as for me, I have got the victory, and Chriſt is holding forth his arms to embrace me. I have had my fears and faintings, as another ſinful man, to be carried through creditably; but as ſure as ever he ſpoke to me in his word, his ſpirit witneſſed to my heart, ſaying, Fear not, he hath accepted my ſuffering, and the out-gate ſhould not be matter of prayer but of praiſe.' He ſaid alſo, 'Thy word was ound, and I did eat it, and it was to me the joy and rejoicing of my heart.' A little before his death, after ſome fainting, he ſaid, 'Now, I feel, I believe, I enjoy. I rejoice.' Turning to his colleague Mr Blair, he ſaid. 'I feed on manna, I have angels food, mine eyes ſhall ſee my Redeemer. I know that he ſhall ſtand, at the latter day, upon the earth, and I ſhall be caught up in the clouds to meet him, in the air.' Afterwards he had theſe words, 'I ſleep in Chriſt, and when I awake I ſhall be ſatisfied with his likeneſs. O for arms to embrace him!' and to one ſpeaking of his painfulneſs in the miniſtry, he cried out, 'I diſclaim all, the port I would be in at is redemption and forgiveneſs of ſins through his blood. His laſt words were, Glory, glory for

dwelleth in Emanuel's land.' He regreted, when near his end, that he had not the honour of giving a public testimony to the work of R formatioo since the year 1638, and against the lamentable defections of the present times.

Thus lived the great Mr Rutherford a life of communion with God, and died in full assurance. The letters which he left behind him discover what manner spirit he was of; and however they were the rediculе of the graceless and profane, like pearls before swine; yet they breath an uncommon spirit of piety and seraphic love to his Lord and Master, and are much calculated for the support, encouragement and comfort of serious Christians, under their sorest afflictions.

CHAP. III.

Of the proceedings of the council and the regal erection of Prelacy, together with the sufferings of gentlemen and ministers during the rest of the year.

THE day after the parliament rose, his majesty's privy council met at Holy-rood house. The following is a list of them. The earl of Glencairn chancellor, earl of Crawford treasurer, earl of Rothes president of the council, the dukes of Lenox and Hamilton, the marquis of Montrose, earls Lauderdale secretary, Errol, Marschal, Mar, Athol, Mortoun, Eglinton, Cassils, Caithness, Murray, Linlithgow, Hume, Perth, Dumfermline, Wigtoun, Kelly, Roxburgh, Haddington, Tullibardin, Weems, Southesk, Hartfield, Callender, Tweddale, Middleton, Dundee, Newburgh, lords Sinclair, Halkertoun, Duffus, Sir Archibald Primerose, Sir John Fletcher, Sir William Bannantyne, Sir Robert Murray, Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar, Sir William Fleeming, laird of Ley, laird of Blackhall, Sir John Wauchop of Niddrie knight, Gibson of Durie, Sir Georg Kinnaird of Rossie, Alexander Bruce brother to the earl of Kincardin, and Sir William Scot of Airdie. After the public reading of their commission, and their powers, all present took the oath of allegiance, formerly mentioned, and then the oath of council. They had now the whole executive power in their hands, and accordingly, at their first meeting, they ordered the citadels built by the English, during the usurpation, to be demolished.—But as the point of the greatest importance, at that time, was the getting Prelacy established,—I shall first give some account of that matter.

We have seen how the parliament, by their 16th act, put the whole power, as to church affairs, into the king's hands, by which he was to settle the ecclesiastical government, as he thought most proper; but then the parliament had by no act as yet established Prelacy, consequently it does not appear to have any proper parliamentary settlement in Scotland, but to be brought in by a mere act of the king's prerogative, as we shall presently see.

When the parliament was up, Middleton and the courtiers repaired with all speed to London, and, when they had the government of the church of Scotland under their consideration, the commissioners and chancellor were strenuously for bishops. Lauderdale, Crawford and duke Hamilton, for some time opposed them. 'The earl of Middleton, says Burnet, p. 131. assured the king, that episcopacy was desired by the greater and honester part of the nation. One synod had as good as petitioned for it: and many others wished for it, though the share they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. Sharp assured the king, That none but the protestors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were against it: and that, of the Resolutioners, there would not be found twenty that would oppose it.—On the other hand, the earl of Lauderdale, and all his friends assured the king, That the national prejudices against it were still very strong, that those who seemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, but that those who were against it would be found stiff and eager in their opposition to it; that, by setting it up, the king would lose the affections of the nation, and that the supporting it would grow a heavy load on his government; which indeed came to pass. The bishop farther observes, p. 132. That upon this diversity of opinion, the thing having been posed in a Scots council at Whitehall, the earl of Crawford declared himself against it, but the earl of Lauderdale, duke Hamilton and Sir Robert Murray were only for delaying till the king should be better satisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. All the rest were for the change.

These debates are said to have lasted for some days, and that here the foundation of discord was laid between Middleton and Lauderdale, which issued in the ruin of the former. A little after the chancellor, in a conversation with Lauderdale, desired him not to mistake his conduct in that affair, for he was not for lordly prelates, such as had been formerly in Scotland, but only for a limited, sober and moderate episcopacy. To which Lauderdale is said to have replied, 'My lord, since you are for bishops, and must have them, bishops you shall have, and higher than ever they were in Scotland, and that you shall find.' It being thus agreed to alter the government of the church of Scotland, a letter was sent from his majesty to the privy-council there, declaring his royal pleasure to have episcopacy established in this ancient kingdom. He did not demand their advice upon it, says bishop Burnet, but even required their obedience to it, as appears from the letter itself, which is as follows.

CHARLES R.

'RIGHT trusty and well beloved cousins and councellors, we greet you well. Whereas in the month of August 1660, we did by our letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the church of Scotland settled by law; and our parliament having, since that time, not only rescinded all the acts since the trouble began referring to that government, but also declared all those pretended parliaments null and void, and left to us the settling and securing of church government: therefore, in compliance with that act rescissory, according to our late proclamation, dated at Whitehall the 10th of June, and in contemplation of the inconveniencies from the church government, as it hath been exercised these twenty three years past, of the unsuitableness thereof to our monarchial estate, of the sadly experienced confusions which have been caused, during the late troubles, by the violences done to our royal prerogative, and to the government, civil and ecclesiastical, settled by unquestionable authority, we from our respect to the glory of God, and the good and interest of the protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that church, and in better harmony with the government of the churches of England and Ireland, have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of our council here, our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring of that church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather, of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law. Of this our royal pleasure, concerning church-government, you are to take notice, and to make intimation thereof in such a way and manner as you shall judge most expedient and effectual. And we require you and every one of you, and do expect according to the trust and confidence we have in your affections and duty to our service, that you will be careful to use your best endeavours for curing the distempers contracted during those late evil times, for uniting our good subjects among themselves, and bringing them all to a cheerful acquiescing and obedience to our sovereign authority, which we will employ, by the help of God, for the maintaining and defending the true reformed religion, increase of piety, and the settlement and security of that church in her rights and liberties, according to law and ancient custom. And, in order thereto, our will is, that you forthwith take such course with the rents, belonging to the several bishopricks, and deaneries that they may be restored and made useful to the church, and that according to justice, and the standing law. And, moreover, you are to inhibit the assembling of ministers in their several synodical meetings through the kingdom, until our farther pleasure, and to keep a watchful eye over all who, upon any pretext whatsoever, shall, by discoursing, preaching, reviling, or any irregular or unlawful way, endeavour to alienate the affections of our people, or dispose them to an ill opinion of us, and our government, to the disturbance of the peace, of the king-

kingdom. So expecting your cheerful obedience, and speedy account of your proceedings herein, we bid you heartily farewel. Given at our court at Whitehall, August the 14th 1661, and of our reign the 13th year.

By his majesty's command.

LAUDERDALE.

On the last of August, the earls of Glencairn and Rothes, with Mr Sharp, returned from court; and next council-day, September 5th, the lord chancellor presented his majesty's letter, which being read, the clerk was ordered to draw up an act in obedience thereunto, to be proclaimed and made known to all the lieges. Accordingly next day the draught was presented and approved of, and proclaimed over the cross, with great solemnity, by the lion king at arms, with all the trumpets, and the magistrates of Edinburgh in their robes. This act of council is the echo of his majesty's letter. The council, the same day, ordered a just copy of their act and proclamation, to be transmitted to the king; for which his majesty returned them his thanks. And thus Prelacy was again brought in to Scotland; from which I cannot but make the following remarks.

As his majesty's letter, and the council's act and proclamation in consequence of it, was the foundation upon which prelacy was at this time established, so it is apparent, 1. That the king intended to deceive the ministers of the Church of Scotland; by his letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh, wherein he declared his resolution to protect and preserve the government of that church, as it is, settled by law: for in his last letter, these words, as it is, are artfully omitted, that there might be a fairer pretence for introducing bishops, upon that very ground which so many took to be an assurance given against them. When his majesty wrote to the presbytery of Edinburgh, Prelacy stood abolished, and presbyterian government established by law, and the king's solemn oath was engaged to preserve the same inviolable. But, 2. It is apparent, that Prelacy in Scotland, was now restored entirely by virtue of the regal supremacy, of which the king was so tender, that he neither advised with his council, nor sought their consent, but required them to publish his pleasure in this point; for, though the parliament had rescinded all the acts passed since the year 1643, yet, they had by no act as yet, established diocesan episcopacy; only the king interposed his authority for restoring that church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles; so that Prelacy was one of the first fruits of absolute and arbitrary power. 3. The reasons given for this remarkable change were absolutely false. Inconveniencies are first mentioned, though not one instance is given. It is plain, that profaneness was greatly suppressed, piety flourished, and many were converted, while the church of Scotland enjoyed her just and lawful liberties; and, perhaps, these were looked upon as inconveniencies by the present managers. It is also alledged, that presbytery, though never named, was unsuitable to his monarchial estate. How soon had his majesty forgot that the Presbyterians stood by him during his exile, and that they restored him to his crown! The confusions of the late times are also most unjustly laid to their charge, since they were almost the only body in the three kingdoms that stood out against Cromwel. And though his majesty pretended he was now moved from a regard to the glory of God, who, that observe him now interposing his royal authority for overturning that constitution, which upon his knees, and with his hands lifted up to heaven, he swore to maintain only a few years before, can give the smallest credit to his parents? For indeed he stuck at nothing. But not to trouble the reader with any farther remarks,

Prelacy being thus restored by the royal authority, the next thing under consideration was to have bishops appointed and consecrated. Sclden, and the English bishops, had an aversion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant. Mr Thomas Sideserfe was the only man now alive of the old bishops, and at this time expected to be advanced to the Primacy of Scotland. But he had so disgusted the English bishops, that they did not espouse his interest, though they were much against a set of Presbyterian bishops. This affected Sharp sensibly; so he laid the matter before the earl of Clarendon, and managed matters with so much art and dissimulation, that he got the archbishopric of St. Andrews secured to himself, and was ordered to find out proper men for filling up the other sees. The choice were,

Mr James Sharp metropolitan; a monster of hypocrisy, perjury and vileness. He took the tender; made such a proposal to Cromwal, that he publicly declared him to be an atheist; was base with one Isabel Lindsay, as she publicly declared to his face, and had a share in the murder of the poor infant He betrayed the church of Scotland, and persecuted the true members of it. In a word, his wicked and cruel life, and the death he deservedly met with, would make a black and dismal story.

Mr Andrew Fairfoul was made archbishop of Glasgow, a man of some learning and neat expression, but never esteemed serious. Burnet says, he was a pleasant facetious man, insinuating and crafty; a better physician than divine; that his life was scarce free from scandal, and was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had both sworn the covenant, and persuaded others to do it; and, when it was objected to him, he said, That there were some very good medicines that could not be chewed, but were to be swallowed.

The person who filled up the other bishoprics, were Mr George Wisheart of Edinburgh, Mr Sideserfe of Orkney, Mr David Mitchell of Aberdeen, but did not enjoy it a full year. Mr. James Hamilton of Galloway *, Mr Robert Wallace of the Isles, Mr David Fletcher of Argyll, Mr George Haliburton of Dunkeld, Mr Patrick Forbes of Caithness, Mr David Strachan of Brechin, Mr John Paterson of Ross, Mr Murdoch Mackenzie of Moray, and Mr Robert Leighton of Dunblain. To this last, Burnet gives the most excellent character, that can be met with amongst them; and he was certainly the best of any of the bishops nominated; but he was judged by many to be void of any doctrinal principles; and his close correspondence with some of his relations at Doway, in Popish orders, made him suspected as indifferent to all professions which bear the name of Christians. It was the remark of a countryman, 'That the bishops of England was like the bishops of Judah, some good, some bad; but the prelates in Scotland were like the kings of Israel, not one of them good, but all followers of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.'

There were four of those who were appointed to be bishops at this time in London, to wit, Sharp, Fairford, Hamilton and Leighton. 'The English bishops finding, that Sharp and Leighton had not episcopal ordination as priests and deacons, the other two having been ordained by bishops before the wars, insisted, that they should be ordained first deacons and then priests. Sharp was very uneasy at this, and reminded them of what had happened when king James had set up Episcopacy, who declared, That he thought such a practice went too far towards the unchurching all those who had no bishops amongst them: but the bishops were positive in the point, and would not dispense with it, and the others at last yielded;' which, says Mr Wodrow, made the bishop of London tell Sharp, when he came to acquaint him with their consent to re ordination, That it was the Scots fashion to scruple at every thing, and to swallow any thing. And though this was an unjust and invidious reflection, yet these persons were justly reproved; for one of them frankly declared, he would be ordained, re-ordained and re-ordained again, if it was insisted upon. Accordingly Sharp and Leighton were privately ordained deacons and priests, and all the four were consecrated publicly in the abbey of Westminster, before a great confluence of Scots and English nobility, in December that year. The ceremony was performed in all the modes of the English church.

Though the Scots bishops, by submitting to a fresh ordination as presbyters, declared that they looked upon presbyterial ordination as invalid, yet it is plain their after

* Burnet says of Mr Hamilton, that when he formerly gave the sacrament, he excommunicated all who were not true to the covenant, using a form in the Old Testament of shaking out the lap of his gown, saying, So did he cast out of the church and communion, all that dealt falsely in the covenant.

ter-conduct was inconſiſtent with this principle; for, when they returned to Scotland, and entered upon their epiſcopal function, they re ordained none of thoſe miniſters who complied with them; and conſequently, according to their own principles, theſe were no lawful miniſters, ſince they had not prelatical ordination. It muſt therefore be left with the reader to determine, whether they could be juſtified in perſecuting thoſe people who would not ſubmit to thoſe compliers, when, according to their own principles, they were not lawful miniſters. It is in vain to alledge, that the biſhop's allowance was equivalent to ordination by the impoſition of hands; for, if that was the caſe, why were they themſelves re-ordained by the impoſition of hands, to the ſcandal of all the reformed churches? The party may anſwer this the beſt way they can.

Leighton told Dr Burnet, that, in the whole progreſs of this affair, there appeared ſuch groſs characters of an angry providence, that, how fully ſoever he was ſatisfied as to epiſcopacy itſelf, yet it ſeemed that God was againſt them, and that they were not like to be the men that ſhould build up the church, ſo that the ſtruggling about it ſeemed to him like a fighting againſt God.—He that had the greateſt hand in it, proceeded with ſo much diſſimulation, and the reſt of the order were ſo mean, ſo ſelfiſh, and the earl of Middleton, with the other ſecular men that conducted it, were ſo openly impious and vicious, that it did caſt a reproach upon every thing relating to religion to ſee it managed by ſuch inſtruments.

It is now proper, that we return to the proceedings of the privy council, before whom we ſhall find a remarkable proceſs, in the month of September, relating to the earl of Tweddale. It ſeems the court was informed, that, when the proceſs was depending before the parliament againſt Mr Guthrie, his lordſhip ſpake in favour of that gentleman. This was accounted ſuch a crime, that his majeſty ſent a letter to the council, dated the 7th of September, ordering them to commit the earl to the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was executed on the 13th. On the 17th his lordſhip petitioned the council, to interpoſe either for his enlargement, or that his impriſonment might be changed to a confinement to his houſe at Bothams. Accordingly they wrote to the ſecretary, and enclоſed his petition, and ſignified, that in the late meeting of council, when the matter of church government was before them, the earl had heartily complied with his majeſty's commands, behaving himſelf as a faithful counſellor and loyal ſubject. On the firſt of October two letters from the ſecretary were read in council, recommending them to examine his lordſhip's conduct at the late vote in parliament which condemned Mr Guthrie, and to confine him to Bothams, and three miles round, till further orders. Upon this a committee of the council, was appointed, to whom he gave in a declaration, ſignifying, 1. That there were ſome circumſtances in Mr Guthrie's caſe, that inclined him to vote for ſome other puniſhment than death. 2. That he did not remember his vote relating to the petition and inſtructions. 3. That having heard the proceſs relating to the declinature read but once, and it being the firſt criminal proceſs he was ever witneſs to, he therefore declined to vote in that article. Upon producing this declaration the earl was diſcharged from the caſtle, but confined to his own houſe at Bothams, and three miles round, and ordered to find bail, under the penalty of 100,000 merks ſcots, for his appearance, or returning to the caſtle, when his majeſty or the council ſhall ſee proper. And though afterwards his confinement was taken off, yet from this proceſs the reader cannot but ſee a manifeſt incroachment on the freedom of parliament, for this was the only thing that was laid to his charge.

On the 18th of September the council agreed to a proclamation diſcharging the election of any perſon to be magiſtrate or counſellor within any burgh, except ſuch as were of known loyalty and affection to his majeſty's government, qualified as is expreſſed in the late acts of parliament, and others made for that effect, and whoſe carriage, during the late troubles, has been no evidence to the contrary. The deſign of this proclamation was to exclude all preſbyterians, and ſuch as were not hearty for biſhops and the king's arbitrary power, from any management of burghs, and to entirely ſubject the royal burghs to the yoke of the courtiers.

On the 7th of November, information being given, that George Swinton and James Glen, booksellers in Edinburgh, have ordered to be printed ſeveral ſeditious and ſcandalous books and papers, ſuch as Archibald Campbell's ſpeech, Guthrie's ſpeech, the covenants plea, &c. it was ordered by the council that the lord advocate and proveſt of Edinburgh ſeize upon theſe books and papers, and diſcharge the above and other booksellers to print any more books or papers, till they received warrant from the king, parliament or council. And thus the liberty of the preſs was effectually taken away: for the conduct of theſe managers could by no means bear ſuch a public ſcrutiny.

During theſe things the Rev. Mr Robert Blair, miniſter at St Andrews, was ordered upon ſome information or other, where Sharp took care to keep himſelf behind the curtain, on account of particular obligations he was under to this worthy gentleman, to preſent himſelf before the lord chancellor, at Edinburgh, by the 9th of October. The earls of Linlithgow, Hume, &c. were, on the 5th of November, appointed to examine him, and gave in their report to the next meeting of the council, which was done accordingly on the 7th; but what reſolutions they came to is not known; for my author tells us, that he found a blank in the records of near half a page; and upon the margin, Act Mr Robert Blair, as if they had been aſhamed of their proceedings againſt ſuch a perſon, who was ſo univerſally regarded. We ſhall hear more of him next year.

The council, in conſequence of an application by the preſbytery of Linlithgow, diſcharged the Rev. Mr William Wiſheart from his confinement, after 13 months impriſonment, and afterwards Mr John Scot, and Mr Gilbert Hall, who had been apprehended on the remarkable 23d of Auguſt.

Several weſt country gentlemen, in the month of November, were brought to a great deal of trouble for their joining with Col. Strachan 1650. And while the council were proſecuting Mr Blair and other preſbyterians, they could not, for ſhame, evite doing ſomewhat againſt trafficking papiſts, whoſe numbers at this time greatly increaſed, and it muſt be owned that the council ſhewed ſome conſiderable zeal this way, they had not been much hindered by the remiſſneſs of the prelates. However, John Inglis and William Brown were apprehended and committed to priſon, and were both baniſhed this kingdom; and a proclamation was iſſued on the 19th of November againſt papiſts, and for ſeizing all popiſh books, writings, commiſſions, and others belonging to them, under the higheſt pains. Nevertheleſs papiſts were over looked, while they, who adhered to the true principles of the church of Scotland were perſecuted with the utmoſt rigour.

On the 10th of December the council deſired the chancellor to ſend a letter to the preſbytery of Peebles, ordering them to deſiſt from admitting Mr John Hay to the church of Manner, until the return of the archbiſhop. But it ſeems the preſbytery either had not received the chancellor's letter, or could not put a ſtop to the ordination, and therefore had proceeded to the admiſſion: wherefore all the members preſent were ſummoned to appear and anſwer for their conduct, under the pain of rebellion. This proceeding againſt preſbyteries was a ſtretch beyond the king's letter, by which ſynodical meetings were only prohibited. They might as well have forbid preſbyteries to take ſcandal under their conſideration, as limit them in the point of ordination, which was one great part of their miniſterial function as yet reſerved to them by his majeſty's letter. We ſhall find more preſbyteries writ to, in this manner, by the council next year, to the occurrences of which I proceed in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Of the diſcharging of church-judicatures, the conſecration of the biſhops, the acts of the parliament, and the proceedings of the council, particularly the act of Glaſgow, and other things during the year 1662.

BEFORE the parliament ſat down, the council compleated the work of overturning the judicatures of this church, purſuant to the orders they received from London

London, where all things were concerted by Sharp, and the rest of the bishops who were there.

Accordingly, on the 2d of January, the council received a letter from the king, signifying his will and pleasure, for them to discharge, by proclamation, all ecclesiastical meetings in synods, presbyteries and sessions, till authorized and ordered by the archbishops and bishops. Thus, we find that synods were first interrupted, and then discharged: presbyteries were forbid to ordain any in vacant parishes, and now their meetings were prohibited, nay, their sessions likewise must die with the other judicatures of this church, and all in consequence of the royal supremacy, without the authority of parliament.

Bishop Burnet says, that Sharp procured this without my advice, and it proved very fatal; for when king James brought in the bishops before, they had still suffered the inferior judicatures to continue sitting till the bishops came and sat amongst them.—Whereas now, by silencing these courts, the case was much altered:—for these courts being now once broken, and brought together afterwards by a sort of connivance, without any legal authority, only as the bishop's assistants and officials, to give him advice, and act in his name, they pretended they could not sit in them any more, unless they should change their principles and become thoroughly episcopal. And here, by the way, Burnet had no reason to put in these words, they pretended; for the truth is, they could not countenance any such judicatures, consisting with presbyterial principles, Burnet adds, so fatally did Sharp, precipitate matters. He affected to have the reins of the church wholly put into his own hands, and Lauderdale was not sorry to see him commit errors, since the worse things were managed, his advice would be the more justified. And Middleton and his party took no care of any business, being almost perpetually drunk.—

The same day the above mentioned proclamation was published, the council discharged the presbytery of Kelso from proceeding to ordain a minister to the church of Yetum; for things were now carried on with an high hand: and, by this time, the public resolutioners began to see the dismal effects of opening a door to malignants to get into places of trust in the council and army, because though the protestors were the first who suffered, yet both were afterwards made to drink of the same cup. Accordingly Mr Douglas is reported to have said, when he saw things thus carried on, Our brethren the protesters have had their eyes open, and we have been blind. Mr Dickson used to say, The protestors had been much more prophets than they. And Mr Wood acknowledged to several of his brethren, who differed from him in judgment, that they had been mistaken in their views they took of matters.

And it is a matter of sad regret, that the most part of presbyteries, instead of making any stand for their religious liberties, silently yielded to the proclamation, and left off meeting in a judicative capacity; so that the wicked and unjust invasions made upon the crown and dignity of the Lord Jesus brought many of the faithful of the land with sorrow to the grave; for now, if any presbytery did so much as petition for a fair hearing, no regard was paid to it.

Thus, when the presbytery of Kircudbright sent two of their members, to wit, Mr John Duncan minister at Buick, and Mr James Buglos at Crossmichal, with a petition to the privy council, most respectfully and humbly intreating them in the name of Jesus Christ, 'That their honours would be pleased to grant unto them freedom and liberty to unfold their bosoms in those things that, relating to the work of God in the land did sadly aggrieve their spirits,—and particularly that they might have liberty, with freedom and safety, to express their minds against the re-introduction of prelacy upon this church and kingdom,'—instead of having a hearing allowed them, they were still more exposed to suffering and persecution. If such petitions as these can, with any shew of reason, be looked upon as seditious or treasonable, must be left to the reader.

Many worthy gentlemen in the west country were brought into trouble, on pretence of their having damaged the earl of Queensberry's estate, and being with the forces under colonel Strachan and Ker 1659. But the true cause was, because most of them was for the remonstrance, and enemies to prelacy. The parliament therefore computed the losses the earl sustained at 2000 l sterling, and the council to whom the parliament left the affair, rated every gentleman, whom they pretended had been concerned as above, in proportion to his estate real and personal. Thus Sir William Cuningham of Cuninghamhead was rated at above 200 l. Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnok at above 130 l. Mr William Gordon of Earlstoun at above 120 l. sterl and others in proportion.

The rev. Mr Robert Blair was before the council the beginning of this year. On the 9th of January, the lord Bellenden, with the advocate and provost of Edinburgh, were appointed to examine the witnesses summoned to appear in his case, and make report accordingly; but after their most diligent search, nothing could be found against him. After the imprisonment of the ministers in August 1660 and the prospect of the re-settlement of prelacy, he preached a faithful and yet cautious sermon, from 1 Pet. iii. 14. Upon his examination, as to the matter of his sermon, he gave the committee of the council a distinct account. He was only confined to his room at Edinburgh, and afterwards removed to Musselburgh where he continued till September this year. While he was there Sharp found means to get his charge declared vacant. On hearing of this Mr Blair sent his presentation to the council. A little after he obtained liberty to reside at Kirkaldy, where he continued with great respect, till the order was published forbidding all presbyterian ministers to live in burghs, and then he removed to Couston. But the true ground of all this trouble was, because, the archbishop could not be easy while so good a man was near him. The council had little more before them till the parliament rose.

The melancholy change that was now made, and the dismal prospect of things for the time to come, made such impressions on many, that they died of grief. Among these was the noble John earl of Loudon, late chancellor of Scotland, who had been a prime instrument in the late work of reformation. He was a nobleman of great and peculiar endowments, joined with remarkable resolution and courage, and, next to the marquis of Argyll, was the object of the spite and rage of the present managers. He often intreated his excellent lady to pray that he might never see the next session of parliament; and accordingly he was taken away from the evil to come on the 15th of March, and was honourably interred among his ancestors.

Soon after this archbishop Sharp, and the other three who had been consecrated at London, came down to Scotland all in one coach. Leighton told Dr Burnet, that he believed they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them. But, finding they were to be received at Edinburgh, with some pomp, he left them at Morpeth, and came to Edinburgh a few days before them.

They got to Berwick on the 8th of April, were met upon the road to Edinburgh by a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen and others, and received at their coming in with all pomp and solemnity, which was not a little pleasing to Sharp. The lord chancellor with all the nobility and privy counsellors then at Edinburgh, went out together, with the magistracy of the city, and brought the bishops in as in triumph. Dr Burnet was a spectator and says, That though he was truly episcopal, yet he thought there was something in the pomp of that entry, that did not look like the humility that became their function.

The commissioner Middleton came to Holy-rood house on Sabbath, May the 4th; and the 7th was fixed for the consecration of the rest of the bishops in the church of Holy-rood-house. The two archbishops who were the consecrators, went to the church in their pontifical habits. The primate made use of the English forms, and read all from the book; but it is remarkable, as bishop Burnet observes, that they were not ordained first priests and deacons. Three of the bishops nominated, not being present, were consecrated at St Andrews in the month of June following.

This ceremony made way for their admission into parliament, May 8th, which was performed with great ceremony

ceremony. Six members of parliament, two noblemen, the earls of Kelly and Weems, two barons, and two burgesses, were sent to invite them to come and take their seats in the house. From the Nether-bow they went up in state. The two archbishops in the midst of the first rank; the gentlemen, magistrates, and town council of Edinburgh, mixed in with the rest of the bishops, who had all their black gowns and robes. When they came to the house a speech was made to them, the act restoring them read, and the house adjourned for that time. They were all invited to dine with the commissioner, who did them the honour to walk down the streets with them on foot. Six macers went first with their maces elevated; next three gentlemen-ushers, and then the purse-bearer uncovered. The commissioner and chancellor came next, with two noblemen upon their right hand, and the archbishops upon their left. And the other noblemen and members of parliament, invited, made up the rest of the cavalcade.

Thus prelacy was restored in triumph; but without the least shadow of the church's consent or authority, nay, in opposition to many ecclesiastical acts, as yet unrepealed; and therefore it was no wonder though many looked upon them as intruders. Besides, the managers knew too well that they durst not run the hazard of having this change made in any considerable meeting of the ministers of Scotland; and therefore prelates and prelacy were introduced entirely by the supremacy. And upon this footing the parliament gave their consent to, and settled Episcopacy in the second session; the proceedings of which I am now briefly to relate, when I have observed, that May the 7th, the commissioner in council declared, that it is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that the earl of Tweeddale's restraint be taken off. But then he and others must be taught, by his 8th months imprisonment and confinement, how dangerous it would be to speak according to their conscience, and in any thing to contradict the measures of the court.

The parliament had been adjourned to March; but it being resolved that the bishops should sit in the house and matters not being as yet concerted for their consecration, it was deferred till that should be over. Accordingly, on the 8th of May, the parliament sat down; and if ever iniquity was established by law, it was remarkably so in this session, as appears by their following acts.

The very first which passed was, Act for the restitution and re establishment of the antient government of the church by archbishops and bishops; which begins thus: 'Forasmuch as the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong unto his majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical.'—So that this act was founded entirely upon the king's supremacy. The bishops were already set up by his majesty's sole authority, and therefore it was very fit that they should lean entirely upon that foundation. By this act the king was made the only fountain of church power, and that exclusive of Christ the only head of the church, of whom there is not the least mention. And the reader may judge, whether any could, with a safe conscience, take the oath of allegiance, or rather supremacy, formerly mentioned, who was persuaded that there was no visible head of the church upon earth, or, submit to prelacy, as thus established, especially when we consider the exorbitant power that was put into the hands of bishops; for by this act they were restored 'to the exercise of their episcopal function, precedence in the church, power of ordination, inflicting of censures, and all other acts of church discipline, which they are to perform with advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence.—And farther, it is hereby declared, that whatever shall be determined by his majesty, with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, and such of the clergy as shall be nominated by his majesty, in the external government and policy of the church (the same consisting with the standing laws of the kingdom) shall be valid and effectual.' Bishop Burnet himself owns, that this was plainly the setting Episcopacy on another bottom than it had been ever on in Scotland before this time.

Their 2d act was for the preservation of his majesty's person, authority, and government; in which it was declared to be treason for subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or any other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and, consequently, passive obedience and non-resistance were hereby established; and had this been observed in all time coming, the revolution had never taken place. It was likewise declared, That the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, were unlawful oaths, and that there lay no obligation on the subjects from these oaths. Thus they assumed the pope's power in dispensing with oaths. And, to compleat all, they repealed all acts, ecclesiastical and civil, approving the covenant, particularly the acts of the assembly at Glasgow 1638. In short, it was declared, That, if any should speak, write, preach, print, or pray any thing tending to stir up a dislike of his majesty's prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, or the government by archbishops and bishops now settled, should be incapable of any public trust. All this plainly shews that prelacy in the church of Scotland was the road to tyranny in the state.

By their 3d act, all ministers entered since 1649 were ordered to take presentations from their respective patrons, and receive collation or admission from the bishops; so that they must either look upon all they had formerly done in the ministry to be invalid, and submit to prelacy, contrary to their consciences, or quit their charges. And, the better to transmit prelacy to posterity.

By their 4th act, all masters of colleges, who refuse to submit to Episcopacy, and take the oath of allegiance, were ordered to be turned out. Ministers were ordered to attend the diocesan synods, and assist in all things, as they shall be required by the bishops, under very severe penalties. In a word, all private meetings, or conventicles in houses, under pretence of religion, were, by this act, discharged, and none were to preach, keep school, or be pedagogues to persons of quality, without the bishop's licence. Remarks upon these arbitrary laws, and open restraints upon conscience, are, I suppose, needless. But, to compleat the work,

By their 5th act, all persons in public trust were ordained to subscribe to the following declaration.

"I——— do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to subjects, upon pretext of reformation, or any other pretext whatsomever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and that all those gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting or keeping of council tables, that were used in the beginning, and for the carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious: and particularly, that these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the National Covenant, (as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter) and the other entitled, A Solemn League and Covenant, were, and are, in themselves, unlawful oaths, and were taken by, and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; and that there lieth no obligation upon me, or any of the subjects, from the said oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the government, either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom."

By this all are obliged to condemn the covenants, and declare that they laid no obligation upon any. Surely nothing could be so unaccountable, as to declare that they who had taken these sacred oaths were loosed from their obligation. Here perjury of the deepest dye was made the necessary qualification of all in public office. In short, the whole work of reformation, since the year 1638 was thereby renounced, defensive arms declared unlawful, conscience enslaved, and tyranny allowed to reign triumphant.

Prelacy being thus settled towards the end of the session, they at last passed an act of indemnity and oblivion, which had been granted in England almost as soon as the king came home; but his antient kingdom must not enjoy such

ſuch a favour, till the prelates had their main intereſts ſecured, though it is well known that the Scots Preſbyterians crowned him, fought for him, and ſuffered exceedingly under the uſurpation. So from this indemnity were excepted John Hume, William Dundas, the Campbells of Ardkinglas and Ormſay, and all who had been declared fugitives by the committees of eſtates and parliament ſince the year 1660. This indemnity was farther clogged by an act of fines for the relief of the king's good ſubjects who had ſuffered in the late troubles, as they generally termed the Reformation ſince the year 1638. The parliament appointed a committee for pitching upon the perſons to be fined, and the ſums each were to pay. Accordingly they made up a liſt of about 900 noblemen, gentlemen, and others, which the parliament readily approved of, together with the ſums they were to pay, which made in all 1,017,355 l. 6 s. 8 d. Scots money, which is above 84,779 l. Sterling: the curious reader may ſee the liſt in Mr Wodrow's appendix, N. 33. It was then obſerved, that ſome mentioned in the liſt were dead, or had never a being, ſome were ſucking infants, and others were ſubſiſted out of the weekly collections for the poor. And, generally ſpeaking, theſe fines were impoſed upon thoſe who were reckoned the ſoundeſt Preſbyterians. Middleton thought to have got this money, but it fell into other hands. How this act of fines was put in execution we ſhall ſee afterwards. In ſhort, this act of favour was farther clogged by the balloting act, by which 12 perſons were to be ſecluded from places of truſt, who were to be named in parliament by balloting. This was a contrivance of Middleton's to turn out Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray: but it occaſioned his own diſgrace; for the king was ſo diſpleaſed thereat, that when the duke of Richmond, Sir George Mackenzie, and Lord Tarbat, delivered the balloting act to him, his majeſty ſaid, that their late actings were like madmen, or men that were perpetually drunk.

This parliament iſſued a proclamation for keeping the 29th of May, with certification, that thoſe miniſters who would not obſerve it ſhould be deprived of their benefices; whereupon many, without being either ſummoned or heard, were deprived of their ſtipends for that year, and the non obſervance of it became the occaſion of great trouble to many faithful miniſters.

This thankſgiving was obſerved with the uſual ſolemnities in cities and burghs; but the town of Linlithgow ſignalized itſelf by a moſt horrid contempt of the covenants and work of reformation, whereof I ſhall give both a juſt relation of fact, and a diſplay of the ſpirit of the party.

When divine ſervice was ended, the ſtreets were filled with bonefires. The magiſtrates invited the earl of Linlithgow to honour them with his preſence, which he did. Then coming to the market place, where was a table covered with confections, they were met by the curate, who having prayed and ſung a pſalm, they ate a few of the confections, and threw the reſt among the people, the fountain all that time running French and Spaniſh wines.—At the croſs was erected an arch ſtanding upon four pillars: on the one ſide of the arch was erected a ſtatue in form of an old hag, having the covenant in her hands, with this inſcription, 'A glorious reformation.' On the other ſide was a ſtatue in a Whigmuir's habit, having the Remonſtrance in his hand, with this inſcription, 'No aſſociation with Malignants.' On the top of the arch was placed a ſtatue repreſenting the devil as an angel of light, with this label at his mouth, 'Stand to the cauſe.'

The arch was beautifully adorned with ſeveral draughts of rocks, reels, and kirk ſtools, upon the pillar beneath the Covenant: and upon the pillar beneath the Remonſtrance was drawn brechams, cogs, and ſpoons. Within the arch was drawn a committee of eſtates, with this inſcription, 'Act for delivering up the king.' On the left hand was drawn a commiſſion of the kirk, with this inſcription, 'Act of the Weſt kirk.' In the middle of the arch hung a table, with this litany:

From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
From Remonſtrators with aſſociate bands,
From ſuch committees as govern'd this nation,
From kirk commiſſions, and their proteſtation,
Good Lord deliver us.

Upon the back of the arch was drawn the picture of rebellion, in a religious habit, with eyes turned up, and other fanatic geſtures, in its right hand holding LEX REX, and in his left 'The cauſes of God's wrath.' There lay, round about, acts of parliament acts of committees of eſtates, acts of aſſemblies, &c. during theſe 22 years of rebellion. Above her was this ſuperſcription, 'Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft.' At drinking the king's health fire was put to the frame, and ſuddenly all was conſumed to aſhes, and then appeared a table ſupported by two angels, bearing this inſcription,

Great Britain's monarch on this day was born,
And to his kingdoms happily reſtor'd:
The queen's arriv'd; the mitre now is worn;
Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord.

Fly hence, all traitors who did mar our peace,
Fly hence, ſchiſmatics who our church did rent:
Fly, covenanting, remonſtrating race;
Let us rejoice that God this day hath ſent.

Then the magiſtrates accompanied the earl of Linlithgow to the palace, where was a great bonefire, and where were drunk the healths of the king, queen, &c.

From the whole, I queſtion whether ſuch a bold inſult upon religious matters is to be parallelled; for ſome who were chiefly concerned in this mock pageantry, particularly Robert Milne, one of the magiſtrates, and Mr Ramſay the miniſter, had taken the Covenants and, conſequently, now publicly avowed their perjury, and left a blot upon their memory.

During this ſeſſion of parliament the Rev. Mr Robert Baillie, who was juſtly reckoned among the great men of his time, died of grief, on account of the ſad alterations then made; he faithfully declared his ſentiments as to prelacy, in two letters to Lauderdale, which are inſerted by Mr Wodrow.

Soon after the act reſtoring Epiſcopacy was paſſed, the following miniſters, viz. Meſſ John Carſtairs at Glaſgow, James Naſmith at Hamilton, Matthew Mowat and James Rowat at Kilmarnock, Alexander Blair at Galſtoun, James Veitch at Mauchlin, William Adair at Air, and William Fullerton at St Quivox, were all ſummoned before the parliament, for a terror to others who ſtood firm to their principles; and, becauſe no indictment could be found againſt them, they were brought before the lords of the articles, and, as a teſt of their loyalty, were required to take and ſubſcribe the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy. They declared their willingneſs to comply, upon condition of being allowed to explain the oath, and accordingly they all, except Mr Adair, ſubſcribed their ſenſe of it in a paper, which they preſented to the houſe on the 28th of May. When the chancellor received the paper, and obſerved that Mr Adair had not ſigned it, he ordered him to withdraw by himſelf, and ſix of theſe miniſters (for Mr Fullerton was diſmiſſed) were cloſely confined, 3 and 3 in one room, to the great prejudice of their health without allowing any to have acceſs to them. After ſome weeks they were ſentenced to be baniſhed, when the commiſſioner and council ſhould think fit to order their tranſportation: however, Mr Carſtairs having fallen dangerouſly ill, he was permitted to go to Dalkeith for his health, and thereby eſcaped. And the managers, being apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſuch rigour, thought proper to allow them ſome more liberty, and ſuffer their friends to ſee them, and ſome of them to go out of town for their health.

At this time the parliament's proceeding againſt the lord Lorn, the eldeſt ſon of the late marquis of Argyll, was moſt unprecedented and ſevere; for, having wrote to the lord Duffus, complaining of the practices of his enemies, in endeavouring to poſſeſs the king againſt him by lies, this letter was intercepted, carried into parliament, and complained of as leaſing-making. Accordingly the parliament deſired the king to ſend him down to be tried upon it. Though his majeſty thought the letter indiſcreetly wrote, he could not ſee any thing in it that was criminal; yet, in compliance with ſo zealous a parliament, Lorn was ſent down upon his parole: but the king wrote

poſitively to Middleton not to proceed to the execution of any ſentence that might paſs upon him. His lordſhip came down to Edinburgh July 17th, and was charged to appear, that very afternoon, at the bar of the houſe. After a handſome ſpeech he was committed cloſe priſoner in the caſtle; and on the 26th of Auguſt received ſentence of death. Burnet ſays, He was certainly born to be the ſignaleſt inſtance in this age of the rigour, or rather of the mockery of juſtice. However, as the time of his execution was left to the king's appointment, we ſhall find afterwards a remiſſion granted him.

On the 3d of September the Campbells of Ardkinglaſs and Ormſay were forfeited and declared traitors, for ſome alledged crimes long ago committed againſt ſome of the name of Lamont.

Mr James Hamilton, Mr George Hutchiſon, and Mr John Smith, miniſters of Edinburgh, were ſilenced and deprived by the parliament, for diſobedience to their biſhop; and the reſt were given to underſtand, that they were to meet with the ſame puniſhment and cenſure if they did not ſubmit to their ordinary. An end was put to * this ſeſſion of parliament on the 9th of September.

While theſe things were tranſacting the Preſbyterians in England were made to feel the ſad effects of reſtoring the king without terms; for Epiſcopacy having been re-eſtabliſhed upon his majeſty's return, about 2000 miniſters were, upon the 24th of Auguſt this year, ejected by the act of uniformity that took place that day, by which they were brought under great and intolerable hardſhips. Many holy and excellent miniſters, ſays Dr Calamy, were quickly after laid in goals in many counties in the land, for the heavy crime of preaching and praying. And thus, proteſtants perſecuted proteſtants through the whole iſland, when it was a rare thing to ſee a papiſt in the leaſt moleſted. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

The next day after the parliament roſe the council met, and ordered all perſons, vicars, and miniſters, to repair to, and attend upon the diocеſan meetings, as they ſhall be appointed by the archbiſhops and biſhops, otherwiſe to be accounted contemners of his majeſty's authority, and to incur the cenſures provided in ſuch caſes, and all other meetings of miniſters were henceforth to be held as ſeditious. Accordingly the 2d Tueſday of October was appointed for the dioceſs of St Andrews, Glaſgow, Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dumblain, and the 3d Tueſday for thoſe of Galloway, Aberdeen, Murray, Roſs, Caithneſs, Iſles, Argyll, and Orkney.

It is plain, that no preſbyterian miniſters could attend or give countenance to theſe aſſemblies, without renouncing their principles; and accordingly theſe meetings were very ill attended, except in the north.

In order therefore to put this act in execution, and to confer the greater honour upon the biſhops in the weſtern and ſouthern ſhires, where they were generally diſliked, the commiſſioner and chancellor, with the earls of Morton, Linlithgow and Calender, and the lord Newburgh, made a tour to the weſt country, with great pomp and ceremony, and were regaled in many places through which they paſſed. And, as theſe entertainments were generally to exceſs, this was particularly the caſe at Ayr, where, about the middle of the night, in one of their debauches, the devil's health was drank at the croſs. Such were the reformers of this period, and theſe the promoters of prelacy!

On the 26th of September they came to Glaſgow, where Fairfoul the archbiſhop complained to the commiſſioner that, notwithſtanding the act of parliament, there was not one of the miniſters ordained ſince 1649 had owned him for biſhop; that he had only the hatred which attends that office in Scotland, without the power; and that the new made biſhops would be mere cyphers, if his grace did not fall upon ſome more effectual method. The commiſſioner deſired he would make ſome propoſal, with which he would readily comply. Fairfoul moved that the council would agree upon an act and proclamation expreſsly baniſhing all thoſe miniſters from their houſes, pariſhes, and preſbyteries, unleſs they received collation or admiſſion from the biſhop before the 1ſt of November, aſſuring the commiſſioner there would not be ten in his dioceſe who would not comply.

Upon this the council met at Glaſgow, in the college hall, on the 1ſt of October. Biſhop Burnet ſays, That duke Hamilton told him they were all ſo drunk that day, that they were not capable of conſidering any thing that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing of the law without any relenting or delay. When the council met, the commiſſioner laid before them the motion made by Fairfoul, and urged the neceſſity of ſupporting the biſhops brought in by the king and parliament. Duke Hamilton, according to Burnet, as well as Sir James Lockhart of Lee, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the motion, However, no reaſoning could have any weight with men who were reſolved upon eſtabliſhing prelacy right or wrong; accordingly the act paſſed, ordering all the miniſters who had entered ſince the year 1649, and would not receive collation or admiſſion from the biſhop, before the firſt of November following, to be deprived of their ſtipends for the current year, and to remove from their pariſhes and preſbyteries, diſcharging them from exerciſing any part of their miniſterial office after that time; and that none of their pariſhioners repair to their ſermons, under the pain of being puniſhed as frequenters of private conventicles and meetings. But as duke Hamilton ſigned this act, as well as others, it would ſeem that he did not make that oppoſition which Burnet repreſents.

This was the famous act of Glaſgow, whereby the moſt part of the weſt and ſouth of Scotland was deprived of miniſters. However, the managers were ſoon convinced that they had taken a wrong ſtep; for, after the commiſſioner's return, accounts being daily brought of the diſmal conſequences of their late proceedings, they met on the 4th of November, and wrote to the archbiſhops of St Andrews and Glaſgow, to repair, as ſoon as poſſible, to Edinburgh, to give their advice at ſuch a critical juncture. However, nothing was concluded in this affair before the 23d of December, when the council gave miniſters till the 1ſt of February to come and receive collation or admiſſion from the biſhops, as above, or elſe to remove out of their pariſhes, preſbyteries, and the dioceſes of St Andrews and Edinburgh; and ordered all perſons to repair conſtantly to their own pariſh churches, &c. This was the laſt time that Middleton ſat in the council; for ſoon after he went up to London, where he ſuffered no ſmall inconveniencies; and, for ought appears, never returned any more to Scotland.

Beſides this general thruſt made, by the Glaſgow act, at all the miniſters who could not in conſcience comply with prelacy, many, both miniſters and others, met with cruel and unjuſt uſage. Accordingly, on the 16th of September, becauſe ſeveral who were perſecuted in the country repaired to Edinburgh, the council ordered the magiſtrates of that city to oblige all their burgeſſes and inhabitants, every evening, to give an account of their lodgers, under ſuch penalties as the ſaid magiſtrates ſhould inflict: and the ſame day ordered all the miniſters of the town, who would not own the preſent eſtabliſhment, not only to deſiſt from the exerciſe of their miniſtry, but alſo to remove from the city at Martinmas next, which was more than the act of parliament authorized. But the council made no ſcruple to exceed the penalties inflicted by the parliament, and to aſſume to themſelves a paramount power. The miniſters ſubmitted, except Mr Robert Lawrie, called the Neſt-egg by the common people, who conformed to prelacy, and ſoon after died under remorſe. Thus were the miniſters of Edinburgh turned out, and were ſucceeded by perſons that could in nothing be compared with them.

At Glaſgow the council, after ordering letters of intercommuning againſt James Campbell of Ardkinglaſs, and James Campbell of Ormſay, paſſed an act againſt Mr Donald Cargil miniſter of the barony church at Glaſgow, for not obſerving the 29th of May, and for not obtaining a preſentation and collation from the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, declaring his church to be vacant, and ordering him to tranſport himſelf, family, and effects, before the 1ſt of November following, to the north-ſide of the river Tay, un-

* N. B. Such was the zeal of this parliament for Prelacy, that they made an order for razing the monument that had been erected on the grave of the Rev. Mr Alexander Henderſon, in the Grey-friar's church-yard, Edinburgh. He was moderator of the general aſſembly 1638, and of ſeveral after aſſemblies, and died Auguſt 18. 1646.

der the penalty of being imprisoned and prosecuted as a seditious person. The reader will observe, that his preaching against the defection and sins of that time was what was then constructed sedition. The like act was passed against Mr Thomas Wylie minister at Kirkcudbright, who, with the other brethren of that presbytery, continued preaching, and kept their presbyteries, notwithstanding the act made against all such meetings. But through the interposition of lady Cochran that sentence was stopt as to Mr Wylie for two months longer.

On the 6th of November the council commenced a process against Sir James Stewart late provost of Edinburgh, and his second son, for entertaining in their family Mr Hugh MacKail, who, they pretended, had, in a sermon, abused the king and the government in church and state; which, when strictly examined, came to nothing. So Sir James's son, whom they had imprisoned, was set at liberty, but died soon after; and Mr Mackail went abroad, to accomplish himself by travelling for some years, and, upon his return, became the greater object of the prelates malice, as we shall hear.

The same day the learned, zealous, and pious Mr John Brown, minister at Wamphray, was ordered to be imprisoned for speaking against those who countenanced the diocesan assemblies. Great were the hardships he underwent in prison, for he was denied even the necessaries of life; and though, because of the ill treatment he met with, he was brought almost to the gates of death, yet he could not have the benefit of the free air, until he signed a bond, obliging himself to a voluntary banishment without cause.

On the 18th of November the council ordered that the following ministers, viz. Messr John Livingston at Ancrum, Samuel Austin, John Neave at Newmills, John Carstairs, Matthew Mowat, Robert Trail, James Nasmith, Andrew Cant elder, Alexander Cant his son, John Menzies, and George Meldrum at Aberdeen, Alex. Gordon at Inverary, J. Cameron at Kilfennan, and James Gardiner at Saddle, do, upon notice given them, repair to Edinburgh, and appear before the council against the 9th of December next. They likewise ordered Mr Gilbert Rule and Mr John Drysdale to be secured; but neither of them was apprehended. The design whereof was to force them either to comply with the bishops, or be banished their country.

On the 11th of December, for it does not appear there was any sederunt on the 9th, to which the ministers above mentioned were summoned, the eminent and worthy Mr John Livingstone was examined before the council; and, though he acknowleged the king as the only lawful, supreme, civil governor over all persons, and in all causes, ecclesiastic as well as civil, yet, because he would not promise to keep the anniversary of the 29th of May for the future, nor take the oath of allegiance in the terms in which it was expressed, they ordered that, within two months, he should remove out of his majesty's dominions, and within 48 hours depart from Edinburgh to the north of the Tay, and remain there till he should leave the country, without being permitted to see his wife and family. Upon receiving this cruel sentence, he said, 'Well, although it be not permitted to me to breathe in my native air, yet, I trust, whatsoever part of the world I go into, I shall not cease to pray for a blessing to these lands, to his majesty, and the government, and the inferior magistrates thereof, but especially to the land of my nativity.' Upon this they told him, that he must either go to prison, or subscribe his acquiescence to the sentence: which last he complied with, and accordingly subscribed the following bond.

I Mr John Livingston, late minister at Ancrum, bind and oblige me, that I shall remove myself forth of his majesty's dominions within the space of eight weeks after the date hereof; and that I shall not remain within the same hereafter, without licence from his majesty or privy council, under the pain of death; and that I shall depart from Edinburgh to the north side of the Tay, and there remain while my departure; and that my going off from Edinburgh shall be within 48 hours after the date hereof.

Subscribed at Edinburgh, December 11. 1662.

Jo. LIVINGSTONE.

This Mr Livingstone was honoured remarkably of God to be the instrument of the conversion of thousands. In the year 1639, by his sermon on the Monday after the communion at the Kirk of Shots, from Ezek. xxxvi. 26. about five hundred persons dated their saving change. About two or three years after, such another, and a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit attended a sermon of his at a communion at Hollywood in Ireland, where about a thousand were brought home to Christ. And great success attended him in the ordinary course of his ministry. He was one of those who was sent to the king at Breda, and the person who tendered the Covenant to his majesty before he landed in Scotland. What to think of the Prelates, who could not be easy till they had got rid of such a man as this, must be left to the reader? He went to Holland, where he lived till August. 1672, and then entered the joy of the Lord. Whil. in Holland he made a Latin version of the Old Testament, which though approved by many great men, was never printed.

The same day Mr James Gardiner and Mr Robert Trail were in like manner sentenced to banishment for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and obliged to subscribe each of them a bond as Mr Livingstone had done, with this difference, that they were to remove in a month; however, the council was pleased to give Mr Trail a little more time.

On the 16th of December, Mr John Menzies and Mr George Meldrum appeared before the council, and declaring their readiness to comply with the present established church government, so far as to join in presbyteries and synods, and to take the oath of allegiance, they were recommended to the archbishop of St Andrews in order to their restitution, We shall see how burdensome this compliance became to Mr Menzies before his death. Mr Meldrum was ordained by the presbytery of Aberdeen 1639, but was stopt in the exercise of his ministry by the abovementioned act at Glasgow, about fourteen days before the bishop of Aberdeen's first diocesan synod, at which the bishop passed a sentence of deposition against him and the learned and pious Mr Menzies, for their not subscribing to the oath of canonical obedience, though they offered submission to the present church government; however, the council, finding them so far willing, recommended them both to the primate, in order to their being restored. When this was presented to the bishop, he readily promised to obey it, and never spoke to them one word of the oath of canonical obedience: when, in his letter to the bishop of Aberdeen, he signified that they were willing to own the government, Mr Meldrum refused to receive it, unless he added this qualification, so far as to join in presbyteries and synods; to which the primate agreed, since they would take it in no other terms. However, Mr Meldrum declared his sorrow for that submission, though he never took the oath of canonical obedience. He was remarkably useful, with his colleague Mr Menzies, in Aberdeen, against the Quakers and Jesuits, till the self-contradictory test turned him out of that city. And after he had, with many faithful ministers, suffered no small persecution till king James's toleration, he was settled at Kilwinning, and from thence translated to Edinburgh, where he filled the chair of divinity with much reputation.

On the 23d of December, Mr John Neave appeared before the council, and was obliged to sign a bond to remove out of the nation against the first of February, upon his refusing the oath of allegiance; and for the same cause Mr John Cameron was ordered to confine himself within the bounds of Lochaber. Mr James Nasmith and Mr Samuel Austin were referred to the commissioner, who was to deal with them as he saw proper; but he soon left the country, and it seems he remitted Mr Nasmith to his council, who ordered him to confine himself within the bounds of the sheriffdom of Merse, Mr Alexander Dunlop minister at Paisley, was likewise sentenced to be banished, for the same reason with the rest, but happened to be overlooked. Mr. Alexander Gordon was prevented, by a violent fever, from being ordered before them. Thus Messrs. Livingstone, Trail, Brown, Neave and Gardiner went over to Holland, which, at that time, was the asylum of the banished, merely for refusing the oath of allegiance, though

all

all of them were willing to take it in the ſame ſenſe the managers ſaid they had themſelves taken it.

CHAP. V.

Of the diſmal effects of the ejection of near 400 miniſters. Of the acts and proceedings of the council and parliament, the execution of Lord Wariſton, and the ſufferings of others during the year 1663.

BY the act of Glaſgow, ſpoke of in the preceeding chapter, above a third part of the miniſters in Scotland were thruſt from their charges, amounting to near 400. And the hardſhip was the greater, that, generally ſpeaking, they were perſons of remarkable grace and eminent gifts, godly and laborious, a great many of them learned and able miniſters, all of them ſingularly dear to their people, and moſt of them had ſuffered under the uſurpation for their loyalty to their king, and refuſing the tender; ſo that all the Preſbyterians in Scotland ſuffered in a moſt ſenſible part, by being deprived of them, eſpecially as thoſe who were intruded into their charges were men of a quite different character.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the prejudices of the people againſt epiſcopacy was out of meaſure increaſed by the incumbents who were put in the places of the ejected preachers, who were generally very mean and deſpicable in all reſpects; that they were the worſt preachers he ever heard; were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; they were a diſgrace to the ſacred functions, and were indeed the dreg and refuſe of the northern parts; thoſe of them who roſe above contempt or ſcandal were men of ſuch violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were deſpiſed.

It is eaſy then to perceive how diſmal the circumſtances of presbyterians were at that time, when ſo many places, eſpecially in the weſt and ſouth, were left deſtitute; for the moſt part in the north country conformed. They could not in conſcience hear the new incumbents, called by the country people *curates*, becauſe in ſo doing, they would have countenanced thoſe who had broken the covenant, and overturned the whole work of reformation: this would have been a virtual acknowledgment of the authority of the prelates, and an approbation of that wicked act by which their own lawful miniſters were ejected. Beſides, theſe curates had not the qualifications of miniſters for they were neither ſound in the faith, nor moral in their practice; neither had they a right to officiate in the places where they were thurſt in, becauſe, inſtead of having the conſent, and approbation of the people, they were impoſed upon them by compulſion and violence.

As the people could not bear the new incumbents, in many places they had 20 miles to go before they could hear ſermon; ſome of them repaired to the older miniſters, who were not affected by the act of Glaſgow; they who could not reach them frequented the family-worſhip, and exerciſes of the ejected miniſters. And the numbers that came to their houſes were ſo great, that ſeveral of them were obliged to preach without doors, and at length to go to the open fields. This was the original of field-meetings in Scotland, which afterwards made ſo great a noiſe, that, ſome years after, it was made death by law, firſt to the miniſter, and then to the hearers.

The ejection of ſo many excellent men could not fail to lay the foundation of much diſtraction and trouble, eſpecially as it was for adhering to their known and profeſſed principles, even to the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government of the church of Scotland, and to thoſe ſacred covenants which they had frequently ſworn and often renewed. This was the cauſe for which they were obliged to wander, with their numerous families, many of them knew not whither, and that too, in the winter ſeaſon: but a good and gracious God wonderfully provided for them and theirs, to their own confirmation and amazement.

Scotland was never witneſs to ſuch a Sabbath as the laſt on which theſe miniſters preached it had not its parallel: except to the presbyterians in England on the 17th of Auguſt the preceeding year; for it was a day of mourning and lamentation, and the beginning of great ſorrow to the godly through the nation.

Before conſidering the acts of council and parliament, this year, I obſerve that in February died Mr David Mitchell, who was made firſt biſhop of Aberdeen after the Reſtoration, though his character did not merit any elevation in the church, and was ſucceeded by Mr Alexander Burnet.

This Mr Mitchell had determined to go to the church of Maryculter, in the presbytery of Aberdeen, and declare the ſame vacant, but, as I am aſſured by a worthy miniſter now at Aberdeen, he died the Saturday night before; ſo that the pious and excellent Mr Leaſk, miniſter of that pariſh, notwithſtanding his non-conformity, poſſeſſed his church till the year 1670, either, as my informer ſays, through ſome indulgence of biſhop Scougal, or ſome remarkable reſtraint he was under, When Mr Leaſk was on his death bed, the epiſcopal incumbent or peterculter went to ſee him, and aſked him what his thoughts were now. To which the holy man replied, I am dying in the faith of what I have held, and am as full of glory as a clay veſſel can hold, then bowed his head and died. There are other two inſtances of presbyterian miniſters in the ſynod of Aberdeen that kept their pariſhes notwithſtanding the act of ejection, of which I have an account from the ſame perſon, which may be depended upon, viz. that of Mr Dumbar miniſter at Kearn in the presbytery of Alford, who, partly protected by lord Forbes, whoſe pariſh-miniſter he was, and partly by his inſignificant benefice of 300 merks, continued many years, till he died, and Mr Gilbert Clerk, miniſter at New deer, in the presbytery of Deer, having been chaplain to colonel Keith, afterwards earl Marſhal, and called king in Buchan, was protected in his church by him till the time of the teſt, when the earl could not keep himſelf in any public office without taking that ſelf-contradictory oath. Mr Woodrow has given a large liſt of the ejected miniſters, &c. Appen. No 37. to which I muſt refer.

When the earl of Middleton went to London, about the end of the laſt year, he met with a very cold reception from his majeſty; for the earl of Lauderdale his rival, had opened up his unjuſt proceedings with reſpect to the act of fines, whereupon his majeſty wrote to his privy-council in Scotland, dated January the 23d, ordering them to iſſue out a proclamation for ſuſpending the execution of the ſaid act till further orders. The council received this letter on the 12th of February, and the ſame day drew up a proclamation accordingly. But next day they received a letter from Middleton, deſiring them, in his majeſty's name, to do nothing in that affair, and therefore they ſtopt the publiſhing of the proclamation, and recommended to the lord chancellor to write to the commiſſioner Middleton to ſignify the ſame to his majeſty. The king was ſo diſpleaſed, upon receiving this information, that, on the 10th of March he ſent another letter to the council requiring the orders he had given in his former to be punctually obeyed. And therefore the chancellor ordered the proclamation to be publiſhed at the croſs of Edinburgh, for which he had the council's approbation and thanks. Lauderdale, having now got the king's ear, managed his affairs ſo well that Middleton was obliged to reſign all his places.

During theſe things, Sharp was prevailed with to go to court. He promiſed to the earl of Middleton's friends that he would ſtick firm to him, and lay before the king that his ſtanding or falling muſt be the ſtanding or falling of the church. Of this the earl of Lauderdale, had advice ſent him. Yet when Sharp came to London, and ſaw that the king was alienated from Middleton, he reſolved to make great ſubmiſſions to Lauderdale. When he reproached him for his engagements to Middleton, he denied all, and ſaid, he had never gone farther than what was decent, conſidering his poſt. He alſo denied that he had wrote to the king in his favour; but the king had given the original letter to lord Lauderdale, who upon that ſhewed it to Sharp, with which he was ſo ſtruck, that he fell a crying in the moſt abject manner. He begged pardon for it, and ſaid, what could a company of poor men refuſe to the earl of Middleton, who had done ſo much for them, and had them ſo entirely in his power! Lauderdale, upon this, comforted him, and ſaid he would forgive them all that was paſt, and would ſerve them and the church

church at another rate than lord Middleton was capable of doing. So Sharp became wholly his.'

Middleton after this lived in obſcurity, till the governor's place at Tangier fell vacant by the death of the Lord Rutherfurd, when the king was prevailed upon to confer that poſt upon him, as a reward for eſtabliſhing prelacy in Scotland. And thus, after he had baniſhed ſo many worthy and excellent miniſters, he was himſelf ſent to die in a foreign land. He lived in contempt there for a little while; and at laſt, by a fall, he broke the bone of his right arm, and the broken bone, at another fall down a pair of ſtairs, pierced his ſide, and wounded him in ſuch a manner, that he firſt turned ſtupid, and very quickly died. Mr. Wodrow ſays, that, at the time of taking the covenant, ſuch was his zeal for it, that, coming from the place where he and ſeveral more had taken it, he ſaid to ſome gentlemen and others about him, 'That this was the pleaſanteſt day ever he had ſeen, and if ever he ſhould do any thing againſt the bleſſed work he had been engaging in, holding up his right hand, he wiſhed to God that might be his death.' Thus fell the great overturner of the reformation in Scotland.

Upon Middleton's reſignation Lauderdale had the management of the Scots affairs committed to him, and came down to Scotland along with the earl of Rothes who was made the king's commiſſioner to the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, and the earl of Tweddale was made preſident of the council.

During theſe things the council had ſcarce done with proſecuting the weſt country miniſters, before they commenced a new proceſs againſt a greater number in the ſynod of Galloway, to which it is likely they were inſtigated by the biſhop of that dioceſe, becauſe few or none of them had conformed, or attended on their meetings. Accordingly, on the 24th of February, the council ordered about 26 of them to remove, with their wives, children, ſervants and ſubſtance, from their houſes, and the bounds of their reſpective presbyteries, by the 24th of March, at the ſame time prohibiting them to exerciſe any part of their miniſterial office, and to appear on the ſaid day before the council. Accordingly 9 of them appeared, and declared, that rather than conform to the preſent eſtabliſhment, they were willing to remove; however the proſecution againſt them was poſtponed, and all the others, who did not appear, were obliged to leave their churches and habitations, though ſome of them had been ordained before the year 1649, and conſequently were not included in the Glaſgow act of ejectment. And about 14 miniſters of the dioceſe of Dunkeld were ſerved in the ſame manner. Such were the deſolations which were then made at the inſtigation of the prelates!

On the 3d of March the council appointed one Mr John Wilkie to collect the vacant ſtipends, which were now very many, and would amount to a conſiderable ſum, with power to diſtribute them among thoſe whom they called ſufferers in the late times; but though the presbyterians were amongſt the greateſt and were now brought under intolerable hardſhips, they got no ſhare thereof. At the ſame time the dioceſan meeting in Galloway was poſtponed to the 2d Wedneſday of May, becauſe few or none of the miniſters there would countenance it.

And though on the 24th of March, they recommended to each of the biſhops to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the dreadful growth of popery as they were for rooting out of presbytery, they would not have found much difficulty.

The ſame day they deſired the lord chancellor to write to Sir James Turner, or any other perſon he ſhould judge proper, to take notice of all perſons who kept up private meetings or conventicles, for alienating the hearts of the ſubjects from the preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, and to give an account of them to the council. Theſe it ſeems, were either the meetings for worſhip in the houſes of the ejected miniſters, or thoſe among the good people for prayer and religious conference: how far theſe tended to alienate the hearts of the people from his majeſty, muſt be left with the reader, but it is well known, that men of prelatic principles have ever been againſt ſuch religious ſocieties, though they had much of the Lord's countenance and preſence among them, eſpecially in this perſecuting period.

Theſe things conſidered, it needs not be ſurpriſing that the ſettlement of the curates did meet with oppoſition in ſeveral places. Accordingly at Irongray near Dumfries and at Kirkcudbright, the inhabitants openly oppoſed thoſe that were intruded upon them. The famous Mr John Welſh having been miniſter at Irongray, his ejection was moſt galling to the people; and when the curate found he could not obtain a peaceable admiſſion, he returned upon them with an armed force; but the women there headed by one Margaret Smith, oppoſed the party who were guarding the curate, and fairly beat them off with ſtones. A tumult of the like kind happened about the ſame time at Kirkcudbright.

Upon this the chancellor wrote to the magiſtrates of Kirkcudbright to apprehend the perſons principally concerned in the riot there, and at the ſame time gave a commiſſion to the earl of Linlithgow, Galloway and Annandale, the lord Drumlanerk and Sir John Wauchop of Niddery or any two of them, to repair to theſe places to examine into the affair, and to apprehend and impriſon all whom they ſhould find to have been concerned; and the more effectually to execute their commiſſion, Linlithgow was ordered to take along with him 100 horſe and 200 of the king's guards, to take free quarters in the pariſh of Irongray, or to raiſe from the burgh and pariſh as much money as would amount to half-a-crown a day for every horſeman, and one ſhilling for every foot ſoldier, during their ſtay there, beſides the ordinary pay of the officers, and, by force of arms, to ſuppreſs all meetings or inſurrections of the people, if any ſhould happen.

Thoſe that were found moſt guilty at Kirkcudbright, were John lord Kirkcudbright John Carſon of Sennick, and John Euart late provoſt there, and about five women, who were all carried priſoners to Edinburgh. There were about 14 other women who were found acceſſary, and ordered to be impriſoned till they found bail to appear before the council. One William Arnot was found chiefly concerned at Irongray, and was ſent to Edinburgh with the reſt; all who viſited them in priſon were, by order of council, watched leſt they ſhould pray with them. Margaret Smith was likewiſe carried to Edinburgh, and ſentenced to be baniſhed: but, when before the managers, ſhe told her tale ſo ſimply, that the ſentence was not executed. What was done with lord Kirkcudbright I cannot tell: but Carſon, Euart and Arnot were fined to a moſt immoderate degree. Arnot was ordered to acknowledge his offence two ſeveral Lord's days at the church of Irongray, and the five women to ſtand two hours in the pillory at Kirkcudbright, for two ſeveral market days, with papers on their foreheads ſignifying their fault. And though they had no proof againſt any particular perſon at Irongray, yet, becauſe there had been a tumult, the whole party of horſe and foot were ordered to take free quarters in the pariſh, and this beſides other oppreſſions. Such were the proceedings of the managers, becauſe a few women in two pariſhes had put ſome affronts on the curates. The reſt, after a conſiderable time's impriſonment, were ſet at liberty.

When theſe commiſſioners were in the ſouth the troubles of the excellent laird of Earlſtoun began. The commiſſioners on the 21ſt of May, wrote to him from Kirkcudbright, requiring that he would order an edict to be ſerved in favour of one Mr Hay to be admitted miniſter at Darly, of which he was patron. Earlſtoun returned a very reſpectful anſwer, in which he gave ſolid reaſons why he could not comply. But the commiſſioners knowing his ſteddy attachment in preſbyterian principles, were reſolved to bring him into trouble, and therefore ſummoned him before the council, where he met with very ſevere treatment, as we ſhall afterwards find.

On the 24th of May a petition was preſented to the council from Mr James Mac Gill late miniſter at Largo, for leave to attend a meeting of the tutors of the late viſcount of Oxenford's children, of which he was one; for the reader muſt obſerve, that thoſe miniſters, who were not reached by the Glaſgow act, were confined to their own pariſhes as priſoners at large, ſo that, upon every e-

mergency, they were obliged to apply to the council for liberty to come out of their confinement.

On the 2d of June they made a very good act againſt the Quakers; but the biſhops gave the council ſo much to do againſt the Presbyterian non-conformiſts, that theſe people were ſuffered to reſt in quiet; that they mightily increaſed during this reign.

On the 15th of June were read in council the earl of Rothes' commiſſion, to be commiſſioner to the parliament in the room of Middleton, and lord high-treaſurer in the room of the earl of Crawford, who reſigned that office becauſe he could not ſign the declaration appointed by the parliament laſt year. At the ſame time Lauderdale took his ſeat in the council, with his brother Charles, afterwards lord Hattoun, John Hume of Rentown, and the two archbiſhops.

On the 18th of June the parliament ſat down, when the biſhop of Aberdeen preached before them. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion went on according to the direction of Lauderdale, and the whole former proceeding in the affairs of balloting was ſo laid open, as finiſhed Middleton's diſgrace.

The former ſeſſions had left very litle for this to do, in favour of the prelates, unleſs to ſcreen them from the oppoſition of the country, and lay a foundation for a more open and univerſal perſecution than was ever in Scotland ſince the reformation from popery.

Thus by their 2d act, intituled *Act againſt ſeparation and diſobedience to eccleſiaſtical authority*, all non-conform miniſters, that ſhall preſume to exerciſe their office in any manner whatſoever, were to be puniſhed as ſeditious perſons; and all withdrawing from, and not attending upon the worſhip of God in their own pariſh churches, was declared ſeditious and of dangerous example and conſequence; and therefore all who were found guilty, in this reſpect, were to incur the following penalties, viz. each nobleman, gentleman and heritor, the fourth part of his yearly revenue; every yeoman, tenent or farmer, the loſs of ſuch a proportion of his free moveables, after paying his rent, as the council ſhall think fit, not exceeding a fourth part; and every burgeſs the loſs of his freedom, and the fourth part of his moveables. And the council was authoriſed to put this act in execution, to inflict ſuch other corporal puniſhment as they ſhould ſee proper, and do every other thing that they ſhould ſee neceſſary for procuring obedience to this act, which was called *The biſhop's drag net*.

It is plain, this act ſtrikes both at miniſters and people, for they who received their miniſtry from Chriſt were forbid to diſcharge the ſame under ſevere penalties, unleſs they renounced their principles, and, in oppoſition to the dictates of their own conſcience, complied with abjured prelacy; the people muſt hear the intruders; and, in ſhort, an unlimited power was given to the council.

By their 3d act all in public truſt were required to ſign the declaration appointed laſt year againſt the 11th of November; returns were ordered to be made to the council by the 1ſt of January; and, if perſons elected to be councellors and magiſtrates refuſe to ſign, they were for ever declared incapable of being magiſtrates, and of merchandiſing. So that, if a party had a mind to get rid of any conſcientious preſbyterian who had a good trade, they had no more to do, but to get him choſen a magiſtrate or councellor, for they were ſure he would not ſign the declaration *.

The 5th act was for eſtabliſhing a national ſynod, conſiſting of the archbiſhops and biſhops, deans and archdeans, &c. but then nothing was to be enacted that could not be confirmed by the king or his commiſſioner. It was declared that it was neceſſary, for the honour of God and the good of ſouls, that there be a national ſynod; and if ſo, then the prelates had neither of theſe before their eyes; for, though it paſſed at their deſire, they took effectual care to prevent the meeting of any ſuch ſynod.

This parliament, ſays Mr Wodrow, ordered a levy to be made, if need be, of 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe, for the preſervation of Chriſtendom againſt the Turks; and adds, that, though it was never made, yet it had been much better employed this way, than in perſecuting Proteſtants. Burnet relates it thus: Another act was looked upon as a pompous compliment, and ſo it paſſed without any oppoſition. In it they made an offer to the king of an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe, to be ready upon ſummons to march with 40 days proviſion into any part of his majeſty's dominions, to oppoſe invaſions, to ſuppreſs inſurrections, or any other caſe in which his authority, power, or greatneſs was concerned. None dreamed, ſays the biſhop, that ever any uſe was to be made of this; yet Lauderdale had his own end in it, to let the king ſee what uſe he might make of Scotland, if he ſhould intend to ſet up arbitrary government in England. The reſt of the acts of this ſeſſion, relating to civil affairs, do not come under our preſent conſideration.

On the 24th of June lord Lorn, who was condemned the laſt ſeſſion, was ſet at liberty from the caſtle of Edinburgh, and, a few days after this ſeſſion roſe, a patent came down, reſtoring him to all his grandfather's eſtate; only, as his father was much in debt when he died, his lordſhip was reſtricted to 15,000 l. Scots a-year till the debts were paid off.

Mean while Sir Archibald Johnſtoun, lord Wariſtoun, met with quite different uſage. For having, after the ſentence of forfeiture and death paſſed againſt him by the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, gone abroad to eſcape the fury of his enemies, even there did their crafty malice reach him.

When at Hamburgh he was ſeized with a ſevere illneſs, during which Dr Bates, one of king Charles's phyſicians, gave him poiſon inſtead of phyſic, and then ordered to draw from him ſixty ounces of blood, by which he was brought to the gates of death, and ſo far loſt his memory, that he could not remember what he had done or ſaid a quarter of an hour before, and continued in that condition ever after.

At laſt, going unadviſedly into France, one Alexander Murray, being diſpatched in queſt of him, apprehended him at Roan, while engaged in ſecret prayer, a duty wherein he greatly delighted. In January he was brought over priſoner and committed to the tower of London, where he continued till the beginning of June, when he was ſent down to Edinburgh to be executed. His carriage, during his paſſage, was truly Chriſtian. He landed at Leith on the 8th of June, and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. From thence he was brought before the parliament on the 8th of July. His nephew, biſhop Burnet, ſays, he was ſo diſordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to any government to proceed againſt him. When at the bar of the houſe he diſcovered ſuch weakneſs of memory and judgment, that every perſon almoſt lamented him, except Sharp and the other biſhops, who ſcandalouſly and baſely triumphed over, and publicly derided him, though it is well known lord Wariſtoun was once in caſe to have reaſoned before the greateſt aſſembly in Europe, nay, and to have preſided in it.

It ſeems that many of the members of parliament were inclined to ſpare his life; for, upon the queſtion, Whether the time of his execution ſhould be juſt now fixed or delayed, Lauderdale interpoſed, upon calling the roll, and made a moſt threatening ſpeech for his preſent execution: accordingly ſentence was pronounced, that he be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 22d of July, and his head placed on the Nether bow port, beſide that of Mr Guthrie. He received his ſentence with ſuch meekneſs as all were filled with admiration; for then he deſired that the beſt bleſſings of heaven might be upon his majeſty, on the ſtate and church, whatever befel himſelf; and that God would give his majeſty true and faithful counſellors.

During the whole time of his impriſonment he was in a moſt ſpiritual and tender frame, to the conviction of his very enemies; and the nearer his death approached, the compoſure of his mind became the more conſpicuous. He reſted agreeably the night before his execution, and in the morning was full of conſolation, ſweetly expreſſing his aſſurance of being clothed with a long white robe, and of getting a new ſong of the Lamb's praiſe in his mouth

* For refuſing to ſign the above mentioned declaration, John earl of Crawford loſt his office of lord treaſurer, and Sir James Dundas of Arniſton his poſt of one of the lords of ſeſſion.

mouth before night. He dined with cheerfulneſs, hoping to ſup in heaven, and to drink the next cup freſh and new in his father's kingdom. And, after he had ſpent ſome time in ſecret, about two o'clock he was taken from priſon, attended by ſeveral of his friends in mourning, though he himſelf was full of holy cheerfulneſs and courage, and in a perfect ſerenity of mind. When going to the ſcaffold, he ſaid frequently to the people, Your prayers, your prayers! When he was on the ſcaffold, he ſaid, I entreat you quiet yourſelves a little, till this dying man deliver his laſt words among you; and deſired they would not be offended at his making uſe of his paper, to help his memory, ſo much impaired by long ſickneſs, and the malice of phyſicians; then he read his ſpeech (which is recorded in Naphtali, and in Mr Wodrow's appendix) firſt from the one ſide of the ſcaffold, and then from the other, in which he bewailed his compliance with the uſurpers, and declared his adherence to the covenants, and work of reformation. After this he prayed with the greateſt fervency, and, in a very rapture, beginning thus, Abba, Abba, Father, Father, accept this thy poor ſinful ſervant coming unto thee, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, &c. There were no miniſters allowed to be with him, but thoſe preſent obſerved that God ſufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by ſome of his friends in deep mourning, and, as he aſcended, he ſaid, Your prayers, your prayers; I deſire your prayers in the name of the Lord. Such was the value he had for that duty. When he got to the top of the ladder, he cried with a loud voice, 'I beſeech you all, who are the people of God, not to ſcare at ſufferings for the intereſt of Chriſt, or ſtumble at any thing of this kind falling out in theſe days, but be encouraged to ſuffer for him; for I aſſure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges.' At laſt he bid the executioner do his office, and crying out, O pray pray! praiſe, praiſe! was turned off, and died almoſt without any ſtruggle, with his hands lifted up to heaven. He was buried in the Gray frier's church yard, and his head was fixed on the Nether bow beſide that of his dear friend Mr Guthrie. And thus fell the eminently pious and learned lord Wariſtoun: ſo that as the foundation of prelacy was laid in the blood of the noble marquis of Argyll and the worthy Mr James Guthrie, the building was cemented by the blood of lord Wariſtoun.

A little before the execution of this great man, the council, on the 14th of July, ordered Mr James Wood, principal of the college of St Andrews, and miniſter there, to be ſummoned before them on the 23d, for continuing to exerciſe his office. He was ſcarcely allowed to ſpeak in his own defence, and was ſentenced to confine himſelf within Edinburgh till farther orders. Whereupon he told them, He was ſorry they had condemned a perſon without hearing, whom they could not charge with the breach of any law.

At the ſame time the council, at the inſtigation of the biſhop of Glaſgow, ordered Meſſ. Alex. Livingſtone late in Biggar, Matthew MacKail at Bothwel, John Guthrie in Tarbolton, John Blair at Mauchlin, John Schaw at Stirk, George Johnſtoun at Newbottle, John Hardy at Gordon, Archibald Hamilton at Wigton, George Wauch in Kirkinner, and Anthony Murray at Kirkbean, miniſters, to appear before them on the 23d of July, under the pain of rebellion. Accordingly Meſſ. Hardy, MacKail, and Livingſtone appeared, and were confined within the city of Edinburgh till farther orders, and in the mean time diſcharged from keeping any private conventicles.

The ſame day a deputation was appointed to wait upon the commiſſioner, to take ſome general courſe with all the non-conform miniſters; and on the 30th of July, Meſſ. Matthew Ramſay at Old Kirkpatrick, James Walkinſhaw at Baldernock, Hugh Smith at Eaſtwood, James Hamilton at Eaglesham, and James Blair at Catheart, were ordered to anſwer for their ſeditious carriage, i. e. for continuing to preach the goſpel, under pain of rebellion. Mr Hardy appearing, and owning that he had preached, the council declared his church vacant, and ordered him, within 14 days, to remove 20 miles from his pariſh, fix miles from any cathedral church, and three miles from any royal burgh, in all time coming. And this was a prelude to the mile act we ſhall preſently hear of. On this 30th of July letters were ordered to be directed to ſummon Mr William Gordon of Earlſtoun to appear before them for his factious and ſeditious carriage, i. e. his refuſing to hear the curate, and his favouring the ejected miniſters.

Mr MacKail ventured back to Bothwel, and eſcaped for ſome time; Mr Livingſtone is ſaid to have been confined to his pariſh till farther orders; Meſſ. Johnſtoun, Cuninghame and Blair were confined to the north-ſide of the Tay; Mr Ramſay was remitted to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow; and Meſſ. Smith and Walkinſhaw were ordered to obey the mile act made a few days before.

For, on the 13th of Auguſt, the council taking under their conſideration, that ſeveral miniſters who by law (i. e. the laws lately made) have no right to preach or reſide in their pariſhes, do, notwithſtanding, preach, adminiſter the ſacraments, and keep diſorderly conventicles, &c. made an act, and publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all ſuch miniſters, within twenty days after the publication of the ſame, to remove themſelves, families, and ſubſtance, out of their reſpective pariſhes, and not to reſide within twenty miles of the ſame, nor within ſix miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral church, or three miles of any royal burgh. This act extended to thoſe miniſters who were ordained before 1649, unleſs they attended the biſhop's courts.

Here we may ſee, 1. That the council had neither inſtructions from the king, nor authority from the parliament to make this act; yea, they agreed to it, and publiſhed the proclamation, even though the parliament was then ſitting; ſo that they aſſumed a power properly parliamentary under their very noſe. 2. This ſhews the perſecuting ſpirit and temper of the biſhops; for this was the firſt act of council after the two archbiſhops were members of it, and it is not unlikely that it was entirely owing to them, who could not endure preſbyterian miniſters in their neighbourhood. 3. Every perſon muſt ſee what hardſhips poor miniſters and their ſmall families were put to by this. They were removed, merely for conſcience-ſake, far from their beloved people, who might, and doubtleſs would, have relieved them in their neceſſities; nay, by this they were deprived of the means of educating their children, at leaſt they muſt be at double charges, and have them removed from under their inſpection when at ſchool; 'for the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!'

The biſhops being vexed that any preſbyterian miniſters from Ireland ſhould have ſhelter in Scotland, and that numbers refuſed to hear the curates, the council, on the 7th of October, made an act, ordering all perſons who ſhould come from Ireland, without ſufficient teſtimonials, either to return within fifteen days, or be impriſoned and treated as ſeditious perſons; and declaring that all perſons who withdraw from their pariſh churches after three admonitions given them by the miniſters of the reſpective pariſhes, ſhall be proceeded againſt upon the miniſter's atteſtation of his having intimated the names of ſuch perſons; and all noblemen, ſheriffs, &c. and officers of the army, were required to aſſiſt and concur with miniſters, in ſeeing the law, in that caſe made and provided, duly put in execution. How equitable it was to make miniſters witneſſes in their own cauſe, and put the executive power in the hands of the army, muſt be left with the reader.

On the 29th of September Sideſerfe biſhop of Orkney died, and on the 9th of October following the parliament was diſſolved, which, ſays biſhop Burnet, gave a general ſatisfaction to the country, becauſe they were a furious ſet of people. We ſhall hear no more of parliaments for ſix years to come. When the ſeſſion was ended, ſeveral perſons of quality went to London, amongſt whom was the earl of Rothes, who met with a gracious reception from his majeſty, and was made a member of the privy council of England. But to return to the affairs of Scotland, where things were ſtill growing worſe and worſe, and the effects of prelacy appearing more and more diſmal.

On the 13th of October the council gave orders to the earl of Linlithgow to march with a number of foot to Kirkcudbright, which, with the ſoldiers there already, might make 160 men, to quarter till farther orders; and, at the ſame time, commanded Sir Robert Fleming to march

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one ſquadron of the life-guards to quarter at Kilmarnock, and another at Paiſley.

On the 2d of November archbiſhop Fairfoul died at Edinburgh, and was interred with great funeral ſolemnity in the eaſt end of the Abbey church.

On the 24th of November, the council being informed that the laird of Earlſtoun kept conventicles and private meetings in his houſe, notwithſtanding the laws againſt ſuch practices, ordered letters to be directed againſt him, to appear before them the—day of—to anſwer for his contempt, under the pain of rebellion. We ſhall find more concerning him afterwards.

On the ſame day Linlithgow was ordered to write a letter of thanks to Sir James Turner, for his care and pains in ſeeing the laws concerning church-government duly obeyed, &c.

This Sir James, as the author of the memoirs of the church of Scotland obſerves, was a tool to their minds, a ſtranger in the country, being an Engliſhman, bred to plunder and rapine in the ſervice of the French, perfectly void of the fear of God or man, and unacquainted either with religion or humanity. But though he was ready enough to execute his orders with rigour, yet we ſhall hear afterwards that he was obliged to exceed the bounds of his own inclinations to ſatisfy the biſhop of Galloway, who was fierce and cruel, as all apoſtates uſe to be.

The council, finding that the body of the people in the weſt and ſouth were moſt diſſatisfied with prelacy, and having given the army power to levy the fines appointed by parliament, ſent a conſiderable body of forces with the ſtricteſt orders, to oblige all perſons to ſubmit to the biſhops and their curates, which occaſioned the moſt grievous oppreſſions and exactions under colour of law.

The proceſs was very ſhort in caſes of non-conformity. The curate accuſed whom he pleaſed to Sir James, or any of the officers, and frequently to a private centinel. The ſoldier is judge, no witneſſes or proof is required, but the ſentence is ſummarily pronounced, and the ſoldier executes his own ſentence, and with the greater cheerfulneſs, that the money, generally ſpeaking, came into his own pocket; and often the fine exceeded what the law appointed. They behaved juſt as if they had been in an enemy's country. If a tenant or head of a family was unwilling or unable to pay, the ſoldiers were ſent to quarter upon him till they had deſtroyed ten times the value of the fine; and when poor families were no longer able to ſuſtain them, they were ſpoiled of their goods, which were ſold for a trifle.

In theſe quarterings family worſhip was ridiculed, and they who performed it were treated by the profane ſoldiery as if it had been a conventicle. Multitudes were cruelly beat, and dragged to church or priſon with equal violence. And thus hundreds of religious families in the weſt and ſouth were ſcattered and reduced to extreme neceſſity, and their landlords obliged either to conceal themſelves or leave the country. Now, whether this was not a more proper method for extirpating than eſtabliſhing of church-government, the reader may judge. If it be ſaid, that none can account for the extravagance of ſoldiers; then the more to blame were they who entruſted them with ſuch power, and did not caſhier the officers for not reſtraining them.

However, it muſt be granted that the blood thirſty curates had no ſmall ſhare in this oppreſſion; for in moſt pariſhes they made a liſt of the congregations, not for the performance of any part of their miniſtry, (that was the leaſt of their care) but to expoſe their non conforming pariſhioners to the ravages of the army. After ſermon this liſt was called over from the pulpit, and all who were abſent, except ſome favourites, were delated to the ſoldiers; after which no defences could be heard, the fine muſt either be paid, or their houſes quartered upon.

As the churches of the old preſbyterian miniſters, who were not as yet ejected, were much crouded, the ſoldiers, when the worſhip was near over, went armed thereto, and obliged the people to go out one by one, and declare, upon oath, whether they belonged to that congregation; and they who could not do this, though their own pariſhes were vacant, were immediately fined, and what money they had about them taken from them. If they had none, then their Bibles, the mens coats, and the womens plaids, were ſeized by theſe wretched executioners; ſo that the ſoldiers returned laden with ſpoil; nay, in ſome places they would enter the churches by force, and interrupt divine worſhip. One party would ſtand at one door, a ſecond at another, and a third entered the church, and obliged the people to go all out at one door, and they who would not preſently ſwear they belonged to that pariſh, were rifled of all that they had, and ſometimes dragged to priſon; and after all the poor people were ſometimes forced to give it under their hand that they were kindly uſed.

It would ſeem that even the council themſelves were aſhamed of the rigorous proceedings of theſe military gentlemen; for, on the 24th of November, they iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the officers of the ſtanding army to exact any of the penalties contained in the forementioned act, except the twenty ſhillings Scots from every perſon who abſents from his own pariſh church on the Sabbath-day. But when ſoldiers are once let looſe, reſtrictions will not eaſily tame them.

About the end of the year the council were at much pains to preſs ſubſcribing of the declaration impoſed by the parliament upon all in places of truſt. But it is time now to go on to.

CHAP. VI.

Of the erection and proceedings of the high-commiſſion and acts of council, together with the ſtate and ſufferings of the Preſbyterians till the year 1666.

THE king being pleaſed with the conduct of his privy-council, relating to the declaration againſt the Covenant, wrote to the chancellor, deſiring that they would take all poſſible pains, that thoſe who had not yet ſubſcribed it might be enjoined to do it, and that the places of thoſe who refuſed might be ſupplied with proper perſons; this they readily complied with, and gave his majeſty an account of their diligence; nay, they carried this point ſo far, that ſome who were choſen to be magiſtrates were proſecuted for not accepting, becauſe they could not, in conſcience, comply with theſe terms of acceptance; for when John Potter, Gilbert Wylie, John Reid elder, John Gray, Alexander Gardiner, Nairn Holmes, and ſome others, who were out of the kingdom were elected to be magiſtrates or members of the town-council of Irvine, the privy-council ordered them to be ſummoned before them, becauſe, rather than ſubſcribe againſt their conſcience, they had refuſed to accept the charge.

But the chancellor, and ſome others, were not for driving ſo faſt as the Prelates would have them, and Glencairn, in particular, was highly diſpleaſed with the inſolence of the primate. Wherefore, about the end of the laſt year, Sharp went up to London to complain of the privy-council, where he ſaid there was ſuch remiſſneſs, and ſo much popularity appeared on all occaſions, that unleſs ſome more ſpirit was put in the adminiſtration, it would be impoſſible to preſerve the church.' That was the word always uſed, as if there had been a charm in it. He moved that there might be a letter write giving him the precedence of the lord chancellor, and that the king would grant a ſpecial commiſſion to ſome perſons for executing the laws relating to the church. Accordingly the king granted a commiſſion 'to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the lord chancellor, the lord treaſurer, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, duke Hamilton, the marquis of Montroſe, the earls of Argyll, Athol, &c. or any five of them, an archbiſhop or biſhop, being one of the number, to call before them, when and where they ſhould appoint, all popiſh traffickers, &c. (but papiſts lived very quietly under this reign) all obſtinate contemners of the diſcipline of the church—all keepers of conventicles—all who preached in private houſes, or elſewhere without licence from the biſhop—all who keep meetings at faſts and the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper, not approven by authority—all who ſpeak, preach, write, or print to the ſcandal and detriment of the preſent government in church and ſtate—all who do not attend divine worſhip at their pariſh-churches, &c. with power to the ſaid commiſſioners, or any five of them, an archbiſhop

biſhop or biſhop being one, to cenſure miniſters with ſuſpenſion or depoſition; and to puniſh by fining, confining, &c. all who ſhall be found tranſgreſſors, according as they ſhall judge of their offence, not exceeding the fines and puniſhments appointed by the parliament and council:' (they frequently found pretences to exceed this reſtriction.) 'Commanding the captains of his majeſty's guards, the officers of the army and militia, &c. to ſearch for and apprehend all ſuch delinquents, and preſent them before the commiſſioners, upon warrant from any five of their number:—ordaining, farther, the lords of the privy-council to direct letters of horning for the payment of the fines appointed by the commiſſioners, in caſe delinquents ſhould refuſe to appear before them.—And, generally, the commiſſioners aforeſaid are authoriſed and impowered to do and execute what they ſhall find neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice. And that a buſineſs of ſuch importance may take a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful effect—it is his majeſty's pleaſure, that this his commiſſion ſhall endure to the firſt of November 1664 and after till it be diſcharged by his majeſty, and that the firſt meeting thereof be at Edinburgh the firſt Wedneſday of March next to come, and the after meetings in ſuch places, and as often as ſhall be judged neceſſary.—Given at Whitehall, January the 16th—1664.'—

This was certainly one of the moſt infamous courts that ever was erected in any proteſtant nation. In it were nine biſhops to thirty five laymen; but the biſhops were made neceſſary members, and four, with any one prelate, were declared to be a quorum, which were too few of ſuch a number, though the better for the purpoſes of their appointment. After the clauſe about papiſts, who were generally overlooked, all that follows is levelled at the Preſbyterians. And, beſides the ordinary crimes of conventicles and miniſters exerciſing their office, all were expoſed to proſecution who keep meetings at faſts, and the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper. Theſe were too ſerious exerciſes for the biſhops, whoſe conſciences, probably, ſtung them, ſo that they were afraid of the joint prayers of the Lord's people. Their power was moſt extenſive. They were empowered to hear and determine cauſes without appeal, could ſuſpend and depoſe churchmen, fine, confine, and impriſon all who ſhould be accounted tranſgreſſors; nay, they were authoriſed to do and execute what they ſhould find neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice. And what would not theſe prelates find neceſſary for ſecuring themſelves and their underlings, if we may judge from their former proceedings? This court was of a heterogeneous nature, and as one calls it, a *hotch-potch mongrel ſenate*. Here were biſhops and peers, inferior magiſtrates and military officers, &c. all blended together. Their proceeding was as unaccountable, unjuſt and cruel, as their power and authority was extravagant and illegal; for perſons were brought before them without any information, accuſation, witneſs or accuſer; but, being fetched in, were obliged to anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*, to whatever queſtions were propoſed. Lawful defences were neither received nor admitted; and if any offered to propoſe any thing of that nature, he was required firſt to take the oath of diligence or ſupremacy, the refuſal of which was reckoned guilt ſufficient. In ſhort, the oppreſſion and grievances of this deteſtable court, whereof I ſhall give a few inſtances, were, in many things, noways inferior to that of the Spaniſh inquiſition; mean time it will be proper to mention the moſt remarkable intervening occurrences.

We have ſeen, that when Sharp moved for the high-commiſſion court, he, at the ſame time propoſed that himſelf might have the precedence of all the officers of ſtate; which motion the king likewiſe complied with, and accordingly ſent a letter to the privy-council of the ſame date with the high commiſſion, ſignifying his royal pleaſure, that the archbiſhop of St Andrews ſhould have place, both at his council and all other public meetings, before the chancellor and all other ſubjects within the kingdom. This letter came down on the 26th January, and not a little diſguſted the nobility, eſpecially Glencairn the chancellor. However, they could not help themſelves, nor remonſtrate againſt the ſovereign prerogative. Thus was verified what Lauderdale, about three years ago, told Glencairn, that ſince he and Middleton would have biſhops, they ſhould have them with a vengeance.

About this time ſome changes were made among the biſhops; for Mr Alexander Burnet was tranſlated from Aberdeen to Glaſgow in the room of Fairfoul deceaſed, Mr Scougal ſucceeded to the biſhoprick of Aberdeen, and was reckoned one of the beſt of that order, and Mr Andrew Honeyman was made biſhop of Orkney in the room of Sideſerfe deceaſed.

On the 16th of February, a letter was read in council upon the ſubject of the act of fines, requiring them to iſſue a new proclamation, commanding ſuch fined perſons ſhould be charged, in the name of the treaſurer, or his deputy, or the advocate, before the firſt of Auguſt 1664, to make payment of the firſt half of the fines againſt Martinmas next to come, and the other half at or before the term of Candlemas following. Accordingly, next council day, being the 18th of February, a proclamation was drawn up, approved, and ordered to be publiſhed at the croſs of Edinburgh, declaring the ſame to be as ſufficient as if it had been publiſhed at all the head burghs of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the payment was poſtponed ſome time longer: for the king ſent another letter to the council; dated the 20th of July 1664, requiring ſuch as ſhould be charged betwixt that and the laſt day of Auguſt, to pay their firſt moiety at or before the 11th of December next and the 2d at or before the 2d of March, and a proclamation was publiſhed in the terms of the letter. What was the reaſon of this delay is not known, poſſibly the courtiers were not agreed about dividing the ſpoils. But what is delayed is not forgiven; for on the 3d of November, the king's letter dated the 17th of September, with a warrant incloſed, was read in the council, who iſſued a proclamation in terms of the incloſed warrant, commanding all thoſe mentioned in the liſt ſpecified in the warrant or the heirs and executors of ſuch as were dead, to pay the reſpective ſums impoſed upon them, the one half at or before Candlemas, and the other at or before Whitſunday 1665 under the pains and penalties mentioned in the act of parliament.

One would imagine that they who were thus fined had been guilty of ſome very notorious crimes, whereas they were chargeable with nothing but what the managers themſelves and the whole nation were guilty of, viz. a neceſſary ſubjection to the uſurpers. And though it be alledged in the warrant, that many of the king's ſubjects ſuffered greatly for their loyalty to the king and his father, yet it is plain, that, had theſe fines been diſtributed among ſuch ſufferers, the preſbyterian miniſters would have had no ſmall ſhare, and many who were fined muſt have been exempted. Beſides, how could perſons be fined without ever being brought to any trial? but this was a period where little juſtice or equity was to be ſeen. We ſhall afterwards hear with what ſeverity theſe fines were exacted, though the weſt and ſouth of Scotland were already ſufficiently drained by the army.

This was a time of trouble, the faithful of the land were born down like a torrent, and the vileſt men were exalted; and therefore, in ſuch a time as this preſbyterian miniſters, and others, uſed frequently to meet together for prayer in private houſes, but, at the inſtigation of the biſhops and their underlings, who could not bear the prayers of God's people, the council, upon the 23d of February, made an act, ordering the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to cauſe ſearch be made concerning the keeping of any private meetings and conventicles within the city, by the miniſters deprived by the Glaſgow act, whom they call *late miniſters*; and that they acquaint the lord chancellor with what they diſcover, and the perſons names, that order may be taken about the ſame.

And as a farther proof of their vigilance this way, upon the 1ſt of March they paſſed another act, whereby after narrating, 'That they had conſidered ſeveral accuſations exhibited againſt Mr William Gordon of Earlſtoun, for keeping of private meetings and conventicles, contrary to the laws and acts of parliament, with his own judicial confeſſion that he had been at three ſeveral conventicles, where Mr Gabriel Semple, a depoſed miniſter, did preach, viz. one in Corſack wood, and the other two in the wood of Airds, at all which there were great numbers of people; and that he did hear Mr Robert Paton, a depoſed miniſter, expound a text of Scripture, and perform other acts of worſhip in his mother's houſe, and that Mr Thomas Thomſon, another depoſed miniſter,

ſter, did lecture in his own houſe to his family on the ſabbath-day; and, that, being required to enact himſelf to abſtain from all ſuch meetings in time coming, and to live peaceably and orderly conform to law, he refuſed to do the ſame. They did therefore order the ſaid Mr William Gordon of Earlſtoun to be baniſhed, and to depart forth of the kingdom within a month—and not return under pain of death, and that he enact himſelf to live peaceably and orderly during the ſaid month, under the pain of ten thouſand pounds, or otherways to enter his perſon in priſon.'

What times muſt theſe be, when a worthy gentleman had ſuch an act made againſt him for hearing preſbyterian miniſters!

Some time in the month of March died that learned and ſingularly pious Mr James Wood late principal of the college of St. Andrews, Sharp thought proper to viſit him, once or twice upon his death bed, and then induſtriouſly ſpread a report, that Mr Wood being within the views of eternity, expreſſed himſelf concerning church-government as a matter of indifferency, and that he was as much for epiſcopacy as preſbytery. Mr Wood coming to the knowlege thereof, thought himſelf bound in conſcience to leave a public teſtimony againſt this falſe and malicious ſlander. In his teſtimony, dated the 2d of March 1664, he declared, that, 'he looked upon the preſbyterian government as the ordinance of God, appointed by Jeſus Chriſt for governing and ordering his viſible church; that he never had the leaſt change of thought about the neceſſity of it, nor of the neceſſity of the uſe of it; and he declared before God and the world, that he ſtill ſo accounted of it—and that, if he was to live, he would account it his glory to ſeal this word of his teſtimony with his blood; and of this his declaration he took God, angels and men, for his witneſſes.' And ſubſcribed the ſame in preſence of Mr William Tullidaff miniſter of Dumbog, Mr John Carſtairs his brother-in-law, and Mr John Pitcairn the writer.

When this teſtimony was publiſhed the archbiſhop was ſo nettled, that he ordered thoſe who were preſent to be ſummoned before the high-commiſſion, alledging and even publicly reporting, that the notary told to himſelf, that, when Mr Wood was exceeding weak, Mr Carſtairs, having formed the above paper, had impoſed upon, and got him to ſubſcribe it.

But when Mr Tullidaff and the notary came before the commiſſion, they both declared that Mr Wood dictated the teſtimony (of which I have given an exact copy) and that the notary wrote it at his deſire, and atteſted it as was his office to do. Thus the primate once more, got the lie to his face. After theſe two laſt had continued for ſome time in priſon, the biſhop was forced to diſmiſs them without any further puniſhment, having ſhewn his malice and been proved a ſpreader of lying calumnies upon thoſe more righteous than himſelf.

Mr Carſtairs, for ſome reaſons, thought proper to abſcond; only, that his conduct might not be conſtructed as the effect of diſloyalty, he wrote a letter to the chancellor, wherein he excuſed his not appearing before the commiſſion; and declared that none perſuaded Mr Wood to emit this teſtimony, that it was his own motion, that he dictated every word of it, and that, more than once, in converſation he declared his ſentiments, as to Presbyterian government, more fully than in the teſtimony itſelf; ſo that, upon the whole, Mr Wood was vindicated from the falſe aſperſions of the primate.

The high commiſſion court ſhould have aſſembled on the firſt Wedneſday of March; but it does not appear that they ſat down before the 15th of April, when they entered upon buſineſs. Though very few inſtances of the iniquous proceedings of this diſmal court can be given, yet the following are ſufficient to ſhew their unprecedented cruelty and injuſtice.

Among their firſt proceedings they ordered Mr Wood's teſtimony to be burnt, and ſome miniſters acceſſory thereunto to be put in priſon, and the weſt-country gentlemen, who refuſed to give full conformity to the then church-government, to be fined in the fourth part of their yearly income. But it is proper to give the reader ſome particular inſtances of the hardſhips ſeverals endured.

Mr James Hamilton of Aikenhead, near Glaſgow, was ſummoned before them, though nothing could be alledged againſt him, only that he did not hear Mr Hay, curate in Cathcart; a man moſt rigorous in exacting his ſtipend, particularly upon Aikenhead's tenants, which occaſioned a ſquabble between the curate and ſome of them, from whom Mr Blair, the Presbyterian miniſter of the place, protected him, and got him in a ſolemn manner, to promiſe not to delate any of them. But Hay, contrary to his promiſe, went to Glaſgow and accuſed them to the biſhop, who immediately ordered Sir James Turner, with a party of ſoldiers, to go and apprehend ſome of them, whereof and of the curates cruelty and prevarication, Aikenhead being informed, he would never after own him as a miniſter, eſpecially as he was never called to that congregation.

When this gentleman was brought before the commiſſion, he was fined in a fourth part of his yearly rent; and when he afterwards was before them, he frankly owned that he neither did nor would hear that incumbent; and gave the court ſuch a diſtinct account of Hay's conduct, that the archbiſhop of Glaſgow promiſed he ſhould be removed: but the commiſſion urging this gentleman to engage to ſubmit to and hear his ſucceſſor, he told them, he thought it ſoon enough to engage, when he had heard him, and knew who he was; and peremptorily refuſed all ſuch previous contracts; whereupon he was fined in another fourth part of his yearly rent, and remitted to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow to give him ſatisfaction as to his loyal and peacable behaviour.

But the biſhop it ſeems, not being ſatisfied, he was again brought before this court and was charged with keeping up the ſeſſion book of Cathcart, and the meetings of the church, refuſing to aſſiſt the miniſter in ſeſſion when called, and ſuffering ſome of his family to abſent from the church. As to the firſt part of his accuſation, he offered to declare his innocence upon oath. But when the earl of Rothes required him to teſtify his loyalty, by taking the oath appointed by law, upon his refuſing the ſupremacy in the oath, and to become ſurety for all his tenants, that they ſhould attend the ordinances and live regularly, the court fined him in 300 l. ſterling, and ordered him to priſon till he paid it, and then to tranſport himſelf to the town of Inverneſs, being above 100 miles from his own houſe, and to remain there under confinement during pleaſure. He paid the half of his fine, and his eſtate was ſequeſtered for the reſt, and in three weeks he preſented himſelf to the magiſtrates of Inverneſs, where he continued about a year and a half, till his confinement was taken off. He was not long at home till he was confined to his own houſe, and a mile round it, for ſix months: and, before that time was elapſed he was one day carried in priſoner to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, without any reaſon aſſigned, and remained there nineteen weeks; at length, by the payment of 80 guineas he got out.

Another inſtance of the wicked ſeverity of this court appears in the caſe of Mr John Porterfield of Douchall in the ſhire of Renfrew. The reaſon why this gentleman was brought before the commiſſion, was his not hearing the curate of Kilmacolm, where his houſe and eſtate lay. He told them that he could not hear the curate, becauſe he had abuſed him with groundleſs, baſe, and injurious reproaches. The court looking upon this as a ſufficient defence, admitted him to bring in evidences; but the very firſt witneſs atteſted all, nay, more than what had been alledged: the court immediately interrupted the examination, and required Porterfield to take the oath of allegiance; which he refuſing to do, without ſome ſalvo as to the clauſe of ſupremacy therein, they immediately fined him in the ſum of 500l. ſterling, ordered his eſtate to be ſequeſtrated till payment ſhould be made, and confined him to the town of Elgin, in the ſhire of Moray, where he continued about four years. Reflections upon this are needleſs, as here the reader cannot but ſee the height of injuſtice, becauſe the examination of witneſſes was interrupted, a fine was impoſed for mere non-conformity, and a gentleman baniſhed purely for conſcience-ſake.

Their proceedings againſt the Rev. Mr Alexander Smith, miniſter at Cowend, may alſo be well worth our notice. His great crime was preaching privately in his own houſe, or, in the ſtyle of that time, for keeping of con-

conventicles. When this worthy person was before them, his examination was in a very odd manner interrupted; for, in answering several questions proposed to him by archbishop Sharp, he calling him only Sir, and not My lord, the earl of Rothes asked him, if he knew to whom he was speaking? Mr Smith replied, Yes, my lord, I do; I speak to Mr James Sharp, once a fellow minister with myself. This was reckoned such a very high crime, that, without any farther enquiry into the affair of conventicles, Mr Smith was ordered to be laid in irons, and cast into that nasty place commonly called The thieves hole, where he had for his company a poor furious distracted man. And, to use the words of the author of the memoirs of the church of Scotland, 'here the godly minister lay in danger of being destroyed by the poor demented wretch, who every moment threatened to kill him; but God, who stopped the mouths of Daniel's lions, restrained him, so as he hurt him not.' He continued for some time in that dismal place, until the kindness and respect of the people of Edinburgh made the bishops ashamed of this unaccountable step. He was therefore removed to another room in the prison, where, through cold and other hardships, he fell sick, and was in danger of his life; yet such was their cruelty that he could not get a few days liberty from prison. The author of the foresaid memoirs says, That these merciful judges hearing, that, by the grate of the thieves hole which looked to the street, he was relieved and comforted by the charity and compassion of many good people in the city, they were threatened for relieving him; and at length he was carried to a place called The iron house, in the same prison, where none could come near him. After some time, by another sentence, he was banished to one of the isles of Shetland, where he continued many years in a wretched starving condition; for this is the coldest and wildest of all the Scots islands; and, as the author just now mentioned adds, here his only relief as to this world, was the society of other blessed sufferers who were banished thither for the same good cause.

The treatment of some of the parishioners of Ancrum is not to be omitted. When their excellent minister Mr Livingstone was taken from them, one Mr James Scot, who was under the sentence of excommunication, was pretended to that charge. On the day fixed for his settlement several people did meet together to oppose it; and particularly a country woman, desiring to speak with him, in order to dissuade him from intruding himself upon a reclaiming people, pulled him by the cloke, intreating him to hear her a little; whereupon he turned, and beat her with his staff. This provoked two or three boys to throw a few stones, which neither touched him nor any of his company. However, it was presently looked upon as a treasonable tumult, and therefore the sheriff and justices of the peace in that bounds fined and imprisoned some of these people, which, one would think, might atone for a crime of this nature. But the high commission not thinking that sufficient, ordered those criminals to be brought before them. Accordingly the four boys and this woman, with two brothers of hers of the name of Turnbul, were brought prisoners to Edinburgh. The four boys confessed, that, upon Scot's beating the woman, they had thrown each his stone. The commissioner told them that hanging was too good for them. However, the sentence of this merciless court only was, that they should be scourged through the city of Edinburgh, burnt in the face with a hot iron, and then sold as slaves to Barbadoes. The boys endured their punishment like men and Christians, to the admiration of multitudes. The two brothers were banished to Virginia, and the woman was ordered to be whipped through the town of Jedburgh. Burnet, bishop of Glasgow, when applied to that she might be spared lest she should be with child, mildly answered, That he would make them claw the itch out of her shoulders.

Several presbyterian ministers were before them, of whom very imperfect accounts can be given. Mr George Hamilton, afterwards minister at Edinburgh, and some other ministers of Fife, were summoned and discharged from administering the Lord's supper, for the bishops were grieved at the vast numbers that came to partake of that ordinance.

Sir William Cuningham of Cuningham head was before them when they sat at Glasgow; he was obliged to produce his chaplain Mr John Hatridge, who beginning to say, 'My lords, I hope none of you will take it ill that I declare before you some things that are pressures to my conscience.' Sharp interrupted him, saying, What have we to do, Sir, with the pressures of your conscience? Go to the door presently. And as he was removing, he called to him, without ever consulting the court, 'Sir, you are discharged to preach without a licence from the archbishop of Glasgow; and so he was no more called.

In one of their meetings at Edinburgh they fined Mr Walter Pringle of Greenknows in some hundred pounds sterling, for no other reason but because he would not take the oath of allegiance without an explication.

I shall conclude this account with the case of Mr Black, mentioned by the author of the memoirs. This gentleman was charged by the commission with having been at a private meeting for prayer; whether any minister was with them or not was not alledged, neither had they any thing else to accuse him of, nor could they prove his being at that meeting, only they would have him confess, which he declined. Then they required he would declare upon oath who was at the said meeting: and because he said this was against his conscience, and that he would not be accuser of innocent men, he was sentenced to be scourged through the town, which he cheerfully suffered.

From these few instances of the proceedings of this inquisition-court, the reader may form a judgment of their cruelty, and of the sad state of the kingdom under the power of such oppressors. It is no wonder though the records of their proceedings are not to be found in the council registers for a long time. The council ordained letters of horning for the payment of all fines imposed or to be imposed by this judicature. And about the end of this year, Sharp got the power of the high commission court, termed likeways, The commission for church or ecclesiastical affairs, enlarged, by which they had authority to banish, stigmatize, and inflict all kinds of punishment, except death: but it is plain they took upon them all these powers before they received them.

It is now time to give some account of the more remarkable things that occurred during these proceedings of the high commission.

On the 29th of April, the council published an act forbidding to give charity, or make any contribution in favour of suffering ministers and others, who, they pretended, were disaffected to the government; so that now the poor sufferers were not only discharged to meet together, and pray to God in the time of their distress, but all subjects were expressly forbid to relieve them in their extremities.

At the same time the earl of Argyll and the archbishop of Glasgow were added to the council, and took the oaths and their places at that board; and a proclamation was published against that known and celebrated treatise of the great ornament of Scotland, Mr George Buchanan, *De jure regni apud Scotos*, ordering all persons to deliver what copies they had of the translation of that treatise to the clerk of the council, under the penalty of being prosecuted as seditious persons. But whether it had not been more proper to have ordered an answer to be made to the solid arguments in that dialogue against tyranny and arbitrary government, must be left with the reader.

On the 30th of May, the earl of Glencairn, lord high chancellor of Scotland, departed this life. At his death he earnestly desired to be attended by presbyterian ministers, especially by Mr Douglas, who was then in Fife; and before Mr Ker could be fetched from Haddington, he was speechless. Several other of the noblemen and gentlemen, however hard they were upon the presbyterian ministers in their life, wanted their fellowship when they came to die; which made the duke of York once say, That he believed all Scotsmen, be what they would in their life, were presbyterians at their death. Upon this Sharp, as bishop Burnet informs us, fearing lest the earl of Tweeddale should be advanced to that high post, wrote to Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, signifying, that upon the disposal of the seals the very being of the church did so absolutely depend, that he begged he would press the king that he (Sharp) might be called up before that post should

be

be disposed of. The king bid Sheldon assure him, he should take special care of that matter, and that there was no occasion for his coming up. However, Sharp ventured to go up, and was coldly received. The king asked him, if he had not received the archbishop's letter. Sharp said he had; but he would chuse rather to venture on his majesty's displeasure, than to see the church ruined—and that so much depended upon the good choice of a chancellor, that he could not answer it to God and the church, if he did not bestir himself in that matter: he knew many spake of himself for that post; but he was so far from that thought, that if his majesty had any such intention, he would rather chuse to be sent to a plantation: he wished that he might be a churchman in heart, but not in habit, who should be raised to that trust. These, says Burnet, were his very words, as the king reported them. However, he went from the king to Sheldon, and pressed him to move the king for himself. Sheldon did so; but his majesty suspecting Sharp to have set him on, asked if that was not the case; and when Sheldon owned it, the king told him what Sharp had said to himself. However, Sheldon prayed the king, that whatever he thought of the man, he would consider the archbishop and the church, which the king assured him he would do. Sheldon told Sharp, that he saw the motion for himself did not take, so he must think of somewhat else. Sharp then proposed that the seals might be put into the hands of the earl of Rothes, till his majesty should pitch upon a proper person, which was readily complied with. However, the great seal was, on the 1st of August, put into the archbishop's hands, till a chancellor should be named, and, about the latter end of the year, Rothes was made keeper of it. His lordship was likewise lord high treasurer, general of the forces by sea and land, and extraordinary lord of the session, commander of his majesty's life guards, and principal collector of the fines. The archbishop of Glasgow was made an extraordinary lord of session. But as these things do not so immediately concern this history, I shall pass them over; for, notwithstanding the alteration of hands, there was little or no change of measures.

On the 8th of June; the head of the noble marquis of Argyll was taken down from the tolbooth early in the morning, and conveyed to his body, and his son continued in favour till his appearance for the protestant religion at the duke of York's parliament.

On the 23d of June, the council sent a party of soldiers to force the parish of Dreghorn to submit to the episcopal minister thrust in upon them, with power to oblige every one to pay twenty pence for every time he should be absent from the church *. The same day the council ordered Mr John Crookshank and Mr Michael Bruce, whom they called Pretended ministers, to be summoned, at the cross of Edinburgh and pier of Leith, to appear before them on the 27th of July next, with power to the officers of the army to apprehend them. These worthy ministers were come from Ireland, and all their crime was preaching the gospel. This was the first time the council used the phrase, Pretended ministers. It does not appear that either of them answered the summons, or were apprehended. We shall afterwards hear of them.

On the 24th of July, that useful, faithful, and zealous servant of Christ, Mr William Guthrie, minister at Fenwick, was ejected. He wrote that excellent little treatise, known by the name of 'The trial of a saving interest in Christ. This worthy person, by the interest of several noblemen, had been sometime overlooked, notwithstanding his plainness and faithfulness in bearing testimony for Christ at that time.

But when Burnet was made archbishop of Glasgow, Mr Guthrie, and the few remaining ministers about him were attacked; as Mr Livingstone at Biggar, Mr Mac-Kail at Bothwel, Mr Gabriel Maxwel at Dundonald, Mr Gabriel Cuningham at Dunlop, Mr Hutchison and Mr William Cathcław at Stewarton.

No intercession could prevail with the bishop to spare Mr Guthrie. The earl of Glencairn, in particular, is said to have spoken to the bishop in his behalf, and received a short answer, which made his lordship say, We have set up these men, and they will trample upon us. Mr Guthrie, finding that he must part with his beloved people, appointed Wednesday the 20th of July to be observed by them as a day of solemn fasting and prayer. He preached from Hos. xiii. 9 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself;' from which he faithfully laid before them their and the land's sins; and indeed the place was a Rochin. The Lord's day following being fixed for his ejectment, he intimated that sermon would begin that morning betwixt four and five, and then he preached twice to them from the close of his last text, 'In me is thy help,' and dismissed the people before nine. The reader may easily conjecture what a sorrowful parting this was. But though they would have been ready to sacrifice their all for his sake, he would not permit them to use the least violence.

The archbishop of Glasgow, after dealing with several of his curates to intimate his sentence against Mr Guthrie, at last prevailed upon the curate of Calder, by the promise, as was said, of five pounds sterling, to perform this service. Accordingly, on the day appointed, he came with a party of 12 soldiers to Fenwick church, and, by commission from the archbishop, discharged Mr Guthrie to preach any more there, and declared the church vacant. The holy good man behaved on this occasion, like himself, and treated the soldiers with the utmost civility; but when the curate went to the church, to intimate the bishop's sentence from the pulpit, none came to hear him, except the party he brought with him: a few children, who created him some uneasiness, were driven out by the soldiers.

It was reported that Mr Guthrie, at parting, told the curate he foresaw some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure against him, and exhorted him to prepare for some sudden stroke. Be that as it will, this curate never preached after he left Fenwick; for in a few days he died, in great torment, of an iliac passion, or of a violent and dangerous kind of cholic; his wife and children died in about a year after, and none belonging to him were left. Thus, by the malice of the prelates, this bright and shining light of the west of Scotland was extinguished, and he entered into his Master's joy on the 10th of October next year.

This excellent person had been much afflicted with the gravel during his life, which obliged him, contrary to his inclination, to use some diversion. The last time he was with his cousin Mr James Guthrie, he happened to be melancholy, which made Mr James say, A penny for your thought, cousin. Mr William answered, There is a poor man at the door, give him the penny; which being done, he proceeded, and said, 'I'll tell you, cousin, what I am not only thinking upon, but am sure of it, if I be not under a delusion; and it is this, that the malignants will be your death, and this gravel will be mine; but you will have the advantage of me, for you will die honourably, before many witnesses, with a rope about your neck, and I will die whining upon a pickle straw, and will endure more pain before I rise from your table, than all the pain you will have in your death.' A certain minister observed, that this holy man died a sufferer, for he was deposed by the bishop, but in hope that one day the Lord would deliver Scotland from her thraldom.

Such was the inveteracy of the managers, that, on the 9th of August, the council made an act against selling or printing of the speech which Lord Warristoun delivered at his execution, though there was in it nothing either unreasonable or seditious. Sir Robert Murray of Cameron was by this act empowered to examine all booksellers and others, in order to find out how the said speech came to be printed, and to commit them to prison, as he should see cause: if any was prosecuted upon this act is not known, but this is certain, the bishops continued to persecute the ministers.

Thus, on the 10th of October, the bishop of Dunkeld deposed Mr Andrew Donaldson minister at Dalgety, to which he had been admitted in the year 1664. By the interest of Charles earl of Dunfermline he was favoured beyond many of his brethren; and therefore could not well escape the malice of the prelates at this time. Accordingly, when the earl was called up to London, the primate pushed

* The method of dragooning people to church was no less unknown to the Scots, than disagreeable to the spirit of Christianity, until Sharp and the other prelates introduced it.

ſhed the biſhop of Dunkeld, in whoſe dioceſs Dalgety
, to deprive him. The biſhop therefore wrote to him
to attend the preſbyteries under pain of ſuſpenſion;
which Mr Donaldſon diſregarded, and continued at his
work till the dioceſan meeting in October, when the biſhop
depoſed him, and gave him notice of it in a letter, which
Mr Wodrow has inſerted at large; and that they might
play ſure game, Sharp procured a party to be ſent to eject
him, who came to the church on a Lord's day, when the
people were aſſembled to hear him; however, for prevent-
ing diſturbance, Mr Donaldſon got leave to preach that
day alſo, upon promiſing afterwards to withdraw.

But when the earl of Dunfermline got notice of theſe
proceedings, he got a warrant from the king reſtoring
Mr Donaldſon to Dalgety during his life, which his
lordſhip brought down and ſhewed to the primate. The
archbiſhop, knowing well how to diſſemble, profeſſed a
great regard for the earl, and ſaid, the king muſt be obey-
ed; but craved, as a favour, that the earl would do no-
thing for three weeks in it, till he conſidered how to pro-
vide for a young man that was juſt ſettled in the pariſh,
which his lordſhip yielded to. Mean while Sharp, by his
agent at court in the earl's abſence, procured a warrant
under the king's hand, and got it down by expreſs, before
three weeks were expired, diſcharging all ejected miniſters
from returning to their charges; and thus the mitre trick-
ed the coronet; for though his lordſhip was vexed, yet he
was obliged to ſubmit.

On the 3d of November, William Dobie, a weaver, who
had been for ſome time under confinement, was ſet at li-
berty. And, the ſame day, the Rev. Mr Thomas Wylie,
formerly mentioned, preſented a petition to the council,
that they would be pleaſed, on account of the bad ſtate
of his health, to permit him to reſide with his family in
any place of Lothian, being 50 miles from his former
charge. With this the council thought proper to comply,
upon his giving a new bond for his peaceable behaviour.

The ſame day, Sir John Niſbet's patent to be king's ad-
vocate was read, and recorded in council; the former ad
vocate, Sir John Fletcher, having been accuſed of bribery,
partiality, and other pieces of miſmanagement, and not be-
ing able to acquit himſelf ſufficiently, was obliged to re-
ſign.

On the 17th of November, the council iſſued a procla-
mation, ordering all miniſters, who had been ejected ſince
1661, to retire from Edinburgh within forty eight hours;
and not to reſide either there, or in any other place prohi-
bited by act of council 1663, without a proper licence,
under the penalty of being impriſoned, and otherways
puniſhed as ſeditious perſons. Such were the reſtraints
now laid upon miniſters, that they were forbid to pray to
God, or get relief from men, or to inſpect the education
of their children at ſchools, unleſs they would ſo far own
the prelates, as to get a warrant from them. Popiſh
prieſts and profeſſed papiſts were entirely at liberty, while
ſome of the king's beſt ſubjects durſt not reſide in Edin-
burgh, or any royal burgh, for no other crime but be-
cauſe they adhered to their principles againſt prelacy.

The people of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion, were every
where harraſſed, and the methods mentioned in the laſt
chapter were continued. Every day the ſoldiers grew
more and more inſolent at the churches where any old
Preſbyterian miniſters ventured to continue. And through
the weſt and ſouth of Scotland multitudes of families were
diſperſed, the ſoldiers acting much in the ſame manner
there, as the French dragoons did ſome years after among
the Proteſtants of that kingdom. Sir James Turner act-
ed a very ſevere part wherever he went, though I am not
able to give particulars.

On the 18th of December, the council made an act a-
gainſt Mr John Spreul, late town clerk of Glaſgow, for
refuſing to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, or-
dering him to oblige himſelf, under the pain of death, to
depart out of the kingdom by the firſt of February next,
and not to return without licence.

The ſame day the council granted a licence to the Rev.
Mr Alexander Moncrief to come to Edinburgh, and to
continue there till the 24th inſtant, about his neceſſary af-
fairs; for ſuch were the times, that, let a miniſter's af-
fairs be ever ſo urgent, he durſt not go to any royal burgh
without licence.

After this good man had ſuffered much from one of
the heritors of his pariſh, as is related in the Fulfilling of
the Scriptures, though his name be not mentioned, and
had been diſcharged from his pariſh, &c. people began to
reſort to him and hear him preach in his own family;
wherefore he was obliged to remove from his houſe, and
required to live 20 miles from his charge, and 7 or 8 miles
from a biſhop's ſeat, or royal burgh; and after that was
conſtrained to retire to a remote place in the Highlands,
where he was in a ſurpriſing manner ſupported, and was
ſingularly uſeful in the converſion of many.

At length he came with his family to Edinburgh, where
he preached for ſeveral years in private. After he was in-
tercommuned, in the year 1675, his houſe and many other
places about the city were ſearched for him, but he was
wonderfully kept out of their hands. He was much ſo-
licited, when in theſe hazardous circumſtances, to leave
the kingdom, and had an ample call to Londonderry in
Ireland; but he always declined to leave his native coun-
tey, and, in his pleaſant way, uſed to ſay, That he would
ſuffer where he had ſinned, and eſſay to keep poſſeſſion of
his Maſter's houſe till he ſhould come again. He left ma-
ny ſeals of his miniſtry, being a moſt faithful and labori-
ous miniſter. He was mighty in prayer, and had many
remarkable turns. He lived till harveſt 1688, and ſo he
may be ſaid to have kept poſſeſſion of his Maſter's houſe
till he came again.

The year 1665 does not afford ſo many inſtances of
cruelty as the former years. The earl of Rothes, who
was loaded with places of truſt and power, and was the
chief manager in Scotland, under the direction of Lauder-
dale, was ſcarcely ever ſo ſevere as when in the high com-
miſſion court, where he did not act like himſelf.

The firſt general calamity that befel the nation this year
was the war with the Dutch, which the king entered in-
to in the winter. It does not ly ſo immediately before me
to ſpeak of the riſe of this war. It is by this time pretty
well known that his majeſty was much under the influence
of Lewis XIV. the young king of France, and that it was
in concert with him that this war was undertaken. The
declaration was dated the 22d of February, but was not
publiſhed till the 2d of March; and on the 3d of May a
proclamation was iſſued, appointing the 7th day of June
to be obſerved as a public faſt, which was complied with
by all the Preſbyterian miniſters who as yet kept their
churches. Mr James Fergusſon, miniſter at Kilwinning,
when intimating this faſt to his people, gave a particular
account of the crying ſins of the time as the cauſes of the
threatened judgments, which he reduced to this one ge-
neral, the contempt of the goſpel, which was diſcovered
by the rough handling of the meſſengers of Chriſt, the
laying many congregations deſolate, contempt of the Sab-
bath and ordinances, and all kinds of profaneneſs.

Much about the ſame time the peſtilence broke out in
England, which increaſed in the city and ſuburbs of Lon-
don, till eight or ten thouſand died in a week. It was
obſerved, in ſeveral papers written at this time, that the
appearance of a globe of fire was ſeen above that part of
the city where the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt,
Whether that be true or not, it is certain the plague
broke out there, and very few were left alive in the ſtreet
where that open affront had been put upon the oath of
God.

It may, perhaps, be thought trifling to obſerve, with
my author, that ſeveral remarkable ſigns did preceed and
accompany the peſtilence, ſuch as the appearance of a
large comet in the end of the laſt year, and of another in
the month of March this year, together with ſuch a vio-
lent froſt and ſnow, that there was no plowing from De-
cember till the middle of March. How far theſe things
were the prognoſtics of ſevere judgments, I ſhall leave to
the reader's own conſideration.

The raging of the peſtilence in England, the Dutch
war, and ſome other occurrences, a little abated the fury
of the managers in Scotland, ſo that ſome ſmall favours
were granted to preſbyterian miniſters and gentlemen, and
the prelates began to be jealous of ſome of the noblemen

as not hearty enough in the interests of the church. Thus, on the 3d of May, Walter Pringle of Greenknows, who had been confined in the jail of Elgin, had his confinement enlarged, by obtaining the liberty of the whole town, and a mile round it, during the council's pleasure; and Mr John Smith minister was permitted to come to Edinburgh for the advice of physicians.

But there happened a little disturbance in the West kirk of Edinburgh, between the parishioners and Mr William Gordon their curate; some of them were put in the thieves hole, and a man and a woman were scourged through the city; and about this time several in Dumfries were imprisoned for not hearing the curates and submitting to prelacy.

Nothing could alter the cruel dispositions of the bishops; and Sharp pretending that the Fanatics, a name of reproach now given to the Presbyterians, would rise and join the Dutch against the king, orders were given for disarming the west and south of Scotland. The violent seizure of their arms, which ensued, was a very great loss to the country. But it does not appear that joining the Dutch was so much as thought of by them; howbeit, the prelates judged themselves to be more secure, and at greater liberty to do what they pleased.

The duke of York sailed with the English fleet in May, and before the Dutch could be ready, alarmed the coasts of Holland. In the beginning of June the two fleets engaged, and the Dutch were overthrown by the English. The duke, seeing it was in vain to continue his pursuits returned to the coasts of England, and after he landed, repaired to Whitehall to receive the acclamations of the court and city of London.

On the 20th of June, the council at Edinburgh published the king's proclamation for a thanksgiving to be observed on the 13th of July, recommending it to the bishops to order the ministers to read the same from their respective pulpits.

The same day Mr John Stirling minister was permitted to come to Edinburgh about his necessary affairs, and afterwards allowed to continue there for his health till the 1st of September. And on the 6th of July Mr John Cameron who had been confined to Lochaber since the year 1662, had his confinement changed to the city of Glasgow, and two miles round.

About this time Mrs Trail, wife of the Rev. Mr Robert Trail, formerly banished and who was now in Holland, was imprisoned for sending and receiving letters from her husband, though they contained nothing but what related to their family affairs.

On the 2d of August a convention of estates met at Edinburgh, in order to raise money for his majesty to support him in his war against the Dutch. Sharp was chosen preses; for it seems this was for the honour of the church, that a bishop should be at the head of the convention.

It may be thought that by this time episcopacy was established in Scotland upon as sure foundations as human laws could go; but care must be taken to perpetuate this to futurity. Accordingly this summer an order was made, appointing that no academical degrees be conferred upon any who would not take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; so that a great many of the most deserving youths of the nation were excluded from their degrees, and the rising generation became gradually disposed to take any the most dubious and self-contradictory oaths that were imposed upon them.

It was a great eye-sore to the bishops that some of the ejected ministers continued to preach openly, especially in the shire of Galloway: wherefore that country was grievously oppressed by Sir James Turner, and the soldiers under his command, at their instigation, and several in the parish of Stewartoun in Airshire were fined and others imprisoned, for hearing a presbyterian minister. Bishop Burnet says, That the whole face of the government looked liker the proceedings of an inquisition than of legal courts, and yet Sharp was never satisfied; to Lord Rothes and he went up to court the first year of the Dutch war. When they waited first on the king, Sharp put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that, if matters went not well, none was to blame but either Lauderdale or Rothes: and now he came to tell his majesty, the matters were worse than ever; and he must do the earl of Rothes the justice to say, that he had done his part. This exasperated Lauderdale, who, when Rothes and Sharp withdrew, told the king, he was now accused to his face, but he would quickly let him see what a man Sharp was. Accordingly he followed the archbishop home, and told him, it was the king's pleasure that he should put the accusation with which he had charged him in writing, and that he must either go through with it, else he would charge him with leasing making. All this Lauderdale delivered in such a tone, that the upright prelate fell a trembling and weeping. He protested he meant no harm to him; only was sorry that his friends upon all occasions, were pleading for favour to the Fanatics. Lauderdale told him that would not do; he was not answerable for his friends, except when they acted by directions from him. In short, Lauderdale carried Sharp to the king, where he retracted every thing he had said in so gross a manner, that the king said afterwards, that lord Lauderdale was ill natured to press it so heavily, and force Sharp to give himself the lie in such coarse terms.

The high-commission court was now upon the decline; and though many were summoned before them, yet few obeyed the summons. However, some were obliged to appear, particularly Mr Hugh Peebles minister at Lochwinnoch, in the shire of Renfrew, for preaching one Sabbath night in his own house, to some people who came to hear him. When this worthy person came before them, he used as much freedom as might have provoked them to banish him, had not this inquisition court been on the decline. He told them, he did not know what to make of their court; he could reckon it scarce either civil or ecclesiastiastic; yet, since his majesty's commissioner had commanded him, and self-defence was *juris naturalis*, he had appeared innocently to defend himself, and to give account of plain matter of fact. He told them, that, ever since he was a minister, he had exercised in his family on Sabbath evenings, and the people who lived near him generally came to hear him. He alledged that the law did not militate at all against this, if the reason of the law be considered. The reason of their law behoved to be either to prevent peoples leaving the public worship which could have no place in this case, or to prevent peoples being alienated from the minister of the congregation, which could have no room either, since there was no minister settled where he lived: and since his preaching to his neighbours, whom he could not exclude from his house, did not thwart with the reason of the law, it could not be said to thwart with the law itself. But all he could say had no effect, the archbishop of Glasgow was resolved to be rid of him; and accordingly he was ordered to leave the west country, and confine himself to the town of Forfar, near 100 miles from where he then lived, and had his estate.

When the high commission did not answer the persecuting designs of the prelates, other measures were fallen upon. Accordingly the prelates gave in groundless suggestions and invendo's against many excellent gentlemen, especially in the west, to such who found means to procure an order from the king to imprison them.

Bishop Burnet says, That his namesake the archbishop of Glasgow, was sent up to possess the king with the apprehensions of a rebellion in the beginning of the Dutch war. He proposed that about twenty of the chief gentlemen of those counties might be secured, and undertook for the peace of the country if they were clapped up. The earls of Argyll, Tweeddale, and Kincardin, were cold in all these things. However, about the beginning of September, the following gentlemen, without the least previous notice, were apprehended by a written order from the commissioner, viz. major-general Robert Montgomery brother to the earl of Eglintoun, Sir William Cuningham of Cuninghamhead, Sir George Maxwell of Nether-Pollock, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, Sir William Muir of Rowallan, major-general Holborn of Menstrie, Sir George Monro, colonel Robert Halket brother to Sir James Halket of Pitfirren, Sir James Stewart late provost of Edinburgh, Sir John Chiesly of Carsewell, James Dunlop of that ilk, and William Ralstoun of that ilk. Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, and others, were also imprisoned

impriſoned about this time. Theſe excellent perſons, when brought to Edinburgh, were, without any accuſation or reaſon given, in a moſt arbitrary manner, impriſoned in the caſtles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, and other places, where ſeveral of them lay for many years. This could not but increaſe the peoples hatred at the prelates.

On the 3d of October the council appointed the marquis of Huntley to be educated in the family of Archbiſhop Sharp. We ſhall afterwards find that this nobleman was created duke of Gordon, and lived in the profeſſion of popery; ſo that it would ſeem the primate took but little care of his education; he had ſomething elſe to mind than ſuch a triffle as this.

On the ſame day the council iſſued a proclamation, ordering all perſons who had not paid their fines, according to the act of parliament, to pay them in the manner following, viz. They that live in the ſouth of the water of Eſk, to pay their firſt moiety by the firſt of December, and thoſe on the north ſide by the firſt of February, under the penalties mentioned in the act. It was alſo publiſhed, that all who would take the oath of allegiance, and ſubſcribe the declaration, ſhould be remitted the ſecond moiety. There were ſome other regulations made on the 23d of November, but none were to have any part of their fines remitted unleſs they complied with the terms juſt now mentioned, which no Presbyterian could conſiſtently do: and as there were but few that paid the firſt moiety, Sir James Turner was ſent with an army to levy the ſame by military force, which produced diſmal effects as we ſhall hear.

On the 11th of October, Archbiſhop Burnet, at the diocеſan meeting at Glaſgow, got a ſentence of depoſition paſſed againſt the Rev. Mr Robert Maxwel, miniſter at Monkton, in the presbytery of Ayr, becauſe he refuſed to ſubmit to the biſhop, and baptized and married ſeveral who could not in conſcience favour the curates. He was one of the old miniſters, who had been ſettled before 1649, and having been a grave, pious and uſeful preacher in that place for almoſt 25 years, had juſtly acquired the hearty affections of his people. But there was no continuing among them when the ſentences of this period were executed by an armed force. His ſentence was intimated to him on Saturday 18th of February; next day he preached his farewel ſermon from Eccleſ. v. 4. and had a very moving diſcourſe at his ſorrowful parting with his beloved people.

By this time many of the old miniſters, who had ſeen the church of Scotland in her glory, were got to their reſt, ſeveral of whom died in peace, and in the ſolid hopes of a glorious deliverance to this church. Others of them were haraſſed by the prelates; for in October Mr Matthew Ramſay miniſter at Kilpatrick weſter, in the presbytery of Dumbarton, a perſon of a moſt amiable character, was depoſed by the biſhop in the ſynod of Glaſgow, merely for not attending on the diocеſan ſynods and preſbyteries. For the ſame cauſe Mr Robert Mitchel miniſter at Luſs was ſuſpended, in order to be depoſed next year; and on the 14th of that month, George Porterfield and John Graham, late provoſts of Glaſgow, who had retired to Holland, were ſummoned to appear before the council, and upon their not appearing they were declared rebels and fugitives.

In the beginning of November Rothes the commiſſioner made a tour with a ſplendid retinue to the weſt, and returned to Edinburgh about the end of the month, when ſome more ſevere acts were made againſt presbyterian miniſters, as had been the conſequence of Middleton's circuit ſome years before.

Accordingly on the 7th of December, they made an act againſt all the Presbyterian miniſters, extending even to thoſe who had been ſettled before the year 1649, who had relinquiſhed their miniſtry, or been depoſed by their ordinary, and all ſuch as ſhould hereafter relinquiſh their miniſtry, or be depoſed by their ordinary, commanding them to remove with their families, 20 miles from their reſpective pariſhes, 6 miles from Edinburgh, or any cathedral church, and 3 miles from any royal burgh, and not two of them to reſide together in any one pariſh; and all heritors and others were forbid to give them any countenance in their preaching, or in any part of their miniſterial office.

The ſame day a proclamation was ordered to be publiſhed and printed againſt conventicles, forbidding all meetings for worſhip except thoſe authoriſed by law; and declaring that all found at ſuch meetings ſhould be looked upon as ſeditious perſons, and be puniſhed by fining, confining, and other corporal puniſhments, as the council, or any having his majeſty's commiſſion, ſhould think fit; and farther declaring, that all miniſters that ſhall perform any part of the miniſterial office at ſuch meetings, and all who ſhall encourage them, ſhall be liable to the higheſt pains to be inflicted on ſeditious perſons; and ordering all ſheriffs, ſtewards, magiſtrates, and other officers, to ſearch for ſuch meetings and apprehend every perſon who ſhall be found at them.

In the preamble to this proclamation theſe conventicles are ſaid to be the ordinary ſeminaries of ſeparation and rebellion, and in themſelves reproachful to the king's government eccleſiaſtical and civil. That they were ſeparated from the prelates and their curates is certain; but the reader is to judge whether theſe had not ſeparated from the reformation of the church of Scotland, and given juſt ground to miniſters and people to withdraw from them: and whether it was not the greateſt reproach to the king's government to overturn that very reformation which his majeſty and the moſt of the managers, the primate himſelf not excepted, had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to maintain.

The ſame day an act paſſed in favour of the curates, wherein it was declared, 'That his majeſty with advice of his council, by virtue of his ſupremacy, allows the biſhops to depute ſuch of their curates as they judge qualified to convene for exerciſe, and to aſſiſt in diſcipline, as the biſhops ſhall direct them. But the whole power of eccleſiaſtical cenſure is reſerved to the biſhop, except the parochial rebukes, and he only muſt ſuſpend, deprive or excommunicate.' This was the form of the Prelatical preſbyteries, all flowing from the ſupremacy. They would not call it by the name of a presbytery, and in ſo far they were right; for the members of it were the creatures and the tools of the biſhops, as theſe were of the king. How unlike were theſe to the regular presbyteries that were formerly in this church! might it not now be ſaid, 'How is the gold become dim! how is the moſt fine gold changed!'

The ſame day the council granted a commiſſion for diſcipline, and authoriſed miniſters in each congregation to chuſe proper perſons for this end: of which more in the next chapter. And, at the ſame ſederunt, taking into conſideration, that there were ſeveral priſoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, who were willing to be tranſported to Barbadoes, they ordered the magiſtrates to deliver them up to George Hutcheſon, merchant for tranſportation. Theſe were the remains of thoſe who had been impriſoned by the high commiſſion-court; and, conſidering the hardſhips they underwent, it was no wonder though they preferred tranſportation to ſuch a confinement. The next chapter will open a more melancholy ſcene than any that has yet appeared.

CHAP. VII.

Of the conferrence preceeding the riſing at Pentland, of the riſing itſelf, the executions and other conſequences of it, together with ſeveral other tranſactions during the year 1666.

WE have ſeen what cruel and unjuſt oppreſſions the Presbyterians endured during the five preceeding years; how their liberties, both religious and civil were taken away, their miniſters ſcattered, baniſhed, or impriſoned, and the people expoſed to the mercileſs ravages of the army, and all this for maintaining their religious principles; and yet they bore all with ſurpriſing patience, hoping that providence would interpoſe for their relief; and therefore, as one juſtly obſerves, if the poor people, by thoſe inſupportable violences were made deſperate, who can juſtly reflect upon them, when *oppreſſion makes a wiſe man mad*? But the meaſures purſued this year were ſuch, as if there had

had been a formed deſign to force the people into violent meaſures.

We have heard how the council granted a commiſſion for diſcipline, in which the eſtabliſhed miniſters were to make choice of proper perſons to aſſiſt them in the exercise of diſcipline; in caſe of refuſal or delay to acquaint the biſhop; upon his order to ſummon them before the brethren of the exerciſe; and, upon their not appearing, or perſiſting in their refuſal, to tranſmit their names to the council, in order to their being proſecuted according to their demerit, and as the caſe required. They well knew that no real Preſbyterians would ſo far abandon their principles as to incorporate themſelves with the prelates; becauſe that would have been a formal acknowledgment of the hierarchy, which they juſtly looked upon as contrary to the word of God. And ſo this was another deſigned occaſion of ſuffering to many, who choſe that rather that ſinning.

It was common, in this period, firſt to puniſh for what they reckoned criminal, and then to make laws againſt what they had already condemned. Accordingly, even before this commiſſion for diſcipline was granted in the year 1664, ſeveral ſuffered for not aſſiſting the Epiſcopal incumbent, as John Crosbie in Eaſtercotes in the pariſh of Cambuſlang, who was haraſſed from place to place. Robert Hamilton in Spital, in the ſame pariſh, was this year proſecuted on the ſame account: William Alexander and William Baird, in Drips of Carmonnock, were fined in 100 l. each; Jaſper Touch in the pariſh of Kilmarnock, and Andrew Tailor joiner and carpenter there, ſuffered on the ſame account; nay, it was for refuſing compliance with this order, among other things, that the laird of Aikenhead, with ſome other gentlemen, were confined to Inverneſs, Elgin of Moray, and other places at a vaſt diſtance from their own homes. But it is remarkable, that Mr John Paterſon biſhop of Roſs wrote to his ſon, deſiring him to acquaint Sharp, that the weſt country gentlemen confined in Elgin, &c. had done more miſchief by coming north, than they could have done in their own houſes, and begging that they might be recalled, that ſo they might not ſpread their infection farther.—So that the ſufferings of the perſecuted turned to the real prejudice of the cauſe of Prelacy.

As the council's commiſſion for diſcipline, ſo the other proclamations emitted with it, brought great diſtreſs upon the ejected miniſters. Accordingly on the 25th of January, the council directed letters for apprehending and proſecuting the following miniſters, viz. Meſſrs. John Welſh late at Irongray, for preaching every week in the ſaid pariſh and other places, and baptizing ſeveral children; Gabriel Sempill late at Kirkpatrick in the muir, for the like grievous crimes, and for riding through the country in diſguiſe with ſword and piſtols; John Blackader late at Traquair, Robert Archbald late at Dunſcoir, and Alexander Peden, all for preaching and baptizing; John Crookſhank for holding conventicles and keeping by him *Buchanan de jure regni apud Scotos*, and tranſlating the ſame into Engliſh; Samuel Arnot late at Kirkpatrick-Durham, John Douglas, William Reid and John Wilkie, with John Osburn in Keir, who preſumed to act as an officer, in giving notice to the people of what they called *unlawful meetings*. Though all theſe were diſaffected to prelacy, yet none of them, as was falſely alledged in the general charge, had either preached or declared againſt the king's authority.

On the firſt of February the council gave orders that the excommunicated Quakers ſhould be perſecuted according to act of parliament, and that the laws againſt the Papiſts ſhould be put in execution; but it is well known that quakers and papiſts ſtill increaſed. The biſhops were only in earneſt to bear down Presbyterians.

Accordingly on the 8th of February, a proclamation was publiſhed againſt a book intitled, *An apologetical relation of the particular ſufferings of the faithful miniſters and profeſſors of the church of Scotland ſince Auguſt* 1660. This book which was compoſed in Holland by the Rev. Mr John Brown, formerly baniſhed, was ordered to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, in the high-ſtreet of Edinburgh on the 14th of February, and all perſons who had copies of it were commanded to deliver them to the ſheriffs of their reſpective ſhires, or elſe be liable to the payment of 2000 l. Scots money. Nevertheleſs this method did not anſwer their purpoſe; for the people were the more eager in ſeeking after prohibited books. But ſuch was the popiſh and prelatic way of dealing with books which they were not able to anſwer. How vile it was to proſecute any for having that book before the proclamation was exhibited againſt it, muſt be left with the reader; yet, on the ſame 8th of February, the widow of the Rev. Mr James Guthrie, and her daughter Sophia Guthrie, were brought before the council, for no other reaſon but for having the ſaid book, in which Mr Guthrie is fully vindicated; and, upon their refuſing to diſcover the author or from whom they had it, they were ordered to be ſent to Zetland, where they were to be confined during pleaſure, and to be kept priſoners till they ſhould be ſent thither. But, next council day, the members, being ſenſible of the harſhneſs of this ſentence upon a petition from theſe gentlewomen, referred the matter to the commiſſioner.

The ejected miniſters, as yet, for the moſt part, preached only to their own families, and to a few neighbours, who now and then ſtole into their houſes. ſo that, unleſs in a few places in the ſouth, there were but few ſermons preached in the fields. However, the oppreſſions of the people were on the growing hand: and Mr Burnet, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, being now a member of the privy-council, had no ſmall ſhare in the weſt country perſecution. He was a mighty biggot for epiſcopacy, and ordained five or ſix of his curates publicly after the Engliſh pontifical, the better to inure the weſt of Scotland to theſe novelties. He likewiſe grievouſly oppreſſed the city of Glaſgow, ſo that ſome of the greateſt epiſcopalians proteſted againſt his encroachments upon the magiſtrates of that city. He turned out ſeveral preſbyterian miniſters who had been connived at before his acceſſion, ſuch as Mr William Hamilton, miniſter at Glaſford, and others: and his underlings were very aſſiſting to him in his cruelties and oppreſſions.

The hiſtorian Burnet ſays, that many of the epiſcopal clergy of Scotland were much offended at the proceedings of thoſe times, and that he himſelf obſerved the deportment of the biſhops was, in all points, ſo different from what became their function, that he had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within him upon it. They were not only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, but were very remiſs in all the parts of their function.—Whereupon he took a reſolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances he and the other clergy lay under by the ill conduct of the biſhops—of this he wrote out ſome copies and ſent them to all the biſhops of his acquaintance.—Whereupon he was called before the biſhops, and treated with great ſeverity; for Sharp propoſed that he ſhould be ſummarily depoſed and excommunicated, but none of the reſt would agree to that. — Let the reader judge whether matters were not bad, when a biſhop gives ſuch an account.

In the ſpring, Sir James Turner marched with his ſoldiers to the preſbyterians in the weſt, and laid them under the moſt grievous oppreſſions; and any curate, with two or three of theſe armed apoſtles, fined whom they pleaſed, and made as large exactions as they had a mind, for now the gentleman muſt pay, if his lady, ſervant or tenants did not attend at the pariſh-church; the tenant muſt be oppreſſed if his landlord withdrew, though he and his family attended ever ſo cloſely. The widow, the fatherleſs, the old and infirm were not ſpared, the very poor muſt beg to pay the church fines. The meat was snatched from the mouths of innocent children, and thrown to the dogs; many houſes were quartered upon, and when their proviſion was conſumed, the furniture was either ſold or burnt, ſo that multitudes of poor families were ſcattered and reduced to the utmoſt extremities. Who then can be ſurpriſed, though the biſhops, who were formerly hated for their perjury and immorality, were now the averſion of the people for their cruelty? for all this was by their inſtigation. I muſt refer the reader to Mr Wodrow's appendix, and to the account given in Naphtali, where he will find what prodigious ſums were extorted from the ſouth of Scotland, and what unheard of cruelties were exerciſed towards the poor people. In a few weeks the ſums

rates and ſoldiers levied above 50 000 l. Scots from the two ſhires of Galloway and Dumfries.

The parliamentary fines, of which we have ſpoken were exacted with rigour this year; and, in order to this the troopers of the king's guard were ordered to different parts of the country, with a liſt of thoſe from whom they were to exact ſuch and ſuch ſums, and to take free quarters till they had paid the utmoſt farthing. Then they muſt go to Edinburgh, report their diſcharge, and ſatisfy the troopers beſides. This was called *riding money*, and ſome times the riding money was as much as the fine itſelf to the common ſort of people. No excuſe was ſuſtained, but taking the oath of allegiance and ſubſcribing the declaration; and they who would neither entertain the troopers, nor pay their fines, were immediately dragged to priſon where they lay a conſiderable time at the public charges.

While matters were thus managed the primate repaired to London; and, as the high commiſſion was diſſolved, ſome other method muſt be taken to carry on his wicked deſigns. Accordingly it was propoſed that ſome more forces ſhould be raiſed for ſecuring the quiet of Scotland. Burnet tells us, that, when the king aſked how they ſhould be paid, Sharp very readily ſaid, the money raiſed by fining was not yet diſpoſed of, ſo he propoſed the applying of it to that uſe, which was agreed to; and by this means our managers were baulked in their expectations of dividing the ſpoils among themſelves. Burnet goes on, and ſays, The blame of all this was laid on Sharp, at which they were out of meaſure enraged, and charged him with it. He denied it boldly, But the king publiſhed it ſo openly, that he durſt not contradict him. Many, to whom he denied that he knew any thing of the matter,—affirmed it to the king, and Lauderdale laid before his majeſty ſeveral of his letters which he had wrote to the presbyterians after the king knew he was negotiating for epiſcopacy,—ſo that the king looked on him as one of the worſt of men. And yet we will find he was afterwards repreſented as a ſaint.

In conſequence of the above reſolutions, two regiments of foot, and ſix troops of horſe were raiſed. Thomas Dalziel of Binns was made general, and William Drummond, brother to the lord Madertie, lieutenant general. Theſe, with the guards and the earl of Linlithgow's regiment, made up about 3000 foot, and eight troops of horſe; all were ordered to obey the general, who was a man naturally rude and fierce. This army was to be maintained by the fines collected and to be collected, and the general was to be accountable to the exchequer for every farthing; but, as moſt of theſe fines were otherways diſpoſed of before they came into the general's hands, it was found neceſſary to lay new burdens on the ſubjects for the ſupport of the army: accordingly about the end of the year, a proclamation was iſſued for calling a convention of eſtates to raiſe money for maintaining the ſoldiers in defence of the kingdom. But their ſitting was prevented for ſome time.

On the 8th of June the council paſſed an act forbidding univerſity degrees to be conferred upon any ſtudents who would not take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy: for eccleſiaſtical tyranny is generally accompanied with encroachments on civil liberty.

On the Lord's day, the 2d of September, a moſt dreadful fire began in Pudding lane behind the monument, London, which within three or four days conſumed 89 churches, the city gates, Guildhall, many public ſtructures, hoſpitals, ſchools, libraries, a vaſt number of ſtately edifices, 13200 dwelling houſes, 400 ſtreets; ſo that multitudes of people loſt their eſtates, goods and merchandiſe, and many families, once in flouriſhing circumſtances, were reduced to beggary. From the inſcription about the plinth of the lower pedeſtal of the monument, it appears that the Papiſts were the authors of this fire; for thus they ſay, 'This pillar was ſet up in perpetual remembrance of the moſt dreadful burnings of this proteſtant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the Popiſh faction, in the beginning of September in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to their carrying on their horrid plot for the extirpating the proteſtant religion and old Engliſh liberty and introducing popery and ſlavery.' The parliament being of this perſuaſion, addreſſed the king to iſſue out a proclamation, requiring all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits to depart the kingdom within a month; and appointed a committee, who received evidence of ſome papiſts, who were ſeen throwing fire balls into houſes, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets. This ſad diſaſter produced ſome kind of liberty to the non-conformiſts about the ruinous metropolis, whereas the managers in Scotland continued to oppreſs their fellow ſubjects. Accordingly on the 13th of September the council wrote to the town of Ayr, ſignifying it was their pleaſure that provoſt Cunningham ſhould be continued this year as he was the laſt, and thus they were deprived of their right of election; nay, letters were ſent to each of the royal burghs, ordering them to ſend in to the clerk of the council the declaration appointed by parliament, ſigned by all the members of their town council and magiſtrates ſince the laſt returns were made.

On the 11th of October the council publiſhed a moſt rigorous proclamation, for procuring obedience to eccleſiaſtical authority; by which all maſters were charged to ſee that their ſervants give obedience to all the acts relating to conformity, and keep none in their ſervice but ſuch as did. All heritors are to ſee to their tenants conformity, and abſtain from conventicles, to oblige them to give bond for this effect, and to raiſe horning againſt them upon their refuſal, &c. This proclamation was in conſequence of a letter from the king, at the inſtigation of Sharp. Now by all theſe impoſitions, exactions and terrible encroachments upon every thing that was dear to men and Chriſtians, the ſpirits of many could not miſs being imbittered.

Nevertheleſs the poor people lay under all theſe miſeries for the ſpace of ſeven months and upwards, after Sir James Turner marched to the weſt in the ſpring, and not only diſcovered their patience towards God, but gave a greater teſtimony of their loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the king, than all the fulſom and flattering profeſſions of their enemies.

Sir James continued to make terrible havoc in the weſt and ſouth, inſomuch that the country was almoſt ruined, families were diſperſed, and many, both gentlemen and others, were forced to abandon their houſes, and wander from place to place among the moſſes and mountains, to eſcape the ravages of the mercileſs ſoldiers, without having the leaſt thoughts of reſiſtance, or riſing in arms for their own defence; for that which, in a little time, happened at Pentland, was entirely caſual. Thus.

Upon Tueſday the 13th of November, four countrymen, refreſhing themſelves in Darly a ſmall country village in Galloway, were informed that three or four ſoldiers had ſeized a poor old man, and brought him to his own houſe, where they were going to ſtrip him naked, and ſet him upon a red-hot grid-iron, and uſing other unheard of cruelties. Whereupon they immediately repaired to the houſe, and begged the ſoldiers to let the poor man alone; but, they, inſtead of complying with this humane deſire, attacked the countrymen, who got the better, diſarmed the ſoldiers, and thereby relieved their fellow ſufferer; and leſt the other ſoldiers in the pariſh, who were about twelve in number, ſhould fall upon them, they were joined that ſame night by ſeven or eight acquaintances, and, next morning early, ſurpriſed the party of ſoldiers, who all laid down their arms, except one who was killed in making reſiſtance.

The country upon this was alarmed, and being juſtly apprehenſive of the reprifals which Sir James Turner would make, they reſolved to ſtand upon their own defence the beſt way they could. Accordingly the laird of Barſcob, and ſome other gentlemen in the neighbourhood, joined the countrymen, and getting together about fifty horſe and a few foot, without loſs of time, went to Dumfries on the 15th of November, where they ſurpriſed Sir James, took him priſoner, and diſarmed his ſoldiers, without hurting any of them except one who was wounded. This being done, they went to the market croſs, and publicly drank the king's health and proſperity to his government.

This was the beginning of the inſurrection this year, and therefore it is falſe to pretend that it was in concert with the whigs in England, or the republicans in Holland,

ſuch a correſpondence, as my author obſerves, not being practicable, conſidering the circumſtances above related. Rapin juſtly obſerves, that it may eaſily be judged that the Preſbyterians in England) would not have been ſpared if they could have been proved guilty, conſidering how the government ſtood affected towards them. Neither was this the effect of any previous conſultation with their miniſters, as biſhop Burnet intimates; ſo that he ſays, without any ground or proof, that Meſſrs. Sempill, Maxwell, Welſh, and Guthrie, were the chief incendiaries. The reader is to judge whether the informations Burnet had from the perſecutors, or thoſe of the ſufferers themſelves are moſt to be depended upon.

Steven Irvine, one of the magiſtrates of Dumfries, informed the council, on the 16th of November, of an inſurrection by a conſiderable number of armed men, particularly that he ſaw—Neilſon of Corſock, MacLellan of Barſcob, Mr Alexander Robertſon a miniſter's ſon—MacCartney of Blaiket, and James Callum glover in Dumfries, among them.

This news ſtruck a panic into the prelates and managers at Edinburgh, who immediately diſpatched an expreſs to court, The earl of Rothes had gone for London a day or two before the affair at Durly; ſo that the expreſs reached the king before his lordſhip, who was quite ſurpriſed when his majeſty told him of this horrible conſpiracy as the council termed it. At the ſame time the council wrote to the neighbouring noblemen to exert themſelves in maintaining the peace, and to concur with and ſupport the forces. Next day they ordered general Dalziel, with as many of the forces as could be got together, to march to Glaſgow; and from thence to the place where he ſhould find the inſurrection come to any head. After they had taken care to ſecure the metropolis and given orders to ſeveral of the nobility to contribute to their aſſiſtance by coming in with their men in arms. On the 21ſt they iſſued a proclamation againſt the rebels in arms in the weſt, commanding and charging them to deſiſt from their rebellion, lay down their arms, and ſurrender their perſons to the lieutenant general, or ſome other of the king's officers or magiſtrates, within 24 hours after this publication; and diſcharging all perſons from aiding, aſſiſting, reſetting, harbouring, or keeping any correſpondence with the rebels, or any of them, under the pain of treaſon.

This proclamation contained no promiſe of indemnity ſo that, upon the matter, it was commanding people to come to the ſcaffold, and requiring them to ſubmit to the ſeverities of the prelates, who were the fountain of all their miſeries Beſides 24 hours after the date of the proclamation was ſo ſhort a time, that it would be elapſed before it could reach them in Galloway; ſo that it was not poſſible for them to comply with the terms of it: biſhop Burnet therefore was miſinformed, in ſaying that the general publiſhed a proclamation of pardon to all who ſhould in 24 hours time return to their houſes.

After thoſe who were in arms had ſeized Sir James Turner, and were determined to defend themſelves, their firſt care was to increaſe their numbers, and get all the aſſiſtance they could from their friends: but ſeveral whom they hoped would have joined them thought it convenient to remain quiet. However they were joined by colonel Wallace, Mr John Welſh, Mr Robertſon and others. When they were got to Ochiltree, Mr John Guthrie miniſter at Tarbolton, came to them with ſome from that pariſh; Mr Gabriel Sempill preached to them, and here they moddeled themſelves, choſe their own officers, and held their firſt council of war, where, after prayer, they reſolved to march eaſtward to Edinburgh. When they were got to Douglas, after debating upon that important queſtion, whether they ſhould diſperſe or continue in arms, it was reſolved upon the latter believing that God was able to ſave by few as well as by many; and if, their deſign ſhould miſcarry, they had this for their comfort, that they had engaged in the cauſe of religion and liberty, and were now willing to die as ſacrifices to theſe. They alſo reſolved to carry Sir James Turner along with them; and though it was propoſed to take away his life, yet they ſpared him, becauſe it is ſaid, they found, that, notwithſtanding all the cruelties he had uſed, he had received orders from the biſhops, and others, for a great deal more than he had done. They alſo unanimouſly reſolved to renew the covenants.

Accordingly on Sabbath morning they marched for Lanerk, to which they came at night. In the way, Knockbreck's two ſons, with ſome few from Galloway, overtook them, and ſignified that no more were to be expected from the ſouth; and here their number where the largeſt being judged to be near three thouſand: however, one who was among them, ſays, 'When we came to Lanerk, I know not if we were much above fifteen hundred horſe and foot; ſeveral indeed were daily joining us.'

This night they gave intimation that they intended next day, being the 26th of November, to renew the covenant at that place. In the morning they were alarmed with the news that general Dalziel was within a few miles of them; whereupon ſome were for poſtponing the renewing of the covenants, but the motion was rejected. And therefore, after they had ſent out ſome parties, and placed proper guards, they began the ſolemn work. And as they could not, together with the townſmen and the people in the adjacent country, meet all in one place, they ſeparated into two companies. The foot aſſembled in the high ſtreet of Lanerk, to whom Mr John Guthrie miniſter at Tarbolton preached a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion. After which he read the covenants, to every article of which, with their hands lifted up to heaven, they engaged with great ſolemnity and devotion. The horſemen met at the head of the town; Mr Gabriel Sempill and Mr John Crookſhank preached to them After ſermon the covenants were read and ſworn, as above. It is likely it was about this time that the principal perſons among them drew up and agreed to the following ſhort manifeſto or declaration, for preſent uſe, with a view to draw up a larger one afterwards; neither month nor day is mentioned.

Declaration of thoſe in arms for the Covenant 1666.

'THE nature of religion doth ſufficiently teach and all men almoſt acknowledge the lawfulneſs of ſelf-defence; yet we thought it our duty, at this time, to give an account unto the world of the occaſion and deſign of our being together in arms, ſince the rife and ſcope of actions, if faulty, may render a thing right, upon the matter ſignified.

'It is known to all, that the king's majeſty, at his coronation, did engage to rule the nation according to the revealed will of God in Scripture, to proſecute the ends of the national and ſolemn league and covenant, and fully to eſtabliſh the presbyterian government, with the directory for worſhip, and to approve all acts of parliament eſtabliſhing the ſame; and thereupon the nobility and others of his ſubjects did ſwear allegiance, and to religion was committed unto him as a matter of truſt, ſecured by moſt ſolemn indenture betwixt him and his people.

Notwithſtanding all this, it is ſoon ordered that the covenant be burnt, that the tye of it is declared void and null, and men forced to ſubſcribe a declaration contrary to it; epiſcopal government in its height of tyranny is eſtabliſhed, and men obliged by law not to plead, witneſs or petition againſt thoſe things; grievous fines, ſudden impriſonments, vaſt quarterings of ſoldiers, and a cruel inquiſition by the high commiſſion court, were the reward of all ſuch who could not comply with the government by lordly hierarcy, and abjure the covenants, and prove more monſtrous, to the waſting their conſcience, than nature would have ſuffered heathens to be. Thoſe things, in part, have been all Scotland over, but chiefly in the poor country of Galloway at this day; and, had not God prevented, it ſhould have in the ſame meaſures undoubtedly befallen the reſt of the nation ere long.

'The juſt ſenſe whereof made us chuſe rather to betake ourſelves to the fields for ſelf defence, than to ſtay at home burdened daily with the calamities of others, and tortured with the fears of our own approaching miſery. And conſidering our engagement to aſſiſt and defend all thoſe who entered into this league and covenant with us; and to the end we may be more vigorous in the proſecution of this matter, and all men may know the

the true ſtate of our cauſe, we have entered into the ſolemn league and covenant; and, though it be hardly thought of, renewed the ſame, to the end we may be free of the apoſtacy of our times, and ſaved from the cruel ſnares perſons reſolved to adhere to this have met with; hoping that this will wipe off the reproach that is upon our nation, becauſe of the avowed perjury it lies under. And being fully perſuaded, that this league, however miſrepreſented, contains nothing in it ſinful before God, derogating to the king's juſt authority, the privileges of the parliament, or liberty of the people; but, on the contrary, is the ſureſt bond whereby all theſe are ſecured, ſince a threefold cord is not eaſily broken, as we ſhall make appear in our next and larger declaration, which ſhall contain more fully the proofs of the lawfulneſs of entering into covenant, and neceſſity of our taking arms at this time for the defence of it; with a full and true account of our grief and ſorrow for our ſwerving from it, and ſuffering ourſelves to be divided, to the reproach of our common cauſe, and ſadning the hearts of the godly; a thing we ſorrowfully remember, and firmly reſolve againſt in all time coming.'

Though this paper ſeems to have been made in haſte, in the midſt of many inſurmountable inconveniencies, yet there is nothing in it againſt the king's authority. As for the larger declaration promiſed, it is probable that it was never drawn up, they having been a little after this routed at Pentland.

While they were at Lanark, William Laurie of Blackwood came up to them from duke Hamilton, to prevail with them to lay down their arms; but, as he did not apply to colonel Wallace, or any of their officers, he returned without ſucceſs.

In the afternoon Dalziel with his army were entering Lanark before colonel Wallace, and his men had all left it. The latter marched that night to Bathgate, where, having no accommodation, they renewed their march about midnight, and came, after inexpreſſible fatigue, to the Newbridge in the morning and it was reckoned that they loſt that night near the half of their little army. From thence they marched to Collingtoun, within three miles of Edinburgh.

By this time the king's forces were come to Calder, within five miles of them, and all gentlemen, and others in Edinburgh, who had horſes, were ordered by the council to mount them and march under the command of the marquis of Montroſe to join the general, ſo that they could not have any of their friends to join them; for though a few gentlemen in Renfrew-ſhire had aſſembled a ſmall company of horſemen, about fifty in number, in order to join colonel Wallace yet, hearing that Dalziel was between them and their friends, they thought proper to diſperſe. This ſmall party was commanded by William Muir of Caldwell, and with him were Robert Ker of Kerſland, Caldwell of that ilk, the laird of Ralſton, John Cuningham of Bedland, William Porterfield of Quarreltoun, Alexander Porterfield his brother, &c. together with Mr Gabriel Maxwell miniſter at Dundonald, Mr George Ramſay miniſter at Kilmawers, and Mr John Cuthairs miniſter at Glaſgow. The laird of Blackſtoun was likeways with this party, but was ſo far from being a friend to the cauſe they were appearing for, that, upon hearing of the defeat at Pentland, it is ſaid, that he went to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and upon promiſe of pardon, diſcovered and informed againſt the reſt.

But to return to colonel Wallace and his decreaſing army. While on their march to Collingtoun the laird of Blackwood came up again to them, with propoſals from duke Hamilton to lay down their arms, in hopes of an indemnity, which the duke promiſed to endeavour to obtain for them; but the colonel, and they who were with him, diſmiſſed Blackwood without complying with his propoſals. When they got to Collingtoun, and found themſelves diſappointed of any aſſiſtance from their friends about Edinburgh, both their hopes and counſels were at an end. And here Blackwood came a third time, and with him the laird of Barſkimming, to renew the former propoſal, withal ſignifying, that he had obtained the general's word of honour for a ceſſation of arms till next morning, and that he had undertaken as much for them. Upon this colonel Wallace, by appointment, wrote to the general by theſe two gentlemen, repreſenting their grievances, and ſignifying that their deſign was to apply to the council for redreſs, and deſiring a paſs for one of their number that might repreſent their grievances and deſires more fully; concluding with a requeſt that Blackwood might return with the general's anſwer as ſoon as poſſible.

But the general inſtead of returning any anſwer, ſent the letter directly to the council; and notwithſtanding the aſſurances given of a ceſſation of arms, marched his army ſtreight towards them. Colonel Wallace and his men reſolved upon the beſt retreat they could, and from Collingtoun they marched to the Houſe of the Muir, and from thence to Rullion green near Pentland hills, where they drew up the diſpirited remains of their army, not exceeding nine hundred men, ſpent and fatigued. They had no deſign of fighting, but were ſtill in hopes of a peaceable concluſion from Blackwood's negotiation.

They were ſcarce formed in this manner, when an alarm came that a body of horſe was approaching them; they found it was Dalziel's van, which had cut through the ridge of Pentland hills, and came upon them undiſcovered, till they were within a quarter of a mile, upon a hill over againſt them. Colonel Wallace upon this ſent captain Arnot, who repulſed lieutenant-general Drummond, who was ſent by the general with a ſelect party to begin the attack. Here Mr John Crookſhank and Mr Andrew MacCormock, two miniſters come from Ireland, were both killed. When the lieutenant general was driven back, there was no ſmall confuſion among Dalziel's army, of whom not a few threw down their arms. Major Learmont made the ſecond attack, and repulſed the enemy; duke Hamilton narrowly eſcaping. The laſt encounter was after ſunſet, when the general's foot, flanked with their horſe upon all hands, overpowered the colonel's little army, and compleatly routed them. There were ſome more than fifty of the colonel's men killed, and as many taken priſoners. The two miniſters, and others who had loſt their lives in this action, were buried at Rullion green. There was afterwards a ſtone put on their grave, with an inſcription, which the reader will find in the Cloud of Witneſſes; ſeveral of Dalziel's army were wounded, but few of them killed.

After this action the people in the adjacent pariſhes were very cruel to the flying army, many of whom they killed, and others they took priſoners. Colonel Wallace and Mr John Welch fled north: the former got ſafe to Holland, where he lived ſeveral years. We ſhall meet with the latter afterwards. Thus was this body of good people diſperſed and routed upon the 28th of November 1666, and an end put to this riſing, which by their enemies was termed A Rebellion, A Horrible Conſpiracy, and what not; though they always proteſted, that their only deſign was to preſent their grievances, and bear a teſtimony for their God and their country, for their religion and liberty.

The day after the engagement the council wrote to the king, giving him an account of the ſuppreſſing of the rebellion; in which, among other things, they ſay, 'Many of them are priſoners, againſt whom there ſhall be ſpeedy proceedings—but although this rabble be totally diſſipated for the time, yet we conceive ourſelves obliged, in the diſcharge of our duty, to repreſent unto your majeſty, that thoſe principles, which are pretended as the ground of this rebellion, are ſo rooted in many ſeveral places through the kingdom, and there be ſuch juſt grounds of apprehenſions of danger from perſons diſaffected to your majeſty's government, as it is now eſtabliſhed by law, as will require more vigorous application for ſuch an extirpation of it, as may ſecure the peace of the kingdom, and due obedience to the laws. And we ſhall not be wanting in any thing in our power; and your majeſty's commands ſhall be obeyed by

Your majeſty's moſt, &c.
ST. ANDREWS, &c.

Though this ſmall handful was provoked to riſe in arms, great care was taken, not only to brand the whole body of Preſbyterians as rebels and traitors, but alſo to prevent any

any of thoſe who had been in the engagement from making their eſcape. On the 30th of November the lord treaſurer was appointed by the council to ſecure the goods and rents of all who had been at Pentland. After all this, it is eaſy to imagine that the hardſhips of theſe poor people muſt have been exceeding great. Beſides theſe who, having eſcaped from the field of battle, were moſt cruelly murdered by the country people, multitudes were forced for many years to lurk and conceal themſelves, and undergo intolerable difficulties.

On the 1ſt of December the council gave orders to general Dalziel to ſearch for and apprehend all perſons and their horſes, who have been in arms with the rebels or are ſuſpected, ſince or before their defeat, or who have reſet, and been aiding to them, and to intromit with their goods, and require him to quarter upon their lands with his forces; and duke Hamilton was appointed to ſeize all ſuch in Lanerk-ſhire.'

On the 4th of December a very ſevere proclamation was publiſhed, in which all and every one of the ſubjects were ſtrictly charged not to harbour, reſet, ſupply, or correſpond, hide, or conceal the perſons of colonel James Wallace, major Learmont —Maxwel of Moncrief younger.—MacLellan of Barſcob,—Gordon of Barbreck,—MacLelland of Balmaghan,—Cannon of Barnſhalloch younger,—Cannon of Barlay younger —Cannon of Mordrogget younger,—Welſh of Skar,—Welſh of Cornley,—Gordon of Garery in Kells, Robert Chalmer brother to Gadgirth, Henry Grier in Balmaclellan, David Scot in Irongray, John and William Gordons, John MacNaught, Robert and Gilbert Cannons, all in Midtoun of Daliy;—Gordon of Barelder in Kirkpatrick-Durham, Patrick MacNaught in Cumnock, and his ſon John,—Gordon of Holm younger,—Dempſter of Curridow, — of Dargoner. — of Sandiwal —Ramſay in the Mains of Arniſtoun. John Hutcheon in Newbottle,—Rew chaplain to Scotſtarbet, Patrick Liſtoun in Calder, and his ſon William, James Wilkie in the Mains of Cliftounhall, the laird of Caldwell, the goodman of Caldwell, the laird of Kerſland, the laird of Bedland Cuningham,—Porterfield of Quarreltoun, his brother Alexander, — Lockhart of Wickettſhaw,—Trail ſon to Mr Robert Trail, David Poe in Pokelly. and Meſſ Gabriel Semple, John Semple, John Guthrie, John Welſh, Samuel Arnot, James Smith, Alexander Peden. —Orr, William Veiten, —Patton, — Crookſhank, Gabriel Maxwel, John Carſtairs, James Mitchel, William Forſyth, or any others who concurred or joined in the late rebellion; but that they purſue, apprehend, and deliver them up to juſtice, otherways to be eſteemed and puniſhed as favourers of it. My author was informed, that ſeveral of the perſons above named were no ways concerned in the riſing. Mr John Crookſhank was killed in the action, ſo that none could be in hazard of correſponding with him. And as the John Semple named among the miniſters, might be miſtaken for one Mr John Semple miniſter at Carſphairn, who was noways concerned, he was obliged to crave redreſs, which was granted.

The ſame day, the council deſired the archbiſhops to order the biſhops in their reſpective ſees to oblige all the miniſters in their ſeveral dioceſes to give in a liſt of the names of ejected miniſters, with the places of their reſidence, and in what manner any of them have tranſgreſſed againſt the act of Auguſt 13 1663.

But to come to the caſe of the priſoners taken at this time. The victory was celebrated with almoſt as many guns from the caſtle as there were men ſlain in the field. The priſoners, about fifty in number, who were taken in the action, were brought in by the ſoldiers to Edinburgh, and the country people brought in about thirty more. Theſe were all crouded together in a place near the tolbooth, called Haddow's hole, now one of the churches of the city. When that worthy old miniſter Mr Arthur Murray, who lived in the ſuburbs, opened his window, and ſaw Dalziel's army marching with their banners diſplayed, and heard the ſhouts of the ſoldiers triumphing over the priſoners, he was ſo oppreſſed with grief, that he took his bed immediately, and died in about two days after.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, That the beſt of the epiſcopal clergy ſet upon the biſhops to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming interceſſors for the priſoners, and the country, that was like to be quartered upon and eaten up for the favour they expreſſed to them; and that many of the biſhops went into this, particularly that Wiſheart biſhop of Edinburgh ſhewed a very Chriſtian diſpoſition at this time, by ſending every day ſupplies to the priſoners, which was likewiſe done by almoſt the whole town.—But Sharp, ſays Burnet could not be mollified; on the contrary, he encouraged the miniſters in the diſſaffected counties to bring in all the informations they could gather againſt the priſoners, and all who had been among them, that they might be ſought for and proceeded againſt.—And that the miniſters, in theſe parts, acted ſo unbecoming a part, that the averſion of the country to them was increaſed to all poſſible degrees. They looked on them as wolves, and not as ſhepherds. There is one thing more that my author aſſerts, upon good information, viz. that after ſeveral of the priſoners were condemned, and a few executed, a letter came down from the king diſcharging the taking any more lives. This letter came to Sarp as preſident of the council, who kept it up till as many as he had a mind ſhould die. Biſhop Burnet ſays, That Mr MacKail's death, of which we ſhall hear, was the more cried out on, becauſe it came to be known afterwards, that archbiſhop Burnet of Glaſgow, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the king, in which he approved of all that they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough ſhed, and therefore ordered that ſuch of the priſoners as ſhould promiſe to obey the laws for the future ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to the plantations. Notwithſtanding, Burnet let the execution go on, before he produced his letter. But I am apt to believe, if Burnet brought this letter from the king, he deliverd it into the hands of Sharp, who wickedly and baſely concealed it; but however this was, it appears the king was more humane than the biſhops.

On the ſame 4th of December the council ordered the king's advocate to proſecute eleven of the priſoners for high treaſon, viz. major John MacCulloch, captain Andrew Arnot brother to the laird of Lochbridge, Thomas Paterſon merchant in Glaſgow, John Gordon of Knockbreck, and his brother Robert, John Parker in Beſtie, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton in Kilmuir, John Roſs in Manchlin John Shields in Titwood, and Chriſtopher Strang. They likewiſe appointed Sir John Hume of Renton juſtice-clerk, and Mr William Murray advocate, juſtice-depute. to be their judges, and allowed four advocates to plead for them. On the ſame day the judges ſat down for form's ſake, heard the advocates plead a little, and very quickly pronounced ſentence, that they ſhould be all hanged at the market croſs on Friday the 7th of December; their heads and right arms to be cut off, and diſpoſed of as the council ſhould ſee fit. The council, the day before the execution, met, and ordered that the heads of major MacCulloch, John and Robert Gordon, be ſet up at Kirkcudbright; John Parker, Gavin and James Hamiltons, and Chriſtopher Strang, at Hamilton; John Roſs and John Shields at Kilmarnock; and captain Arnot's at the watergate; and the right hands of the above mentioned perſons were ordered to be affixed on the public ports of the town of Lanerk, being the place where they took the covenant. Thomas Paterſon received ſentence of death along with the reſt, but his dying of his wounds prevented the execution. The curious reader may ſee the whole proceſs againſt theſe excellent perſons in Mr Wodrow's appendix to book ſecond, Vol. I. No. 3.

Theſe ten were accordingly executed on the 7th of December. Biſhop Burnet ſays true, That it was a moving ſight to ſee ten of the priſoners hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh, eſpecially if we conſider that they were taken upon quarter, and ſolemn parole to have their lives ſpared, as was argued at their trial. In their joint teſtimony, which, together with the dying ſpeeches of ſome of them, are in Naphtali, they ſay, 'We are condemned by men, and eſteemed by many as rebels againſt the king whoſe authority we acknowlege. But this is our rejoicing, the teſtimony of our conſcience, that we ſuffer not as

as evil-doers, but for righteouſneſs, for the word of God and the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and particularly for our renewing the covenant, and, in purſuance thereof, for preſerving and defending of ourſelves by arms againſt the uſurpation and inſupportable tyranny of the prelates, &c. It is ſaid that when Knockbreck and his brother were turned off the ladder, they claſped one another in their arms, and thus endured the pangs of death.

Their heads and right arms were diſpoſed of according to the above order of council. The heads of John Parker, Gavin and James Hamiltons, and Chriſtopher Strang, were afterwards buried in the church yard of Hamilton, and a grave-ſtone was put on them, with an inſcription recorded in the Cloud of Witneſſes.

Great were the hardſhips which ſome of the families of theſe martyrs were brought to; for inſtance, major Mac Culloch, before Pentland, had ſeveral ſoldiers quartered upon him for thirty days, and, beſides their entertainment, had eight pence a day to pay to each of them, over and above 100 l. of fine to Sir James Turner. He payed likewiſe his whole parliamentary fine 1665, conſiſting of 1200 merks, together with 300 merks of riding money to the ſoldiers who enacted it. His eſtate lay under forfeiture from Pentland to the revolution. After Pentland, one Charles Campbell, without any warrant, ſeized a horſe and cloaths from his ſon William, who was not in the leaſt concerned in the riſing, to the value of 13 l. ſterling. His eldeſt ſon was kept a whole year in priſon after his father's execution, only becauſe he was his ſon. And in the year 1681, his lady had thoſe lands forfeited in which ſhe was happily infeft when her huſband ſuffered.

The haraſſings and loſſes of the family of Gordon of Knockbreck cannot be expreſſed; for beſides their parliamentary fine, and their common loſſes, with others in Galloway, by Sir James Turner, in a little after Pentland their whole crop for that year was ſeized, and their houſehold furniture diſpoſed of and deſtroyed; ſix ſoldiers were quartered upon the houſe from the 6th of March to the 9th of July; near 400 l. of ceſs and other impoſitions were levied from them and their tenants. In 1648. captain Strachan and his troop ſeized upon and deſtroyed their whole houſhold-furniture; next year Glenlyon, with near 200 Highlanders ſtayed at Knockbreck from Thurſday to Monday, conſumed and took along with them all the victuals they could find, broke the windows, and took the horſes to bear away the ſpoil; and, laſt of all, cruel Lagg came with a party, plundered the houſe, and was with difficulty prevented from ſetting it on fire. From theſe the reader may form a judgment of the calamities that befel the families of thoſe who ſuffered at this time.

The laſt execution being over, other five of the priſoners were proſecuted for high treaſon, and condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 14th of December. The judges did not, it ſeems, now give themſelves the trouble of hearing advocates, but made ſhorter work, and went upon their own confeſſion; and the council, being weary of diſpoſing heads and arms, ordered the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to fix their heads where they thought fit, and to bury their bodies in the common place. Their names are as follows, viz. Mr Alexander Robertſon preacher of the goſpel, (who was betrayed by his friend the laird of Mortoun, to whom he ſurrendered upon promiſe of his life, and whom he expreſsly forgave at his death) John Neilſon of Corſack, George Crawford in Cumnock, John Gordon in the pariſh of Irongray, and John Lindſay in Edinburgh; the laſt named was reſpited, but the reſt were all executed at the time and place appointed. The ſpeeches of the firſt three are in Naphtali, where, with their laſt breath, they refuſed that their riſing was rebellion: they all acknowleged the king's juſt authority; particularly George Crawford ſaid, 'That which moved me to come along with theſe men, was their perſuaſion and my deſire to help them, (which, with a ſafe conſcience I could not well refuſe) who, being tyrannically oppreſſed by the prelates and their dependents and upholders, and ſeeing no other way was left to be taken, took up arms for their own defence. And if this be rebellion, I leave it to the great God the ſupreme judge to diſcern; for, in my weak judgment, I found it warrantable from the word of God, and without prejudice of the king's authority, (which I pray God to direct and guide in the right ways of the Lord, and to make him proſper therein, ſo that he may be ſurely ſet in his kingdom, having him whom no enemy can reſiſt to defend him) ſeeing there was nothing intended by us againſt his or any others juſt and lawful authority,' &c. He was ſo pleaſed to die, that he preſſed to be up the ladder, and when upon the top of it triumphed in Chriſt.

John Neilſon of Corſack a gentleman of excellent parts, was ſingled out to greater ſufferings than any of his fellow ſufferers. When Sir James Turner came firſt into Galloway, Mr Dalgliesh the curate of Parton delated Corſack for non-conformity; whereupon Sir James exacted 400 l. Scots from him, and, contrary to promiſe, ſent him priſoner to Kirkcudbright. After this, by the quartering of ſoldiers, which Sir James ſent upon him, he ſuſtained the loſs of above 1973 l. Scots. By theſe hardſhips he was oblig'd to leave his houſe, and wander from place to place. During his wandering he loſt his horſe worth 100 l. was himſelf apprehended, and for ſome time kept a priſoner. When they had turned his lady and children to the doors, they next fell upon his tenants, obliging them to bring in ſheep, lambs, meal, and malt to them, till they were almoſt ruined. And, laſt of all, they drove all his oxen and black cattle to Glaſgow, and ſold them; and all this for nothing but non conformity. Was it then any wonder that he, and many others in the like circumſtances, embraced the firſt opportunity to complain of, and relieve themſelves, if poſſible, from ſuch dreadful oppreſſions? But while attempting this he was taken at Pentland, and carried priſoner to Edinburgh. Sir James Turner uſed his intereſt to get his life ſpared, becauſe Corſack ſaved Sir James, when ſome moved to have cut him off, though none ſuffered more from Sir James than this good man. But the biſhops, at the deſire of Dalgleiſh the curate, prevailed above all the intereſt Sir James could make.

On the 4th of December the council ordered him and Mr Hugh MacKail to be tortured with the boots, (for they put a pair of iron boots cloſe on the leg, and drove wedges between theſe and the leg, until the marrow came out of the bone.) What moved the council to pitch upon theſe two is not known. A conſpiracy was pretended, and by this torture they were examined, in order to force them to make ſome diſcoveries. Corſack was dreadfully tormented ſo that his ſhrieks would have melted the hearts of any except thoſe preſent, who were ſo far from being moved, that they ſtill called for the other touch. Theſe were the times of prelacy!

His lady being in Edinburgh, after his death, Maxwell of Miltoun came to the houſe of Corſack with 30 men, took away every thing they could, and deſtroyed the reſt: nay, they turned the family, in which was a nurſe with a ſucking child, to the open fields. Sometime after this Sir William Bannantyne came, and took an inventary of every thing that was in the houſe, ſeized that year's crop, and arreſted the rents in the tenants hands. And becauſe Arthur M'Gachie in Glenhead, one of his tenants, had converſed with him a day or two before Pentland, he, his wife and young child, were carried off priſoners, and kept ſome weeks. Amongſt other hardſhips, lady Corſack had all her moveables ſeized, merely for converſing with her own ſon, who had been intercommuned or outlawed, and paid near 100 l. This family endured many other oppreſſions which I cannot inſert here. And therefore I go on to the proceedings againſt the other priſoners.

On the 5th of December a commiſſion was given to duke Hamilton, the marquis of Montroſe, the earls of Argyll, Linlithgow, Kelly, Galloway, Wigtoun, Nithſdale, Dumfries, Callander, Airly, Annandale, the lords Montgomery and Drumlanerk, the maſter of Cochran, general Dalziel, lieutenant-general Drummond, James Crichton brother to the earl of Dumfries, colonel James Montgomery, Charles Maitland of Haltoun, and Mungo Murray, or any three of them, with juſticiary power to go to any ſhire, burgh, or place, where there was any riſing or inſurrection, and there to hold courts, cite parties, and examine witneſſes, and take all other courſe

which they ſhall think fit, for trying and diſcovering all ſuch perſons as were authors, aiders, or abettors of the rebellion &c.

Accordingly, on the 17th of December, the earls of Linlithgow and Wigtoun, the lord Montgomery and Mungo Murray, having conſtituted themſelves in a court at Glaſgow, found Robert Buntine in Fenwick pariſh, John Hart in the pariſh of Glaſford, Robert Scot in Dalſerf, and Matthew Paton ſhoemaker in Newmills, guilty of rebellion and treaſon, and condemned them to be executed at Glaſgow the 19th of December. They behaved in a becoming Chriſtian way, had great peace of conſcience, and died with much joy and comfort.

It was here that vile practice was begun, which turned afterwards common, of beating drums when the ſufferers began to ſpeak to the ſpectators. A plain evidence of an ill cauſe, which cannot bear to ſee the light! The perſecutors were afraid leſt the laſt words of theſe dying martyrs ſhould make deep impreſſion on the hearers, and confirm the faith of thoſe who were well affected to liberty and religion; and indeed, ſuch was the Chriſtian and manly behaviour of theſe noble ſufferers, that few were terrified by their death, and many were convinced of the goodneſs of their cauſe, and fixed in their reſolutions to adhere to it.

Upon the 18th of December the juſtice clerk and juſtice depute condemned Mr Hugh MacKail, Thomas Lenox, Humphrey Colquhon, Ralph Shields an Engliſh man, clothier in Air, William Peden merchant there, John Wodrow merchant in Glaſgow, Robert MacMillan, John Wilſon in the pariſh of Kilmawers, and Mungo Caipo in Evandale, to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 22d of December. Three of theſe, viz. Robert MacMillan, William Peden, and Thomas Lenox, together with John Lindſay formerly reſpited, got off, either on account of their making ſome partial compliances, or perhaps the reaſon was the king's letter formerly mentioned, wherein he declared he would have no more lives taken; the reſt were all executed, and died with Chriſtian reſolution and courage.

John Wodrow merchant in Glaſgow, in his teſtimony and letter to his wife, was obſerved to exceed one of his education and circumſtances; the reader will find both in Naphtali; he concludes his letter to his wife in theſe words, 'And now I give you and my four children unto the Lord, and commit you to him as your covenanted God and huſband, and my childrens covenanted father. I ſay no more, but either ſtudy to be indeed a ſincere Chriſtian, and a ſeeker of his face in ſincerity, or elſe you will be nothing at all. I recommend you and your young ones to him who is God all ſufficient, and aboundeth in mercy and love to them that love him and keep his covenant. The bleſſing of the covenant be upon you; ſo fare you well. So ſaith your loving and dying huſband,' &c. Humphrey Colquhon ſpoke not like an ordinary townſman, but like one in the ſuburbs of heaven, related his Chriſtian experiences, called for his Bible from one of his friends, laid it on his wounded arm, and ſpoke to the admiration of all that heard him. John Wilſon began his ſpeech with theſe remarkable words, 'Good people and ſpectators, I am here condemned to die upon alledged rebellion againſt the king and his authority, which God knoweth I never intended; for, in my judgment, a man's endeavouring to extirpate perjured prelates and abjured prelacy, according as he is bound by oath in a ſworn covenant, may very well ſtand with a man's loyalty to king and country; for I am ſure the king and his ſubjects may be happy, yea, more happy in the extirpation of prelates and prelacy, than in their ſtanding; yea, the throne ſhall not be eſtabliſhed in peace, until that wicked plant be plucked up by the roots, which hath ſo much waſted and made deſolate the Lord's vineyard. For my part, I pray that the Lord may bleſs our king with bleſſings from heaven, and make him a friend to the intereſt of Chriſt, as the beſt way for the ſtanding of his throne to many generations: and I pray for all that are in authority under his majeſty, that the Lord may not lay to their charge the innocent blood of his ſaints which they have ſhed,' &c. There was likewiſe ſomething very moving and affecting in the laſt teſtimony of Ralph Shields on this occaſion, in which he not only declared his reſpect for authority, as the ordinance of God, appointed for the puniſhment of evil doers, and his ſincere wiſhes for his majeſty's welfare, but likewiſe the encouragement he had in ſuffering at this time for the cauſe of Chriſt; and ſpeaking concerning his native country, for which he could not but have a real affection, he expreſſed himſelf thus, 'O that it were the happineſs of my nation of England, once to ſubject themſelves to the ſweet yoke of Chriſt's reformed government, under which this nation of Scotland hath enjoyed ſo much of the power and life of the goſpel, by a faithful miniſtry, according to the covenant ſworn by them both,' &c.

But as the circumſtances of Mr MacKail's ſufferings at this time are more ſingular, I muſt be excuſed for giving the particular relation ther of recorded in Naphtali.

Mr Hugh MacKail having finiſhed his ſtudies at the univerſity of Edinburgh, and under the care of his uncle of the ſame name, was licenſed by the preſbytery of Edinburgh 1661, being then 20 years of age. He was ſometime chaplain to Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield. All his public performances met with univerſal acceptance, until the 21ſt of September 1662, when he preached his laſt public ſermon in the great church of Edinburgh, from Song i. 7. in which, ſpeaking of the many and great perſecutions that had befallen the church, he ſaid, among other things, 'That the church and people of God had been perſecuted by a Pharaoh upon the throne, a Haman in the ſtate, and a Judas in the church.' And though he made no application, yet the caſes of Haman and Judas appeared to the conviction of his adverſaries to have ſuch a reſemblance to the condition of the rulers of the ſtate and church at that time, particularly of Lauderdale and Sharp, that, a few days after, a party of horſe was ſent to apprehend him, but he happily eſcaped, retired to his father's houſe, and ſoon after went abroad, where he accompliſhed himſelf in his ſtudies for a few years.

When he came home he was the more qualified to be the object of the prelates ſpite and malice. At laſt he occaſionally joined thoſe who roſe in arms in Galloway, and continued among them a little time, till Tueſday the 27th of November, when, not being able to endure the fatigues of conſtant marching, he left them near the new bridge upon Crammond water, and was taken by ſome country men as he was paſſing through a place called Braid's Craigs.

When he was brought to Edinburgh, he was carried firſt to the council-houſe, and, after being ſearched for letters, and none being found, was committed to the tolbooth.

Next day, by order of council, he was examined before the earl of Dumfries, lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Prieſtfield, and others; but he waved the queſtion, and refuſed to ſign any thing they wrote, becauſe he conceived he was not obliged to be his own accuſer. On the 29th he gave in a declaration under his own hand, teſtifying that he had been with the weſt-land forces, with whom he occaſionally met, and that he reſolved to have withdrawn from them upon the firſt opportunity, which he was about to do when he was taken, without either offering to fly or reſiſt, which he deſired the council to rather to believe, becauſe he had told ſo much to William Laurie of Blackwood: but though Blackwood owned this to be truth, yet the council, ſuſpecting Mr MacKail to have been a contriver of the inſurrection, and privy to all their deſigns, importuned him to be ingenuous in declaring who were the ringleaders of their late riſing, and what correſpondence they had either at home or abroad. And, in order to extort ſuch a confeſſion, on Monday the 3d of December the boots were laid before him on the council table, and they gave him to know, that if he did not confeſs he ſhould be tortured with them to morrow.

Accordingly, on Tueſday December the 4th, he was again brought before the council, and, after the torture of John Neilſon of Corſack, of which we have heard, he was again examined by the earl of Rothes, the marquis of Montroſe, and ſeveral others; and, being urged to confeſs, he ſolemnly declared that he knew no more than he had already confeſſed; whereupon they ordered the executioner

ſooner to put his leg into the boot, and proceed to the torture. He received ten or eleven ſtrokes, with conſiderable intervals, to the extraordinary compreſſion of fleſh, ſinews and bones, all which he endured with a moſt Chriſtian patience. Before he got the laſt three ſtrokes he proteſted ſolemnly, in the ſight of God, that he could ſay no more, though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as that poor leg.

On the 10th of December he and other ſeven received their indictments of treaſon, and were ſummoned to appear before the juſtices on the 12th. But, his torture and cloſe impriſonment having thrown him into a fever, he was not able to make his appearance, and therefore, on December the 11th, he gave in a petition to the lords of council, begging a reſpite, ſince he was neither able to walk nor ſtand, and ſeeing his acceſſion to the crimes with which he was charged was ſo very ſlender, being only ſimple preſence, and that too but occaſional, which was mitigated by his purpoſe and actually coming off from them. Together with his petition there was preſented an atteſtation under the hand of ſeven ſurgeons, declaring his weak and ſickly condition; whereupon the council ordered two phyſicians and two ſurgeons, viz. Sir Robert Cuningham, doctor Hay, James Borthwick, and Thomas Kincaid, to viſit him, and return their atteſtation, upon ſoul and conſcience, to the juſtices, by 10 o'clock next day. They were alſo to give in their atteſtation concerning other three indicted with him.

But as their atteſtation did not bear ſoul and conſcience, and the phyſicians refuſing to rectify it in theſe terms, though they declared they could confirm the truth of it by their oath, the juſtices poſtponed their proceedings againſt Mr MacKail and the other two, but appointed John Neilſon of Corſack, though alſo contained in the meſtation, with other four, to be brought to the bar, when they were condemned to be hanged on the Friday following.

Mr MacKail was brought before the juſtices on the 18th, with the other three who were arraigned with him; and being permitted to ſpeak after the indictment was read, he declared, among other things, that he was not aſhamed to own, that he was one of that afflicted and perſecuted party and perſuaſion called Preſbyterian. Then he ſpoke of the ties and engagements that were upon the land to God, and having commended the inſtitution, dignity, and bleſſing of Preſbyterian government, he ſaid, that the laſt words of the National Covenant had always great weight upon his ſpirit. Whereupon the king's advocate interrupted him, and deſired he would forbear that diſcourſe, ſince he was not called in queſtion for his perſuaſion, but for the crime of rebellion, in riſing in arms againſt his majeſty's authority. To this Mr MacKail replied, that he was moved to ſpeak in the manner he had done, from that weighty and important ſaying of our Lord Jeſus, 'Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him ſhall the Son of man confeſs before the angels of God: but he that denieth me and my words before men, ſhall be denied before the angels of God.' As for rebellion, he ſaid, his acceſſion was only ſimple preſence with a ſword, and that occaſional. The advocate replied, that not only preſence, ſuch as he was charged with, was treaſonable, but all incommuning or keeping company with rebels, though for half an hour only.

Though they could prove no more againſt him than what he had owned, yet the jury brought him in guilty, and he was condemned to be hanged at the market croſs of Edinburgh, December 22d, with ſeveral others. When he received his ſentence, he cheerfully ſaid, 'The Lord giveth life, and the Lord taketh, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.' And as he was carried back to the tolbooth, he ſaid to the lamenting people, 'Though men cut us off, God will receive us; truſt in God, truſt in God.

Being returned to priſon he immediately ſpent ſome time in prayer, for himſelf and thoſe condemned with him, with great fervency and enlargement. Being afterwards aſked how his leg was that had been tortured, he anſwered with cheerfulneſs, 'The fear of my neck now maketh me forget my leg.' After that he ſaid to another friend, 'O how good news, to be within four days journey to enjoy the ſight of Jeſus Chriſt!' and proteſted he was not ſo cumbered how to die, as he had been ſometimes to preach a ſermon. His father got liberty to ſee him, and their meeting was very affecting.

On the 20th of December, to ſatisfy the importunity of his friends, he gave in to the privy council the following petition.

'That whereas upon Tueſday laſt, I was indicted and condemned for the treaſonable deeds contained in the general and ſpecial indictment, exhibited againſt me; in the which ſpecial indictment containing my whole acceſſion to the ſaid crimes, there is only libelled preſence in ſeveral places, with an ordinary ſword, likeas my own confeſſion, which is the naked truth, doth declare how the ſame was occaſional; and ſeeing that it was alſo in ſome ſort purged and retracted by my withdrawing and deſerting with the firſt conveniency, whereby not only my caſe appears to be different from that of others, but, alſo as favourable as poſſibly can be, next to innocence itſelf, as appeared to many of thoſe gentlemen who were upon my aſſize; and, ſeeing the torture I ſuſtained, and the ingenuity I then uſed, as in the ſight of God to the utmoſt of my knowledge, deſerve that favour that was at that time inſinuated: and that it is expected that his majeſty, *whoſe mercy I beg*, according to his great clemency and the moſt uſual practice in the like caſes, will interpoſe his mercy for the reſcue of many who are equally with me involved; may it therefore pleaſe your lordſhips, graciouſly to conſider the premiſes, *and to pardon my great raſhneſs and precipitancy*, and therefore to indulge ſuch a reprival as your lordſhips ſhall think convenient, until his majeſty's gracious pleaſure anent the premiſes ſhall be fully known, at leaſt till the commiſſioners grace do return. And your, &c.'

N. B. The words in Italick characters were inſerted without his knowledge, when the petition was tranſcribed by his friends: however, the petition was rejected, and all the intereſt made was to no effect.

The laſt night of his life, being Friday, December the 21ſt he propoſed and anſwered ſome queſtions. As 1. 'How ſhould he, going from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people and guards of ſoldiers to a ſcaffold and gibbet, overcome the impreſſion of all theſe?' To which he anſwered. 1. By conceiving a deeper impreſſion of a multitude of angels who are alſo onlookers; according to that, "We are a gazing ſtock to the world, angels and men; for the angels, rejoicing at our good confeſſion, are preſent to convey and carry our ſouls, as the ſoul of Lazarus, into Abraham's boſom, not to receive them, for that is Jeſus Chriſt's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himſelf, with the ſongs of angels and bleſſed ſpirits; but the angels are miniſtring ſpirits, always ready to ſerve and ſtrengthen all dying believers. 2. As Stephen ſaw the heavens opened, and Jeſus ſtanding at the right hand of God, who then ſaid, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit, ſo, ſaid he, do I believe, that Jeſus Chriſt is alſo ready to receive his dying ſufferers.' II. He enquired, 'What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are haſtening to it, ſince the word ſays, "Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard &c." To this he anſwered, The Scripture helps us theſe two ways. 1. By way of ſimilitudes, as Rev. xxi. When heaven is held forth by a repreſentation of a glorious city there deſcribed; but in the ſame place it is alſo termed the bride. But O how unlike are theſe two, a bride and a city! which ſhews the inſufficiency and vaſt diſproportion of all ſuch ſimilitudes. And therefore he added, 2. That the Scripture furniſheth yet a more excellent way to conceive of heaven, viz. by conceiving the love of Chriſt to us, even the breadth and length, the depth, height and immenſeneſs of that love of Chriſt, which paſſeth knowlege, and which is alſo the higheſt and ſweeteſt motive of praiſe unto him that loved us, &c. and by holding forth the love of the ſaints to Chriſt, and teaching us to love him in ſincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven, Rev. v. 12. "Worthy is the lamb, that was ſlain, to receive power and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing." And no other thing but the ſoul breathing forth love to Jeſus Chriſt can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.'

He went to bed a little after eleven, and, riſing about five

five in the morning, he called his companion John Wodrow, and ſaid pleaſantly, Up, John; you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going this day to be hanged, ſince we ly ſo long. He ſpent his time moſt comfortably in prayer and edifying diſcourſe. His father coming to him that morning, his laſt words after prayer and a little talk, were, 'That his ſufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and would be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the miniſtry for 20 years.' And then he deſired his father to leave him, elſe he would trouble him. And, ſaid he, I deſire it of you, as the beſt and laſt ſervice, to go to your chamber and pray earneſtly to the Lord to be with me on that ſcaffold: for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be ſtrengthened to endure to the end.

About two o'clock he and his five fellow-ſufferers were carried to the ſcaffold: his countenance was moſt pleaſant and ſerene. When at the foot of the ladder, he directed his ſpeech northward to the multitude, who heard him with great attention. His ſpeech is printed in Naphtali, in which, among other things, he ſaid, that he heartily acknowledged his fainting in the day of trial, and in endeavouring to conceal his joining with thoſe who roſe in arms in their own defence; and farther expreſſed himſelf, 'Although I be judged and condemned as a rebel amongſt men, yet I hope, even in order to this action, to be accepted as loyal before God. Nay, there can be no greater act of loyalty to the king, as the times now go, than for every man to do his utmoſt for the extirpation of that abominable plant prelacy, which is the bane of the throne and of the country, which, if it be not done, the throne ſhall never be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs, until theſe wicked be removed from before it. Sure I am, theſe, who are now condemned as rebels againſt him, by them, are ſuch as have ſpent much time in prayer for him, and do more ſincerely wiſh his ſtanding, and have endeavoured it more by this late action, ſo much condemned, than the prelates by condemning them to death.

Having done ſpeaking to the people, he ſung a part of Pſalm xxxi. and then prayed with ſuch power and fervency, as drew tears from many. When taking hold of the ladder to go up, he ſaid, with a loud voice, I care no more to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my father's houſe. And hearing a noiſe among the people, as he was going up, he called down to his fellow-ſufferers, ſaying, Friends and fellow-ſufferers' every ſtep of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven. Then, having ſeated himſelf upon it, he ſaid, I do partly believe that the nobles, counſellors and rulers of the land, would have uſed ſome mitigation of this puniſhment, had they not been inſtigated by the prelates, ſo our blood lies principally at the prelates door. But this is my comfort now, that 'I know my Redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand at, &c.' And now I willingly lay down my life for the truth and cauſe of God, the covenants and work of Reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation; and it was for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate the bitter root of prelacy, that I embrace this rope (the executioner putting the rope about his neck.) Then hearing the people weep, he ſaid, Your work is not to weep, but to pray, that we may be honourably born through, and bleſſed be the Lord that ſupports me,— 'And that you may know the ground of my encouragment in this work, and what my hope is, I will read the laſt chapter of the Bible.' Which having done, he ſaid, 'Here you ſee the glory that it to be revealed upon me; a pure river of water of life, &c. where the throne of God is, and the lamb is in it, where his ſervants ſerve him, and ſee his face, and his name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they ſhall reign for ever, and ever; and here you ſee my acceſs to my glory and reward. "Let him that is a-thirſt come: and whoſoever will, let him take of the water of life freely." And here you ſee alſo my welcome, "The ſpirit and the bride ſay, Come." Then he ſaid, 'I have one word more to ſay to my friends, (looking down to the ſcaffold) where are you? You need neither lament me nor be aſhamed of me in this condition; for I may make uſe of that expreſſion of Chriſt, "I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to your king and my king, to the bleſſed apoſtles and martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem to an innumerable company of angels, to the general aſſembly and church of the firſt born, and to God the judge of all, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, and to Jeſus the mediator of the new covenant. And ſo I bid you all farewel, for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be, and he will alſo now be more refreſhing to me than you can be: Farewel, farewel in the Lord.' Then, the napkin being put over his face, he prayed a little within himſelf; after which he put up the cloath, ſaying he had one word more to ſay, in order to ſhew them the comfort he had in his death. And thus he ſaid, 'I hope you perceived no alteration or diſcouragement in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder, ſo I profeſs it is a wonder to myſelf; but I will tell you the reaſon of it. Beſides the juſtneſs of my cauſe, this is my comfort which was ſaid of Lazarus when he died, that the angels did carry his ſoul into Abraham's boſom; ſo that, as there is a great ſolemnity here, of a confluence of people, a ſcaffold, a gallows, and people looking out at windows; ſo there is a greater and more ſolemn preparation in heaven, of angels to carry my ſoul to Chriſt's boſom.' And, after ſpeaking a little to the ſame purpoſe, he concludes thus: 'And now I leave off to ſpeak any more to creatures, and turn my ſpeech to thee, O Lord! and now I begin my intercourſe with God, which ſhall never be broken off. Farewel father and mother, friends and relations; farewel the world and all delights; farewel meat and drink; farewel ſun, moon, and ſtars: Welcome God and Father; welcome ſweet Jeſus the mediator of the new covenant; welcome bleſſed Spirit of grace and God of all conſolation: welcome glory, welcome eternal life, welcome death.' Then he deſired the executioner not to turn him over till he ſhould put his own ſhoulders over firſt, which within a little he did, ſaying, 'O Lord, into thy hands I commit my ſpirit; for thou haſt redeemed my ſoul, Lord God of truth.'

I cannot but here inſert a paragraph of an Engliſh hiſtorian, in which he ſays, were the compleat hiſtorians ſenſible of the pathetic and ſublime in eloquence, they would own there is nothing like it (viz. the laſt words of this martyr, from farewel, &c.) in whatever they have ſeen of antiquity; and it being a ſuffering miniſter's dying words, adds a truth to the beauty, which cannot be met with in profane learning. This, adds he, is one of the covenant martyrs, which the Scots curates gave over to damnation, though I doubt not every good Chriſtian after reading the divine exultation of Mr MacKail will be ready to ſay to them, 'Be my portion with this good man, and take ye your lot with one another.'

Thus died Mr Hugh M'Kail, a youth of about 26 years of age, ſingularly pious, and of no ſmall ſhare of learning. He had ſeen the world. Never was a death more lamented; for, among all the ſpectators, there was ſcarcely an eye that did not run down with tears. It is ſaid, that he uſed to faſt one day in the week, and had frequently before this ſignified to his friends the impreſſion he had of his dying in this manner. His ſhare in the riſing was known to be ſmall. And when he ſpake of his comfort and joy in death, heavy were the groans of thoſe who were preſent.

Lord Rothes, the commiſſioner, being come from court reſolved upon a progreſs through the weſt and ſouth, that he might come at the bottom of ſome imaginary conſpiracy and plot; but no diſcoveries could be made. He came firſt to Glaſgow, and from thence to the town of Ayr, with a committee of noblemen and others, who were veſted with a juſticiary power.

Accordingly the earl of Kelly, lieutenant-general Drummond, Charles Maitland of Haltoun, and James Crighton brother to the earl of Dumfries, ſat down in judgment at Ayr on the 24th of December, two days after the execution of Mr MacKail. Twelve more of the priſoners were brought before them, who were found guilty of treaſon, and ordered to be executed at Ayr, Irvine, and Dumfries.

Thurſday the 27th of December was appointed for the exe-

execution of James Smith, Alexander Mac Millan, James MacMillan, George MacCartney, John Short, John Graham, John Muirhead and Cornelius Anderſon, at the town of Ayr. But the executioner, being unwilling to embrue his hands in the blood of theſe men, got out of the way. And the provoſt not being able to find one that would undertake the hateful work, propoſed that one of the eight ſhould have his life on condition of executing the other ſeven. Accordingly, in the morning, the magiſtrates went to priſon and laid the propoſal before the priſoners. Upon which Cornelius Anderſon ſaid, if the reſt would forgive him he would do it. They anſwered if he did it they ſhould wiſh him repentance and forgiveneſs. He was kept intoxicate till the execution was over. When he came off the gibbet, the boys and others ſtoned him, out of their own. His conſcience after this troubled him, every one ſhunned him, at laſt he retired to Ireland, where he built a little houſe in ſome common place near Dublin, and there his houſe and he were afterwards burnt to aſhes.

James Blackwood and John MacCoul were executed at Irvine on the 31ſt of December. Some of theſe ſufferers were ignorant, and very much diſcouraged at the near views of eternity; but, by the pains taken by the miniſter Mr Nisbet who viſited them, they died full of joy and courage, to the admiration of all who were preſent. John Grier and William Welſh, the remaining pair of thoſe condemned at Ayr, were executed at Dumfries on Wedneſday the 2d of January 1667. And thus from the 7th of December to the 2d of January, were no leſs than 34 executed out of 40.

The ſteddineſs of William Sutherland, executioner at Irvine, is too remarkable not to be recorded here; for, when the executioner at Ayr deſerted, nothing could prevail with him to ſupply his place.

He came of poor parents in Strathnaver, the wildeſt part of the north highlands, and had no education till after he came to be executioner at Irvine, and then with difficulty he learned to read Engliſh, and took great delight in his Bible; and the more he became acquainted with it, the more he began to ſcruple to execute any, unleſs he was clear they deſerved to die. When he was preſſed to go to Ayr his ſcruples increaſed, becauſe he had heard the priſoners were godly men, perſecuted by the biſhops, whom, ſays he, I never liked ſince I loved my Bible. Theſe words, Heb. iv. 12 made great impreſſion upon him, ſo that he was reſolved not to have a hand in that execution.

He was brought from the church before the Provoſt of Irvine, and, refuſing to go to Ayr, was put in priſon till Monday night, when a ſerjeant with ſix ſoldiers came from thence to fetch him; but ſtill perſiſting in his refuſal, he was remanded to priſon till next morning, when they forced him to go. And, being then brought before the provoſt of Ayr, he continued reſolute to have no hand in executing the priſoners, notwithſtanding all the promiſes that were made him; ſo that he was committed again to priſon.

Upon this one Mr White a curate, came to perſuade him to do his office, ſaying, do not you know that theſe men are guilty of rebellion? and that rebellion is as the ſin of Witchcraft? to which he anſwered, That the rebellion ſpoke of there was Saul's rebellion againſt the immediate command and revealed will of God. In ſhort, he ſo baffled the curate, that, inſtead of anſwering him, he ſaid, Away with thee, the devil is in thee, and thou haſt dealing with familiar ſpirits. To which William replied, If the devil be in me, he is an unnatural devil; for, if he was like the reſt, he would bid me take as many lives as I could, that he might get many ſouls; but the ſpirit that is in me will not ſuffer me to take good men's lives.

He was next brought before the lord Kelly, the provoſt and others; and, after they had threatened and ridiculed him, the boots were called for. Then he ſaid, You may bring the boots and ſpurs too; you ſhall not prevail. They therefore threatened to pour a cruſe full of melted lead upon his hands; but when they ſaw how ready he was to receive it, they were aſtoniſhed. Then lord Kelly tried what wheedling might do; but all proved ineffectual. And, obſerving what pertinent anſwers he gave, the lieutenant general ſaid, tell me, quickly, who learned you theſe anſwers; I perceive you have got a paper from ſome of theſe rebellious miniſters, and have got your anſwers perquire. William ſaid, Not ſo, my lord; but God, that ſaid, 'Fear not; when ye ſhall be brought before kings and rulers, for my ſake, it ſhall be given you in that hour what you ſhall ſay, I will give thee a mouth and wiſdom, that thine adverſaries ſhall not be able to anſwer:' he makes his promiſe good to me. Then ſeveral gentlemen ſaid, Away with him; the devil is in him; he has dealing with familiar ſpirits. To this he ſpoke as to the curate. Then the lieutenant-general ſaid, Tell me, quickly, who put theſe words in your mouth, elſe you ſhall be hanged. To which he replied, 'Even he who made Balaam's aſs to ſpeak, can much more make me a reaſonable creature to ſpeak. It is he that gave me theſe anſwers, and likewiſe forbids me to do this; it is he and no other.' Then lord Kelly ſaid, He thinks no better ſport than to bring ſcripture to confound us with it, but you ſhall rue it when you are going to be hanged. To this he anſwered, If this confound you, you ſhall be better confounded yet; read ye never that chapter, 1 Cor. i. 26. 'How that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world to confound the things that are mighty,' &c. Then ſaid Kelly, take the devil out of my ſight, and put him in the narroweſt place of the ſtocks. At the ſame time the provoſt whiſpered him in the ear, and offered to give him 50 dollars, and ſuffer him afterwards to return to the Highlands. But the honeſt man anſwered with a loud voice, 'What, would you have me ſell my conſcience? Where can I fly from God? Remember Jonas fled from God, but the Lord found him out, and ducked him over the lugs; ſo ſhall he me if I go over the light of my conſcience.'

He was put therefore in the ſtocks. Then four ſoldiers were ſent, and having charged their pieces, brought a cap to cover his face, and threatened to ſhoot him; but finding him ſo undaunted as to open his breaſt to receive their fire, one of them ſaid he ſhall not be ſhot, but hanged and given to the dogs. While he was in the ſtocks, where he ſuffered much, ſome aſked him what he thought of the biſhops. His anſwer was, 'I truly think the biſhops take more on them than Chriſt did, who was a better preacher than any of them, for he would not meddle with dividing the inheritance among the brethren.—He being a ſpiritual teacher refuſed to meddle with civil law. But why will our biſhops ſit in parliament, and go in before earls? I am informed they ſit and ride in parliament, and judge in worldly affairs; they have their coaches to ride in, but neither Chriſt nor his apoſtles had them; they are lords over God's heritage; but our Saviour ſays to his miniſters, 'The princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion, but it ſhall not be ſo among you, but he that will be the greateſt ſhall be ſervant of all.' The biſhops are like the ſcribes and phariſees, againſt whom the Lord pronounced many a wo. 'Wo be to you ſcribes and phariſees, ye love the chief ſeats in the ſynagogues,' ſo love our biſhops the chief ſeats in parliament.—'Wo be to you ſcribes and phariſees, for you love to wear long robes, and to be called of men, Rabbi.' The biſhops deſire ſide gowns, and a man to bear up their tails too, and they think they never get their right ſtyle, till they be called *my lord*, and ſome of them *your grace*: you give grace to a graceleſs face: they oppreſs the poor people to feed their own bellies; for which the Lord pronounces many a wo againſt them.' Then ſaid they, Timothy and Titus were biſhops. To which he replied, they were preaching biſhops, but not biſhops over whole dioceſes. And, as the apoſtles ſays, 1 Tim. iii. 'A biſhop ſhould be blameleſs the huſband of one wife,' ſo I think a preaching biſhop ſhould have but one flock, &c.

Then they aſked what he thought of the king? He ſaid, Would you have me ſpeak treaſon? the king is ſet over us all by God, and all his ſubjects ſhould pray for him, and defend his perſon and government, and obey him in all things according to the word of God. But I wiſh his majeſty and all kings may take good heed to the law of the Lord, &c.

After a good deal of converſation to this purpoſe, he was next threatened to be rolled up and down in a barrel filled with iron pikes; however, he was in nothing terri-

fied by his adversaries, but continued still resolute, till at last they thought proper to let him go.

Whereupon lord Eglinton sent for and examined him concerning what had befallen him, and said, Poor man, you did well in not doing what they would have had you. To this he replied, 'My lord, you say I have done well, whereas you persecute them from first to last; this tells me, in my experience, that you go against the light of your conscience. Wo will be to you that go against the light of your conscience.' Eglinton said, Know you not that I have kept you from being hanged, and are you telling me that? William replied, Keep me from drowning too, I will tell you the verity. Thus they made this poor man feel the fear of death, though he escaped the pain of it.

And thus I have given as particular an account of this rising, and of the executions that followed upon it, as this history will admit of. It is not to be expected that I should offer a full vindication of this rising, and of those worthy and excellent persons who suffered on account of it, that having been frequently done by others*, and as I shall afterwards have an opportunity to shew how far defensive arms are to be justified. It is therefore sufficient to observe, 1. That this attempt was no premeditated thing, but entirely accidental, occasioned by the violent oppressions of the country by the merciless soldiers. 2. Upon their first attempt they knew they had nothing to expect but all the cruelties their persecutors could inflict upon them; and therefore the law of self preservation required them to take the best measures they could for their own security and defence, all application to the king being discharged by the laws then in being. 3. It is plain they had no designs against his majesty's person or government; all they wanted was the redress of their grievances, the enjoyment of their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion, as is evident from their treatment of Sir James Turner, when in their power, from their readily agreeing to a suspension of arms, and their having, in part, proposed their grievances, and sent them to the council. 4. When, in some respects, they were under terms of accommodation, they were suddenly attacked, and obliged to resist force by force, when no indemnity was allowed them, and, when taken at the engagement, they got quarters and a promise of life; so that it was contrary to all rules to be treated as they were, after quarters given and taken; besides, several who were executed were not in the action, nor had born arms, but were only in company with the rest when going through the country, and some of them were put to death, merely to gratify Sharp's revenge, contrary to the king's express orders, that no more lives should be taken. 5. All of them owned the king's authority; so that, if matters be truly considered, they suffered, not so much for their rising in arms, as for their not renouncing their sworn covenant, and refusing to take the declaration; and therefore it is surprising how† Sir George MacKenzie could say in his Vindication, page 8, that, generally, no man was executed in this reign, who would say, God bless the king; for it is well known that none of these persons, who suffered at this time, had their life offered to them on that condition. The persecutors, saith the author of the Memoirs of the church of Scotland, for such this very thing will prove them to be, as if they were fond of having it said, that these men died for religion, and not for being in arms, ordered several of them to be offered their lives if they would take and subscribe, the declaration to renounce the covenant. Whether they did this fraudulently, or sincerely, Providence never gave them an opportunity to discover; nor whether if the weakness of any had brought them to yield, they would have performed their promise to them; for not a man they ever offered it to, (I mean of those condemned to die for the rising at Pentland) but refused it with indignation, and chose to die rather than to yield to that unconscionable proposal. So, in that point, they gained an undeniable testimony, that they suffered for religion, 'not accepting deliverance;' for none of them esteemed renouncing the covenant to be any thing more or less than renouncing God and his church, to whom, and for which that covenant was first entered into. 6. The very same reasons which vindicate the Revolution 1688, are in favour of those who rose at this time; and, had their measures been as well concerted, and their success been as great as their cause was just, nothing could have been said against them. But though the attempt of these worthy men was not so successful as that of the revolution, all that can be said is, that God's time was not yet come for rescuing a bleeding nation. 7. These valuable persons were fairly vindicated, whenever the nation recovered its senses, by the revolution parliament, in the act July 4th 1690, by which the forfeited persons were restored, not *ex gratia*, but *ex justitia*, and all decrees and sentences passed against them, by any judges, were declared void and null from the beginning. And thus I have given a pretty full account of this matter, which had no small influence upon the interest of episcopacy in Scotland; for, after so great a number of executions prelacy gradually and sensibly decayed till the revolution, when the prelates, the chief instruments of cruelty, were at last laid aside as a public nuisance. Whereas nothing more strengthened the interest of presbyterians, than the cheerful and stedfast behaviour of the sufferers, concerning whom it may be said, 'The more they were oppressed, the more they grew.' People began more generally to leave the churches, and the ejected ministers ventured to preach a little more publicly, particularly the Rev. Mr John Welsh, whose labours were blessed with eminent success; multitudes resorted to hear them, and the poor honest people, by way of ridicule, were called Whigs from wigg, the thin part of milk, which they were forced to drink in their wanderings. Bishop Burnet gives another original of this name; he says, that in the south west counties of Scotland, there is scarce corn enough to serve out the year, and therefore people repair to Leith to buy of the stores that come from the north. And from a word whiggam, used in driving their horses, all that drove were called whiggamores, and shorter the whigs, which afterwards became the name of all the patrons of liberty.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the cruelties of Dalziel, &c. The forfeitures of gentlemen, &c. The disbanding of the army, and the kind of peace.——Mr Blitchel's attempt on Archbishop Sharp,—the proceedings of parliament,—the first indulgence, and other things, to the end of the year 1679.

SOON after the victory at Pentland, Dalziel, with a considerable number of troops, marched to the west, took up his head quarters in the town of Kilmarnock, and grievously oppressed the country. From that place and the neighbourhood was extorted upwards of the value of 50,000 merks. All whom Dalziel suspected were brought before him, and if they were not guilty, were sure to be held so. He passed what sentence he pleased, and tortured whom he had a mind. Many, upon mere suspicion of being at Pentland, were put into the thieves hole at Kilmarnock, where they were obliged to stand night and day. And one of them, falling dangerously sick, was not suffered to go out till two persons became bail to return him either dead or alive. The poor man dying, the sureties were forced to bring the corps to the prison-door, where it lay some time till the general thought fit to let it be interred.

When one David Findlay, of the parish of Newmills, was brought before the general and examined, he acknowleged that he was by accident at Lanerk, when Colonel Wallace and his men came that way, but did not join them; but, because he would not tell whom he saw there, Dalziel ordered him to be shot to death, stript naked, and left on the place, though he was no soldier, nor under his command; and though the poor man begged but one night's time to prepare for eternity, it was absolutely refused him.

Another instance of barbarity was acted on a poor woman in the neighbourhood of Kilmarnock. A party of soldiers ordered her to be put into a deep pit under the house of Dean, full of toads and other vile creatures, for

* 'See Jus populi vindicatum,' Hind let loose, &c

† N. B. Sir George MacKenzie was one of the advocates who pleaded for the first ten prisoners who were executed.

no other reaſon, but becauſe a man, whom they were in purſuit of, had run through her houſe, and ſhe could not tell what was become of him. Her ſhrieks were heard at a great diſtance; but none durſt interceed for her, for fear of being ſent to bear her company. Whether ſhe died there, or what became of her I know not.

Sir Mungo Murray, who commanded ſome ſoldiers under Dalziel, having intelligence of two men who had given a night's lodging to two of the Pentland people, ordered them, without any proof, to be bound with cords, and hanged up by the thumbs upon a tree all night; ſo that, in all probability, they would have died before next day, had not ſome, even of the ſoldiers, been ſo humane as to cut them down, at the hazard of their own lives. How ſad muſt the caſe of the country be, when the army was permitted to exerciſe ſuch cruelties upon poor innocent people! Mean while the poor whigs, either fled abroad or concealed themſelves in dens and caves of the earth, to eſcape the fury of the times, this being the ſevereſt winter of perſecution Scotland had known for a long time.

Much about this time Sir William Bannantyne was ſent with a conſiderable party to Galloway where he committed exceſſive cruelties, and took free quarters wherever he pleaſed. This party came to the houſe of Roger Gordon of Holm, conſumed his victuals and ſheep, though nothing could be laid to his charge. From thence they went to the houſe of Earlſtoun, which they made a garriſon of, and from whence they ſent parties through the pariſh and round the neighbourhood. And becauſe one David MacGill had, by his wife's means, eſcaped in woman's cloaths, they took the poor woman, bound her, and put lighted matches between her fingers for ſeveral hours; the torture made her almoſt diſtracted; ſhe loſt one of her hands, and died in a few days after. They pillaged the country at their pleaſure. Some they brought to their garriſons, though under heavy ſickneſs, ſtripped them almoſt naked by the way, and threw them into naſty places without the leaſt accommodation.

The ſoldiers exacted many fines in the moſt arbitrary manner. Thus, from two countrymen in the pariſh of Dalry, they raiſed about 363 l. Scots. In the pariſh of Carſphairn, Gilbert Moory in Marbrack, without the leaſt alledged fault, had fifty merks impoſed upon him; and, when he aſked the reaſon of his being fined; Sir William Bannantyne replied, Becauſe you have gear, and I muſt have a part of it. Alexander Gordon of Knockbreck ſuffered exceedingly; John Gordon in Carnevel had his eſtate worth 16,000 merks taken from him, and his brother Robert, who ſucceeded him, had his houſe often ſpoiled by the ſoldiers, and was himſelf forced to wander in the mountains. In ſhort, they made all the havoc they could; ſo that the gentleman was forced to retire to London, and, after he returned in 1683, was obliged to keep concealed till 1687.

In the pariſh of Balmagie, Sir William being in a public houſe, and attempting to commit lewdneſs with the miſtreſs, he ſtruck her huſband almoſt dead for offering to make reſiſtance; and a gentleman in company ſeizing Sir William and proving too hard for him, Bannantyne called in the ſoldiers, who took the gentleman, tied him neck and heel, bound his hands behind his back, and kept him on the ground in that poſture all Saturday night, and part of the Sabbath, till his friends came and gave bond for him. The reader muſt obſerve this gentleman was no Whig, but had been with the king's forces at Pentland. Bannantyne and his party drank in the houſe moſt of the Lord's day, and, when they could drink no more, let the liquor run on the ground, and rifled the houſe. In ſhort, his oppreſſions, rapes, adulteries, murders, &c. were ſo many, that the managers themſelves were aſhamed of him. The reader will find many more inſtances of this nature in Naphtali, edit. 1. 291, &c. to which I muſt refer him.

Theſe hardſhips continued on the weſt and ſouth of Scotland till the beginning of June, when a ſquadron of the Dutch fleet came into the frith, ſo that the army was obliged to march into the eaſt country to guard the coaſt.

But many other hardſhips were put upon good people by others as well as by the army. Many were impriſoned upon mere ſuſpicion, as James Grierſon of Dalgoner and John Hamilton of Aldſtane, and one Carmichael, though nothing could be proved againſt any of them.

John Gordon of Largmore, with his brother-in-law William Gordon of Robertoun, being at Pentland, William was killed, and John ſorely wounded; ſo that thro' the loſs of blood, and lying in the fields ſome nights after the engagement, he died a few days after he got to his own houſe, and thereby eſcaped the fury of the perſecutors, who were reſolved to carry him to Edinburgh in a litter. Mrs Mary Gordon of Robertoun was grievouſly haraſſed after the death of her huſband and brother, chiefly by the inſtigation of the curate of the place. We ſhall afterwards meet with more of the ſufferings of this family.

The family of Sundiwell ſuffered not a little on this occaſion. James Kirkco of Sundiwell had, during the laſt ſix years, gone through a ſeries of oppreſſions, by fining, quartering of ſoldiers, and the like. Laſt October he was forced to diſperſe his family, and to wander from place to place to avoid the depredations, and cruelties of the ſoldiers, which made him ſuſpected to have been at Pentland, though that could never be made appear. However, he was forced to leave the kingdom for the ſpace of three years, and, after his return, he was haraſſed by a proceſs of forfeiture; but a comfortable death put an end to all his ſorrows.

James MacClelland, who ſucceeded him in the lands of Sundiwell, being only ſuſpected, was forced to fly to the mountains, when only 16 years of age, where he and ſeveral others kept concealed from November till the 15th of February this year, that he was apprehended by a party of Sir William Bannantyne's men, brought to their garriſon at Earlſtoun, and put in a vault with other priſoners. Sir William moſt cruelly tortured him with fiery matches between his fingers, to force him to confeſs what he was entirely ignorant of. In ſhort, he was carried priſoner from place to place, and at laſt to Edinburgh; and being examined before the council in September, he, with 15 others, were baniſhed to the plantations, becauſe he refuſed the declaration. Mean while he happily broke priſon and eſcaped. This gentleman was haraſſed by proceſſes, fines, impriſonments and other oppreſſions, for many years. But that which went neareſt his heart of all was his ſinful compliance, ſome years after this, in taking the teſt, of which oath in the next volume.

James Callane merchant in Dumfries was forfeited, ſometime after Pentland, though it could never be proved that he was there; he ſuſtained great loſſes by the parliament fine, and other exactions by Sir James Turner. Upon his being declared rebel he left the kingdom, and lived ſeven years in the Eaſt Indies: and at his return he was taken by Claverhouſe, and impriſoned at Dumfries 14 months, and at Edinburgh a year and a half, and then baniſhed to Carolina, where he died. After his death, his wife and daughters, for their non-conformity, were deprived of their goods, and forced to wander up and down through the hills and mountains for three years and a half.

Robert Lenox of Plumpton ſuffered likewiſe at this time; for his eſtate, with 2,000 merks yearly, was taken from him, and he forced to fly into England, where he continued as a wanderer for three years. At length he went with his family to Ireland, but, being inſtrumental in getting a preſbyterian miniſter ſettled at Glenevie, he was excommunicated by the biſhop and his official, fined upwards of 430 l. ſterling, and thereby reduced almoſt to beggary. At laſt he ventured to Scotland; and, though a papiſt was in poſſeſſion of his eſtate, yet he, having produced the charter of his lands, was put in priſon, and when he got out lived upon charity till the revolution. One Thomas Lenox of the ſame place met with peculiar hardſhips, both before and after Pentland. By exactions and impriſonments he loſt above 679 l. beſides a year's crop and houſhold-furniture, and that without any proceſs. One time he was impriſoned at Edinburgh 33 weeks, and at another 3 months, for refuſing the teſt.

While theſe things were thus carried on, a convention of eſtates met at Edinburgh, on the 23d of January, in which, as Burnet relates, the king, by a ſpecial letter, appointed duke Hamilton to preſide, and, in a letter to

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lord Rothes, ordered him to write to Sharp to ſtay within his dioceſe, and to come no more to Edinburgh. Upon this, the hiſtorian ſays, Sharp was ſtruck with ſo deep a melancholy, that he ſhewed as great an abjectneſs under this ſlight diſgrace, as he had ſhewed inſolence before when he had more favour. The convention, according to my author, laid on a ſubſidy for the army, amounting to 64,000l. monthly, for a year's time, and, in the exceſs of their loyalty, offered to maintain all the forces the king ſhould be pleaſed to raiſe: ſo that a blank was put in his maj. ſty's hand to raiſe: and keep up as great a ſtanding army as his arbitrary counſellors ſhould, for their own ends, adviſe him to.

The biſhops and their party uſed all their intereſt to keep up the ſtanding army. 'Accordingly, when the convention was over, lord Rothes ſent up Drummond, as Burnet tells us, to repreſent to the king the ill affections of the weſtern parts;' for nothing could be more averſe to prelacy than they were. Drummond propoſed, as an expedient, the preſſing of the declaration, and the keeping up of a ſtanding army. Burnet ſays, 'A ſlight accident happened, that raiſed a jeſt which ſpoiled his errand. The king flung the cover of the letter from Scotland into the fire, which was carried up in a flame, and ſet the chimney on fire; whereupon it was ſaid, That the Scotiſh letter had fired Whitehall. And it was anſwered, The cover had almoſt ſet Whitehall on fire, but the contents would certainly ſet Scotland on a flame.'

The king was prevailed with by Lauderdale to ſend his letter to the council, dated March the 12th, in which he impowered them, 1. To tender the oath of allegiance and the declaration unto ſuch active and leading perſons of the diſaffected party as they ſhould ſuſpect, and to ſecure the recuſants. 2. To emit a proclamation, requiring all within the moſt diſaffected ſhires to bring in, by a limited day, all arms and powder, under what penalties the council ſhould ſee proper, only allowing gentlemen to wear their ſwords. 3. To ſeize all ſerviceable horſes belonging to diſaffected or ſuſpected perſons, after being appriſed by honeſt and indifferent perſons. 4. To model a militia of horſe and foot to join the regular forces, that they might ſpeedily proceed to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence. 5. To provide arms and ammunition for the defence of the kingdom. 6. To take effectual courſe that every pariſh ſecure the perſons of their miniſters from violence and affronts. And, 7. to give preſent orders for the criminal purſuit of all heritors, or men of eſtates, all preachers and military officers, who were in the late rebellion, before the juſtice general, that they may be tried according to law, and, being found guilty, be forfeited without delay.

This letter being read in council on the 20th of March they appointed a warrant for the advocate to purſue heritors, &c. in terms of the ſeventh article; and on the 25th two proclamations were publiſhed, the one for bringing in of arms from the ſhires of Ayr, Lanerk, Renfrew and Wigtoun, and ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, againſt the firſt day of May, and that under very ſevere penalties. One pretence for this was, to prevent invading miniſters of the goſpel who were lawfully admitted preachers among them. It was added, 'That if any injury or affront was done to their miniſter, the pariſhioners who ſhall ſuffer the ſame to be done, and not oppoſe the ſame, ſhall be reputed as art and part of the ſame crime and violence.' So that if a curate's houſe ſhould be robbed, his pariſhioners muſt be charged with the robbery. There were but a few arms brought in, notwithſtanding this proclamation. By the other proclamation, of the ſame date, all who withdrew from public ordinances, and did not keep their own pariſh churches, were forbid keeping horſes above one 100 merks value. Though this gave ſome ſatisfaction to the prelates, yet it did not fill their churches; and, had this been rigorouſly executed, the king would have had a good many fine horſes from many of the managers, nay, and from ſome of the biſhops themſelves, who were not very punctual in their attendance on public worſhip. That ſame day they anſwered the king's letter, acquainting him with what they had done, and farther intended, as to every article of it. After which, there does not ſeem to have been any more ſederunts of council till the 6th of June.

When the council met at that time, a letter from the king, dated the 4th of May, was read, wherein his majeſty recommended to them the encouragement and ſupport of the ſober and orthodox clergy. Whereupon a proclamation was publiſhed, much of the ſame import with that of the 25th of March, wherein heritors and pariſhioners were made liable for all the damages done to miniſters. That the ſober and orthodox clergy, as they were now called, by their violent perſecuting temper, together with their immoralities, brought upon themſelves the odium of the people, is very certain, and conſequently there was no other way to ſupport them but by the ſecular arm, from which all their authority was derived. It was indeed hinted in the king's letter, and aſſerted in the proclamation, that many affronts had been given to thoſe ſober and orthodox clergy; and it was proper, for the deſigns of the managers, that ſuch things ſhould be alledged, let the proof of them be ever ſo ſlender.

That ſame day another letter from the king, of the ſame date, was read, preſſing, in the warmeſt terms, the forfeiting of thoſe who had been in the late riſing, and had hitherto made their eſcape.

But before any thing could be done in this affair, Sir Robert Murray came from court, to get a true account of the ſtate of the country, and, in the month of June, was admitted to the office of juſtice clerk. While he was in Scotland, all pains were taken, by the prelates and their military aſſeſſors, to ſhew the neceſſity of continuing the forces now in pay, there being a deſign on foot for diſbanding the army. But this was not thought proper to be put in execution, till once peace was concluded with the Dutch.

Mean while ſeveral of the Pentland priſoners were ſet at liberty upon their ſigning the declaration, and ſome favour was ſhewn to other gentlemen under confinement, ſuch as William Laurie tutor of Blackwood, and James Hamilton of Aikenhead. And on the 11th of July the council gave the following orders relating to the Pentland priſoners, viz. 1. That they who refuſe the allegiance and declaration, be ſent, with the firſt opportunity, to Barbadoes. 2. That the two priſoners, who were willing to take the allegiance and declaration ſhould have the king's pardon. 3. That they who were taken up upon ſuſpicion ſhould remain in priſon till farther examination. And, 4. That theſe ſuſpected perſons ſhould be ſet at liberty upon their taking the allegiance and declaration.

After theſe things on the 15th of Auguſt, the earl of Athol juſtice general, and Sir John Hume of Renton juſtice-clerk, with the earls of Linlithgow and Dumfries, held a juſtice court at Edinburgh, before whom Sir John Niſbet, the king's advocate, produced a commiſſion, ſigned by Rothes the commiſſioner, for purſuing criminally, and forfeiting the following perſons in their lives and fortunes, as being in the late inſurrection in the weſt, viz. Colonel James Wallace, major Joſeph Learmont, William Maxwell, of Monerief younger, John MacClelland of Barſcob, John Gordon of Knockbreck, Robert MacClelland of Balmagachan, James Cannon of Brunſhalloch younger, Robert Cannon of Mordrogget younger, John Welſh of Jar, — Welſh of Cornley, — Gordon of Garey in Kells, Robert Chalmer brother to Gadgirth, Henry Grier in Balmaclellan, David Scot in Irongray, John Gordon in Middleton of Dalry, William Gordon there, John MacNaught there, Robert and Gilbert Cannons there, Andrew Dempſter of Carridow, James Grierſon of Dargoner (who was delayed) James Kirkco of Sundiwell, — Ramſay in Mains of Arniſtoun, John Hutcheſon in Newbottle, — Rew chaplain to Scotſtarbet, Patrick Linſtoun in Calder, with his ſon Patrick, James Wilkie in Mains of Cliftenhall, William Muir of Caldwell, the Goodman of Caldwell, Mr John Cuningham of Bedland, William Porterfield of Quarreltoun and his brother Alexander, Robert Ker of Kerſland, William Lockhart of Wickettſhaw, David Poe in Pokelly, and the following miniſters, viz. Meſſrs Gabriel Semple, John Semple, John Guthrie, John Welſh, Samuel Arnot, James Smith, Alexander Peden, —Orr, William Veitch, Paton, John Crookſhank, Gabriel Maxwell,

Maxwell, John Carſtairs, James Mitchel, and William Parſyth.

Now the reader will obſerve, that in this liſt ſome were dead, as Mr Crookſhank, and others of them had no being; nay, ſeveral of their names were corrected in the indemnity, which came down in the end of the year. Beſides, all theſe perſons were abſent, and the advocate urged to have ſentence of death paſſed upon as many of them as he thought fit to proſecute; and, the better to juſtify this illegal proceeding, having beforehand practiſed upon the lords of ſeſſion, produced their anſwer in court to a query he had propoſed, viz. Whether or not a perſon guilty of high treaſon may be purſued before the juſtices, though he be abſent and contumacious, ſo that the juſtices, upon citation and ſufficient probation and evidence may pronounce ſentence and doom of forfeiture if the ditty be proved? to which the lords of ſeſſion gave it as their opinion, 'That, upon the juſtices citation, and ſufficient probation taken before the judges and aſſize, they may proceed and pronounce ſentence thereintil and forfeiture againſt the perſons guilty of high-treaſon, though they be abſent and contumacious.'

Things being thus prepared, the advocate purſued the following perſons, viz. Colonel Wallace, major Learmont, Barſcob, Mr John Welſh, Mr James Smith, Patrick Lilloun, his ſon, and Quarrletoun. It was with difficulty they could get a jury, and the one they got was made up of officers in the army, the general's ſervants, and ſome pupils. Sir James Turner was the firſt witneſs that was examined, though it is plain, he could not well * purge himſelf of malice, and was afterwards condemned for his oppreſſions, as we ſhall hear. Sentence was pronounced the ſame day, by which all theſe eight were forfeited in life and fortune. Next day, Auguſt the 16th, William Muir of Caldwell, John Caldwell of Caldwell younger, Robert Ker of Kerſland, Mr John Cuningham of Bedland, Alexr. Porterfield, Maxwell younger of Moncrief, Balmagachan, Mordrogget, Robert Chalmer, and Meſſ. Gabriel Semple, John Guthrie, Alexr. Peden, William Veitch, John Crookſhank and Patrick MacNaught, had the ſame ſentence paſſed upon them; but two years after this Robert Chalmer obtained the king's pardon. Why the ſame ſentence was not paſſed upon Mr Gabriel Maxwell till the 22d of December 1671, cannot now be accounted for. The reſt in the advocate's commiſſion were delayed till the month of November, when it does not appear they were proſecuted, the indemnity and bond of peace, being before that in agitation. Some time after this Caldwell's eſtate was given to Dalziel, Kerſland's to Drummond, Learmont's to Mr William Hamilton of Wooſhaw, Quarrelton's and his brother's to Mr John Hamilton of Halcraig.

By this time ſeveral civil alterations were made, which tended to make things run in a moderate channel. In England Clarendon's party were loſing ground; and of late a difference aroſe betwixt Lauderdale and ſeveral great men in Scotland, particularly with duke Hamilton, Rothes, Newburgh, Linlithgow, Dalziel, the officers of the army, and the moſt of the biſhops. Thoſe who adhered to Lauderdale in the council, were the earls of Argyll, Tweeddale, Kincardine, lord Cochran, Sir Robert Murray, and others. Lauderdale had ſuch intereſt with the king, as to be able to keep his ground againſt all his enemies, and ſeveral alterations were made to his advantage. The earl of Airly, and lord Cochran were made counſellors, Sir Robert Murray juſtice-clerk. And,

At laſt, when peace was made with the Dutch, a letter, dated the 13th of Auguſt, came from the king, peremptorily ordering the army to be diſbanded, except two troops of horſe and Linlithgow's foot guards, which was complied with. And by this means Rothes's authority as general, as well as his commiſſion, was now at an end. The prelates were greatly diſſatisfied therewith; and particularly the archbiſhop of Glaſgow was reported to have ſaid, Now that the army was diſbanded, the goſpel would go out of his dioceſe.

When the army was diſbanded matters were managed with ſome moderation, and the preſbyterians had a little breathing. But the firſt queſtion that aroſe, was, How ſhould the country be kept in peace without the army? this gave occaſion to both parties in the council to endeavour to the utmoſt to proſecute their reſpective deſigns. The biſhops and their party were for violently preſſing the declaration upon all ſuſpected perſons. Tweeddale and the other party propoſed a bond of peace to be taken and ſubſcribed by all to whom it ſhould be tendered, which laſt carried their point by a majority on the 13th of September. Of the which bond the tenor follows:

I A. B. do engage, bind and oblige myſelf, to keep the public peace, under the pain of a year's rent of all and whatſomever lands and heritages pertain to me, to be paid in caſe I contravene: and alſo I bind and oblige me, that thoſe who are, or at any time hereafter ſhall be, my men tenants and ſervants, during the time they ſhall be men-tenants and ſervants, to me, ſhall keep the public peace, under the pains reſpective after-mentioned, to be paid *toties quoties*, if they, or any of them, ſhall do in the contrair: that is to ſay, of the payment of the full value of a year's duty payable to me for the time by the tenant or tenants that ſhall happen to contravene: and for my ſervants, in caſe any of them ſhall contravene, the full value of a year's fee. Which ſums aforeſaid I bind and oblige me, my heirs, executors and ſucceſſors, in the caſe aforeſaid, to pay the commiſſioners of the treaſury, treaſurer or treaſurer depute, who ſhall happen to be for the time, for his majeſty's uſe. And conſent thir preſents be regiſtrate in the books of privy council.

This bond became a matter of warm debate among conſcientious people, who feared an oath; for the words were ſo general, as at firſt view they ſeemed to contain nothing inconſiſtent with preſbyterial principles, yet they were ſo ambiguous, that the judge who tendered this bond might affirm, that they who ſubſcribed it did homologate the preſent government both in church and ſtate, to obviate this ambiguity an expedient was propoſed by ſome, of a declaration of the ſubſcribers ſenſe and meaning, with a conſent of the impoſers to it, and a proteſtation taken againſt the ſuppoſed unlawful meaning of the words, and all done by way of inſtrument in the hands of a public notary, before witneſſes. But my author could not tell whether this method was taken.

They who pleaded for the bond ſaid, that it contained nothing but what every perſon is anteceedently obliged to by the ſecond table of the law, even to keep the public peace. It was urged, on the other hand, that when two perſons enter into a ſolemn treaty, they are bound not only to all moral duties lying upon them before, but even to every article of the treaty though to their own detriment. Accordingly ſome took it, and others refuſed; which laſt were repreſented by Sir George MacKenzie, and the Jacobites in after times, as a wilful obſtinate people, for refuſing ſuch a reaſonable thing, as to engage to keep the public peace. But then it was ſaid in their vindication, 1. That this bond of peace was a confederacy with God's enemies, whom we ſhould reckon as our enemies, and hate them, becauſe they hate him. Pſalm cxxxix. 21. 2. This cannot be taken in truth, judgment and righteouſneſs, becauſe of the fallacy and ambiguity of the terms; for there are divers kinds of peace, ſome of duty, and others not. It muſt then be peace rightly qualified; for we can profeſs and purſue no peace of confederacy with God's enemies, no peace inconſiſtent with the fear of God, no peace obſtructing the goſpel or teſtimony,—no peace prompting to prepoſterous prudence in palliating ſin, or daubing defections with untempered morter, no peace inconſiſtent with truth, &c. 3. If we farther inquire into their meaning by living peaceably,—it is plain they mean ſuch a peaceable living as gives obedience to their wicked laws, and is a compliance with their eſtabliſhed courſes; ſuch a peaceable living as is oppoſite to their ſenſe of ſedition rebellion, ſchiſm, &c. ſuch a peaceable living as is contrary to the duties of our covenanted profeſſion, as going to meetings, withdrawing from the curates, &c. which, according to them, is inconſiſtent with the public peace. 4. This is contrary to our covenants, by which we are obliged to a conſtant

* According to the law of Scotland in criminal caſes, before a witneſs be admitted, he muſt ſwear that he has no malice againſt the defendant, and that he has received no good deed, to ſwear, &c.

ſtant contending with, and oppoſition to all the ſupporters of popery, prelacy,' &c.

The council had likeways ordered ſome propoſitions to be ſent to the king: among others, that a proclamation be iſſued, bearing a general pardon and indemnity to all in the late rebellion, except thoſe who were forfeited, or under proceſs of forfeiture, or who have ſince done violence to the perſons of miniſters, invaded their houſes, or robbed them of their goods. This laſt clauſe was inſerted to throw an odium upon all engaged in the late rebellion, al tho' nothing like this could be proved againſt any of them. Whereas it was alledged, that ſome of the army perſonating theſe people, had been thus employed, and ſo the innocent were falſely accuſed.

In conſequence of this an anſwer came from his majeſty, with a proclamation of indemnity to all concerned in Pentland, except thoſe mentioned p. 221. and all other who were forfeited, or under proceſs of forfeiture, and ſuch as between this and the firſt of December next to come ſhall be found guilty of having robbed miniſters houſes, or committed violence on their perſons: but with this expreſs condition, that this pardon ſhall only extend to thoſe who ſhall give bond for keeping the public peace before the 1ſt of January following.

Some made this obſervation concerning the indemnity, that in the beginning it pardoned all, in the middle very few, and in the end none at all. The bond they were to give was much the ſame with that mentioned above, except that they were likewiſe expreſsly to engage, never to riſe in arms againſt or without his majeſty's authority, under the higheſt pains.

The council, on the 9th of October, ordered ſome alterations to be made in the names of the perſons excepted in the king's proclamation of indemnity. Thus finding there was no ſuch perſon as—Row chaplain to Scotſtarbet, they ordered that name to be ſcratched out, and Caldwell and Kerſland to be deſigned younger, Mr Trail to be deſigned chaplain to Scotſtarbet, and Paton to be called late preacher; which are proofs of their raſhneſs and inconſiderateneſs. The clauſe of non reſiſtance in the bond to be ſigned by all who were to have the benefit of this indemnity, rendered it entirely uſeleſs to the moſt concerned, for few of them ever could comply with it.

Jointly with the indemnity the council publiſhed their act of the ſame date containing the names of the perſons, in the different ſhires, appointed to take ſubſcriptions from thoſe who claimed the benefit of the indemnity; and ordered all the priſoners to be diſmiſſed upon ſigning the bond. The ſame day they took off the reſtraint that was upon perſons in the weſtern ſhires, as to their carrying arms, allowing ſuch as ſhould take the oath of allegiance, &c. that privilege. They likewiſe gave orders to all magiſtrates and miniſters of juſtice, upon intimation made by the biſhops, to apprehend all perſons who were not only ſcandalous in their lives, but diſobedient to eccleſiaſtical authority. In conſequence of this, many, who could not ſubmit to the eccleſiaſtical authority, as then eſtabliſhed, were haraſſed and impriſoned, while papiſts, quakers, and the openly vicious, were ſcandalouſly overlooked.

In November the council iſſued ſome orders for the better regulating the army, viz. that no officer or ſoldier ſhall levy money from any of the ſubjects, but by expreſs order in writing from Sir William Bruce, for the ceſs and fines, or others authoriſed by parliament, &c. that ſatisfaction be made for any abuſe, and they who are guilty of any abuſe be puniſhed. But theſe and ſeveral ſuch regulations were little looked after by the managers, and as little obſerved by the ſoldiers.

Upon taking the bond of peace, ſeveral who were confined 1665, were ſet at liberty. Thus Sir Hugh Campbell of Ceſnock, James Dunlop of that ilk, James Holborn of Menſtrie, the laird of Blackſtoun, William Ralſtoun of that ilk, Robert Hacket, and major general Montgomery, were all releaſed from their confinement.

Mean while other gentlemen were ſtill kept confined without any reaſon given, ſuch as Sir George Maxwell of Nether-Pollock, Cuninghamhead and Rowallan, Sir James Stewart and Sir John Chieſley were ſent from the caſtle of Edinburgh to the tolbooth of Dundee. Mr Alexander Smith was brought from Zetland, whither he had been baniſhed, to Leith, and preſented before the council. And Mr Hugh Peebles was permitted to go to the weſt to ſettle his affairs.

In conſequence of a letter from the king, dated the 26th of November, requiring them to examine into the conduct of Sir James Turner, during his command in the weſt, the council appointed the lords Halkertoun, regiſter-advocate, juſtice-clerk, Cochran, lieutenant-general Drummond, and Sir Robert Murray, to examine Sir James, and to make report. Their report produced a commiſſion from the council, December the 8th, to the earl of Niddſdale, lord Kenmure, the laird of Craigdarroch, and others, to make trial of Sir James's conduct, &c. Before this committee many gentlemen and others appeared, and gave clear evidence of a great many grievous and attrocious things againſt Sir James, and thoſe under his command, which not a little vindicated thoſe who by theſe oppreſſions were driven to take arms in their own defence.

While this matter was under examination, the council, in the month of December, ordered the clerk to write to the two archbiſhops, to ſee that a liſt of all the papiſts of the kingdom be given in to the council, by every miniſter's giving in a liſt of thoſe in their reſpective pariſhes, that ſo the laws againſt papiſts might be put in execution. But the prelates had little zeal againſt papiſts, and therefore theſe orders were generally neglected; which could not but tend to the increaſe of popery, and to pave the way for a papiſt to mount the throne.

On the 12th of December a proclamation was emitted againſt that known book, intitled, Naphtali; or, The Wreſtlings of the Church of Scotland, ordering the ſame to be burnt, and all copies of it to be brought in to the next magiſtrates by the 1ſt of February next, and any who had copies after that were to be fined in 10,080l. Scots. This book was compoſed by two very great men; the reaſonings part by Mr (afterwards Sir) James Stuart of Goodtrees, one of the beſt lawyers of his time, and the hiſtorical part by Mr James Stirling miniſter at Paiſley. Biſhop Honeyman pretended to anſwer it; but the weakneſs of his performance was ſufficiently expoſed by Mr Stuart, in that uſeful book, intitled, *Jus populi vindicatum.*

On the 9th of January 1668, the council ordered Sir William Cuninghame of Cuninghamhead to be brought from the caſtle of Stirling to that of Edinburgh, becauſe of his buſineſs with the lawyers there; but in leſs than two months time, he and the laird of Rowallan were remanded back to Stirling.

Mean while, on the 16th of January, the council received a letter from the king, requiring them to tranſmit an account both of thoſe who had, and thoſe who had not ſigned the bond of peace, and of the perſons who had been acceſſory to the late riſing, and had, or had not, accepted of the indemnity; and likewiſe requiring them to reſtrain conventicles, which were called Rendezvouzes of Rebellion, and to execute the laws ſeverely againſt the ring-leaders of ſuch faction and ſchiſm.

But before an anſwer was returned to this letter, the council, on the laſt of January, ordered the magiſtrates to execute the act and proclamation dated 17th of November 1664, againſt outed or ejected miniſters, and to take ſpecial care that none be permitted to remain within their liberties without a licence from the council, the archbiſhop of St Andrews, or the biſhop of Edinburgh, and requiring them to take ſpecial notice that no conventicles be kept in the city or liberties.

On the 20th of February the committee appointed to examine into the conduct of Sir James Turner gave in their report, by which it appeared, that, upon informations from the ſtewartry of Kircudbright, given in upon oath, many illegal exactions had been made, and diſorders committed; ſuch as quartering ſoldiers for levying fines and impoſitions;—exacting ceſs, or quartering money, for more ſoldiers than were actually preſent;—fining ſuch as lived orderly, as appears by miniſters certificates;—fining fathers for their daughters having their children baptized by outed miniſters;—fining in whole pariſhes promiſcuouſly;—fining one that lay a whole year bedfaſt;—taking away cattle. The reader may ſee the whole report at large,

large, and the defence that Sir James made, in my author's history; I have only excerpted these few particulars, from which he may form a judgment of what case the country must have been in when exposed to such oppressions; and, if such things appeared only from the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, what addition must have been made to the number of his disorders, if the like information had been taken from the shires of Dumfries and Galloway?

We may well conclude that his defences were poor; for, when the council transmitted the report, together with them, to the king, he ordered him to be discharged his service; accordingly, on the 10th of March, he delivered up his commissions. Bishop Burnet seems to intimate, that he could have made a better defence than he did, had he been able to produce his papers in time. It is certain he affirmed, that all the commissions and instructions were taken from him by the rebels, when he was made prisoner, and that therefore he had nothing to shew in his own vindication; and it is thought that his severities were not by far so great as his instructions bore him out in.

This inquiry, says Burnet, was chiefly levelled at lord Rothes and Burnet archbishop of Glasgow, to cast the odium of the late rebellion on their injustice and ill conduct. And it was intended that Turner should accuse them; but he had no vouchers to shew. These were believed to be withdrawn by an artifice of Lord Rothes; but, before the matter was ended, they in whose hands his papers were left sent them sealed up to his lodgings. However, he was by this time broken, and being a man of spirit, would not then shew his vouchers, nor expose his friends; so that matter was carried no farther.' Now, when we consider that it was entirely owing to these and the like oppressions, that the poor people were forced to take arms in their own defence, and that so much blood was shed, the reader is to judge, whether the punishment inflicted was adequate to the crimes; whether the breaking of an officer or two, without making a public example for deterring others, was a sufficient reparation for the mischiefs that were the consequences of their conduct.

After the council had sent up the report against Turner, on the 27th of February they returned an answer to the letter they received on the 16th of last month, wherein they signify that the bond of peace was generally signed; that of those who were accessary to the late rebellion 218 had accepted his majesty's indemnity, and 300 had refused. And, for the farther securing the peace of the kingdom, they proposed, 1. That a proclamation be issued, discharging all persons who would not sign the bond of peace from wearing any kind of arms, and from keeping any horses above the value of 50 l. Scots. 2. That a further time be granted for persons to come in and accept of the indemnity, by signing the bond required. 3. That his majesty may give warrant for a proclamation, wherein the names of all such of the rebels as shall not then take the bond may be inserted, and power may be granted to the magistrates to apprehend them; and that all who shall receive, or harbour them, may be declared rebels. They concluded, by signifying that they can do no more against conventicles, and that they would see the laws put in due execution; and acquainted his majesty with what they had enacted on the last of January. Accordingly the council had permission to receive persons upon their signing the bond of peace.

On the 10th of March, when the king signified his pleasure to have Turner dismissed his service, he ordered Sir William Bannantyne to be taken to account for his conduct: accordingly Sir William was imprisoned, and a committee appointed to examine his accounts; but, as the council came to no final resolution concerning him till the month of August, I shall therefore lay before the reader some of the principal occurrences in the mean while.

Though hitherto there were few field meetings, yet Presbyterian ministers ventured to preach to considerable assemblies in private houses and barns, at the pressing solicitations of the people; which practice was a great eyesore to the prelates and the other managers, who were at all pains to suppress them: accordingly May 7th —— Miller of Waxford was fined in 300 merks for being at a conventicle in the shire of Air, and obliged to give bond for 1000 l. Scots, that neither he nor any of his family should frequent these meetings for the future. The same day the council gave orders for apprehending and imprisoning all ejected ministers, or others, who should keep conventicles. And, on the 9th of May, all the officers and soldiers had orders to apprehend the said ministers, dissipate their conventicles, and seize on the principal persons at such meetings; nay, and to seize upon any person they had a warrant for apprehending from a privy counsellor. And, the better to execute these orders, the fines were as conveniently disposed of as they could.

The same day, May 9th, the council issued a proclamation, ordering all magistrates and officers of the standing forces to seize the following persons, who refused to accept of the indemnity, viz.

In Carsphairn parish.

Nathanael Cannon, James MacMitchell, John William, and Alexander MacMillans, and John MacMillan junior, James MacKilney, John Logan, John Crawford, John Cuningham, John Hannay, George James and —— MacAdams, George Ferguson, David Cubbison, William Smith, John Wylie, Roger and Robert Malcolms.

In Dalry parish.

David Cannon, Edward, Robert, and Andrew Crighstons, James Ferguson, John MacHutcheon, John, James, William, and John Welshes, Robert Wallet, Herbert, and James Biggars, Thomas Smith, Robert Sinclair, John, Robert, and David Curriers, Robert Colvin, John Hunter, John Wallet, John Wright, John Whitehead, James MacBirnie, John Wilson, Andrew Haining, John Gaw.

In the shire of Dumfries.

John Kirkco, James Callane, James Grier, John Grierson, John Law, William Harvey junior, George Wilson, John Gilkerson, James Aiton, Thomas Robertson Matthew Hamilton, Thomas Brown, John and George Jacks, Robert Rea, Patrick Murray, Robert Davidson.

In Lanerk parish.

John Wilson, Thomas and James Hastles, James Fisher.

In Carluck parish.

William Loch, William and John Gilkersons, William Frame, Archibald, Robert, and Gabriel Forrests, Thomas Martin, John Skouller, James Armstrong, William King, Archibald Hart, Robert Smith, William Brown.

As for the Pentland prisoners, Thomas Lenox, under sentence of death, was set at liberty upon signing the bond. Andrew Robertson got leave to transport himself to New England. John Bryce, William Ferguson and William Adam, for refusing to sign the bond, were banished to Virginia; nay, the council, a little after this, made a general order to banish all the prisoners who should refuse the bond, the king having referred every thing relating to the rebellion, as it was called, to their pleasure: and, at the desire of the prelates, particularly pressed them to rid the kingdom of preachers at conventicles: but, notwithstanding all these severe laws, conventicles increased.

Mr Michael Bruce, a worthy minister from Ireland, and one who was not afraid to preach to great numbers in houses, and sometimes in the fields, about the 2d or 3d of June was apprehended, in his own hired house, by captain G. Erskine. When he found his house in a manner besieged, he attempted his escape, but was sorely wounded, and confined to the castle of Stirling. It was the 18th of June before he could be carried to Edinburgh, and, when confined there, none were permitted to speak with him, unless in the presence of a privy counsellor. When he was examined he was always candid and open, without refusing to answer any question proposed to him.

Before he was brought to his trial, the council, on the 25th of June, ordered letters to be directed against lord Torphichen, and other heritors of West Calder, and others, to answer for harbouring, instead of apprehending, John Gilchrist, James Nimmo and Thomas Finlay, who were accessory

acceſſory to the rebellion in 1666. This proceſs, being long in dependance, brought many innocent people to trouble.

But to return to Mr Bruce. On the 2d of July he was brought before the council, and, owning that he had preached and baptized both in houſes and in the fields, was ſentenced to be baniſhed out of the three kingdoms, and forced to ſign a bond never to return upon pain of death. When about to leave the kingdom he was ordered to be ſent priſoner to London, where he was confined to the Gate houſe; and, after continuing ſome time there, was ſentenced to go to Tangier in Africa. The reader muſt determine what to think of this matter. Here, a Scotſman, who had been tried and condemned by the council in Scotland, gets a new ſentence paſſed upon him at London. However, it ſeems, this good man met with ſome connivance, and retired after all to Ireland.

Notwithſtanding theſe hardſhips upon Preſbyterian miniſters in Scotland, the king this year allowed ſome breathing to the non conformiſts in England; and the earl of Tweeddale, in the month of June or July, called for ſome of the ejected miniſters of Scotland, who were concealing themſelves, and made propoſals to them concerning ſome favour and indulgence he hoped might be procured. The news was very agreeable; but the attempt of Mr James Mitchell, a preacher, interrupted all meaſures of this kind for ſome time.

This Mr Mitchell took a reſolution to diſpatch the archbiſhop of St Andrews. Accordingly, on the 11th of July when Sharp and Honnyman biſhop of Orkney were going into coach at the head of the Blackfriar's wynd in Edinburgh Mitchel diſcharged a loaded piſtol in at the north-ſide of the coach. Honnyman received the ſhot in the wriſt, which was deſigned for Sharp. Sharp was ſo univerſally hated, that, though this was done in the high ſtreet, and in full light of the day, yet none attempted to ſeize Mr Mitchel, who, with great deliberation, went down the wynd, changed his clothes, and eſcaped. The cry ſoon aroſe that a man was killed; upon which ſome replied, It was only a biſhop.

This accident made a little impreſſion on Sharp. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that he thought it decent to go and congratulate him on this occaſion, and tells us, that Sharp ſaid, with a very ſerious look, 'My times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life.' This, ſays Burnet, was the ſingle expreſſion ſavouring of piety that ever fell from him in all the converſation that paſſed between them.

A proclamation was iſſued out, on the 13th of July, offering a reward of 5000 merks to any that ſhould diſcover the actor; and the ſame day the magiſtrates of Edinburgh were ordered to ſearch the town and ſuburbs, for all perſons concerned in the late rebellion, or who could not give an account of themſelves. The city gates were all ſhut, except the Nether-bow, where one of the magiſtrates was placed, to let none out whom he did not know, and 100 ſoldiers were appointed to give their aſſiſtance; ſo it was ſurprizing that great numbers were not apprehended, the town being full of Whigs, and of thoſe who had been concerned at Pentland, many of whom narrowly eſcaped, eſpecially William Maxwell of Moncrief, who eſcaped their ſcrutiny by getting under a meal barrel in the houſe of one Moffat.

People could not but obſerve the righteouſneſs of Providence in diſabling Honnyman at this time, who had appeared moſt zealous againſt prelacy when it was deſigned to be introduced, and yet, being ſeduced by Sharp with the temptation of a biſhopric, was the firſt who wrote againſt Preſbyterian government, which he once ſo keenly eſpouſed.

This affair made a great noiſe, and the odium of it was caſt upon the whole body of Preſbyterians, though not one knew any thing of the matter except the actor himſelf. Whether it is to be juſtified or condemned the reader may judge, after he ſees what he offered in his own defence when brought to a trial for it ſome years after this. But the meaſures taken with ſome, who were noways acceſſory to it, ſeem to be very ſevere and unjuſtifiable, as will appear from theſe following inſtances.

Soon after this there was a quarrel between one Mrs Gray and her ſervant, who thereupon quitted her ſervice, and went to Sharp, and told him ſhe could inform him of ſeveral houſes where the Whigs uſually reſorted, and concerning the perſon who made the attempt upon himſelf. Robert Gray, on this information, was brought before a committee of the council, and ſuſpecting what his ſervant had done, owned, that upon ſuch a day, his couſin major Learmont, one Welſh, and Mrs Duncan a miniſter's widow, had dined with him; but denied that he knew any thing of the aſſaſſination of the biſhop. Sir John Nisbet the advocate, after ſome pretended frankneſs, took his ring from his hand, telling him he had uſe for it; and immediately ſent it with a meſſenger to Mrs Gray, to acquaint her, that her huſband had diſcovered all he knew as to the Whigs, of which that ring was a token that ſhe might do the like. And accordingly the poor woman, being brought before the committee, told more than her huſband had done, particularly of Mrs Kello, where the Rev. Mr John Welſh lodged and preached, the foreſaid Mrs Duncan and John Crawford meſſenger, who, having notice given him, made his eſcape but his wife and the other two were apprehended. Mr Gray upon this broke his heart and died. Mrs Duncan, when before the council was threatened with the boots, and had been tortured with them, had not lord Rothes interpoſed, and told them, that it was not proper for gentlewomen to wear boots. Mrs Kello confeſſed that Mr Welſh had preached in her houſe; ſhe was fined in 5000 merks, ordered to be baniſhed, with the other two, and confined in priſon a long time; and it was with no ſmall difficulty they were at laſt ſet at liberty, after Mrs Kello had paid a good part of her fine.

About this time ſome ſoldiers, going from Edinburgh on pretence of ſearching for the aſſaſſins of the biſhop, apprehended one Mr John Gillon miniſter at Carers, who had gone to Currey, a few miles from the town, for the recovery of his health, and made him run the moſt of the way before them, for the ſpace of four miles, to the weſt port of Edinburgh, where he was forced to ſtay ſome hours before the gate could be opened. When he was, the next day brought before the council, and nothing, being alledged againſt him, he was diſmiſſed to his chamber, but was ſo exceſſively fatigued, that he died in 48 hours.

On the 23d of July Mr Alexander Smith was ordered to be tranſported to Orkney, and required to confine himſelf to the iſland of North-Ronaldſhaw. Several other miniſters were impriſoned in Forreſs for preaching in their own houſes, and keeping conventicles in Moray, as Mr Thomas Hog miniſter at Kiltairn, Mr Thomas Urquhart miniſter at ——and Mr John MacKilligan miniſter at Alves.

Another method uſed at this time againſt conventicles was, to oblige the magiſtrates of burghs to give bond to pay a certain ſum if any conventicle was kept within their juriſdiction, and ordinarily they were refunded from the perſons they could apprehend. Accordingly, on the 20th of July, the magiſtrates of Edinburgh gave a bond to the council to pay 50 l. ſterling if any conventicle ſhould be found within their privileges; and this practice was for ſome time renewed at every election; but, notwithſtanding all theſe efforts to ſuppreſs them, they increaſed the more.

About the end of July, Mr John Wilkie, ſome time miniſter at Twinham in the ſouth an old infirm man, having come into Edinburgh for his health, was impriſoned, and then examined, firſt before a committee, and afterwards before the council, on the 29th. Upon his examination he declared that he was no ways acceſſory to the attempt upon the biſhop, and that he only exerciſed as in his own family, which he did daily. He was aſked, whether he invited any to his family-exerciſe. He anſwered, he invited none, nor debarred any. And when they ſaid, that they ſuppoſed he was clear to admit all that came to his family worſhip, he replied in theſe words, Yes, my lord, you ſhould be welcome, and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews ſhould not be debarred. In ſhort, the only thing againſt this good man was his expounding the ſcripture, ſinging and praying in his own family, and in two or three others. Nevertheleſs, he was ordered to be confined to Cupar of Angus within ten days after he ſhould be let out of priſon; but, not being able to travel ſo far, he remained in priſon

priſon for ſome time, at laſt his confinement was alter ed, firſt to Moffat and then to Muſſelburgh.

Mean while the council met on the 4th of Auguſt, when Sir James Stuart was ordered to be made cloſe priſoner in Dundee, and Sir John Chiefly in the tolbooth of Perth; and orders was ſent to the captain of the caſtle of Stirling to put Cunninghamhead and Rowllan in diſtinct rooms; and Sir George Maxwell of Nether-pollock was ordered, in eight days, to enter himſelf priſoner at Kirkcaldy, under the penalty of 500 l. ſterling, but next day his place of confinement was fixed to the caſtle of Stirling. The ſame day James Anderſon, John Wright and Robert Grier were baniſhed to Virginia for being at Pentland. And at the ſame time, the council fined Sir William Bannantyne of 200 l. Sterling; and, as he had given ſecurity for his removing from the kingdom by the 11t of September, they freed him from all other pains and puniſhments. This was juſtly looked upon as too mild a ſentence, conſidering the horrid extortions, filthineſs, rapes and cruelty he had been guilty of; for, beſides what has been above related, he made great fires and laid down men to roaſt before them, when they would not nor could not give the money he deſired, or give thoſe informations he wanted. He was barbarous to one gentleman in Galloway, ſuppoſed to be Gordon of Largmore, who, through the wounds he received at Pentland, and the hardſhips he endured before he got to his houſe, fell ſick, and was at the point of death when orders came from Bannantyne to bring him dead or alive. He raiſed himſelf a little on his bed, and told thoſe who were ſent, that he now defied Sir William and all his perſecutors, whom he forgave, ſince in a little he would be in better company. Having ſaid this, he leaned down, and in a few minutes expired.

Bannantyne upon this ſentence went to court, and put the beſt face he could upon his affairs; however, he was forced to leave the king's dominions, and accordingly, he repaired to the army then in the Low countries, and ſerved at the ſiege of Grave, where a cannon-ball came and drove his heart at ſome diſtance from his body, which, my author ſays, was anſwerable to a wicked imprecation he commonly uſed. So that however mild the ſentence was that was paſſed upon him, yet vengeance would not ſuffer him to live.

When Turner and Bannantyne were thus proſecuted, honeſt people began to hope that now they might lay their grievances before the council; but when John Ferguſon, one of the magiſtrates of Ayr, gave in his compleint againſt William Cunningham the provoſt, and had been at great charges in bringing above 40 witneſſes to prove him guilty of many violences and oppreſſions, he was told by one of the council, that unleſs he dropt his proſecution, the declaration would be put to him; and not being able to comply with this, he was forced to hold himſelf quiet.

Upon a falſe alarm of another riſing, the council, on the 12th of Auguſt, gave orders to the earl of Linlithgow to aſſemble the forces and diſperſe the rebels; and on the 3d of September lieutenant Mungo Murray was ſent with 60 horſe, and another party under one Cockburn, to ſearch for and apprehend any rebels in arms: however, there was not the leaſt ground for any of theſe fears. It was about this time that Robert Cannon of Mordrogget, who was always excepted out of the indemnity, was apprehended; but being ſeduced by the managers, he afterwards acted a very ill part.

In the month of November ſeveral concerned in Pentland were admitted to take the bond; and Robert Chalmer, (who was afterwards pardoned) William Millar and William Murdoch were baniſhed. John Denholm was baniſhed to Tangier, for receiving ſome of the others one night in his houſe. William and James Welſhes in Dungray, whoſe names were wrong inſerted in the proclamation May 9th, were diſmiſſed upon ſigning the bond of peace.

On the 23d of November, the council being informed againſt Mr Donald Cargil, for coming to Edinburgh and other places, at his pleaſure, ſince he was confined to the north ſide of the Tay, appointed him to appear before them on the 11th of January next. His only crime was coming to Edinburgh, without licence, after ſix years confinement. But when he appeared, and was heard in his own vindication, he was diſmiſſed, and only ordered to remain within the bounds of his appointment.

The year 1669, which I am now entering upon, was remarkable for the indulgence granted to ſeveral of the ejected miniſters; but, as the king's letter upon that ſubject did not come down before the middle of July it will be proper to mention the moſt remarkable occurences preceeding that event, in the order wherein they happened.

We took notice of the council's letter concerning ſending in liſts of the papiſts. Accordingly, on the 4th of February this year, ſome liſts were brought in; but the council recorded that many were wanting, for the zeal of the times ran in another channel.

The hardſhips of thoſe concerned at Pentland were ſtill continued, and all pains were taken to diſcover ſuch of them as had retired to Ireland. Accordingly John Cunningham of Bedlane was apprehended there. The council, being informed of this, on the ſaid 4th of February ordered the magiſtrates of Ayr to receive him as a priſoner. When he was brought over, he was committed to priſon, firſt at Glaſgow, then at Stirling caſtle, and after that in Dumbarton, where he continued a long time.

The weſt country gentlemen met with ſome favour; for, on the 25th of February, Sir George Maxwell got liberty to tranſact his affairs for ſome time in Edinburgh, and had his liberty continued from time to time, till the month of June. The ſame day Sir William Cuningham was allowed to repair to his houſe till the middle of March. However, they were remanded to priſon after the time of theſe favours was expired.

The perſecution for conventicles ſtill went on; for the council, being informed that Mr David Hume late miniſter at Coldingham had preached at a conventicle, in the houſe of Mrs Paton a widow gentlewoman in Edinburgh, on the 2d of March, fined the magiſtrates in the ſum of 50 l. ſterling, according to their bond. And the ſame day ſmall parties of ſoldiers were ſent to quarter in Glaſgow, Newmills, Manchlin and Kilmarnock, to ſuppreſs conventicles there, and a party was ordered to Inverneſs to keep the preſbyterians in awe in that part of the country.

The better to find out conventicles, an act of council was made on the 4th of March, diſcharging all perſons from having their children baptiſed by any other than their own pariſh miniſter; and ſignifying that every heritor, who ſhould act otherways, ſhould pay the fourth part of his yearly value rent, each tenant 100 l. Scots, and ſix weeks impriſonment, and each cottar, or ſub-tenant 20 l. Scots, and the like impriſonment. The reaſon given for this act was, becauſe baptiſm otherways adminiſtred was a ſcandal to the proteſtant religion, and tended to the encreaſe of popery, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs. But whether the ſcandal upon the proteſtant religion, conſiſted in childrens being baptized by perſons not authoriſed by a prelatical church, muſt be left with the reader. And it is an undoubtable fact that popery and profaneneſs never increaſed ſo much in Scotland, ſince the reformation, as under this period, when prelacy was eſtabliſhed.

This act was ordered to be publiſhed throughout the ſhires of Lanerk, Renfrew and Ayr, and the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, and the commiſſioners of the militia were ordered to inform themſelves of all conventicles and diſorderly baptiſms ſince laſt November, that thoſe who ſhould be found guilty, whether miniſters or hearers, might be proſecuted; and inſtructions were ſent to the ſheriffs and their deputes, in the weſtern ſhires, as to the manner in which they were to proceed againſt the non conformiſts.

The ſame day the council ordered more ſoldiers to the weſt, doubting perhaps that the militia would not be zealous enough in perſecuting their neighbours. And James Row and George Moſman merchants in Edinburgh were fined, the firſt in 100 l. and the ſecond in 200 merks, for being at Mrs Paton's conventicle, and John Row, agent, in 100 l. for the ſame crime, and threatened with baniſhment if ever they ſhould be found at another; and in the mean time they were impriſoned till they paid their fines.

About this time collectors of the fines, for non-conformity, appointed by law, were named, and ſent to thoſe

places where conventicles were most frequent; and, the better to encourage these publicans and tax gatherers, they had 500 merks a piece from the council; however their reign was short, continuing only till the 1st of June.

But the archbishop of Glasgow stirred up the lord Cochran to harass the presbyterians in his diocese; and accordingly his lordship ordered major Cockburn to summon, before a committee of noblemen and gentlemen at Ayr, several ministers whom the bishop alledged had acted contrary to law, and preached and baptized irregularly; such as Messrs. William Fullerton late at St. Quivox, John Spalding at Dreghorn, Alexander Blair at Glatloun, Hugh Archbald at Evandale, James Alexander at Kilmacolm, Andrew Dalrymple at Auchinleck, John Hutchison at Maybole, James Veitch at Manchlin, Hugh Campbell at Riccartoun, John Gemble at Symington, and John Wallace at Largs. When the major came with his men to some of their houses, he compelled them to give bond for their appearance, without producing his warrant, and most rudely treated the families of others, obliging them to leave their houses in 24 hours, to their great detriment and loss. The council was so sensible of this, that Mr Veitch and Mr Blair were allowed 300 merks for their losses.

All the ministers appeared before the meeting at Ayr, and answered the questions put to them, with that meekness and candour, that most of the members were for dismissing them. But the archbishop wanting to get rid of these good men, Cochran prevailed to get them cited before the council next week at Edinburgh. They obeyed and appeared before a committee of the council on the 6th of April, and all frankly acknowledged they had preached, and admitted more to hear them than their own families, and promised that for the future, they would behave peaceably and soberly, as they had always done, and as became ministers of the gospel: then they subscribed their answers, upon which they were dismissed, and ordered to appear before the council on the 8th.

Being then called in, the lords told them that they deferred passing sentence at this time, but declared, that, if any of them should afterwards keep conventicles, they should be punished as the law directs. Upon this Mr Fullerton as had been concerted among themselves, desired liberty to speak; which being granted, he delivered himself thus:

My Lord Chancellor,

WE have already—confessed—what hath been our carriage, and—that as, in all our actings, we have carried with due respect to authority, as it became the ministers of the gospel, so we resolved to continue: and it is no small addition to our sufferings, that we should be—looked upon by any as justling with authority. Yet, considering that it hath been, in all the ages of the church, the case of the Lord's faithful servants, from which our Lord himself was not exempted, to be slandered as no friends to Cesar, we need not think it strange; for our witness is in heaven—that, as we desire to give 'unto God the things that are God's' so also unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's.—For we judge the fearers of God are the only loyal people in the world, only our loyalty is with subordination to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is 'King of kings and Lord of lords,'—and under him to the king's majesty and inferior magistrates, and in this line of subordination we shall deny nothing to the king that shall be demanded.—And, withal, our loyalty is not founded upon intrinsic grounds or self-principles and motives, but allenarly upon the basis of conscience.—Hence it was, that, when the royal family was in a low condition, we lay in the dust, and poured out our supplications to God in behalf of the king's majesty—

And now, seeing we have received our ministry from Jesus Christ, and must one day give an account to our Master how we have performed the same, we dare have no hand in the least to unminister ourselves, yea, the word is like a fire in our bosom seeking for a vent. And seeing, under the force of a command from authority, we have hitherto ceased from the public exercise of our ministry, and are wearied with forbearing,—it is our humble supplication to your lordship, that you would deal with the king's majesty in our behalf, that at least the indulgence granted to others of our way, within his dominions, may be extended to us also. Next, that Mr Nathaniel Fife be inhibited to meddle with us,—and that you would do something or other for the ease and relief of the poor oppressed people in our country, &c.

The council house was very full, and all were very attentive, so that at this time these ministers were dismissed. They went home and preached in their own houses; and thus the archbishop was disappointed; and Cochran is reported to have said in a pet, The ministers shall turn all upside down before I meddle with them again.

But though these ministers were thus dismissed, yet that very day, April the 8th, the council issued a proclamation against conventicles, declaring that every heritor in the shires of Lanerk, Renfrew, Ayr and stewartry of Kircudbright, upon whose estate any such shall be kept, should be fined in the sum of 50 l. sterling. There was no limitation nor restriction. Notwithstanding whereof ministers did preach, and the people received the word with all readiness of mind. Burnet says, this was plainly against law, for the council had no power, by their authority, to set arbitrary fines.

In the months of May and June several ministers were brought before the council; however, as they generally were not prosecuted, I shall not mention them. But, on the 3d of June, the council gave a commission to the archbishop and provost of Glasgow to make inquiry who were present at a conventicle lately kept in that city; for Mr James Hamilton late minister at Blantyre, had been informed against for preaching in his own house.

Next day Mr Thomas Wyllie obtained his liberty, upon giving bond to appear when call'd; and by this means several of the ministers and others got out of their long confinement.

On the 10th of June, Robert Gibson, Robert Paton, Robert Harper and William Cuthbertson were ordered to be transported for being at Pentland, as were several others whose names I know not.

Mr Hamilton, just now mentioned, was sent in prisoner to Edinburgh, and, without being in the least dampted, owned before a committee of the council, that he had preached in his own house at Glasgow. And, when they spoke to him of the bishop's lenity and favour, in permitting him to live so long in Glasgow, he replied, That it was easy to speak of lenity and favour: but he was assured he had not so much liberty and favour as Paul enjoyed under a violent persecuting heathen at Rome, where 'he remained two years in his own hired house,' and preached the gospel, and none was forbid to come to hear him; whereas the honest people of Glasgow and himself had been frequently threatned if they did not forbear. And, when they wanted him to give bond to preach no more this way, he said that he had his commission from Christ to preach the gospel, and he would not lay himself under any restrictions, whatever force others might bring him under. The chancellor asked him where his commission was. He answered, Matth. xxviii. 19. 'Go, teach and baptize. The chancellor replied, That is the apostles commission, Do you set up for an apostle? No, my lord, said he, nor for any extraordinary person either; but that place contains the commission of ordinary ministers of the gospel, as well as extraordinary ambassadors as the apostles were. Mr Hamilton, adhering to all this before the council, was, on the 24th of June, ordered to be kept in prison till he gave security not to exercise his public ministry; and a general rule was made that all ministers who should be apprehended, on account of conventicles, should be served the same way, which hindred ministers afterwards to appear when summoned; and this paved the way for denouncing and intercommuning of ministers, or declaring them out laws. Mr Hamilton after his health had been greatly impaired, was, by the interest of Robert Hamilton of Silvertoun hill, set at liberty, upon giving bond for 1000 merks to appear when called.

By this time the indulgence was expected, and the bishops in order to prevent one part of it from taking place

place, viz. the 400. merks from the non indulged, got, it ſeems, the council, on the 8th of July, to appoint a committee to examine into the vacant ſtipends, which, by act of parliament, were ordered to be applied for the increaſe of the ſtock of univerſities.

Whether the indulgence that was now in agitation, was, by the firſt propoſers of it, as is very probable deſigned to divide the preſbyterians among themſelves, I ſhall not determine. Burnet ſays, that the people fell off entirely from all the epiſcopal clergy in the weſtern counties, and a ſet of hot fiery young teachers, went about among them inflaming them ſtill more and more, ſo that it was neceſſary to find a remedy for this. If the people were inflamed, it was by the irregular and cruel behaviour of the prelates, &c. and not by any hot fiery young teachers, as that hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſay, 'Leighton propoſed that a treaty ſhould be ſet on foot for accommodating differences. But this not being agreed to, the earl of Tweddale propoſed the granting to ſome of the ejected miniſters leave to go and ſerve in thoſe pariſhes, by an act of the king's indulgence.' Leighton was againſt this. Burnet ſays farther, that Mr Mitchel's attempt upon Sharp made him turn his thoughts to more moderate meaſures; and, being called to court, he, in general terms, approved of the methods of gentleneſs and moderation then in vogue. When he came back to Scotland, he moved in council that an indulgence might be granted to ſome of the public reſolutioners with ſome reſtraints, ſuch as, that they ſhould not ſpeak nor preach againſt epiſcopacy, though he could not but know that ſuch limitations would not be complied with. However, this author tells us, that the letter he (Burnet) ſent to the lord Tweeddale, giving a long account of the ſtate of the country, and adviſing to put ſome of the more moderate preſbyterians into the vacant churches, gave the deciding ſtroke to this affair.

Mr Woodrow ſays, that the earl of Tweddale had at this time frequent conferences with ſome preſbyterian miniſters, particularly Mr John Stirling, Mr Robert Douglas, and others, and prevailed with them to tend up a letter to court to be a handle to their friends at London. Tweddale went to court, either with this or ſoon after, and found his work the eaſier, that the preſbyterians in England were at preſent connived at in their meetings; ſo that his lordſhip upon the 15th of July, preſented to the council the following letter from the king.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT truſty and right well beloved couſins and counſellors, we greet you well. Whereas, by an act of council and proclamation at Glaſgow, in the year 1662, a conſiderable number of miniſters were at once turned out, and ſo debarred from preaching of the goſpel, and exerciſe of the miniſtry, we are graciouſly pleaſed to authoriſe you, our privy council, to appoint ſo many of the outed miniſters, as have lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they have reſided, to return and preach, and exerciſe other functions of the miniſtry in the pariſh churches, where they formerly reſided and ſerved (provided they be vacant) and to allow patrons to preſent to other vacant churches, ſuch others of them as you ſhall approve of; and that ſuch of theſe miniſters as ſhall take collation from the biſhop of the dioceſe, and keep preſbyteries and ſynods, may be warranted to lift their ſtipends as other miniſters of the kingdom: but for ſuch as are not, or ſhall not be collated by the biſhop, that they have no warrant to meddle with the vacant ſtipend, but only to poſſeſs the manſe and glebe; and that you appoint a collector for theſe and all other vacant ſtipends, who ſhall iſſue the ſame, and pay an yearly maintenance to the ſaid not collated miniſters, as you ſhall ſee fit to appoint.

That all who are reſtored, and allowed to exerciſe the miniſtry, be, in our name and by our authority, enjoined to conſtitute and keep kirk-ſeſſions, and to keep preſbyteries and ſynods, as was done by all miniſters before 1638. And that ſuch of them as ſhall not obey our command in keeping preſbyteries, be confined within the bounds of the pariſhes where they preach, any and while they give aſſurance to keep preſbyteries for the future.

That all who ſhall be allowed to preach be ſtrictly enjoined not to admit any of their neighbours, or any other pariſhes, unto their communions, nor baptize their children, nor marry any of them without the allowance of the miniſter of the pariſh to which they belong, unleſs it be vacant for the time. And if it be found upon complaint made by any preſbytery to you our privy-council, that the people of the neighbouring or other pariſhes reſort to their preaching, and deſert their own pariſh churches that according to the degree of the offence or diſorder, you ſilence the miniſter, who countenances the ſame, for ſhorter or longer time and, upon a ſecond complaint verified, that you ſilence again for a longer time, or altogether turn out, as you ſhall ſee cauſe, and, upon complaint made and verified, of any ſeditious diſcourſe or expreſſions in the pulpit, or elſewhere, uttered by any of thoſe miniſters you are immediately to turn them out, and farther puniſh them according to law, and the degree of the offence.

That ſuch of the outed miniſters who have behaved peaceably and orderly, and are not re-entered or preſented as aforeſaid, have allowed to them four hundred merks Scots yearly out of the vacant churches for their maintenance till they be provided of churches; and that even ſuch who ſhall give aſſurance to live ſo, for the future, be allowed the ſame yearly maintenance.

And ſeeing by theſe orders we have taken away all pretences to conventicles and provided for the wants of ſuch as are and will be peaceable, if any ſhall be found hereafter to preach without authority, or keep conventicles, our expreſs pleaſure is, that you proceed with all ſeverity againſt the preachers and hearers, as ſeditious perſons and contemners of our authority. So leaving the management of theſe orders to your prudence, and recommending them to your care, we bid you farewel. Given at our court at Whit hall June 7th 1669.

By his majeſty's command,

LAUDERDALE.'

Whether the following remarks, which have been made upon this letter, are juſt and well grounded, muſt be left with the reader: 1. That the civil magiſtrates take upon them to depoſe miniſters from, and reſtore them to the exerciſe of their miniſtry, as they ſee proper, and to what places they judge convenient. 2 This letter, ſays, That certain miniſters were turned out and deprived of the exerciſe of their miniſtry by an act of council and now the king gives authority to the council to reſtore them; and conſequently all the power granted to the council to act in his affairs was derived from the king alone, and therefore the indulgence itſelf was the effect of the ſupremacy. 3 That the miniſters to be indulged were laid under unlawful reſtrictions particularly to uſe no ſeditious diſcourſes or expreſſions in the pulpit, or elſewhere, which all preaching or ſpeaking againſt prelacy and the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy was then accounted: that unleſs they keep preſbyteries and ſynods viz. thoſe held by the biſhops, they muſt be confined to the pariſhes where they preach: that they were not to admit any except thoſe of their own pariſhes, to partake of the ordinances unleſs thoſe who belonged to vacant pariſhes, under high penalties &c. 4. That the deſign of this favour to be granted to ſome miniſters was to prevent others from preaching to any but their own families, for, ſays his majeſty, by theſe orders we have taken away all pretences for conventicles. 5. that the 400 merks mentioned in the laſt paragraph ſave one, was ſeldom made good. Now, how far they were to blame who complied with this indulgence, is not for me to determine; the reader will afterwards hear what ſome ſaid in their own defence for refuſing to accept it. See the hiſtory of indulgence, p. 5 6, &c.

When the above letter was read in council it met with a good deal of oppoſition: ſo that the favour mentioned was delayed for ſome time, and a committee was appointed to conſider the contents of it, to pitch upon the miniſters to be indulged, and to make draughts of the acts of council relating to this matter. And the biſhops and others of the clergy met in the mean time to hinder its taking place as much as poſſible. They could not prevent it altogether; but Sharp, who was a compleat maſter

of

of diſſimulation, to comfort his brethren, promiſed to make it a bone of contention: and, as I have hinted, this ſeems to have been the deſign of it.

About this time a propoſal was ſet on foot for uniting the two kingdoms. 'The king, ſays Burnet, liked it very well because he reckoned that, at leaſt in his time, he ſhould be ſure of all the members that ſhould be ſent from Scotland. The duke of Buckingham went in eaſily to a new thing, and lord keeper Bridgman was much for it. Lord Lauderdale preſſed it vehemently; but then this affair made it neceſſary to hold a parliament in Scotland, where he intended to be the king's commiſſioner.'

Accordingly, on the 15th of July, a proclamation was iſſued for calling a new parliament; and care was taken to manage the elections ſo as the king and biſhops might be well ſerved, and any arbitrary and illegal ſteps taken by the council approved of. But to return,

The committee above mentioned having prepared things, and the miniſters with whom they were to begin having notice given them on the 27th of July the lords of his majeſty's privy-council, in purſuance of his majeſty's letter, dated June the 7th, did appoint the following miniſters to preach and exerciſe their other functions at the following vacant kirks, viz. Meſſrs Ralph Rogers late at Glaſgow, at Kilwinning; George Hutchiſon late at Edinburgh, at Irvine; William Violant late at Ferrie, at Cambuſnethan; Robert Millar late at Ochiltree, at the ſame church; John Parkh..: at Stranrawer, at the ſame church; William Maitland late at Whitehorn, at Beith: John Oliphant late at Stonehouſe, at the ſame kirk; John Bell late at Ardroſſan, at the ſame kirk; John Cant late at Kells, at the ſame kirk, and John MacMichan late at Dalry, at the ſame kirk. The ſame day the council made an act concerning miniſters indulged, or to be indulged, almoſt in the terms of the king's letter; but without taking notice of the 400 merks.

On the 29th of July colonel Robert Barclay, who had been apprehended on ſuſpicion, was permitted to reſide at his own houſe at Ury till January, and ſome months after was wholly freed from his reſtraint. And on the ſame day William Wallace of Carnhill got up a bond that was extorted from him by Sir William Bannantyne.

On the 3d of Auguſt Mr Robert Duncan, late miniſter at Dumbernie, who had been ſeveral years under reſtraint was ſet at liberty, and the following miniſters were indulged, viz. Meſſrs John Scot late at Oxnam, there; William Hamilton late at Glaſsford, at Evandale; Robert Mitchel late at Luſs, there; John Gemble late at Symingtoun, there; Patrick Campbell late at Inverary, there; Robert Duncanſon late at Lochanſide, at Kildochrenan; and Andrew Cameron late at Kilfinnan, at Lochhead in Kintyre.

This day all the miniſters who were indulged appeared before the council to receive their acts of indulgence, or licences, of which there were two forms, the one relating to thoſe who were to ſerve at their own churches now vacant, the other relating to thoſe who were appointed elſewhere.

The tenor of Mr Roger's act as is follows,

'The lords of his majeſty's privy-council, in purſuance of his majeſty's commands, ſignified the 7th of June laſt, do appoint Mr Ralph Rogers, late miniſter at Glaſgow, to preach and exerciſe the other functions of the miniſtry at the kirk of Kilwinning.'

The tenor of Mr Millar's was,

'Forasmeikle as the kirk of Ochiltree is vacant, the lords of his majeſty's privy-council, in purſuance of his majeſty's commands, ſignified by his letter the 7th of June laſt, and in regard of the conſent of the patron, do appoint Mr Robert Millar, late miniſter there, to teach and exerciſe the other functions of the miniſtry at the ſaid kirk of Ochiltree.'

When the clerk had read both theſe, and then the act of council above mentioned, a copy was delivered to each of the miniſters. After which Mr George Hutchiſon, as had been concerted, aſked leave to ſpeak; which having obtained, he ſaid:

My Lords,

I AM deſired, in the name of my brethren here preſent, to acknowlege in all humility and thankfulneſs his majeſty's royal favour in granting us liberty and the public exerciſe of our miniſtry, after ſo long a reſtraint from the ſame; and to return hearty thanks to your lordſhips for the care and pains taken therein; and that your lordſhips have been pleaſed to make us, the unworthieſt of many of our brethren, ſo early partakers of the ſame.

'We having received our miniſtry from Jeſus Chriſt, with full preſcriptions from him for regulating us therein, muſt in the diſcharge thereof be countable to him: and as there can be nothing more deſireable or refreſhing to us upon earth, than to have free liberty of the exerciſe of our miniſtry, under protection of lawful authority, the excellent ordinance of God, and to us moſt dear and precious, ſo we purpoſe and reſolve to behave ourſelves, in the diſcharge of the miniſtry, with that wiſdom and prudence which becomes faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and to demean ourſelves towards lawful authority, notwithſtanding our known judgments in church-affairs, as well becomes loyal ſubjects, and that from a principle of conſcience.

'And now, my lords, our prayer to God is, that the Lord may bleſs his majeſty in his perſon and government, and your lordſhips in your public adminiſtrations, and eſpecially in purſuance of his majeſty's mind teſtified in his letter, wherein his ſingular moderation eminently appears, that others of our brethren may in due time be made ſharers of the liberty that, through his majeſty's favour we now enjoy.'

This ſpeech was much cenſured, as not being a ſufficient teſtimony againſt the plain eraſtianiſm in the indulgence. It is indeed certain that theſe miniſters owned the king's letter as the only riſe and fountain of the favour they were then partakers of; and therefore, how far their complying was conſiſtent with their principles as preſbyterians, or how far they could be juſtified in receiving this favour for themſelves, while their brethren were ſtill expoſed to ſevere hardſhips, muſt be left with the reader.

For this very day a ſevere proclamation was iſſued againſt conventicles, commanding all heritors to inform againſt any who, within their bounds, ſhould take upon them to preach or carry on worſhip in ſuch aſſemblies to the ſtewards, lords, bailies of regalities, &c. who were commanded, under the higheſt penalties, to ſearch for, apprehend and impriſon ſuch preachers in order to their being proſecuted. And indeed one deſign of the indulgence was to bear down and ſuppreſs all ſuch private aſſemblies, as is expreſly declared in the king's letter.

I cannot here omit the peculiar caſe of Mr John Park, one of the firſt ten indulged. The biſhop of Galloway, in order to prevent his return to Stranrawer, admitted one Naſmith to that church about three days after Mr Park was indulged by the council. The town and parish oppoſed this admiſſion, and unanimouſly adhered to their old miniſter. Upon which the biſhop ordered all parties to be ſummoned to Edinburgh, that the council might determine in this competition. When Mr Park was before the council, Mr Naſmith accuſed him with ordering the church doors to be locked after his admiſſion, and exciting ſeveral gentlemen to leave the church, &c. But though all appeared to be falſe, and though his act of indulgence was prior to the curate's admiſſion, yet the latter was ſuſtained.

On the 1ſt of September, Mr Donald Cargill, in conſequence of his petition, had his confinement taken off, providing he obliged himſelf not to reſide, on any account whatſoever, within the town of Glaſgow, nor in the town and ſuburbs of Edinburgh, without warrant from the lords of ſeſſion and exchequer.

Next day the following ſeven miniſters were indulged, viz. Meſſrs Robert Douglas late at Edinburgh, at Pancaitland, (though only during the preſent vacancy, till a proceſs ſhould be decided; Matthew Ramſay late at Kilpatrick, at Paiſley: Alexander Hamilton late at Dalmeny, there; Andrew Dalrymple late at Auchinleck, at Dalgen; James

Fletcher

Fletcher late at Newtborn, there; Andrew MacLean late at Craignies, at Kilchattan; and Donald Moriſon late at Kilmaglaſs, at Ardnamurchan.

The ſame day the council ordered the king's advocate to commence, before the parliament, a proceſs of forfeiture againſt thoſe guilty of rebellion 1666, who were excepted out of the king's indemnity, and have as yet neither been forfeited nor pardoned.

This month the epiſcopal ſynod of Glaſgow ſat down, and their proceedings iſſued in the deprivation of the archbiſhop, who with his clergy were out of meaſure enraged at the indulgence. To uſe the words of a noted hiſtorian, 'When it came to be diſcanted upon, it appeared to be plainly againſt law; for, by the act reſtoring epiſcopacy, none were capable of benefices but ſuch as ſhould own the authority of biſhops, and be inſtituted by them. So now the epiſcopal party, that were wont to put all authority in the king, as long as he was for them, began to talk of law. They ſaid, the king's power was bounded by law, and that theſe proceedings were the trampling of law under foot.' It was moved in the ſynod, 'that an addreſs might be drawn up, repreſenting to the king the miſeries they were under, occaſioned by the indulgence; they complained of it as illegal, and like to be fatal to the church.' It alſo bore hard upon the king's ſupremacy, which theſe very gentlemen had ſworn to ſupport and maintain. The true genius of paſſive obedience men! Such a paper as this could not but make a conſiderable noiſe.

Accordingly, on the laſt day of September, the council being informed that ſuch a petition, remonſtrance or grievances, had been debated in the late ſynod at Glaſgow, required the archbiſhop forthwith to call for the ſaid papers, in order to their being preſented to the council on the 14th of next October, and that Mr James Ramſay, dean of Glaſgow, and Mr Roſs parſon there, who drew up theſe papers, appear before the council the ſame day, and that the clerk do bring along with him the records of the ſynod.

On this ſame 30th of September, William Southram, who had been a priſoner in the Canongate jail for being at a conventicle, was ſet at liberty, upon finding bail to appear when called, under the penalty of 500 merks. And the ſame day the council granted their indulgence to Meſſrs John Stirling late at Edinburgh, at Hownam; Robert Mowat late at Temple, at Heriot; James Hamilton late at Egleſham, there; Robert Hunter late at Corſtorphin, at Dunning; and John Forreſt late at Tullialan, at Tillicultry.

On the 14th of October, Lauderdale, who was appointed commiſſioner to the enſuing parliament, produced before the council a paper ſent by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow; and, after reading, it was remitted to the conſideration of a committee, who made their report on the 16th, when the council declared it to be a paper of a dangerous nature and conſequence, tending to the depraving of his majeſty's laws, and miſconſtructing of the proceedings of his majeſty and his council; and, in the manner of the conveying thereof, to be moſt illegal and unwarrantable; and therefore ordered it to be ſuppreſſed, and that the principal paper, with the depoſitions of the dean and parſon of Glaſgow, be delivered to the commiſſioner, and an extract of this act of council tranſmitted to the king.

The parliament ſat down on the 19th of October, before his majeſty's pleaſure could be known in this affair; and the ſeſſion was opened with reading the king's letter, which chiefly related to the deſigned union, which the commiſſioner moſt earneſtly recommended; and, to engage the biſhops and their party, who were chagrined at the indulgence, he inſiſted upon the king's fixed reſolution inviolably to maintain epiſcopacy, and ſuppreſs conventicles. All the members ſigned the declaration, obliging themſelves to maintain prelacy.

The day after the parliament met, the council, being informed of an horrid inſolence committed upon Mr John Row miniſter at Balmaclellan in Galloway, ordered all acceſſory to it to appear before them: the pariſhioners were likewiſe commanded to come, and hear and ſee themſelves fined, and otherwiſe cenſured according to the acts of council in March and June 1667, Mr Row complained, that three perſons in womens cloathes came in the night time, took him out of his bed, beat him and broke open his trunks, and took away what they had a-mind. And Mr Thomas Warner, his father-in-law, James Grier of Milmark, Gordon of Holm, Gordon of Gordonſtoun, John Carſan and James Chalmer, heritors of the pariſh, were charged as being either actors or acceſſory to this violence. Though, conſidering their diſtance from Edinburgh, they could not come at the firſt ſederunt of council, yet they were all found guilty for not appearing; and the heritors and liferenters of the pariſh were ordered to pay to Mr Row 1200 l. Scots: and tho' they, and the other heritors, came as ſoon as poſſible, and offered to ſtand trial, they were not admitted; but were ordered to pay their part of the fine impoſed. Of the like nature was the complaint of Mr Lyon, curate at Orr, who was inſulted in the night-time: for which the pariſh was ordered to pay him 600 l. and letters were directed againſt one John Smith alledged to be concerned in the attempt. Though theſe attempts are not to be juſtified, yet why the innocent ſhould be puniſhed for the guilty, and why thoſe who offered themſelves to trial ſhould not be heard, muſt be left to the determination of the reader. But to return to the parliament.

Though one chief deſign of this parliament was to pave the way for an union between the two kingdoms, yet all that was done relating to that, was, that an act paſſed for a treaty about it; whereas the two firſt acts were of more importance, and had a deeper deſign.

The firſt explained and aſſerted the king's ſupremacy, but carried it in ſuch general words, that it might have been ſtretched to every thing, as the reader will ſee from the act itſelf, which I here inſert.

Act anent the ſupremacy, November 16. 1669.

THE eſtates of parliament, having ſeriouſly conſidered how neceſſary it is, for the good and peace of the church and ſtate, that his majeſty's power and authority, in relation to matters and perſons eccleſiaſtical, be more clearly aſſerted by an act of parliament, have therefore thought fit it be enacted, aſſerted and declared; likeas his majeſty, with advice and conſent of his eſtates of parliament, doth hereby enact, aſſert and declare, that his majeſty hath the ſupreme authority and ſupremacy over all perſons and in all cauſes eccleſiaſtical within this his kingdom and that, by virtue thereof, the ordering and diſpoſal of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, as an inherent right to the crown; and that his majeſty and his ſucceſſors may ſettle, enact and emit ſuch conſtitutions, acts and orders, concerning the adminiſtration of the external government of the church, and the perſons employed in the ſame, and concerning all eccleſiaſtical meetings and matters to be propoſed and determined therein, as they, in their royal wiſdom, ſhall think fit; which acts, orders and conſtitutions, being recorded in the books of council, and duly publiſhed, are to be obſerved and obeyed by all his majeſty's ſubjects; any law, act or cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding. Likeas his majeſty, with advice and conſent foreſaid, doth reſcind and annul all laws, acts and clauſes thereof, and all cuſtoms and conſtitutions, civil or eccleſiaſtic, which are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with his majeſty's ſupremacy, as it is hereby aſſerted, and declares the ſame void and null in all time coming.

The reader cannot but ſee, that, by this act, the king may do what he pleaſes with reſpect to church-affairs. If he ſhould think fit to pull down epiſcopacy, and ſet up preſbytery, the biſhops could not complain, ſince they had voted him ſuch an abſolute ſupremacy; nay, did he, or his ſucceſſors, introduce popery, they might juſtly plead this act of parliament. Biſhop Burnet ſays, lord Lauderdale very probably knew the ſecret of the duke [of York's] religion, and had got into his favour; ſo it is very likely he intended to eſtabliſh himſelf in it, by putting the church of Scotland wholly in his power. But, ſays he, that was yet a ſecret to us all in Scotland. The method he took to get it paſſed was this. He told all thoſe who loved preſbytery, or that did not much favour the

bishops, that it was necessary to keep them [the bishops] under, by making them depend absolutely on the king.—He made the nobility see they needed fear no more the insolence of the bishops, if they were at mercy, as this would make them. Sharp did not like it, but durst not oppose it. Leighton was against any such act; — yet he gave his vote for it. He farther says, At that time there was no apprehensions of the danger of popery. Many of the best of the episcopal clergy, Nairn and Charteris in particular, were highly offended at the act. They thought it plainly made the king our pope. So far the doctor. It is easy then for the reader to imagine what the sentiments of all true Presbyterians must be. I shall make no farther remarks on this act, than to observe, that the earl of Tweedale protested to Dr Burnet, as he tells us himself, that his chief end in it was to justify the indulgence, which was certainly granted contrary to several laws then in force; and consequently, as this indulgence flowed from the supremacy, so nothing but the act of supremacy, renewed and extended, could screen the members of council in granting it to ministers who had the laws against them; and this was one reason why their acceptance was condemned.

The next act that passed related to the militia, wherein the power of arming the subjects, and raising them in arms, is likewise placed among the inherent rights of the crown. Burnet says, 'It was enacted, that the militia should still be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the king's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness should be concerned; and that the orders should be transmitted to them from the council-board, without any mention of orders from the king. Upon this great reflections were made; for when jealousies broke out in England of the ill designs that lay hid under this matter, it was thought, that, if the king should call in the Scottish army, it would not be necessary that he himself should send any orders for it; but, that upon a secret intimation, the council might do it without order, and then, if the design should miscarry, it should not ly on the king, but only on the council, whom, in that case, the king might disown, and so those about the king would be blameless.

The 5th act was for the security of the persons of the clergy, ratifying the proclamation of the council the 25th of March and 6th of June 1667.

By the eleventh act, concerning the forfeiture of persons in the late rebellion, what the council and justiciary had formerly done was ratified and approved of, so that now there is a parliamentary forfeiture of these persons in absence. The parliament rose the 23d of December.

Mean while, on the 9th of December, the following five ministers were indulged, viz. Mess. James Veitch late at Manchlin, there; Alexander Blair late at Galstoun, there; John Primrose, late at Queensferry, there; David Brown late at Craigie there; and John Crawford late at ——, at Lamenton. But the same day, the council being informed that — Hamilton of Kinkell; John Balcanqual brother to the laird of that ilk, and John Geddie steward to the town clerk of Fife, had been present at a conventicle in that shire, they were summoned to appear on the 16th instant, under the pain of rebellion; but no more is mentioned concerning them.

However, on that day the council, considering that Mr Matthew Ramsay, who was appointed to be minister at Paisley, was not able, by reason of his bodily infirmities, to officiate, did, with the consent of the patron, and of Mr Ramsay, appoint Mr John Baird late minister at Innerwick, to the church of Paisley; so that this year there were 35 indulged by the council in consequence of the king's letter.

Some time this month, Sir William Cuningham of Cuninghamhead, Sir William Muir of Rowallan, Sir George Maxwell of Nether-pollock, Sir James Stewart and Sir John Chiesly, were all set at liberty.

Much about this time a letter came from the king laying aside the archbishop of Glasgow from acting any more in that station. The historian of his own time says, That, by the act of supremacy, the king was now master, and could turn out bishops at pleasure. This had its first effect on Burnet, who was offered a pension if he would submit and resign, and was threatened to be treated more severely if he stood out. However, he complied, and retired to a private state of life, and bore his disgrace better than he had done his honours. This change was very agreeable to the Presbyterians, who suffered exceedingly at the instigation of this man.

CHAP. IX.

Of the indulged, the proceedings against conventicles, the actings of the western committee, Leighton's accommodation, the laws and acts of parliament; with an account of the second indulgence, and other things, till the end of the year 1673.

THE indulgence granted last year afforded, doubtless, some relief to those who could accept of it, while others were still exposed to the hardships of the time, though not to that rigour as when Burnet was archbishop of Glasgow.

On the 1st of January 1670, Mr William Tullidef, late minister of Dunboig, was indulged to officiate at Kilbirnie; the same day the council ordered the stipends to be paid to the indulged ministers.

On the 6th of January the commissioner signified to the council that the archbishop of Glasgow had resigned his office and dignity, and desired his name might be taken out of the rolls of council, as being no more a member of it. At the same time the dean and parson of Glasgow was reprimanded by the council, but afterwards was pardoned and restored to their charges. The archbishop was, after some years, restored, as we shall relate in its proper place.

The same day the council being informed that Mr Robert Boyd, curate of Carmonnock, had been robbed by persons unknown, ordered letters to be directed against the heritors of the parish. Accordingly, the parish being fined in the sum of 50 l. sterling. Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk paid the fine, which was given to Mr Boyd. This, with such like attempts, gave rise to the wilful committee, of which we shall hear in its place.

Mean while the indulged ministers soon found themselves in more straitening circumstances than at first they apprehended. Thus, when they received their licenses, they agreed among themselves to keep up the practice of lecturing, or expounding a portion of scripture before the forenoon's sermon, which had been out of use since the establishment of episcopacy. But the bishops complaining of this as an innovation, the council, on the 13th of January, passed an act forbidding this useful and edifying exercise, signifying, that whosoever used it should be discharged the exercise of their ministry within the kingdom. Though, according to the indulgence, ministers were to preach and perform the other functions of the ministry, yet they were forbidden to expound the scriptures; how consistent this was with their licence the reader must judge.

It is not to be denied but the indulgence was granted as the most effectual method to suppress conventicles, and therefore the same day the military received new instructions, upon information of a numerous conventicle kept since last November, to apprehend the minister and the most considerable heritors and tenants, and, upon their refusing to give security for their appearance before the council by a certain day, to send them in prisoners with a party, together with a list of persons to witness against them. This not only made the soldiers severe, but likewise obliged both ministers and people to repair to the fields, where they could, with the greater ease, disperse themselves, and excited some to take arms with them to defend themselves and their ministers.

The same day a very good proclamation was issued by the council against papists, but little or no pains was taken to put it in execution, the greater thing being to bear down the protestant non conformists.

Accordingly, the very next day, being January the 14th, Mr Andrew Mortoun, minister at Carmonnock, was, by the council's order, committed prisoner to Edinburgh, for preaching in the said parish, and was afterwards sent to Stirling, where he continued under confinement till November, when, by reason of his bodily indisposition, he was

was set at liberty; only he must remain at his own house at Glasgow during pleasure. He preached there almost every day to such of the citizens as came to hear him, except on Wednesdays, which he reserved for those of his own congregation, who, being but four miles distant, came in great numbers. Much about the same time Mr Hugh Archibald minister at Strathaven, and Mr John Rae minister at Symington, were apprehended and sent prisoners to Edinburgh, and afterwards to Stirling, for preaching and baptizing in houses.

Mr Alexander Wedderburn, late minister at — was upon the 27th of January, indulged to officiate at Kilmarnock, and,

On the 3d of February, Kersland was sent from Edinburgh to Dumbarton castle. When this gentleman was forfeited, he thought proper to retire for safety to Utrecht, where he continued with his family some time, till his friends thought necessary he should come home, though as private as possible. His lady came over about the latter end of last year, and he followed her in a little time; but when he came to Edinburgh he found her in a fever. She lodged with a gentlewoman who was a well-wisher to the suffering cause, and he lodged in a more retired place, and generally came to see her in the evenings; which being observed by Cannon of Mordrogget, the chancellor got information, and an order was procured from Lauderdale, then in town, to apprehend Mr Welsh for a conventicle he kept in lady Kersland's chamber, though the chief design was upon Kersland himself. Accordingly a party was sent, and finding no conventicle there, the officer begged the lady's pardon, and retired. But Mordrogget having informed one of the party, that Kersland usually concealed himself behind the bed, he went and apprehended him. His lady behaved with a becoming calmness, comforted him, and entreated him to do nothing to wound his conscience, for her sake or his childrens, repeating that scripture, 'No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' He was imprisoned at Edinburgh, and this day was sent to Dumbarton, where he remained near a year and a half.

The same day a very severe proclamation was agreed upon in council against conventicles; by virtue of which, not only the magistrates, but also the officers of the militia, were impowered to search out such meetings, and apprehend the preachers and principal persons who attended upon them. These violent measures obliged ministers and people to take to the fields, and defend themselves the best way they could.

On the 10th of February, the council, being informed of two numerous conventicles about Kirkintillock, near Glasgow, ordered Mr Hamilton and Mr Mitchel the preachers to be apprehended and sent to Edinburgh. Sundine after one Robert Bute of Glasgow was fined in 100 merks for being present. The beginning of next month the magistrates of Edinburgh renewed their bond anent conventicles. And,

On the 3d of March the following ministers were indulged, viz. Messr. John Lauder late at Dalziel there; George Ramsay late at ——, at Kilmawers; John Spalding late at ——, at Dreghorn; Thomas Black late at —, at Newtyle; Andrew MacLean late at ——, at Kilbro and Kilquhannan; Andrew Duncanson late at —, at Kilchattan in Lorn. These were the last who reaped the benefit of the first indulgence, who were in all 42; but, as we have already observed, they soon found themselves abridged in the liberty they expected, particularly by the act of council against lecturing.

Mr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, having been chosen professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, tells us, that the clergy came and laid their grievances and complaints before him, and that the gentlemen of the country made such complaints of the vices, irregularities, and indiscretions of the clergy, that though he could not believe all, yet it was impossible not to believe a great deal. He says farther, that they were very ill used; and it is not unlikely this might be the case of some, for the people were generally set against them. And therefore he proposed that a committee of the council might be sent round the country to examine matters, and give such orders as were at present necessary for the public quiet, and prepare a report against the next session of parliament, that proper remedies might be found out.

Accordingly, on the 7th of April, the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Linlithgow, Dumfries, Kincardin, Dundonald, the lord clerk-register, and lieutenant general Drummond, or any four of them, received a commission from the council to execute the laws against the keepers of conventicles, to examine into the abusive attempts committed against the orthodox ministers, to call before them such persons as they shall be informed have transgressed the acts of parliament, &c. And among other particular instructions, they were to enquire into the affair of the minister of Maybole, the abuse done to Mr Irvine minister at Kilmacolm, &c. and how the indulged ministers have observed the act of council against lecturing, &c.

At the same time orders were sent to the officers of the army to obey the commands of the said commissioners, or any one of them. And the same day the council passed an act in favour of such of the episcopal incumbents as had been thrust out from their charges, appointing them to be maintained in their benefices and stipends according to their rights thereunto.

When this committee was at Ayr, Mr Jaffray the curate at Maybole renewed his complaints, that some of his parishioners had attempted to murder him, by discharging a pistol at his breast. He said the ball came upon a book which he had in his breast, under his coat, which was the only thing that saved his life. But the story appeared to be forged; for though the book was pierced, yet it was found that the coat which was over the book was whole and entire; so that, the curate failing in his proofs, the matter ended in laughter.

Mr Irvine at Kilmacolm was very ill liked among his parishioners. While he was preaching one Lord's day, some boys threw a piece of a rotten stick at the pulpit; upon the noise it made Mr Irvine left the pulpit, and went to his own house, being followed by some of the boys with huzzas and cries. Upon this a report was spread, that a minister had been stoned out of his pulpit, and forced to flee for his life to the manse; but when the committee examined this affair, they found it only a frolic of idle boys. However, the matter being transmitted to the council, they found James Watson, James Ranken, John Hattrick, and William Sinclair, guilty of the riot, and ordered them to be transported to the plantations; but the last two, because of their youth, were pardoned, upon their making a public acknowlegement before the congregation. Whether the sentence was executed against the first two is not known. The parish was first fined in 50 l. sterling, and then encreased to 100 l. to be paid to the curate. And the lairds of Douchal and Carncurran, then at Edinburgh, were discharged to leave the town till they paid the said sum. Upon examination, the members of this committee plainly saw, that all, or most of the alledged disorders committed by the common people, were owing to the ill conduct of the incumbents.

As this committee examined into these abuses, so, according to their instructions, they took account of the indulged ministers with respect to their observing the act of council against lecturing. These ministers being apprehensive that they would be examined as to this, met together, and agreed to keep up the practice, although they used different methods. Some, it seems, forbore it, but others altered their former method, and, instead of one chapter, or part of a large one, read two or more chapters, which came nearest to the prescriptions in the directory. Others read a whole chapter, and pitched upon some verse of it for their text, and in opening the text explained the context. But these different practices neither satisfied the committee, nor were agreeable to many of their hearers. However when they were examined before the committee, they gave an account of their different practices, and yet, contrary to expectation, moderate measures prevailed.

While the committe sat at Glasgow, the curates gave in lists of many non conformists who were alledged to have kept conventicles. Several were fined on that account, but the particulars are not known.

The town of Edinburgh having been a great shelter to the

the ejected ministers, the magistrates received orders from the council to turn them all out. And the provost having got a list of them from the bishop, sent the town-officers to seize them; however, none were apprehended except Mr George Johnstoun minister at Newbottle, who being examined, and owning his having preached on week days, and on the Lord's day, after four o'clock, when the public worship was over, and refusing to engage not to keep conventicles, the council banished him the town of Edinburgh, and confined him to the parish of Borthwick during their pleasure; and it was the end of the year before his confinement was taken off. The hardships of other presbyterian ministers, by the soldiers having orders to quarter in their houses till their families should remove, were so great, that they were forced to seek a new shelter; for many were in danger of their life. But though many of them were reduced to straitening circumstances, yet God wonderfully provided for them.

On the 13th of May, Mrs Elisabeth Cuningham, lady Hilderstoun, was fined by the council in 400 merks, for a conventicle in her house; as were Nichol Gardiner merchant in Edinburgh in 200 l. and to be imprisoned till he discovered the minister; and James Clarkson, Archibald Hendry, William Leick, and David Jamie, in 100 l. each, all for being at the same meeting. And the magistrates of Edinburgh, according to their bond, were fined in 50 l. sterling. Such were the hardships of the times! And, on the 9th of June, the heritors of the parish of Neilstoun were fined in 1000 l. Scots for a riot on Mr Kinnier the incumbent, and Allan Stewart of Kirktoun was ordered to continue at Edinburgh till it was paid.

The multitudes who went after the preaching of the word were so great that houses could not contain them, so that now field meetings, which, of all others, were most violently opposed, became frequent, three of which made great noise. About the middle of June, Mr John Blackadder and Mr John Dickson preached to a numerous assembly at Beeth-hill, in the parish of Dunfermline. One Lord's day a lieutenant of the militia rode upon horseback, and gave the meeting great disturbance: whereupon a person more courageous than the rest came up to him, and having in vain intreated him to withdraw peaceably, took his horse by the bridle, presented a pistol, and threatened to shoot him if he was not silent. The lieutenant continued upon this peaceably till the worship was over, and then had liberty to go where he pleased. The news of this *horrid insult*, as it was called, soon reached Edinburgh, and Sharp knew well how to improve it; so that many were brought to trouble on account of it. Robert Walwood of Touch was fined in 500 merks, and ordered to ly in prison till it was paid. Mr Alexander Hasty (after the revolution one of the ministers of Glasgow), Adam Stobie of Lusear, William Adam merchant in Culross, James Slop in Borrowstounness, David Mather elder in Brignies, John Ranken in Bonhard, and James Duncan in Grange, were taken, and, refusing to inform against others, were each fined in 400 merks, and ordered to ly in irons during pleasure; and afterwards they, together with Mr John Vernor and Robert Orr in Milbank, who had a child baptized there, were ordered to be banished the king's dominions, and not to return upon pain of death. James Dundass, brother to the laird of Dundass, was likewise ordered to be transported, but, upon giving his oath upon some interrogatories relating to this conventicle, was set at liberty. Many others were brought under great hardships for this conventicle, as Margaret Martin lady Colvil's gentlewoman, and Bessie Young her servant, who lay in prison a long time.

Another field meeting was held, much about the same time, at Livingseat in the parish of Carnwath, on account of which many suffered in the same manner as those mentioned in the last paragraph, particularly that pious youth Mr John Vernor, who, it seems, was at both; and, refusing to inform upon oath against any who were present was committed close prisoner, ordered to ly in irons during the council's pleasure, and to be fed with bread and water. During this confinement his leg gangrened, which had almost cost him his life; and notwithstanding all the intercession that was made for him, it was November before he and Robert Orr were set at liberty, upon giving security under the penalty of 500 merks each, to appear when called. John Carmichael in Blackburn and David Carmichael in Potishaw were fined in 100 merks each for being at this meeting.

The council being informed of a third field meeting at the Torwood ordered the earl of Callender to use his interest for suppressing conventicles in Stirlingshire; accordingly Charles Campbell in Airth, refusing to inform, was sentenced to be transported for being at this meeting.

Mr John Menzies, minister at Calverock near Dumfries, observing the severities against protestants, while the papists remained unmolested, notwithstanding the several remonstrances he had made to the bishop in the diocesan meeting, and to the brethren of the exercise, against the growth of popery, at first withdrew from their meetings, and at last, on the 12th of July, sent in his written testimony to the presbytery of Dumfries, in which he says,

"THAT which hath—been matter of lamentation to many, is, that when—the abominations of popery was almost rooted out of our land, that noisom weed hath, of late years, got a great footing among us again. And when not only—popery—but also profanity of all sorts abounds among all ranks and degrees:—and while many of the godly—are mourning in secret for these abominations, as being a sad prognostic of the Lord's departing from us, and a judicial stroke of his vengeance.—It is not unknown to some of you, that, in some of the late synods, I did regret the growth of these ills, and intreat that some effectual remedy might be used for preventing their farther increase; albeit much was promised, yet nothing hath been performed. I likewise often represented—the abounding of these in most parishes of this presbytery, and particularly within the bounds of my charge.—The last day I was at your meeting, I desired that, by an act of the presbytery, papists might be prosecuted, as well as the profane, &c. but was plainly refused of that day,—it being declared not to be seasonable; and some of you asserting them to be the presbytery's useful friends. In consideration whereof—my beholding this your way hath occasioned my more serious thoughts of the case of conformity with prelacy. And albeit popery and profanity may be very accidental to the course of conformity with prelacy; yet beholding that these two pernicious weeds thrive so kindly in your soil, it hath moved me now, more than ever, to search out what of God can be in that way. And—this is the result of what I have attained to, that I, through scripture light, and other engagements,—cannot any longer adhere to conformity with prelacy, without the grievous wounding of my own conscience,—and that by my former conformity I have exceedingly offended God, and have been a stumbling block in the way of his people, for which, as I desire to be humbled before God, so I crave pardon of all his people whom I have offended. This I declare upon account of no worldly advantage; but my witness is in heaven, I do it only for the glory of God, the edification of his people, and the exoneration of my own conscience."—

Upon this, in a most moving, faithful, and affectionate manner, he exhorted them to consider their ways; represented how dismal it was that so many of the faithful should be cast out of God's inheritance; and concluded with these words, 'Finally, brethren, as for prelacy, whereupon the Lord hath stamped this mark of his displeasure, that under it truth and godliness hath been under a sensible decay, so ye would consider and ponder the same impartially in the balance of the sanctuary, then, who knows but you shall discover it to be a plant not set by the hand of God, but of man, and which the Lord in his own time may cause to be plucked out of his vineyard again?' He desired that this his testimony might be registered in the presbytery records, but whether this was complied with is not known. Several others also fell off afterwards from the prelates.

The time of the sitting of the parliament drew near, and Lauderdale, when he came to Edinburgh, in order to ingratiate himself with the prelates, renewed the severities

rities againſt the ejected miniſters; for, by proclamation, he diſcharged any of them from coming to town, without licence, upon pain of death. And as thoſe of them who were moſt frequent in preaching were ſummoned, at ſeveral times in the month of Auguſt, to appear before the council, ſo they, finding that they would either be baniſhed or impriſoned, reſolved among themſelves not to appear, and ſent a letter through all of their perſuaſion to ſtir them up to prayer and ſolemn faſting in this day of diſtreſs and treading down. See Wodrow's appendix, Vol. II. No. 40.

The parliament ſat down on the 28th of July. And the acts of this ſeſſion, though ſhort, continuing only for the ſpace of a month, were ſanguinary to the laſt degree, and while they remain on record, muſt brand the makers of them with indefatigable diſgrace. The firſt act impowered the king to name commiſſioners for treating of an union between the two kingdoms, but this came to nothing.

The 2d act related to thoſe who refuſed or delayed to depoſe or ſwear againſt delinquents when required; by which every perſon, of what quality or ſex ſoever, was obliged to anſwer upon oath, and ſwear as to their knowledge of any crimes againſt the public laws and peace of the kingdom, and particularly of any conventicles, or other unlawful meetings, and of the ſeveral circumſtances of the perſons preſent, upon pain of fining, impriſonment or baniſhment, at the pleaſure of the council. The reader cannot but ſee the iniquity of this act, by which the neareſt relations were obliged to ſwear againſt one another under the penalties mentioned in it; parents were obliged to accuſe their children, and children their parents.

But the 5th, intitled, *Act againſt conventicles*, was of all others the moſt barbarous. By this it was enacted, 'That no outed or ejected miniſter, not licenſed by the council, or tolerated by the biſhop, preſume to preach, expound ſcripture, or pray in any meeting, except in their own houſes, and to thoſe of their own family; and that none be preſent at any ſuch meeting.' So that if any ſuch miniſter ſhould be found praying in any family except his own, he was a tranſgreſſor of this law. Whether this be not a ſcandal to Chriſtianity itſelf, let the reader judge. Strange times! when a miniſter's praying in any houſe but his own was reckoned ſedition. However, this was the caſe, and the miniſter or preacher, by this famous act, was to be impriſoned till he found bail not to keep another conventicle, under the penalty of 5000 merks, (a greater ſum than moſt of them were worth) or elſe conſent to leave the kingdom, never to return without his majeſty's licence. And as for thoſe preſent at ſuch houſe-conventicles, they were to be fined according to their qualities; if heritors, in the fourth part of their yearly rent; if tenants, in 25 l. Scots; and if cottars, in 12 l. Scots. Theſe were peculiar ſeverities. But the other part of this act, relating to field preaching, was ſtill more ſevere; for thereby it was ordained that the miniſter or preacher be puniſhed by death and confiſcation of goods. And the fines for thoſe preſent were to be twice as much as for houſe meetings. And there are only theſe three things the reader is to obſerve: 1. That if any perſon ſhould be without doors when an ejected miniſter was preaching or praying in any houſe, that, by this act, was deemed a field conventicle, and the penalties were the ſame. 2. Five hundred merks were appointed for thoſe who ſhould apprehend any of the preachers at field-meetings. 3. The ſheriffs, ſtewards, and lords of regalities, for their better encouragement, were allowed all the fines below heritors, &c. for themſelves. This act was to continue in force only three years, unleſs his majeſty (or rather the prelates) ſhould think fit to prolong it.

I ſhall leave the reader to make his own reflections. The miniſters who could not accept of the indulgence had now their ſentence. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'That Sir Robert Murray told him, that the king was not well pleaſed with this act, as being extravagantly ſevere, chiefly in that of the preachers being to be puniſhed by death. He ſaid that bloody laws did no good, and that he never would have paſſed it if he had known it before hand. The half of the parliament abhorred this act; yet ſo abject were they in their ſubmiſſions to Lauderdale, that the young earl of Caſſils was the only perſon who voted in the negative.' This, however, did neither deter miniſters from preaching, nor people from hearing, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel. They choſe to ſuffer rather than ſin.

I ſhall ſay nothing of their act againſt diſorderly baptiſms; but their 7th act againſt ſeparation muſt not be omitted, becauſe all his majeſty's good ſubjects of the reformed religion are hereby commanded to frequent the ordinary meetings for divine worſhip in their own pariſh churches, under the penalties mentioned in the act in caſe of failure. Biſhop Burnet ſays, That Lauderdale, with his own hands, put in a word in the act that covered the papiſts, the fines being laid on ſuch of the reformed religion as went not to church. He pretended by this to merit with the popiſh party, with the duke of York in particular. Lauderdale told him, that he put in theſe words on deſign, to let the world know that they were to be worſe uſed than the papiſts themſelves. And ſo it was in reality; for thoſe of the reformed religion could neither in conſcience attend on the worſhip of God in pariſh-churches, nor yet refrain to attend upon ordinances where they could have them diſpenſed; and ſuch was the dilemma they were reduced to, that they were expoſed to the ſeverities of the laws then made whatever courſe they took. Thus, in this ſhort ſeſſion of parliament, a large foundation was laid for a moſt ſevere perſecution; the diſmal conſequences of it will be related in the ſequel.

On the 11th of Auguſt there was a decreet obtained by the advocate againſt Mr James Hamilton late at Blantyre, Mr James Mitchel, Mr James Porter, Mr John Dickſon late at Ruthergien, and Mr John Blackadder late at Traquair. They were charged for holding conventicles in houſes and in the fields; and not appearing when ſummoned, they were denounced and put to the horn, which obliged them to wander up and down the country, and preach in the fields as they had opportunity.

About the 15th of Auguſt Mr Robert Landaſs for performing worſhip in a private family about a year before, was apprehended and kept priſoner at Edinburgh for ſix weeks before he was ſet at liberty. And Mr Hugh Peebles was brought before the council on the 28th of Auguſt. And though nothing could be proved againſt him, yet, becauſe he would not engage not to keep conventicles, and refrain from preaching and worſhipping God in any family but his own, was confined to Dumbarton and a mile round it. The ſame day the heritors of Glaſford in Lanerk ſhire were fined in 1000 l. Scots, becauſe the curate's houſe had been robbed by thieves, ſome of whom, being afterwards apprehended for other crimes, confeſſed this robbery at their execution, and declared that there was not one perſon in the pariſh concerned.

This ſummer the laird of Meldrum, an officer of the guards, apprehended ſeveral good people in ſome parithes in the ſhire of Renfrew, for hearing the ejected miniſters, and put them to no ſmall trouble. Sundry other miniſters were likewiſe haraſſed; for, notwithſtanding all the difficulties to which they were expoſed, they could not but pity the crying neceſſities of the people who thirſted after the word, and their miniſtry was remarkably ſucceſsful among them.

As all methods of ſeverity were uſed to ſuppreſs the Presbyterians, ſo attempts of another nature were made for accompliſhing this end. Accordingly, when biſhop Leighton entered upon the adminiſtration of the dioceſe of Glaſgow, he received many complaints concerning the ſcandalous conduct of the clergy, and therefore appointed a committee of his underlings to receive theſe accuſations, and the council ordered ſeveral to aſſiſt them. However, when this committee met in September, it was urged, that none ſhould be permitted to give in a complaint, till they had firſt ſigned the declaration, but, finding they had no legal authority to require this, the motion was dropt, and they fell upon another way to diſcourage complaints of this kind; for, if any failed in this proof, he was to appear in ſackcloth before the congregation, as a ſlanderer. Notwithſtanding whereof, the proofs, in many caſes, were ſo clear, that there was no avoiding the evidence. The incumbent of Killellan was depoſed, and others removed from their charges: and particularly Mr Jaffray of Maybole, who had accuſed his pariſhioners,

was himſelf now accuſed of profane ſwearing drunkenneſs, &c. and when the committee was like to have diſcharged him. Leighton interpoſed his authority, and forbid him the exerciſe of his miniſtry in that pariſh, notwithſtanding this the purging committee was of little effect.

Another method taken to retrieve the credit of the clergy, and to caſt a vail upon the presbyterian miniſters, was the ſending ſome of the moſt noted epiſcopal divines to the weſt, as doctor Burnet, Mr James Nairn, Mr Laurence Charteris, Mr James Aird Mr Patrick Cook, and Mr Walter Paterſon, who were ironically termed by the country people, *The biſhops Evangeliſts*. It was expected theſe would have made proſelytes of all the weſt, but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken. Mr Burnet ſays, in his hiſtory, the people of the country came generally to hear us, though not in great crouds. We were indeed amazed to ſee a poor commonality ſo capable to argue upon the points of Government, and on the bounds to be ſet to the power of princes in matters of religion. This meaſure of knowledge was ſpread among the meaneſt of them, their cottagers and ſervants.

The laſt attempt biſhop Leighton made, was the accommodation propoſed to ſundry preſbyterian miniſters, about the end of this year, with a view to draw them into an unperceived ſubjection to prelacy; but the ſnare was ſeen and avoided. Lauderdale, at Leighton's deſire, wrote to Meſſrs. Hutchiſon, Wedderburn, Ramſay, Baird and Gemble, to meet him at Edinburgh on the 9th of Auguſt, which they did, And. upon hearing the propoſals, they replied, that, as theſe were of a general concern, they could not give their private judgment without conſulting their brethren. They further deſired the propoſals might be given in writing, which the biſhop promiſed to do, but did not perform. However, the commiſſioner allowed Preſbyterian miniſters indulged and not indulged, to meet among themſelves, and gave them till the firſt of November to think of an anſwer.

The miniſters, meeting among themſelves, put the propoſals in this ſhape, to be communicated to their brethren. 'Preſbyteries being ſet up by law as they were eſtabliſhed before the year 1638 and the biſhop paſſing from his negative voice, and we having liberty to proteſt and declare againſt any remainder of prelatic power retained, or that may happen at any time to be exerciſed by him for a ſalvo for our conſciences from homologation therefore: *queritur*, whether we can, with ſafety to our conſciences and principles, join in theſe preſbyteries? or what elſe it is we will deſire or do for peace in the church, and an accomodation, epiſcopacy being always preſerved? Accordingly, at a numerous meeting of miniſters, it was unanimouſly agreed, that the above conceſſions were not ſufficient to be a foundation for their ſitting and acting in preſbyteries and ſynods with the prelates; for they juſtly reckoned this accomodation inconſiſtent with their principles. They could not comply with this without complying with epiſcopacy itſelf, and owning the king's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, which was eſtabliſhed by law.

On the 14th of December biſhop Leighton, the provoſt of Glaſgow, Sir John Harper of Camnethan, Mr Gilbert Burnet, and Mr James Ramſay dean of Glaſgow, met with about 26 preſbyterian miniſters, indulged and not indulged, at Ayr; at which a conference began concerning the power of biſhops; and Mr Alex. Jamiſon reaſoned ſo cloſely with Leighton on that point, that he became very uneaſy, his noſe fell a bleeding, and he was obliged to retire for a little. And when ſeveral others were inclined to enter the liſts with him and profeſſor Burnet, they were told that the meeting was not for debates. The meeting was adjourned till next day, when, receiving further propoſals, they got till the 12th of January to conſider of them. In the mean time the miniſters, obſerving that the laſt were more unſatisfactory than the firſt, appointed Meſſrs Hutchiſon, Wedderburn, &c. to repair to Edinburgh, and deliver in their anſwers in writing.

Accordingly theſe miniſters got to Edinburgh by the 11th of January 1671, where they found the chancellor, duke Hamilton earl of Tweddale, and ſome other counſellors, with biſhop Leighton and profeſſor Burnet. There were two meetings at Holy rood houſe, beſides ſeveral private conferences. And in ſhort the miniſters gave in their reaſons why the propoſals were not ſatisfactory. At one of theſe meetings Leighton offered a diſpute with them, which Mr Hutchiſon modeſtly declined, obſerving that he was not ſafe to diſpute againſt epiſcopacy, conſidering the laws in force againſt ſpeaking or writing in oppoſition to it. The profeſſor inſulted upon this; whereupon Mr Wedderburn accepted the challenge, if the chancellor and counſellors preſent would allow him; but that not being granted the accomodation broke up.

About the beginning of this year Sir James Dalrymple of Stair was admitted a privy councellor. On the 12th of January the council fell foul on that noted book, intitled, *Jus populi vindicatum*, and on the 16th of February publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all who ſhall have any copies of it in their cuſtody, after ſuch a limited time, to be fined in 10,000 merks. The ſame day colonel Gilbert Ker, who had left the kingdom ſince the reſtoration, got liberty to reſide in Scotland.

When the accomodation was at an end, the preſbyterian miniſters were repreſented as obſtinate and unreaſonable men. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that their behaviour diſguſted all wiſe, moderate and good men, when they rejected propoſitions that came ſo home even to the maxims they themſelves had ſet up. But in this he was miſtaken; becauſe there was nothing offered in the propoſals that was inconſiſtent with prelacy; neither could preſbyterian miniſters yield to them, without renouncing their known principles and ſubmitting to the hierarcy.

However, the council upon this made an act, the 26th of January, confining all the indulged miniſters to their reſpective pariſhes, who would not keep preſbyteries and ſynods, thoſe namely which were held by the biſhops, inſomuch that Mr John Bell, miniſter at Ardroſſan, durſt not go to viſit his dying father, though within a mile of him, without a ſpecial order from the council. Some indeed received more favours than others. But as none of them kept the 29th of May according to act of parliament, and as they generally kept up the practice of leſturing, they were expoſed to no ſmall hardſhips, and it was with difficulty they could get their ſtipends.

But the ejected miniſters who were not indulged, were expoſed to ſtill greater hardſhips; for ſuch of them who reſided in the pariſhes where epiſcopal miniſters were ſettled, were ordered either to keep their pariſh churches, or remove with their families elſewhere; and not a few were brought to trouble for baptizing children.

Mr John Menzies, miniſter at Carlaverock, having been obliged to appear before the commiſſioner, was confined to his own chamber at Edinburgh. When he had continued there for ſome time, without any notice being taken of him, he went home and preached to his people: whereupon the council, finding he had broke his confinement, ordered him to appear before them upon pain of rebellion. But what was the conſequence of this I do not find.

Mean while the advocate preſſed for ſeverity againſt conventicles. Accordingly, on the 2d of March, the council appointed a committee to conſider what was further to be done for ſuppreſſing them, but what they did this year is not known; only, on the 7th of March, the ſureties for Meſſrs Haſty, Stobie, Adam, &c. were ordered to produce theſe perſons; and when they appeared before the council, they were commanded to attend the firſt meeting in May, but there is no more concerning them.

Several gentlemen were likewiſe brought to much trouble; for, on the 2d of March, Sir Charles Erſkine, lord Lyon, got a commiſſion from the lords of the treaſury to enter upon the eſtates, &c. of ſuch as were forfeited for the rebellion 1666, in the ſhires of Dumfries, Wigton, and ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright; and though Mr George MacCartney of Blaiket was neither at Pentland, nor forfeited on that account, yet, ſome way or another, his name having been inſerted, none of them ſuffered more than he. His father was fined in Middleton's parliament, and otherways haraſſed, and himſelf ſuffered exceedingly before this by fines, exactions, and depredations; and refuſing this year to compound for his eſtate with lord Ly-

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on, he was carried in priſoner to Edinburgh. After ſome time, it being found that he had been neither forfeited, nor excepted, he was ordered his liberty upon giving bond to appear when called; nevertheleſs he was by ways and means detained in priſon for the ſpace of ſix years, during which time his eſtate was ſeized and his lands laid waſte, ſo that his loſſes, during this time of perſecution, amounted to no leſs than 9827 l. 16 s.

Mr Coningham of Bedlane was continued priſoner in Dumbarton caſtle, only got liberty to ride out ſome miles every day for his health, on giving a bond for 10,000 merks to return to the caſtle at night. Kerſland, his fellow priſoner, petitioned the council, on the 5th of September, to be ſent to ſome place more commodious for the education of his children. Accordingly he was ordered to Aberdeen, where he was kept cloſe priſoner in a cold room for three months, without being allowed a fire; and in the month of December he was brought from Aberdeen, and committed to the caſtle of Stirling, where he continued ſeveral years, of whom more will be related afterwards.

Under all this ſeverity towards proteſtant non-conformiſts popery ſenſibly increaſed; ſwarms of prieſts came over with large cargoes of relics, pictures, beads, and ſuch like trumpery, and vaſt numbers of Father Turbeville's manual of controverſies, were induſtriouſly diſperſed. It is true the council in Auguſt ordered four popiſh prieſts to be apprehended, and appointed Argyll and the lord-regiſter to ſeize ſome popiſh books and trinkets that were in a ſhip lately come to Leith. Some epiſcopal miniſters in the north, where popery was barefaced, did alſo appear againſt it, particularly Mr John Menzies at Aberdeen. But though ſeveral repreſentations were made upon this point, yet little regard was had to them at the council-board, where Sharp had the impudence to ſay one day, that his majeſty's government was by far in greater hazard from preſbyterians than papiſts; and that it was his opinion the council ought to look more narrowly to preſbyterian meetings, in which they were very ſlack, although the great danger lay there.

If the primate was let into the ſecret intrigues carrying on at this time, it is likely he ſpoke what he thought to be matter of fact; for the king had formed a deſign to render himſelf abſolute and to overturn the proteſtant religion; and, as he could not communicate his intentions with ſafety to his whole council, he eſtabliſhed a cabinet-council of five perſons only, viz Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhly and Lauderdale. The initial letters of theſe five names compoſing the word CABAL, this ſecret council was from thence called by the name. If to theſe we add the king and the duke of York, it will be found that all the ſeven were for arbitrary government. And as to religion, the king, the duke, Arlington and Clifford were papiſts, and the other three of no religion at all. In this cabal, as Father Orleans has declared, a war with the Dutch was reſolved. The Abbot Primi tells us, at the ſame time, that, 'king Charles ſigned a private treaty with France, and to give him farther aſſurances in that matter, Henrietta of England, Ducheſs of Orleans, king Charles's ſiſter, went to England 1670, and in the name of the moſt Chriſtian king, made a propoſal to her royal brother, of enſuring to him an abſolute authority over his parliament, and re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in the three kingdoms; but that, in order to this, there was, a neceſſity of lowering the pride and power of the Dutch, and reducing that ſtate to the narrow compaſs of the province of Holland, &c.' It is not my buſineſs to enter into theſe intrigues; it is ſufficient to my purpoſe to obſerve that a deſign was now on foot to ſubvert the proteſtant religion; and if the managers in Scotland were privy to it, we need not wonder at their lenity to papiſts and ſeverity to preſbyterians.

About the end of this year the laird of Lee was made juſtice clerk, and Lauderdale captain of the Baſs, which the king bought and turned into a priſon; and indeed Lauderdale and his friends at this time poſſeſſed all the chief poſts in Scotland. But leaving theſe things,

I now go on to the tranſactions of the year 1672, about the beginning of which Mr Ramſay, the epiſcopal incumbent of Auchinleck, happened to have his houſe robbed in the night-time whereupon the council, on the 23d of January, gave a commiſſion 'to ſome officers of the army, in that neighbourhood, to hold courts, call witneſſes, and examine into the affair, and to fine the abſent heritors in 200 l. tenants in 40 l. and cottars in 10 l. and each woman according to the quality of her huſband, dead or alive.' So that here a juſticiary power was lodged in the military officers. Two days after this Gordon of Dundeugh in Galloway got up a bond of 600 merks, which had been extorted from him by Sir William Bannantyne.

The perſecution againſt conventicles ſtill went on; for the council being informed that ſeveral were kept in Glaſgow, ordered, on the 22d of February, the magiſtrates of that city to ſuppreſs them, and to enjoin all the ejected miniſters, either to attend the church, or remove out of the town, which put many of them to no ſmall difficulties.

The ſame day the learned and pious Mr Alexander Carmichael, having been apprehended at Kirkaldy, and brought in priſoner to Edinburgh, was before the council for keeping conventicles, and on the 26th was ordered to be tranſported by ſea to London, where he was ſingularly uſeful, and finiſhed his courſe with joy 1676 or 1677. This excellent perſon is well known to the world by his accurate treatiſe on mortification, publiſhed at London after his death 1677. His brother Mr John Carmichael and he had for ſome time conformed, but, diſcovering their error, quitted their livings and joined their ſuffering brethren.

In March many of the ejected miniſters about Edinburgh were obliged to leave the town, and go they knew not whither. However, ſeveral of them at this time got to their reſt out of the reach of all their enemies, as Mr Walter Grieg, Mr David Ferral, and Mr Robert Douglas.

On the 15th of March his majeſty's declaration of indulgence to non-conformiſts in England which had been communicated to and approved of by the French king, was publiſhed, in which the penal laws againſt all ſorts of non-conformiſts were ſuſpended; and though the papiſts were not to have public places for worſhip, yet they were allowed the exerciſe of their worſhip in private houſes. The proteſtant non conformiſts, though they had now liberty granted them, had no opinion of the diſpenſing power. They were ſenſible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it ſerved the intereſt of popery. But the breaking out of the Dutch war made the court think it neceſſary to grant them an indulgence, that there might be peace at home while there was war abroad.

Two days after this the king publiſhed his declaration of war againſt the ſtates, dated the 17th of March, and the like was publiſhed by the French king at Paris, who, in the beginning of May, aſſembled an army of 120,000 men, and with a rapid fury over-run the greateſt part of the Netherlands; and the Dutch were reduced to ſuch extremities, that the populace roſe, and having obliged the ſtates to make the young prince of Orange ſtadtholder, they fell upon the two brothers Cornelius and John De-Wits, and tore them to pieces. This prince, by the bleſſing of God, was raiſed up, in that time of extremity, to check the progreſs of the French arms, and diſconcert the meaſures that had been formed, not only for ruining his country, but alſo for ſubverting the proteſtant religion, and eſtabliſhing popery and arbitrary power.

At this time lord-keeper Bridgeman loſt all credit at court; for he refuſed to put the ſeal to the indulgence, as judging it contrary to law; ſo he was diſmiſſed; and Shaftsbury was made chancellor, Clifford treaſurer, Arlington had a garter and was made an earl; and Lauderdale had a garter and was made a duke on the 2d of May. All the members of the cabal had great preſents from France, and the French ambaſſador gave each of them a picture of the king of France ſet in diamonds to the value of 3000 l. ſterling. And thus, to uſe the words of noted hiſtorian, was the nation and our religion, as well as the king's faith and honour, ſet to ſale and ſold. But to return to Scotland, the managers there took no notice of theſe things, but carried on their perſecution againſt the preſbyterians.

In the month of June the parliament ſat down at Edinburgh,

burgh, and made several persecuting acts. By their first none were to be officers of the militia but episcopalians; both officers and soldiers were to take the oath of allegiance and declaration, and upon refusal to be imprisoned and banished. By their 9th act, against unlawful ordinations, none were to ordain to the ministry who were not authorised by law; all pretended ordinations since 1661 were declared to be void and null. The ordainers and ordained, contrary to this act, were to be imprisoned and banished by the council; and persons married by such were denuded of all they could claim *jure mariti vel relictæ*, &c. By the 11th act, about baptisms, it was ordained, 'That every person who wants a certificate, from the minister of the parish where he lives, that his child was baptized within 30 days of its birth, shall be fined, heritors in a fourth part of their yearly valued rent, merchants 100 l. Scots, &c.' By the 12th act, all who do not observe the anniversary of his majesty's restoration, were ordered to be fined, and otherwise punished, according to their condition and estate. By their 17th act, the acts passed in the last session, concerning conventicles and withdrawing from public ordinances, are to continue in force for three years after the expiration of the time limited by these acts. The last act of this session was against profaneness, and was an excellent act, had it been only put in execution; but the ecclesiastic gentlemen had something else to mind.

During this session of parliament a great many were imprisoned, fined and denounced on account of conventicles: accordingly on the 11th of July, Mr Patrick Hay laird of Lees was ordered to be confined to his chamber at Edinburgh, and Mr James Mercer, governor to the Laird of Meggins, to be confined to the town. His pupil Mr John Drummond of Meggins younger, Alexander Christie and Thomas Keltie merchants in Perth, were ordered to be carried prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. These who were at this time summoned and did not appear, who were not a few, were denounced and put to the horn. On the 14th Meggins elder was fined in 500 l. sterling for his lady's being at a conventicle, and his son, the said Mr Drummond, was imprisoned till his father should pay the fine. At the same time the said Alexander Christie and Thomas Keltie were fined in 500 merks Scots each, the laird of Lees in 1000 merks, and George Hay of Balhouse, afterwards earl of Kinnoul, in 1000 l. sterling; and all of them to remain in prison till their fines were paid. On the 24th of July, Anne countess of Wigtoun, an excellent widow lady, was obliged to appear personally before the council, and, upon owning her being at a conventicle in the house of Boghall, was fined in 4000 merks. Mr James Duncan at Dulpin, for being at another at the bridge of Earn, was fined in 2000 merks, and the following persons were imprisoned, viz. James Chrighton, John Dalziel, James Paterson, William Cleghorn, Malcolm Brown, Peter Gilles, Thomas Crighton, James Glasgow, James Lindsay, James Thomson, James Forrest, John Newbigging, John Hutchison, and Malcolm Gibson. They who did not appear were denounced. Such was the mildness of this administration!

During these proceedings against conventicles, on the 13th of July Mr John Rae and Mr Hugh Archbald were sent from Stirling castle to Dumbarton, along with Mr John Cuningham of Bedlane. The same day Mr John Scot, son to Andrew Scot in Tushilaw, having been imprisoned for writing to the Rev. Mr John Carstairs in Holland, was brought before the council, and after examination was set at liberty upon a bond of 1000 merks to appear when called. From this bishop Burnet would make the world believe that there were designs in Holland to raise a rebellion in Scotland. His words are these: 'That which gave duke Lauderdale juster ground of offence was, that one Carstairs, much employed at that time in greater matters, was taken in a ship that came from Rotterdam. He himself escaped out of their hands, but his letters were taken. They had a great deal writ in white ink, which shewed that the design of sending him over was to know in what disposition the people were, promising arms and other necessaries if they were in a condition to give the government any disturbance. But the whole was so darkly writ, much being referred to the bearer, that it was not to possible to understand what lay hid under so many mysterious expressions.' This must be a very dark story indeed. It is true Mr Scot was imprisoned for corresponding with Mr Carstairs, as, after the beginning of the Dutch war, sundry, amongst whom was Mr William Livingston, were brought to trouble for writing to their friends in Holland. But there is no ground to assert that there were any such designs as the bishop represents; neither is that historian obliged to his information, when he says that Mr Carstairs escaped out of their hands. When he came home, he did not seek to escape, but on the 3d of September this year appeared before the council, and found bail to appear again when called, under the penalty of 2000 merks; after which I find a little more concerning him.

As a second indulgence was granted on the 3d of September, I shall now give some account of it. When Lauderdale came down to Scotland, it was generally said he had one in his pocket. And as a toleration had been granted to the non-conformists in England, the like favour was expected in Scotland, exclusive of papists; but the bishops and lords of council that were of their party violently opposed it, and many letters were writ to the court against it. However, Lauderdale had full instructions in this matter, though he kept them close, and carried with great rigour to presbyterian ministers and others. Bishop Burnet says, Lauderdale looked on near two months after he came down to Scotland, waiting for an application for liberty of conscience; but the designs of the court were now clearly seen into. The presbyterians understood they were only to be made use of in order to the introducing of popery; so they resolved to be silent and passive: upon this he broke out into fury and rage against them, and carried matters so far, that when Burnet asked him, was that a time to drive them into rebellion? yes, said he: would to God they would rebel, that so he might bring over an army of Irish papists to cut all their throats.—But, says the historian, he calmed all of a sudden.

About twenty ministers met at Edinburgh on the 8th of August, and agreed to write to Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, now a privy counsellor, on whom they had great dependance, that the terms of the indulgence might be free from straitening conditions. But, as they could not agree upon the contents of the letter, they next resolved to send two of their number to represent their case to Stair. Accordingly Mr Gabriel Cuningham and Mr James Kirton waited upon him, and received very kind assurances that he would do what he could for them.

Mean while, on the 29th of August, Mr John Speed petitioned the council for his liberty, since he had submitted to banishment for eight years, and having come home for his health, had been taken up for conventicles though he had never been at any. His petition was granted upon giving bond and security to appear when called under the penalty of 2000 merks. The same day Mr Hugh Archbald and Mr John Murray, were set at liberty, only the former was confined to the parish of Galstoun in the shire of Ayr, and the latter to that of Queensferry, and both were ordered to abstain from conventicles.

At length, on the 3d of September, being the Lord's day, the council came to a determination as to the indulgence, and made the following acts.

Holy-rood-house, September 3. 1672.

THE lord commissioner his grace, and the lords of his majesty's privy-council, considering the disorders which have lately been by the frequent and numerous conventicles, and being willing to remedy so great an evil in the gentlest manner that could be thought on, and his majesty's commissioner being sufficiently instructed herein, they do order and appoint the ministers hereafter named, outed since the year 1661, to repair to the parishes following and to remain therein confined, permitting and allowing them to preach and exercise the other parts of their ministerial function in the parishes to which they are or shall be confined by this present act and commission after specified, viz.—Paisley.—In Eglisham parish, with Mr James Hamilton, Mr Donald Cargill. Paisley, with Mr John Baird, Messrs William Eccles and Anothy Shaw. Neilston,

ſtoun, Meſſrs Andrew Miller and James Wallace. Kilmacolm, Meſſ. Patrick Simpſon and William Thomſon. Kilbirchan, Meſſ. John Stirling and James Walkinſhaw. Killellan, Meſſ. James Hutchiſon and Alexander Jamieſon.—Irwin.—Newmills, Meſſ. John Burnet and Geo. Campbell. Fenwick, Meſſ. Thomas Wylie and William Shiels. Stewartoun, Meſſ. William Caſtielaw, Andrew Hutchiſon, and Andrew Mortoun. Dunlop, Meſſ. Gibriel Cuningham and William Mein. Largs, Meſſ. John Wallace and Alexander Gordon. Kilbryde, Meſſ. Robert Boyd and Gilbert Hamilton. Comray, Meſſ. Archibald Porteous and John Rae. Kilwinning, with Mr Ralph Roger, Mr Robert Fleeming. Irwin, with Mr George Hutchiſon, Mr John Law. Kilmarnock, with Mr Alexander Wedderburn, Meſſ. James Rowat and William Hay. Kilmawers, with Mr George Ramſay, Mr John Park. Dreghorn, with Mr John Spalding, Mr James Donaldſon. Beith, with Mr William Maitland, Mr William Crichton. Kilbirny, with Mr William Tullidaff, Mr Patrick Anderſon. Ardroſſan, with Mr John Bell, Mr James Bell.—Ayr.—Cultoun, Mr William Fullerton. Riccartoun, Meſſ. Hugh Campbell and Hugh Crawford. Dundonald, Meſſ. John Oſburn and John Hutchiſon. Manchlin, with Mr James Veitch, Mr Robert Archbald. Ochiltree, with Mr Robert Miller, Mr Patrick Peacock. Galſtoun, with Mr Alexander Blair, Mr Adam Aliſon. Craigie, with Mr David Brown, Mr Robert Maxwell. Dalgunie, with Mr Andrew Dalrymple, Mr John Campbell. Symington, with Mr John Gemble, Mr Francis Irvine.—Kirkcudbright.—Carſphairn. Meſſ. John Semple and William Erſkine. Kells, with Mr Cant, Mr George Waugh. Dalry, with Mr John MacMichan, Mr Thomas Thomſon. Balmaclellan, Meſſ. James Lawrie and Thomas Vernor, in place of John Roſs when he ſhall be tranſported to Stony kirk.—Hamilton.—Avendale, Meſſ. James Hamilton and Robert Young. Glaſford, Meſſ. William Hamilton and James Naſmith. Shots, Meſſ. James Currie and Alexander Barton. Dalkerſe, Meſſ. Thomas Kirkaldy and John Carmichael. Stonehouſe with Mr John Oliphant. Mr Matthew MacKell. Cambuſnethan, with Mr William Violant, Mr Robert Lamb. Dalziel, with Mr John Lawder, Mr Thomas Melvil.—Lanerk.—Carlouk, Meſſ. Alexander Livingſton and Peter Kid, now at Carlouk. Carmichael, Meſſ. John Hamilton and William Somervell. Culter, Meſſ. Anthony Murray and Robert Lockhart. Lamington, with Mr John Crawford, Mr William Baillie. Leſmahago, with Mr Thomas Lawrie a regular incumbent, Mr James Calderſtones. Carſtairs, Meſſ. James Kirkton and John Greg.—Linlithgow.—Weſt-Calder, Meſſ. John Knox and William Weir. Borrowſtounneſs, Meſſ. Robert Hunter and John Inglis.——Lothian, &c. —— Lintoun, with Mr Robert Elliot, Mr Robert Elliot, his ſon. Oxnam, with Mr John Scot, Mr Hugh Scot. Howenam, with Mr John Stirling, Mr——Ker. —Argyll.—Killern, Meſſ. Cuninſon and Alexander MacLean. Kilfennan, Mr John Cameron, Campbelton, Meſſ. Duncan Campbell and Edward Keith. Kilchattan in Lorn, Meſſ. J. Duncanſon and A. MacLean. Knapdale, with Mr Dougal Campbell a regular incumbent, Mr Duncan Campbell. South Kintyre, Mr David Simpſon.

'And yet, notwithſtanding the ſaid confinement, the lord commiſſioner his grace, &c. give full power—to the lord chancellor, or any four of them, to alter any of the perſons foreſaid from any of the ſaid pariſhes, to another of thoſe pariſhes, or to allow and confine other perſons in their places, they always pitching—on ſome outed miniſters from that dioceſe, wherein the pariſhes, to which they are to be confined, do ly; and allowing none to preach who were outed before 1662, or, being outed ſince 1661, are under—ſentences of any court of this kingdom; with power to the ſaid commiſſioners, or their quorum, to confine to and allow outed miniſters in the pariſhes of Tarbolton, Barnwell, Stevenſon, Lochwinnoch, Inchinnen and Mearns; and that ſo ſoon as the preſent incumbents in theſe pariſhes ſhall be provided and tranſported to other kirks. Recommending to patrons to give them preſentation at kirks that ſhall be vaik; and particularly to—— patron of the kirk of Galaſhiels, to give a preſentation thereto to Mr Alexander George; to —— patron of the kirk of Burghton, to preſent thereto Mr William Naſmith; to——patron of the kirk of Maclue, to preſent Mr Robert Kincaid; to ——patron of Gartney to preſent Mr——Stuart——.' The reſt of this act relates to the ſtipends, and gives aſſurance to the epiſcopal clergy that no more ſhall be indulged.

The ſame day the council made another act containing the rules to be obſerved by all who were indulged. As 1. They muſt not marry or baptize except thoſe who belong to their reſpective pariſhes, or to any neighbouring pariſhes if vacant. 2. They muſt adminiſter the Lord's ſupper on one and the ſame day, and admit none to partake with them from other pariſhes, without a certificate from the miniſters thereof. 3. They muſt preach only in the church, under the pain of being puniſhed as keepers of conventicles. 4. They muſt not go out of their pariſhes without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe only. 5. That, as to diſcipline, all ſuch caſes as were formerly referable to preſbyteries muſt continue ſtill in the ſame manner; and where there is no preſbyterial meeting, that theſe caſes be referred to the preſbytery of the next bounds. 6. That the ordinary dues payable to burſers, clerks of preſbyteries and ſynods, be paid by the ſaid miniſters as formerly.

There was a third act of council made the ſame day, relating to the reſt of the ejected miniſters not as yet indulged, by which they were required to hear the word, and communicate in thoſe pariſh churches where they reſided, or elſe to remove to ſome other pariſhes, where they can hear and communicate, under the pain of impriſonment. This act diſcharged all other preſbyterian miniſters, except the indulged, from exerciſing any part of the miniſterial function, under what puniſhment the council ſhall think proper to inflict; and the ſheriffs and other magiſtrates were commanded to examine into the conduct of the indulged, with reſpect to their obſerving the rules above mentioned, and make report every ſix months, and ſome time before the firſt of June enſuing.

When the account of theſe acts came abroad, many miniſters were diſatisfied. And at a meeting of about 13, which was held at Edinburgh about a day or two after, it was propoſed, and all the brethren preſent declared themſelves againſt it. But this being found to be a matter of general concern, another meeting was appointed for the 24th of September, and the letters were ſent to ſeveral miniſters in the country to attend and deliver their ſentiments as to this matter.

Mean while, as one great deſign of the indulgence was the ſuppreſſing of conventicles, ſo, on the 16th, 'the commiſſioner and council gave a warrant to the lord chancellor, the archbiſhop of St Andrews, duke Hamilton, the earls of Argyll, Athol, Tweeddale, Kincardin, and Dundonald, the preſident, regiſter, advocate, treaſurer depute, juſtice clerk, or any four of them, to meet and give proper orders for executing the acts of council againſt the outed miniſters, and for preventing and ſuppreſſing conventicles, and other diſturbances of the public peace of the church, with power to call perſons before them, commit them to priſon, and do all things neceſſary for theſe ends. In difficult caſes they are to conſult with the council.' But I can give no account of their proceedings.

To return then to the meeting of miniſters at Edinburgh the 24th of September, 32 met in Mr Thomas Hogg's room, and agreed that every one ſhould declare his opinion at the next meeting. Being again aſſembled at an after meeting, Mr John Inglis was choſen moderator. When the queſtion was put, Whether it was the duty of miniſters to go and exerciſe their miniſtry at their churches? four were of opinion that miniſters ought to go to their churches when they had once given their teſtimony againſt what was wrong in the indulgence, two were undetermined, and the reſt preſent were in the negative.

When copies of the council's acts came to the weſt, there were ſundry meetings; and many were for accepting of the indulgence providing a ſufficient teſtimony were given againſt the eraſtianiſm thereof. They all agreed, that but one miniſter ought to go to one pariſh, except in thoſe places where formerly there had been two. There were great debates concerning the teſtimony to be given in to the ſtate. At laſt Mr William Violant and Mr A-

lexander Wedderburn were appointed to draw up a paper to this purpose. They complied, and their paper, after some amendments, was generally liked at a meeting held at Irwin, in the month of October. I shall give the reader the following abstract of it.

Grievances as to the indulgence.

I. WE the ministers of Jesus Christ who have been debarred from our respective flocks——and restrained from the free exercise of our ministry these many years, do, with all thankfulness, acknowlege his most excellent majesty's royal favour in granting to some of us the public exercise of our ministry;——yet considering the offered indulgence, as contrived in the complex, and cast in its present mould in three acts of council, to be clogged with many involvements contrary to our principles and consciences, and with many inconveniences as to our persons and families, and to the congregations, both from which we are separated and to which we are assigned, we are exceedingly straitened in our liberty to accept of the same,—because the whole draught—appears to be nothing but the actual exercise of erastianism, in so far as the council is pleased, not only to dispose of persons and places, but to make application of persons to places for the exercise of their ministry, as if it were proper to the magistrate to judge of the spiritual state and condition of the people, of the qualifications of ministers,—and to form and prescribe rules;—so that the—yielding to these acts may be interpreted an homologating with and subjecting ourselves to erastianism, contrary to our known judgments in these matters.

II. Though we disallow all tumultuary and seditious meetings, which the meetings of the Lord's people for hearing his word cannot be reputed.—we are not a little grieved that the narrative of this present act seems to involve the accepters into an interpretative condemning of the same, which we dare not.

III. Albeit there be a very great necessity of a free call from the people.—yet the indulgence, as contrived, deprives the people of the liberty of a free election in so far as ministers are designed for them, and, by the council's act, peremptorily confined to the parishes, without so much as the previous knowlege of the people; and so a necessity is laid upon the people, either to call the confined or want a minister.

IV. This way offers violence to that special relation that is between pastors and people,—so that ministers formerly by violence pull'd away from their flocks,—are still kept divorced from one another, though this union and relation, being made up only by Jesus Christ acting in and by his church, can never be regularly dissolved by any other authority—than that which made it.

V. This—will prove grievous to the most part of the kingdom. 1. In that their own pastors are, without necessity, shut up from them in a corner, at a time when profanity, popery and quakerism are—spreading through the land—2. In that the people will have several necessary duties to perform for the accommodation and encouragement of two, which they will judge needless, one being sufficient for the charge.—3. It will prove afflicting to many brethren, in that, by it, they are obtruded upon other mens labours, without a necessity, to the detriment of the necessary maintenance of them and their families.—

VI. We acknowlege that the magistrate hath the power of confinement, and of all other—external punishments in *actu signato*,—but when he is to apply that power in *actu exercito* — we humbly conceive that the law of God,—of nature,—of nations, and——of the land, requires an orderly procedure, and allows the party the benefit of defence. But here, 1. this sentence contains punishment against persons without citations or—conviction of any crime or guilt, the like whereof is not done to the grossest of ill doers. 2. This sentence is drawn out, not against one person or two, but against all the presbyterian ministers in the kingdom, a very few excepted, which makes the practice without—a precedent in any reformed church. 3. The acts carry not only a confinement of our persons—but of our ministry, and we are hereby—bound up from the discharge of those duties we owe to our national church, and deprived not only of all benefit of mutual converse—in presbyteries, but also of more private communion with one another:—all which are—the more grievous to us, as they are trusted at a time when papists and quakers are so vigorously driving on their designs, without—any real or effectual restraint put upon them.—Though we know our confinement will put no blame upon us in the account of many—people,—yet the nature and tendency of it is weakening to the necessary reputation of ministers of Christ among the people, in that, by the same breath, ministers are permitted—to preach, and yet sentenced as evil doers—and all who get not a call from the people—will be exposed to far greater difficulties and sufferings than formerly.

VII. The declaration, in the close of the first act, will prove a grievous stroke to the peaceably disposed people of the kingdom, who have been longing for their pastors, when by it they shall see all hopes cut off of ever recovering them again.

VIII. We will not fall on a particular consideration of the rules of the act, which we cannot approve of, unless we would renounce our principles. All of them appear to be framed in favour of the conformed party, and to the disadvantage both of ministers and people of the presbyterian persuasion.—And as the whole draught is, at least, an interpretative subjection to erastianism, so the fifth and last rules, but especially the fifth, thrusts us under a direct and formal subjection to prelacy.

IX. We shall not mention how this is disrelished by the most part—who—adhere to the pure government of the church of Scotland; but the peremptory order given to sheriffs, and magistrates, to inquire how the ministers confined and allowed to preach do observe these rules, shews that the ministers who fail will be undoubtedly censured, according to their supposed demerits, and we, being straitened in our conscience to give obedience to these canons, judge it will be provoking to the magistrate, prejudicial to the people, and hurtful to ourselves, to step in, and within a short time to be thrust out again for our contravention."

They conclude with a humble request for the removal of the penal statutes, and for liberty without such restraints as are burdensom to their consciences and inconsistent with their principles.

About the end of October Mr Gabriel Cuningham with some others were sent to Edinburgh with this paper, to see if the brethren in the east, who appeared most averse to the indulgence, would concur with them in it. When Mr Cuningham presented it to them, they who were against the indulgence took it for a paper of reasons why the indulgence should not be complied with, and so it became the subject of debate. But viewing it more narrowly, and finding that it was a complaint of grievances, upon the presenting of which to the council the complainers resolved to comply with the indulgence, the meeting divided upon it. They that were against the indulgence said, that this was but a smooth way to help forward ministers who were clear to their churches. The others complained that the other party would not join with them in a testimony against what both reckoned sinful in the manner of granting the indulgence. They who could not comply answered, they were willing to testify jointly with them against what evils appeared in the indulgence, providing all would stand out and not accept. Sundry meetings were spent in these debates. Their last meeting was on the 23d of December, when they came to no agreement, so that the above paper was dropt. A good number of the ministers entered into the churches where they had been formerly, and others upon a call, where the congregation was vacant, with the consent of the ministers of the bounds. And since all hopes of a joint testimony was lost, several gave it from the pulpit upon their first entrance, declaring against the erastianism in the indulgence. And some of them fell under no small difficulties on this head, as we shall relate in its proper place.

During these debates, on the 5th of December, William Porterfield of Quarreltoun, having been a long time in prison for his accession to Pentland, petitioned for liberty, on account of his indisposition, and the great poverty to

to which he was reduced. He was accordingly ſent from Edinburgh priſon to Dunbarton caſtle, and was ſuffered to go abroad in the day time upon giving bond and ſecurity under 10,000 merks to repair to the caſtle every night. During the laſt year and this, the lands of Barſob, and thoſe of Mr Gabriel Maxwell, with the eſtates of Rogland and Bedlane, were all forfeited on account of Pentland.

Several meaner perſons ſuffered during the courſe of this year. A poor pariſhioner of Abbotſrule was taken to be a ſoldier for not hearing the curate, and upon refuſing was fined in 100 l. Scots. John Ranken and James Dunlop in Eagleſham, James Brown in Muirzet, and John Foulis in Mearns, were brought in priſoners to Edinburgh, for alledged correſponding with, and receiving of ſome concerned in riots upon miniſters. The earls of Dumfries and Dundonald were appointed to examine into the affair.

Matters were managed much the ſame way through the year 1673. But ſuch was the partiality of the times to ſome, that though Mr Archibald Beeth curate in Arran, had ſhot one Allan Gardiner merchant in Irvine, for which he was condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, yet he was pardoned, and his remiſſion read in council on the 9th of January.

On the 6th of February, the council, in conſequence of a petition from Mr Robert Hunter now miniſter at Bornſtounneſs, ordered the ſtipend of the pariſh of Dunning, for the two laſt years which he ſerved in that pariſh, to be paid him, and that letters of horning be directed for that effect.

On the 20th of that month they ordered the chancellor for Fyfe, and duke Hamilton for the weſt country, to inquire what magiſtrates and counſellors for burghs had not ſigned the declaration; and, on the 7th of March, upon receiving a complaint that Mr Row, who had been tranſlated from Balmaclellan to the pariſh of Stony-kirk, was hindered from taking poſſeſſion of it, ordered the cauſe to be inquired into, but no proſecution followed: Row at this time turned papiſt.

As the 2d indulgence, of which I have given a pretty large account, was attended with no ſmall difficulties to thoſe miniſters who accepted of it, it involved the reſt of the ejected miniſters, who could not comply, in great diſtreſs: and ſome have thought it would have been a great happineſs if none had accepted it, but ſtrenuouſly adhered to the preſbyterian covenanted principles. There were many named who did not, and would not comply: Wherefore, on the 7th of March, the council, reſolving to force them to their confinements in thoſe pariſhes allotted for them, ordered all the outed miniſters to remove five miles from Edinburgh, unleſs they immediately gave bond not to keep conventicles. And, on the 12th, ſuch miniſters as had not entered on their confinements were called before the council. There appeared Meſſ. George Waugh, Robert Young, James Kirktoun, James Donaldſon, Robert Lockhart, Matthew MacKail, Patrick Anderſon, Alexander Barton, James Hamilton, and William Thomſon, and were appointed to repair to their reſpective pariſhes of confinement, by the 1ſt of June next, under the pain of being apprehended as deſpiſers of the king's authority. Orders were at the ſame time given to the king's forces, ſheriffs, and magiſtrates, to ſeize them wherever they could be found, if they did not obey this appointment. They generally thanked the council for the time allowed them, and promiſed to take the matter under ſerious conſideration. But when Mr Young came before them, he complained of his having been unjuſtly turned out of his charge by biſhop Sharp, and begged their lordſhips to conſider it. The biſhop roſe up, and alledged that he had been orderly and juſtly depoſed by him and the ſynod of Fife. Mr Young offered to prove, upon his peril, by the date of his ſentence, that he was depoſed before the ſynod met. Nevertheleſs the chancellor, without taking any notice of his complaint, told him it was the council's pleaſure he ſhould go to his confinement by the 1ſt of June. He anſwered, That he was ſorry that ſuch a ſentence was paſſed for no other reaſon than their pleaſure, and humbly proteſted that it might not prejudge him of reparation of the wrong done him by the biſhop, and that his obedience to the council's pleaſure ſhould not involve him in any approbation of the complex act of indulgence. Meſſ. Robert Maxwell, John Law, William Weir, James Walkinſhaw, Alexander Jamieſon, and James Wallace, were called, but, being abſent, the matter was delayed.

About this time a great turn of affairs happened in England, by which the meaſures of the cabal were diſconcerted, whoſe great project was, as has been related, to eſtabliſh popery, and render the king abſolute. But ſoon after the parliament met, the commons addreſſed the king to recal his declaration, ſince penal laws, in matters eccleſiaſtical, cannot be ſuſpended but by act of parliament; and, perceiving his majeſty not inclined to this, they ſtopt their money-bill. Whereupon the king, being in want of money, was eaſily perſuaded to give up his indulgence, contrary to the advice of the cabal: and accordingly, on the 8th of March, he called for the declaration, and broke the ſeal with his own hands. This pleaſed the commons, but diſguſted the cabal. Arlington had in ſome meaſure deſerted them before; but when Shaftſbury ſaw how unſteddy his majeſty was, he concluded he was not to be truſted; and ſo, from being the head of the cabal, he became the head of the country party. Immediately after this change in the earl of Shaftſbury, the commons paſſed the teſt act, intitled, *An act for preventing the dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants*; which having received the royal aſſent, moſt of the Roman catholic officers quitted their places. The duke of York reſigned the office of lord high-admiral, and Clifford that of high treaſurer. Thus the cabal was divided. But the king adjourned the parliament to the 20th of October, and from thence to the 27th, in order to defeat ſeveral bills which were diſagreeable to him.

Had the managers in Scotland followed the example of the commons of England, inſtead of proſecuting their proteſtant brethren, at the inſtigation of a pack of impious prelates, religion would have flouriſhed, and a ſtop had been put to the growing progreſs of popery. It is true a clogged indulgence was granted, which many faithful miniſters could not in conſcience comply with. But then, to gratify the biſhops, a moſt rigorous proclamation was emitted againſt conventicles, requiring all heritors, liferenters, and wadſetters, to inform the council, or the ſheriff of the ſhire, ſteward of the ſtewartry, &c. of houſe or field conventicles kept within the bounds of their reſpective lands; and ſignifying, that, if they do not give ſuch information in three days after the conventicle is kept, they ſhall be fined in the fourth part of the yearly valued rent of their whole lands within the ſhire where the conventicle ſhall be kept; one third part of which was for the ſheriff, and the other for the informer, and the reſt for the king's uſe. Which furious proclamation occaſioned very terrible oppreſſions in many places.

Two days before this Mr Robert Gilleſpie was before the council, and owned he had kept one conventicle in the town of Falkland; but refuſing to inform againſt any preſent, was ordered to be ſent priſoner to the Baſs, where he continued till the beginning of next year, when he was let out for ſome time on account of his health.

On the 7th of May, a letter from the king, dated the 29th of April, was read in council, ſignifying that the ſtate, with whom he was at war, had a deſign to raiſe troubles in the weſt of Scotland, and therefore requiring them to ſuppreſs conventicles, and ſecure the weſt country. Upon this letters were wrote to duke Hamilton, and the earls of Eglintoun and Caſſils. But it is plain the king had not more loyal ſubjects than theſe who were now perſecuted, who complied with every thing becoming faithful ſubjects, ſo that there was not the leaſt ground for any inuendo's of this nature.

When the 29th of May came, the biſhops got another handle for oppreſſing the preſbyterian miniſters. None of the indulged obſerved this anniverſary. If indeed their week-days ſermons fell on that day, they preached as uſual, but without taking notice of that ſolemnity. And therefore, on the 12th of June, letters were by the council directed againſt them in the ſhires of Air, Lanerk, and Kirkcudbright.

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The same day another letter, dated the 31st of May, came from his majesty to the council, approving of their conduct as to the indulged and requiring them to prosecute those who could not comply; and, for preserving peace and order within the diocese of Glasgow, to give a commission to duke Hamilton, the earls of Linlithgow, Dumfries, and Dundonald, and the president, or any two of them, to put in execution the laws and acts of council in relation to church affairs, and to inquire into what disorders have been, or may be committed within that diocese, and to call before them sheriffs, justices, &c. who have been or shall be negligent in executing the laws against conventicles, deserting the kirks, irregular baptisms and marriages, &c. When this letter was read in council, all the members were not pleased with it, especially with the commission they were ordered to give; so that it was the end of July before a return was made, which shall be related in its proper place.

Mean while the council, on the 19th of June, recommended to the lords of session to grant no suspensions upon sentences passed on account of church irregularities that so nothing might hinder their execution.

About the end of June, Mr Alexander Peden, late minister at New Glenluce in Galloway, a man of singular piety, zeal, and faithfulness, and of whom many remarkable things are related, was apprehended by major Cockburn, in the house of Hugh Ferguson of Knockdow in Carrick, who had obliged him to stay that night in his house. They were both carried prisoners to Edinburgh. On the 26th of June the council appointed the register and advocate to examine him; and upon their report he was sent to the Bass, where he continued to the year 1678. Mr Ferguson was fined in 1000 merks for harbouring and conversing with him, and the council ordered 50 l. sterling to be paid to Cockburn out of the fines, and 25 l. to be distributed at his pleasure among the soldiers under his command. Mr Patrick Simpson, the indulged minister at Kilmacolm, sent him and the other prisoners a charitable supply of money, for which Mr Peden afterwards thanked him.

About this time began the prosecution of the indulged ministers for not observing the 29th of May. On the 3d of July many of them appeared and owned they had not observed that day, and were not clear in their own minds to keep any anniversary holy days of human institution. While they were before the council, some of them were interrogated as to other things besides the anniversary, such as their baptizing children in the parishes of conformists without testimonials, and if they had observed the council's instructions which were sent them with their acts of indulgence; and when one of them answered, that he had not seen the instructions spoke of, he was told by the chancellor, that that had been a neglect, but they should all see them; and accordingly they were ordered to attend on the 8th for that purpose, and to receive their sentence for not observing the 29th of May.

Mean while the ministers had frequent meetings among themselves, to consult how to act when the instructions should be delivered to them. A paper was drawn up by way of testimony; but they not agreeing to subscribe it, Mr George Hutchison was appointed to speak, in the name of the rest, the sense of these impositions, in case they were intimated to them. But then some condemned their conduct in not fixing the time when Mr Hutchison should have delivered their sentiments, that being left to his own prudence; for they thought he should have delivered his own, and the sentiments of his brethren whenever the council's instructions were proposed to be presented. Others again thought it was time enough when Mr Hutchison himself should be called for. However, as the instructions related to them all, and as a testimony was judged proper against every unlawful encroachment upon the exercise of their ministry, I leave it to the reader to judge whether this should not have been delivered before any one of their number had received them. But to come to matters of fact.

On the 8th of July the following ministers appeared before the council, viz. Mess. Anthony Murray, John Hamilton, John Oliphant, James Curry, John Lauder, John Stirling, James Hutcheson, John Eccles, Andrew Dalrymple, John Gemble, Hugh Campbell, Alexander Blair, James Veitch, John Hutcheson, Robert Millar, George Ramsay, John Bell, Ralph Roger, William Tullidaf, George Hutchison, John Spalding, John Wallace, and William Maitland, and were fined in the half of their stipend for the crop and year 1673, except the three last, who preached on that day. And Mess. John Crawford, John Baird, and William Fullerton, not appearing were denounced rebels.

This being done, the lords, on the same day, ordered the instructions to be delivered openly to the ministers present, that none might pretend ignorance. A list of them was drawn up, and every one was called in order of the list, and asked if he had a copy of his instructions; if he had he was dismissed, but if not the clerk delivered him a copy. It happened that Mr Hutchison's name was towards the end of the list; and he not offering to speak till his name should be called, some began to question whether he would speak at all, and therefore resolved to speak for themselves.

Accordingly, when the clerk delivered the paper to Mr Alexander Blair minister at Galstoun, he being moved with zeal, and remembering whose ambassador he was, told the council plainly, that he could receive no instructions from them to regulate him in the exercise of his ministry, otherwise he should not be Christ's ambassador but theirs; and then he let their instructions drop out of his hand, knowing no other salvo or manner of testifying for the truth. This plain dealing so exasperated them, that they immediately ordered him to be committed to prison, where he continued till near the end of the year, when, by reason of his sickness, he was let out, upon finding security in the sum of 5000 merks that he should re-enter in a month's time; but his indisposition continuing, his liberty was lengthened for another fortnight, and before that expired his glorious Master sent and rescued him from the rage of his persecutors, and the reproaches of his deserting brethren; and the sound of, *Well done, good and faithful servant*, filling his ears, made him shut his eyes singing, and give up the ghost with joy, and in full assurance of faith.

Sundry of his brethren looked upon his testimony as unseasonable; but whether it had not been better for them all to have unanimously joined him in the same open and free declaration, must be left with the reader. When Mr Hutchison was called, he discoursed concerning the difference between the civil and church-government, and their different powers formal and objective, intrinsic and extrinsic, and endeavoured to qualify what Mr Blair had said. But it is plain that they who could not comply with the indulgence never questioned the magistrate's lawful authority. After Mr Blair was imprisoned, Mr Hutchison and some others went to the chancellor, and other counsellors, and spoke to the same purpose with him, and begged favour for him; but that was not granted; for the chancellor told them, it was not the matter, but the manner of his speaking that had irritated them.

On the 10th of July, Mess. John MacMichan of Dalray, John Semple at Carsphairn, and John Cent of Kells, were fined for not observing the anniversary.

On the 25th the commission to the five persons mentioned in the king's letter of the 31st of May was agreed upon, and the council at the same time wrote to his majesty, signifying that they had granted the commission appointed; but humbly proposed that his majesty would consider, whether the right settling the affairs of the church and public peace in the diocese of Glasgow—be proper to be left in the hands of so few. It was some time before they had a return.

Mean while, on the 31st, they fined Mess. John Scot at Oxnam, James Fletcher at Newthery, and Robert Mowat at Herriot, as above, for not keeping the 29th of May. The same day Mr Alexander Wedderburn was committed to prison, because he confessed that he had preached and prayed in his own house, several being present besides his own family, till he either found security under 5000 merks, not to keep another conventicle, or take upon him a voluntary banishment. However, in about a month's time, they ordered him to be confined to the town of Kilmarnock.

And

And on the ſaid 31ſt of July they ordered a party of the guards to bring in Mr William Weir, the indulged miniſter of Weſt Calder, priſoner to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, becauſe, for ſatisfying his conſcience, he received a call from ſome of the heritors and people. In his firſt ſermon he declared his adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant, and did not acknowledge the power either of king or biſhop in matters belonging to the church of Chriſt. In ſhort, he preached againſt the ſupremacy, prelacy, and anniverſary holy-days of human appointment. This plainly ſhewed, that the council, by their act of indulgence, aimed, among other things, at the eſtabliſhment of the ſupremacy and prelacy; ſo, that the very ſpeaking againſt theſe things was judged criminal. How far then they who kept ſilence are to be juſtified, I leave with the reader. Mr Weir ſoon after this went to Ireland, where he continued till 1687, when he was called to his former charge at Linlithgow, where he remained till his death in July 1695.

The gentlemen formerly mentioned, as Kerſland, Blaikat, Quarreltoun, Bedlane, and others impriſoned for nonconformity, were this year continued in their priſons. But the ſeverity againſt Sir Andrew Kennedy of Clawburn, after the revolution lord-conſervator, in the Low Countries, is not to be omitted; for, on the 20th of Auguſt, he was, by a ſentence of the juſticiary, denounced a rebel, ordained to be put to the horn, and his moveable goods confiſcated for his majeſty's uſe. The ſentence bears, that Mr Robert MacWard late miniſter at Glaſgow, Mr Robert Trail at Edinburgh, Mr John Livingſton at Ancram, Mr John Brown at Wamphray, and others, having retired to Holland, had contrived moſt treaſonable deſigns againſt his majeſty's perſon and government, and for involving their country in the calamities of a civil war; and, in order to this, had compoſed ſundry ſeditious books and pamphlets, as *Naphtali*, *Jus populi vindicatum*, &c. and ſent them to be diſperſed through the country, to confirm thoſe of their own principles, and to ſeduce others; that they ſtirred up the ſtates to make war againſt the king; and ſent home, or endeavoured to ſend home, arms, &c. had kept correſpondence with diſloyal and ſeditious perſons, among whom the ſaid Mr Andrew Kennedy was employed; that he had received and diſperſed the ſaid books, &c. kept correſpondence with them, and otherwiſe promoted their deſigns, and ſo was acceſſary to the crimes of treaſon, and was in abſence ſentenced as above. The reader is here to obſerve, that this ſentence was grounded on notorious falſehoods; for the miniſters above mentioned never ſtirred up the ſtates to war, nor promiſed the leaſt aſſiſtance in Scotland. And though ſome of them were the authors of the books mentioned, yet the books ſpeak for themſelves; and what is ſaid concerning Mr Kennedy's diſperſing thoſe books is abſolutely falſe.

Many were the exorbitant fines that were impoſed upon gentlemen in the ſhires of Dumbarton, Lanerk, Ayr, Galloway, Dumfries, and Renfrew. To give the reader a ſpecimen of the oppreſſions of ſome of the king's beſt ſubjects, merely for non-conformity, I ſhall in this place ſubjoin an account of the fines impoſed on ſome gentlemen in the ſhire of Renfrew alone. Thus,

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
Sir George Maxwell of Newark, for three years abſence from his pariſh church, 31,200 l. For a weekly conventicle during that time, 62,400 l. For three diſorderly baptiſms, 1200 l. In all	94,800	0	0
The laird of Douchal, now Porterfield, for the like atrocious crimes, - -	84,400	0	0
William Cuningham of Carncurran -	15,833	6	8
John Maxwel of Dargavel - - - - -	18,900	0	0
John Briſbane of Freeland - - - - -	3,900	0	0
Gavin Walkinſhaw of that ilk - - -	12,429	0	0
Sir George Maxwell of Nether-pollock -	93,600	0	0
Matthew Stewart in Mearns - - - -	6,309	0	0
John Pollock of Falſide - - - - -	3,510	0	0
James Hamilton of Langtoun - - -	18,427	0	0
Mr James Pollock of Balgray - - -	15,833	6	0
Extending in all to	368,031	13	4
And in Sterling to	30,669	6	1

A monſtrous ſum to be impoſed upon eleven perſons in one ſhire; and, had the whole been levied, the gentlemen muſt have been ruined. There was a compoſition made, and they were greatly haraſſed till it was exactly paid. My author could not give the date when theſe fines were laid on; but, as this was the third year ſince they were enacted by the parliament, he inſerts them in this place. And, as the facts are certain, the impartial reader cannot, I am perſuaded, think of ſuch a government without abhorrence.

Theſe hardſhips and ſeverities opened the eyes of ſeveral miniſters who had conformed to prelacy, to ſee the evil of their way. We related the conduct of the two excellent brothers, Meſſ. Alexander and John Carmichael. This year the Rev. Mr Thomas Foreſter miniſter at Alva, and after the revolution profeſſor of divinity at St Andrews, having had, for ſome time, ſeveral difficulties in his own mind concerning conformity abandoned prelacy. He had ever ſince the beginning of this year deſerted their meetings; and therefore, on the 7th of Auguſt, the clerk of the preſbytery of Stirling, by their order, ſent him a letter, finding fault for his non attendance, and ordering him to attend at their next meeting on the 26th. To which Mr Foreſter, in a letter, gave in his reaſons why he could not attend; as, '1. Becauſe it was evident, by then ſtanding acts relating to religion and church-government, that all power or juriſdiction in the church, or its aſſemblies, was fountained in, derived from, or ultimately referrable into the magiſtrate's civil power, which, ſays he, I judge to be contrary to the word of God, the confeſſions of reformed churches, and our own church's judgment; conſequently, the keeping of the meetings, a badge of the acknowlegement of the lawfulneſs of this frame, to be unlawful, this frame of church-government being clearly proved unlawful by ſuch as have written againſt eraſtianiſm. 2. Becauſe I find, ſince our firſt reformation, ſeveral oaths, vows, and ſolemn engagements upon this church and nation, againſt the prelatic frame of government, the obligation whereof I could never find convincingly diſproved, but, upon ſome ſearch, am perſuaded, that the ſame are ſtill binding on the nations and poſterity. 3. Upon ſome ſearch into the controverſy of church-government, I have, for a conſiderable time, entertained the perſuaſion of the unlawfulneſs of the prelatic frame, as contrary to the preſcriptions ſet down in the word. If theſe foundations hold, the unlawfulneſs of the meetings cannot be queſtioned, and, ſo long as I am thus perſuaded, I cannot attend upon them in faith.'

Theſe reaſons he enlarged, illuſtrated, and abundantly confirmed in a long paper, which he ſent to the brethren of the exerciſe, which the reader will find in Wodrow's appendix to book II. No. 66. which I cannot inſert in this place. Mr Foreſter was upon this obliged to quit his charge at Alva. Then he joined the perſecuted preſbyterians, and preached, or, according to the dialect of theſe times, kept conventicles, as he had occaſion, which brought upon him the rage of the perſecutors, as ſhall be related in the courſe of the following year.

On the 3d of September the council had a letter from his majeſty, wherein he complains that the outed miniſters had not been cited in the terms of his letter of the 31ſt of May; and tells them, that the power of the five propoſed was not at all privative of the council's power. In ſhort, in the cloſe, the commiſſion was dropt, and the council warned to take ſpecial care of the dioceſe of Glaſgow. Several were pleaſed with this, and immediately all the ejected miniſters in and about Edinburgh were called to hear their ſentence to repair to the pariſhes of their confinement; and power was given to the chancellor and earl of Athol to authoriſe whom they pleaſed to apprehend all who had been at field-conventicles, and either ſend them to Edinburgh, or oblige them to find ſecurity for their appearance.

Next day thoſe ejected miniſters, who had no particular pariſh aſſigned, were ordered to repair to ſuch pariſhes as ſhould be named by the council. Accordingly Mr John Park was ordered to confine himſelf to the pariſh of Kilmawers, Mr John Knox at Weſt-Calder, Meſſrs.

Messrs Robert Fleeming, Thomas Hogg, John Lidderdale and Alexander Hutchison, not appearing, were ordered to be apprehended where-ever they should be found. And on the 30th of September sentence was passed against all the ejected ministers who had not accepted the indulgence, except two or three who made some excuse and they were ordered to be denounced on the 6th of November; this was the case particularly with Messrs William Moin, James Donaldson, and William Creighton. But Messrs James Kirkton, Robert Lockhart, John Waugh and Thomas Melvil were excused.

But the ministers who continued in the country, and could not comply with the council's orders, were brought to no small difficulties. About eight of them met together, and drew up the reasons of their non compliance among whom was the Rev. Mr John Burnet, minister at Kilbryde near Glasgow, who, being summoned before the council, could not appear on account of his bodily indisposition. Nevertheless he thought it his duty to give an open and plain account of his reasons to the council, and therefore drew them up in writing to be presented; but though his sickness, of which he died about the end of this year, prevented this, yet he sent the paper to the chancellor without altering its form or style. As he left it as his testimony, it is fully recorded in the history of indulgence, from whence I give the following large abstract thereof.

BEING called before his majesty's privy council, to give an account of the reasons why I have not accepted of this present indulgence—I shall premise these things briefly. 1. That it is well known,—that the constitution and government of this—church of Scotland, for many years, and particularly in the year 1660, was framed according to the word of God, confirmed by many—laws of the kingdom, and solemnly sworn to by all ranks within the same. 2. It is also found—that this ancient and apostolic government is wholly overturned in its very species and kind—by the introduction of lordly prelacy—3. The sad effects of these things are conspicuously apparent on the face of the church this day, such as involving the land in great backsliding and defection; the abounding ignorance and atheism,—the increase of popery and error.—the sharp sufferings of many of his majesty's loyal subjects, &c. 4. Whatever power sound—divines acknowledge the magistrate to have,—in a troubled and extraordinary state of the church, yet it is not yielded—that he may any ways alter its warrantably established government, and so turn that same troubled and perplexed state of the church, made so by himself, to be the subject of his magisterial authoritative care and operation. 5. That if I be not mistaken, as denying to his majesty his just power in ecclesiastic matters, I,—with great alacrity, acknowledge that the civil magistrate hath a power *circa sacra*. which power is objectively ecclesiastic, so as he, by his royal authority, may enjoin, that *whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven may be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven*: which power also is by God's appointment only cumulative and auxiliary to the church, not privative nor destructive, and is to be exercised always in a civil manner. As to the reasons of my not acceptance—they are,

I. That our Lord Jesus Christ, Mediator, the king and lawgiver of his own church, hath committed all ministerial authority, for government of his house, to his own church officers, as the first proper subject and receptacle of it. John xx. 21. Matth. xxviii. 18 19. 20. 2 Cor. x 8. But—the act explanatory of his majesty's supremacy in the church (whereupon the act of indulgence is grounded) doth not only claim the power to belong of right to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent privilege of the crown, but doth actually also invest him with the formal exercise thereof in his own person, and that—he may convey it to others, as in his royal wisdom he shall think fit; for his majesty is pleased to design and make application of ministers to congregations. and that without the previous call of the people and power of the presbytery;—to frame and prescribe ecclesiastical rules relating to the exercise of the ministerial office, and appoint a commission to plant and transplant ministers as they shall think fit, notwithstanding it hath been unanswerably evinced, that presbyterian government is founded on the word of God, and confirmed otherways abundantly.

II. Although I freely—condemn all—seditious meetings, (among whom it is said—that the peaceable meetings of the Lord's people for worship—should be reckoned) yet I am so convinced—of the Lord's blessing attending the preaching of the gospel, though not in a parish church that I judge the narrative of the first act to go near to involve my acceptance of this indulgence, as being an interpretative condemning of the said meetings.

III. There is a standing relation between me and another flock, over which I was set by the appointment of Jesus Christ in his word, which tie can never really be dissolved by any other power than that which at first did make it up, and gave it a being. And after I had ten years during the English usurpation, wrestled in opposition to Quakers and independents,—I was, without any ecclesiastic sentence, thrust from the public exercise of my ministry in that place where there will be 1200 examinable persons, of which there were never 50, to this day, who have seceded themselves to him who is called the *regular incumbent*—Now what a door is hereby opened to error, atheism and profaneness?—and what a grief must it be to those to have their own lawful pastor thus up in a corner?—or how can any new relation subsist between another flock and me, by virtue of an act of a mere civil judicature? Besides, the people in whom I have present interest, are utterly rendered hopeless by a clause in the end of the first act, That the indulgence is not hereafter to be extended to any other congregation than those mentioned in the act, whereof, they in that parish are none.

IV. Though I will not—debate the magistrate's sentence of confinement, yet—there are so many things attending the application of it to my person, that it cannot be expected I should give that obedience to it which might infer my own consent or approbation; for 1. This confinement—is a very sharp punishment as it is circumstantiated. 2. All punishments—ought to relate to some cause or crime, and cannot be done arbitrarily without oppression, Acts xxv. 27.—yet I am sentenced and sent to Letters to a congregation, without so much as being charged with any crime. 3. If my confinement relate not to any crime, it must needs relate to a design, viz. that I should preach, &c. wholly at the appointment and disposal of the civil magistrate.—Now this design, however closely covered, I dare not in conscience, yea, I cannot (with the preservation of my—principles) concur with, or consent thereto. 4. By the confinement I am put to an open shame before the world, and particularly in that place where I am permitted to preach the gospel; for what weight can my preaching or ministerial acts of discipline and government have, while I my self am—dealt with as a malefactor and transgressor, a rebel or traitor to my prince and nation? or how can I preach against the sins of the times,—while the sword of the magistrate is continually at my throat?—5. This confinement is not simply or mainly of my person—but it is of the office itself—while it is not of me alone, but of all the presbyterian ministers in Scotland, a very few only excepted; and, while the propagation of the gospel is hereby manifestly obstructed, we are cut off from the discharge of many necessary duties we owe to the church and nation,—while she is in hazard to be swallowed up with a swarm of Jesuits, Quakers, &c. and while three parts of the kingdom are groaning under the want of the word faithfully, preached, and some few shires in the west are made, as it were, the common jail of all the ministers that are permitted to preach. By this confinement I lose an essential part of my ministry, which is the exercise of jurisdiction and church government—a principal part of which is ordination, for preserving a succession of faithful men in the church.

V As for the permission I have to preach when confined while I look on it abstractly, it is a very great favour, but take it without the previous call of the people, the authority and assistance of a presbytery, and without the exercise of discipline and government—it is lame. Again, take it with the confinement and other clogs and circumstances contained in the 2d act, &c.—I have it to consider, whether

ther this my permiſſion be not putting my neck under a heavier yoke, than—before.

VI. The laſt reaſon, for brevity, is from the dependence this act—of indulgence hath upon the late explanatory act of his majeſty's ſupremacy, when——the eſtates of parliament——declare, that his majeſty hath the ſupreme authority and ſupremacy over all perſons, and in all cauſes eccleſiaſtic within this kingdom; that, by virtue thereof, the ordering and diſpoſal of the external government of the church doth properly belong to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, as an inherent right to the crown; and that his majeſty and ſucceſſors may ſettle—ſuch conſtitutions, &c. concerning the external government of the church, and the perſons employed in it, and concerning all eccleſiaſtical meetings and matters—as they, in their royal wiſdom, ſhall think fit. Again,—the particulars of the act of indulgence are of the ſame nature and kind with the articles explanatory of his majeſty's ſupremacy, viz. to ſettle, enact, emit, acts and orders, concerning matters, meetings and perſons eccleſiaſtic, according to their royal pleaſure—The rules and inſtructions, for limiting miniſters in the exercife of their office,—are ſuch as I declare I cannot accept of them, or any other favour whatever, upon ſuch terms and conditions; becauſe they contain the down-right exercife of eraſtianiſm.—

He concludes with an earneſt deſire that God would put it in the king's heart to grant miniſters liberty to make full proof of their miniſtry, that they might have an opportunity to ſhew that the government which Chriſt has appointed, doth well conſiſt with the magiſtrate's civil government in the ſtate; and that preſbyterian miniſters may have acceſs to his majeſty for repreſenting juſt grievances.

The eight miniſters drew up their reaſons why they could not comply with the council's orders, but their paper was never preſented; and as it is to the ſame purpoſe with Mr Burnet's, I ſhall not inſert it here. It was ſubſcribed by Meſſrs Hugh Smith, John Buroet, Robert Fleeming, John Blackadder, David Hume, Alexander Jamieſon, George Campbell and Donald Cargill. Mr Burnet was a miniſter of great ſolidity and learning, and ſingularly uſeful in reclaiming Quakers in that neighbourhood. And, ſays my author, though he had no freedom to fall in with the indulgence himſelf, yet he both heard ſome of the indulged miniſters, and preſſed his people to do ſo likeways. He died in great peace and full aſſurance 22d of December this year.

We have hinted a little concerning the proceedings of the Engliſh parliament, which had been adjourned to the 27th of October. On the 31ſt the commons went in a body, and preſented a dutiful addreſs againſt the duke of York's marriage with the princeſs of Modena. But not receiving any ſatisfying anſwer, they proceeded farther, and voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and prepared an addreſs accordingly. But on the 4th of November, when the commons were to preſent it, the king came unexpectedly to the houſe of peers and ſent for them. It happened that the ſpeaker and the uſher of the black-rod met both at the door of the houſe; but, as the ſpeaker was within, the door was immediately ſhut againſt the uſher. The ſpeaker was forced into the chair; and while the uſher continued knocking, the houſe voted, 1. That the alliance with France was a grievance. 2. That the evil councellors about the king were a grievance. And 3. That the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed in any office or place of truſt. Upon which there was a general cry, *To the queſtion, to the queſtion*! but the black rod continuing knocking, the ſpeaker leaped out of the chair, and roſe in great confuſion. When the commons went to the houſe of lords, the king prorogued the parliament to the 7th of January, during which prorogation the duke of York's marriage was conſummated on the 21ſt of November.

The duke of Lauderdale, being thus voted a grievance by the commons of England, made the beſt of his way to Scotland, where in the month of December, he held his fourth ſeſſion of parliament. When the parliament was opened the king's letter was read, deſiring their aſſiſtance in carrying on the war with Holland, and aſſuring them of his affection in very kind words; and likeways told them, 'That one of the principal reaſons of keeping this ſeſſion of parliament is, that effectual courſes may be laid down for ſettling and curbing the inſolent field-conventicles and other ſeditious practices,—and that if fairneſs will not do, force muſt compel the refractory to be peaceable and obey the law.' The duke ſeconded the letter with a ſpeech to the ſame purpoſe; but providence interpoſed, ſo that no new laws were made in this ſeſſion againſt the preſbyterians; for the duke ſoon found that a ſtrong party was formed againſt him; for when it was moved 'that a committee be appointed to draw up an anſwer to his majeſty's letter, duke Hamilton moved that the ſtate of the nation might firſt be conſidered, in order to the redreſs of grievances, ſome of whom he mentioned. And then, according to concert, about twenty members, one after another, ſpoke to ſeveral particulars. Some mentioned the ſalt, others the tobacco and brandy; ſome complained of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and others of the coin.' In ſhort, warm debates aroſe. And when the commiſſioner appeared with ſome briſkneſs for a ſupply to his majeſty, one of the members aſked, Whether this was a free parliament or not? Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, and ſeveral other gentlemen, ſpoke with great freedom and plainneſs. So that now Lauderdale had the mortification to find himſelf voted a grievance by the commons of England, and his meaſures oppoſed in Scotland, and therefore he had no other ſhift but to adjourn the parliament.

About this time a breach happened between Lauderdale and Dr Burnet, afterwards biſhop of Sarum, the effect of which was, that the doctor in the year 1675, turned informer againſt the duke in the houſe of commons. But I now go on to

CHAP. X.

Of the ſtate and ſufferings of the Preſbyterians during the years 1674 and 1675.

THE managers in Scotland ſtill perſiſted in proſecuting the non-conformiſts, ſo that many of them were forced to wander from place to place to avoid the fury of their oppreſſors. Lauderdale ſtood his ground notwithſtanding all the attempts made againſt him. But I ſhall relate the tranſactions, as near as poſſible, in the order of time wherein they happened.

On the 8th of January Mr Matthew Mackail, miniſter at Bothwell, was let out of priſon, where he had been for ſome time, but refuſing to engage not to preach, was confined to the pariſh of Carluke, and a bond was given for his appearance when called. He had preached to upwards of 1000 people in the fields, in the year 1669, from Iſa. xxxii. 5. but though that ſermon made great noiſe, yet it does not appear he was troubled for it.

On the 25th of January the parliament was farther prorogued to March. The biſhops had conceived great hopes of accompliſhing their deſigns at this parliament, and for this end many things were collected as grievances to be laid before the houſe, particularly in a paper drawn up by the ſynod of Glaſgow in October laſt, viz. 1. That conventicles ſtill abounded more publicly and avowedly than ever, and that by ſome who never entered upon trials before any church judicatory, which, by the way, was falſe; for Meſſrs Maxwell, Crawford, Wodrow, Corbet, and others mentioned, were examined and licenſed by presbyterian miniſters, according to the acts of general aſſemblies. 2. That the indulged miniſters did not obſerve the council's rules. 3. That meeting houſes were erected. 4. That in one of them, at Kilſyth, the preacher curſed the king, his council, and all the royal family; but, had that been true, it is ſurpriſing the preacher was not laid hold on, the managers not being accuſtomed to let ſuch affronts ſlip through their fingers. 5. That the tutors of noblemen and gentlemens ſons were ill principled, and poiſoned their pupils. 6. That conventicles and indulged miniſters preached ſedition.——14. The 29th of May not obſerved. 15. Several horrid crimes were, ſay they, committed at conventicles, as inceſt, beſtiality, murder of children; beſides frequent adulteries, and other acts of wickedneſs. But this is altogether calumnious, and may put us in mind of the reproaches caſt upon the meetings of the primitive Chriſtians by their virulent

rulent proſecutors. From ſuch innuendos as theſe, that vile pamphlet intitled, *The ſpirit of popery ſpeaking out of the mouths of fanatical proteſtants*, was publiſhed ſome years after this, but was ſufficiently anſwered, and the lies and forgeries contained in it abundantly detected by the Rev. Mr Matthew Crawford. The 16th and laſt grievance they mention was the increaſe of popery; but that gave them little uneaſineſs. As for ſome of theſe things, they were owned by the ſufferers, as practices upon which they did ſuffer, and what they judged conſonant to their principles. Whether theſe grievances were preſented I know not; but if they were laid before the commiſſioner and council, yet the proceedings at this time in Scotland, and the difference between the two dukes in England, prevented the gratification of the perſecuting clergy at this juncture.

As ſoon as the prorogation of the parliament was known, duke Hamilton and others went to court, to lay before the king the grievances of the nation. Religion was overlooked by both parties. And though the king blamed Hamilton for raiſing heats in the parliament, yet he diſmiſſed them with promiſes that it ſhould ſit in March, and all their grievances be conſidered. Accordingly they all haſted home; but, when they were met, Lauderdale produced a letter from his majeſty adjourning them till October.

Mean while, about the beginning of January, Mr James Mitchel was diſcovered, and apprehended by Sir William Sharp and two of his brother's ſervants, and was by the chancellor's order, made cloſe priſoner. On the 10th of February he was examined by the lord chancellor, lord regiſter, lord advocate, and lord Halton, and denied the aſſaſſination of the arch biſhop (but being taken apart by the chancellor, he confeſſed, having got aſſurance of his life) that it was he who ſhot the biſhop of Orkney while aiming at the archbiſhop. Lord Halton, in a letter to the earl of Kincardin, ſaid, That he thought his puniſhment would be the loſs of his hand, and perpetual impriſonment in the Biſs. On the 12th of February he was examined before the council, and ſaid nothing but what he had ſaid before the committee. He was then remitted to the juſtice court to receive his indictment and ſentence; to have his right hand cut off at the croſs of Edinburgh, and the forfeiture of his goods and poſterity, which laſt part was not to be executed till his majeſty be acquainted, becauſe, ſays lord Halton in a ſecond letter to Kincardin, aſſurance of life was given him upon his confeſſion.

On the 16th of February he wrote a large letter from priſon, to a friend, vindicating his practice, and owning the principles upon which he went.

But, while this affair was on the carpet, the rev. Mr Foreſter was apprehended by the magiſtrates of Stirling, for preaching in private families in that town; for which good ſervices the magiſtrates had a letter of thanks from the council, and had blanks ſent them that they might fill them up with names, and with the charges they were at, to bring in whom they pleaſed to Edinburgh, whither Mr Forreſter was carried under a guard, and where he continued till the indemnity in March, when he was ſet at liberty.

But to return to Mr Mitchel. On the 2d of March he was brought before the lords of juſticiary, and indicted for being concerned in Pentland, and for the attempt on the archbiſhop of St Andrews. But he pleaded not guilty, and inſiſted that the thing alledged againſt him ſhould be proved. The lords poſtponed the affair till the 25th.

Mean while the lords made an act, March 12th, in which it was ſpecified, that Mr James Mitchell 'confeſſed his firing the piſtol at the archbiſhop of St Andrews, upon aſſurance given him of his life, by one of the committee who had a warrant from the lord commiſſioner and ſecret council to give the ſame; and therefore did freely confeſs, &c.' In the ſaid act which Mr Wodrow has given at length, p. 37. it was declared, that, on account of his refuſing to adhere to his confeſſion, the promiſes made to him were void, and that the lords of juſticiary and jury ought to proceed againſt him without any regard to theſe.

The 19th ſeveral who were impriſoned at Edinburgh, for diſorders, church irregularities perhaps, were given by the council to captain James Hay to be recruits to a regiment he was concerned with in France.

About five days after this Lauderdale complimented the nation with an act of indemnity from the king. But though it was of little ſervice, on account of the many limitations and reſtrictions wherewith it abounded, yet the common people looked upon it both as a remiſſion for what was paſt, and a kind of ſecurity for the future in their following conventicles, which was the real cauſe of their taking more liberty at this time, and whereof Lauderdale when he went to court, laid all the blame upon duke Hamilton and his party, which occaſioned many letters to the council in order to ſuppreſs them.

Next day Mr Mitchel was brought before the juſticiary, but, as there was no proof againſt him, except his own confeſſion, they, with the conſent of the advocate, protracted the affair, and remanded him to priſon.

On the 26th of March Mr Forreſter, Thomas Lenox, and ſome others were ſet at liberty, poſſibly in conſequence of the indemnity. And the ſame day William Porterfield in Quarrelton got his confinement changed from Dunbarton to Paiſley, with liberty to walk abroad.

But though the ſtate had indemnified Mr Foreſter, yet the prelates and their underlings renewed their attacks upon him. And accordingly the diocеſan ſynod of Dunkeld paſſed a ſentence of depoſition againſt him on the 29th of April, which was confirmed by the biſhop on the 4th of May. The curious reader will find his judicious remarks on this ſentence, and on the biſhop's ratification, in Mr Wodrow's appendix, No. 56.

At this time the houſe of commons in England diſcovered a laudable zeal againſt popery and arbitrary power. The Engliſh parliament ſat down on the 7th of January and the lords preſented an addreſs, praying the king to iſſue out his royal proclamation, requiring all reputed papiſts to remove out of London and Weſtminſter during the ſeſſion of parliament. Next day both houſes joined in an addreſs for a general faſt, to implore God's bleſſing againſt the efforts of popery, &c. The commons likeways proceeded againſt the remaining members of the cabal, viz. Buckingham, Lauderdale and Arlington. It is ſufficient, for my purpoſe, to obſerve, that they unanimouſly voted that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to remove the duke of Lauderdale from all his employments, and from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever, being a perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the government. Theſe and ſuch like addreſſes were very diſagreeable to his majeſty, who could not be pleaſed to ſee every part of his conduct ſo ſtrictly examined: beſides he was obliged for want of the ſinews of war, to make peace with the Dutch, which he communicated to the parliament on the 11th of February. However, the commons ſtill proceeded on their grievances; but the king to defeat their deſigns, came to the houſe, and prorogued them to the 10th of November following, before any bill was ready for the royal aſſent.

Notwithſtanding all their proceedings, Lauderdale, diſregarding the vote of the commons of England went to court after the late prorogation of the parliament of Scotland; and though duke Hamilton followed and ſpoke freely to his majeſty concerning him, yet the king ſtill careſſed Lauderdale, inſomuch that, on the 19th of May, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the parliament. The reaſon given was, the peace lately concluded with the Dutch; but the truth is, Lauderdale plainly perceived that he durſt not venture upon any more Scots parliaments.

About the end of May he got the privy council modelled to his mind, Tweddale, Queenſbury, Yeſter, Dumfries, Roxburgh, and ſome others, were turned out; and Kinghorn, Mar, Wigtoun, Roſs, Colingtoun, Craigy, and others, put in their places. Duke Hamilton himſelf was kept in, but, as he was never much in favour, he very ſeldom attended. And the king, to keep Lauderdale in credit in Scotland, after being diſgraced in England, ſent a very long letter to Scotland, approving of all Lauderdale's proceedings, ſo that he ſtill carried all before him.

The new-modelled council ſat down on the 4th of June when an accident happened which made no ſmall noiſe.

As men were not ſafe to give in any petitions to the council, a conſiderable number of women reſolved to appear for the perſecuted cauſe. Accordingly, when the counſellors came up, they found the parliament-cloſe almoſt filled with women. The archbiſhop ſtuck cloſe by the chancellor, being in no ſmall pannic at this female aſſembly. Some of the women called him Judas, and others traitor; and one of them laid her hand on his neck, and ſaid, Ere all was done, that neck behoved to pay for it. But no other violence was offered. The widow of the Rev. Mr John Livingſton preſented their petition to the chancellor, ſetting forth the ſad condition of the country in being deprived of their faithful miniſters, and praying that theſe might again have their liberty, without molleſtation, to exerciſe their miniſtry. The earl received the petition with civility, read it directly, and heard what ſhe had farther to offer. He talked a little with ſome of the reſt, jeſted with them, and ſeemed to be pleaſed with the fright that Sharp was put into. Notwithſtanding, when the counſellors got within doors, and found the petition ſigned, it was voted criminal. About a dozen of the ſubſcribers were called in, one by one, and declared that no man had any hand in what they did, but that they were moved with the ſenſe of their periſhing condition for want of the goſpel, having none to preach to them except ignorant and profane men, whom they could not hear. Then they were all put into a room by themſelves, and the provoſt was ſent to diſmiſs the reſt However, they reſolved not to withdraw till their friends were ſent out, and declared they would all take the ſame lot. Upon which the council were pleaſed to liberate the reſt, and ſo this tumult was ended.

Next council day the ſubſcribers were all called, and, upon their not appearing, were denounced rebels, except Mrs Margaret Johnſtoun, daughter of the excellent lord Wariſton, Mrs Cleland, and Lilias Campbell, who were apprehended and impriſoned. And about the end of the year Mrs Elizabeth Rutherford, Mrs Margaret Johnſton, lady Merſington, and ſeveral other women concerned in this affair, were, by the council, baniſhed the town of Edinburgh and the liberties thereof.

Before I come to relate the proceedings of the new council, it will be proper to give the reader a ſhort view of the conduct of the preſbyterian miniſters about this time. Both indulged and not indulged met frequently among themſelves, licenſed ſeveral promiſing young men, ſent them to preach in thoſe parts of the country where they were moſt wanted, excited vacant congregations to call them, and upon the peoples call, ordained them with all the ſolemnity the times would admit of.

In this month of June the preſbyterian miniſters, in every corner of the church, ſent delegates to Edinburgh to concert upon proper rules and overtures to be tranſmitted to the ſeveral meetings of miniſters through the country. Accordingly they met, and, among other things, agreed that the ſeveral meetings take care to ſend preachers where the neceſſities and deſires of the people required them, and to warn them faithfully of the evils and dangers of the time, &c. that it be provided, that no offers from the ſtate, relating to church-affairs, be rejected or accepted by any particular miniſter, without the previous knowlege of the ſeveral ſocieties; and that miniſters in this, as in other things, ſubject themſelves *communi preſbyterorum conſilio*: that neither miniſters nor probationers ſettle with a people without conſent of the meeting in the bounds, &c.

Together with theſe overtures the materials of an addreſs to the government were tranſmitted to the ſeveral aſſociations of miniſters, in which they juſtly complained of their hardſhips, of the change of the government of the church, of their not being allowed to acknowlege their allegiance to the ſovereign, according to the ſcriptures, unleſs they allow him to have that ſupremacy which does not belong to him, and ſo be found guilty of encroaching on the ſovereign authority of Jeſus Chriſt the only King and Head of his church;—that a great number of valuable young men are kept uſeleſs; and that little or no care is taken to ſtop the growth of popery; and therefore, prayed that their lordſhips would take theſe things under their moſt ſerious conſideration.

Theſe overtures and materials for an addreſs were ſent round the country, and generally conſented to, with ſome amendments and additions; but, as all their conſultations came to nothing, I ſhall not inſiſt upon them.

We have obſerved, that, from the act of indemnity above mentioned, people took encouragement to frequent conventicles ſo that about this time theſe pretty much abounded through the kingdom, which greatly diſguſted the prelates, and therefore they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs them, eſpecially the field meetings, which produced ſeveral letters from the court in order to bear them down.

Accordingly, at the firſt meeting of the council, on the 4th of June, a letter from his majeſty to this purpoſe was read, wherein the council was required to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for trying and apprehending the preachers at field conventicles, invaders of pulpits, and the ringleading heritors at ſuch meetings; and to uſe the ſtanding forces and militia for that end, leaving the puniſhment of other tranſgreſſors to the ordinary magiſtrate according to law.

Upon this the council appointed a committee to take theſe things under their conſideration, and at the ſame time ordered the chancellor to ſend out parties to apprehend all conventicle-preachers; particularly Meſſ. John Welſh Gabriel Semple, Ro. Roſs, Samuel Arnot, Gabriel Cuningham, Archibald Riddel, John Moſman, John Blackadder, William Wiſheart, David Hume, John Dickſon, John Rae, Henry Forſyth, Thomas Hogg, Robert Law, George Johnſton, Thomas Foreſter, Frazer of Brae, John Law, Robert Gilleſpie. And any of the guards who ſhall apprehend Mr Welſh, or Mr Semple, were promiſed 4001. ſterling, and 1000 merks Scots for each of the reſt; nay, the ſoldiers and their aſſiſtants were indemnified of any ſlaughter committed in apprehending any of theſe perſons, in caſe of reſiſtance.

The eminent, faithful and laborious Mr Welſh had, at the deſire of many, made a journey through Fife, where he preached frequently, ſometimes in vacant churches. Sharp was an eye-witneſs to a numerous congregation at Wolmet-chapel. And Mr William Weir preached to a crouded aſſembly in Magdalen-chapel in Edinburgh; other miniſters likewiſe preached there, for which the town was fined in 1001. ſterling; but the meetings moſt taken notice of were thoſe by Meſſ. Johnſton and Kirkton in the church of Cramond.

Accordingly, on the 11th of June, the council paſſed a decree or judgment againſt the heritors of Cramond. And Mr John Inglis of Cramond appearing, and confeſſing he had been ſix times at the ſaid kirk when conventicles were held there, was fined in the fourth part of his valued rent, amounting to 10361. Scots, and appointed to ly in priſon till it was paid, and longer during the council's pleaſure; however, he was ſet at liberty when he paid his fine. The ſame day lord Balmerino and Sir John Young of Leny, denying that they had been at any of theſe conventicles, and taking the oath of allegiance, were diſmiſſed; as was likewiſe Mr Charles Oliphant of Langtoun-law, upon declaring that he went to one of theſe merely out of curioſity, and promiſing not to go any more, and taking the oath of allegiance. Thus the reader may ſee with what briſkneſs the new council went to work. And, the more effectually to ſuppreſs what they called *unlawful* and *factitious meetings*, they iſſued two proclamations on the 18th of June; the firſt was to oblige heritors for their tenants. In this all maſters of families were ordered to diſmiſs from their ſervice all who repaired to conventicles, and all heritors, &c. were ordered to require their tenants to ſubſcribe the following bond, viz.

'I *N. N.* bind and oblige me, that I, my wife, or any of my children in family with me, my cottars or ſervants, ſhall not keep or be preſent at any conventicles, either in houſes or in the fields, as the ſame are defined by the 5th act of the 2d ſeſſion of his majeſty's ſecond parliament, under the pains therein contained; being for ilk houſe conventicle twenty-five pounds Scots for each tenant labouring land, twelve pounds for each cottar, and for each ſervant-man a fourth part of his year's fee; and the huſbands the half of theſe fines for ſuch of their wives and children as ſhall be at any houſe-conventicle; and the double of the reſpective fines for each of the ſaid perſons

that ſhall be at any field conventicle.' To which is ſubjoined a clauſe of regiſtration in common form.

In caſe tenants refuſed, they were to be put to the horn, and their eſcheat or forfeiture to be given to their maſters Beſides, heritors were ordered to oblige their tenants for the future, in their leaſes, or in ſeparate bonds, to engage to abſtain from conventicles. And an unlimited power was given to magiſtrates to charge all they ſuſpected to give ſecurity for their good behaviour, I ſhall leave the reader to make his own reflections on theſe unprecedented and unreaſonable impoſitions.

The other proclamation was for apprehending rebels and others, that is, the holders of and repairers to conventicles; for here it was declared, that whoſoever ſhould ſeize convocators to conventicles, or any who have been at them ſo as they may be convicted, ſhould have their fines, and, in caſe of contumacy, their eſcheats: and whoever ſhould apprehend any miniſter at conventicles ſhould have 1000 merks, and 2000 merks for Meſſ. Welſh, Semple and Arnot.

On the 25th of June they paſſed ſentence againſt keepers of conventicles in Fife, and the following perſons were fined, viz.

	L.
Sir John Kirkaldy of Grange — —	550
Laird of Reddie — — — —	850
Scot of Pitlochie — — — —	1000
Pitcairn of Pitlour — — — —	1050
Pitcairn of Lauriſtoun — — — —	200
Charles Cowan of Corſtoun — —	333
Robert Colvil in Balvaird — —	100
Robert Schaw in Auchtermuchty — —	49
James Hamilton of Innerdirot — —	150
— Maxwell provoſt of Auchtermuchty —	250
Mr George Herriot of Ramorney —	983
Making in all	5515

And becauſe the laird of Reddie harboured Mr Welſh, he was fined in 2000 merks more; and Pitlochie, for his alledged impertinent behaviour before the council, in 500 merks more; and all of them were ordered to lye in priſon till they paid their fines. There were 40 or 50 others ſummoned to appear at this time, who, not anſwering, were ordered to be denounced rebels. The ſame day another decreet was paſſed againſt the keepers of conventicles in ſeveral places; at ſome of which Mr John Pringle of Woodhend being preſent was fined in the fourth part of his yearly valued rent, and afterwards ſet at liberty upon paying 277 l. Scots; and ſundry of the meaner people were denounced for not appearing when ſummoned.

On the 30th of June the council received a letter from the king, dated at Windſor the 23d, wherein his majeſty lets them know what he had been informed of relating to the abounding of conventicles, the invading of pulpits, the petition of the women, the reſiſting of his forces (for which laſt there was no ground) and that, for putting an end to all theſe ſeditious diſorders, he had ordered divers troops of his proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland to be in readineſs at the ſea-ſide in Ulſter to receive his farther commands; and had alſo ordered troops to march to Berwick if there ſhould be occaſion. And in the mean time he required them to uſe their utmoſt vigour in finding out and bringing to puniſhment the ringleaders of the aforeſaid ſeditious and inſolent practices. &c.

On the 2d of July the council returned a very complaiſant anſwer to his majeſty's letter, and at the ſame time wrote to Lauderdale, giving him an account of all their proceedings, and ſent up the following propoſal: That ſince they found it difficult to get proof againſt the keepers and frequenters of conventicles, his majeſty's advocate ſhould have authority to order ſuch perſons as ſhall be informed againſt for being at field conventicles, to be ſummoned before the council to give their oaths thereupon, with certification that they ſhall be holden as confeſt, or reputed guilty, if they refuſe; and that an act of council be made, warranting the advocate to refer the libel or charge to the oath of the defendant, and to reſtrict the ſame to an arbitrary puniſhment.

Before an anſwer came from court, the council on the 9th of July, paſſed another decreet againſt above 50 perſons in Fife for being at conventicles. None of whom appeared except the lady Colvil, who, upon producing a certificate from the miniſter of the parith, and promiſing not to frequent conventicles, was diſmiſſed. All the others were denounced. Two days after this the town of Glaſgow was fined in 100 l. ſterling, for a conventicle kept by Mr Andrew Morton and Mr Donald Cargill. About the ſame time Mr Robert Law, who had for ſome time been a priſoner at Glaſgow, was ordered to be brought to Edinburgh for keeping of conventicles, and warrants were iſſued for apprehending Meſſ. John King, Joſeph Wallace and Andrew Barton.

On the 16th of July the council received a return from the king, approving of their overture, and requiring them to make an act in the terms of it, which was immediately done. The ſame day, — Livingſton of Greenyards, and — Farquharſon of Chilbrae were denounced for being at a conventicle at Torwood; and Robert Ged of Bathridge, and Sir John Kirkaldy younger of Glaim, were ſeverely fined. The following worthy perſons were at the ſame time declared rebels, and outlawed, for no other cauſe than preaching the goſpel where they could have opportunity, viz. Meſſ. Alexander Lenox, David Williamſon, Alexander Moncrief, John Rae, David Hume, Edward Jamiſon, James Fraſer of Brae, William Wiſhheart, Thomas Hog, Robert Gilleſpie, James Kirkton, John Weir, John MacKillgen, Nathanael Martin, Andrew Donaldſon, John Chryſtiſon, William Row, Thomas MacGill, Thomas Urquhart, Thomas Hogg, William Erſkine, James Donaldſon, Patrick Gilleſpie, John Gray, James Wedderburn, John Wardlaw, Thomas Douglas, George Campbell, Francis Irvine, James Wallace, Andrew Anderſon, John Munniman, George Hamilton, Andrew Mactonn, Donald Cargill, Alexander Parteun, James Wilſon, and Robert Maxwell's elder and younger. I would have the reader to obſerve here, that the mannders were ſo incorrect, that in this liſt of miniſters outlawed, ſome of them were dead, others were indulged by the council, and ſome had never offended ſince the king's indemnity, who were nevertheleſs expoſed to a ſuffering lot.

On the 21ſt of July Mr James Drummond, who had been a priſoner for ſome time in Edinburgh jail for preaching in families, was ſet at liberty. But on the 23d the council fined Hary Pitcairn of Lauriſton in 1200 l. Scots, —— Pitcairn of Pitlour in 200 merks, George Scot of Pitlochie, and Charles Cowan of Carſtoun, in 1000 l. each; all for harbouring Mr Welſh. At the ſame time the magiſtrates of Perth were appointed to apprehend Mr Alexander Moncrief, an ejected miniſter; and Archibald Douglas of Cliftonhall, and James Maxwell provoſt of Auchtermuchty, were fined for being at conventicles, the firſt in 381 l. and the other in 252 l.

On the 28th of the ſame month the council diſcharged Meſſ. Robert and John Laws and John King, priſoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, from keeping conventicles, under the penalty of being treated as ſeditious perſons, and obliged each of them to give a bond and ſurety for 5000 merks to appear when called; and the ſame day recommended to the biſhops to inquire what chaplains and ſchoolmaſters officiated in their reſpective dioceſes without their licenſe. And,

At the ſame ſederunt a great many letters were wrote to the royal burghs through the kingdom, enjoining them rigorouſly to execute the laws againſt conventicles: aſſuring them that, in caſe of failure, they would exact the fines from them without any abatement. And, as a farther evidence of their tyrannical diſpoſition, in regard 'the burghs in Scotland, who have by law a privilege of meeting once a year in a body to conſider of trade, and of by laws relating to it, had, in a convention held this year, agreed upon and ſent a petition to the king complaining of ſome late acts that hindered trade, for the repeal of which there was great need for a ſeſſion of parliament; and had therefore prayed, that, when the king ſent down a commiſſioner to hold a ſeſſion, he might be inſtructed in order to that repeal. This, though judged a lawful aſſembly by the lawyers, eſpecially, ſays biſhop Burnet, as they did not petition for a parliament, but only for inſtructions

ſtructions to the ſeſſion, was condemned as ſeditious, and the promoters of it were fined and impriſoned.'

The ſame 28th of July a letter from the king, dated at Windſor the 16th, was read in council, declaring that he had wrote to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, that it was his royal pleaſure the biſhop of Dumblain be tranſlated to the iſles; that the biſhop of Brechin be appointed to preach at the college kirk of Edinburgh; and that the biſhop of Edinburgh remove Mr Turner, Mr Robertſon and Mr Cant from the exerciſe of the miniſtry in Edinburgh, or any place in his dioceſe, without licence; and that Mr Hamilton be removed from Leith; and therefore his majeſty required the council to oblige the biſhop of Dumblain to repair to the iſles within two weeks; and that within ten days Mr Turner remove from Edinburgh to Glaſgow, Mr Robertſon to Auchterleſs in the dioceſe of Aberdeen, Mr Cant to Liberton, and Mr Hamilton to Cramond, till farther orders.

The reader will judge whether this was not the full exerciſe of the royal ſupremacy. Biſhops and miniſters were removed and confined without any proceſs or trial! But that he may have the occaſion of this proceeding, we relate,

That, in the months of May and June, ſome both of the inferior clergy and biſhops, began to complain openly, that the church was not governed in an eccleſiaſtical way, but in a moſt arbitrary manner; that Sharp acted as a pope, managing all church-affairs without conſulting with the other biſhops: and that, though there was a law for a national ſynod, yet, through his influence, none had been called. Sharp and his friends alledged that theſe complaints were groundleſs, and were only fomented by the country party, as it was called, in oppoſition to Lauderdale's adminiſtration. Be that as it will, their complaints, and the motion for a national ſynod, were conſented to by Mr Lamy biſhop of Brechin, and Mr Ramſay biſhop of Dumblain. But the former was prevailed with to come into Sharp's ſentiments, and leave the latter to manage the affair alone. Among the inferior clergy the miniſters named in the king's letter were the moſt active; for though their dioceſan, the biſhop of Edinburgh, was moſt averſe from a national ſynod, yet they and ſome others agreed to preſent a petition to him, praying his lordſhip to do his utmoſt to get his majeſty to call ſuch a ſynod for conſidering the diſorders in the church. When this petition was preſented I know not. However, it greatly frightened Sharp, and therefore he wrote a whining letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, letting forth, That the church was in danger; a remarkable word! and begging he would uſe his intereſt with his majeſty to prevent the thing deſired. Sharp likewiſe laid the matter before the council, who, on the 2d of July, appointed the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the lord privy ſeal, the earls of Kincairdin and Dundonald, the preſident and advocate, to examine into the conduct of the four miniſters relating to this affair. How this committee proceeded, or what iſſue they came to, I know not; but accounts of thoſe things were tranſmitted to his majeſty, who wrote the letter as above. There was a meeting of the biſhops appointed at St. Andrews, and Dumblain was ordered to be preſent, but he declined it.

When the king's letter was read in council, the contents were inſtantly obeyed; and a macer was ſent to intimate the royal pleaſure to all mentioned in it. And the ſame day the biſhop of Dumblain preſented a petition to the council, which they tranſmitted to the primate, that the king might be acquainted with it. But, notwithſtanding all that paſſed, the biſhop of Dumblain, in his papers, ſtill ſubſcribed himſelf Dumblain, and took the firſt opportunity to go in perſon to court. We ſhall hear more of this matter in the tranſactions of the following year. I ſhall only obſerve, that it was very dangerous, in thoſe days, to propoſe any thing contrary to the inclinations of thoſe at the helm. But, leaving this matter, let us return to the proceedings againſt the preſbyterians.

The vacation was now at hand, and therefore, that there might be no interruption in proceeding againſt conventicles, the council, on the 30th of July, gave a commiſſion, in the king's name, to the lord chancellor, the earls of Mar, Kinghorn, Kelly, Weems, and Kincairdin, the treaſurer depute, and the laird of Ardroſs, or any three of them, to execute the law againſt conventicles, irregular baptiſms and marriages, in the ſhires of Fife and Kinroſs; as alſo to the chancellor, duke Hamilton, &c. for the bounds of Stirling, Perth, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Ayr ſhires; and, laſtly, to the chancellor, earls of Caithneſs and Linlithgow, &c. for Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Haddington, Selkirk, Peebles, Berwick and Roxburgh ſhires; they alſo had particular inſtructions given them; and jointly with theſe the advocate was appointed to iſſue out warrants, to cite all perſons concerned before theſe commiſſioners, and to reſtrict the libel or indictment to an arbitrary puniſhment, that ſo they may hold the perſons not ſwearing againſt themſelves as confeſſed, or treat them as guilty. As none of the biſhops were in this commiſſion, the reader need not be ſurpriſed to hear nothing of their proceedings. Next day the council wrote to Lauderdale an account of what they had done ſince their laſt.

In the month of Auguſt the ſufferers had ſome receſs; but, when the council met, on the firſt of September they received a letter from the king commending their diligence againſt conventicles, and acquainting them that, for enabling them to maintain the laws and government, he reſolved to raiſe ſome more forces, and ordered them to raiſe 1000 foot and three troops of horſe. This increaſe of the ſtanding forces in time of peace was very proper for the ſupport of an arbitrary government, and tended to harraſs the ſufferers.

The ſame day the council gave warrant for apprehending Mungo Lockhart of Harwood, William Liſlone of Colunun eaſter, George Tennant and John Brown in Calder, for being at a conventicle in Calder muir, and reſiſting a party of the guards who were ſent to diſperſe them: and likewiſe ordained letters of horning, upon the decreets of ſheriffs, bailies of regalities, and other inferior magiſtrates, againſt perſons guilty of being at conventicles.

On the 29th the council had another letter from his majeſty, wherein he deſired them to uſe all diligence with reſpect to conventicles and other unlawful practices, eſpecially at or near Cardroſs; and told them he was informed that ſome of his guards had, by their order, apprehended one King, who was ſet at liberty upon bail to appear; and that the lord Cardroſs, in a peremptory manner, complained of that man's being taken, on account of his being his domeſtic; and therefore ordered them to require that lord to bring him back to priſon.

The ſame day Mr Alexander Burnet was, by a ſpecial order from the king, reſtored to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Glaſgow, which he had been obliged to reſign ſome years ago. It was then believed this reſtoration of the archbiſhop was the effect of groſs ſimony. The biſhop's daughter was married to the heir of the eſtate of Elphingſton, and had a very large annuity ſecured to her upon the eſtate. In a little ſhe was left a widow. The gentleman who ſucceeded to the lordſhip of Elphingſton made his addreſſes to lord Halton's daughter. My lord was unwilling to engage with an eſtate ſo conſiderably burdened with the biſhop's daughter's jointure. At laſt an expedient was found out: the young lady was prevailed with to renounce her jointure, and Halton found means to get the archbiſhop her father reſtored to his office and benefice. This made ſome ſay, the biſhop's money, who gave his daughter an equivalent, was taken, but that of Simon Magus was not.

Mr William Drummond of Cromlicks, ſome time a major general, was at the ſame time ordered to enter priſoner into Dumbarton caſtle. He was obnoxious to Lauderdale, who therefore moved that he might be ſecured. He was kept in cloſe confinement for near four months, and then was permitted to walk about a little in the day time, and return at night.

On the 1ſt of October lord Cardroſs appeared before the council, and was required to produce Mr John King againſt next November: he told them, that it was not in his power, ſince, by their orders, Mr King was taken from him, and, after he had been ſome time impriſoned, was ſet at liberty, ſince which time he had not been in his ſervice. Though Mr King eſcaped at this time, yet he afterwards fell a ſacrifice to the fury of his perſecutors. The ſame day they approved the conduct of their commiſſioners for con-

conventicles, and made a preſent to Hugh Stevenſon, one of their clerks, of 500 merks, the fine levied from Mr King's ſurety.

On the 2d of December the heritors and kirk ſeſſion of Fenwick aſſembled, and appointed Mr Muir of Rowallan younger, to take care to have the laws againſt curſing, ſwearing, and other acts of profaneneſs, put in execution. Next day the archbiſhop of Glaſgow was admitted a counſellor, and the reviving the ſeverities in the weſt country was much owing to him. The ſame day the council baniſhed Henry Angus and James Jeffray, from the ſhires they lived in, becauſe, when brought before the commiſſioners at Stirling for being at conventicles, they refuſed to ſwear againſt themſelves.

I ſhall finiſh what I have to relate for this year with the affair of the advocates, which gives us another inſtance of the arbitrary proceedings of this reign. I take it from biſhop Burnet: 'A cauſe being judged in the ſupreme court of ſeſſion, the party appealed to the parliament. This was looked on as a high contempt, done on deſign to make the parliament a court of judicature, that there might be a neceſſity of frequent parliaments. The judges therefore required all the lawyers to condemn this as contrary to law; which ſeveral refuſing to do, the king ſent down an order to put all from the bar who did not condemn appeals. And when that did not produce the effect deſired, they were, by proclamation, baniſhed Edinburgh, and 12 miles round it; and a new day aſſigned them for making their ſubmiſſion, which they were obliged to do. Now in what a ſituation muſt a nation be, when thoſe learned in the law dare not deliver their own ſentiments, is eaſy for the reader to imagine. The ſame hiſtorian tells us, That the government of the city of Edinburgh was not ſo compliant as was expected; ſo duke Lauderdale procured a letter from the king to turn out 12 of the chief of the town-council, and to declare them for ever incapable of public truſt.

Things were managed much in the ſame way during the year 1675, for notwithſtanding the many ſevere laws againſt preaching and hearing the goſpel in private houſes and the fields, theſe meetings, eſpecially in the fields, continued to be very numerous, the violence of the ſoldiers, and the multitude of the hearers, obliging them to it. And great was the ſucceſs that attended the miniſtry there, many being converted thereby. Nay, ſome miniſters who had conformed came, and after the forenoon's ſermon, offered to join them, actually profeſſing their ſorrow for joining in the courſes of defection at that time. In ſeveral places they changed their way, forſook their churches, and upon their candid acknowlegements were received both by the field preachers and their people. It is true, the ſeverity of the laws occaſioned that not many gentlemen of eſtates durſt venture to come to theſe; but their ladies, and not a few of good faſhion, attended daily. In ſhort, theſe meetings were ſo numerous, that the managers, not being able to reach them all, found it neceſſary to overlook what they could not help. The biſhops indeed violently puſhed proſecutions; and ſoldiers and ſpies were employed to ſearch them out, and apprehend the miniſters, and the moſt noted of their hearers, and to diſperſe them; which obliged many to come with arms for their own defence, and ſome ſcuffles enſued in ſeveral places: and therefore various methods were taken to diſcourage and ſuppreſs conventicles. But I ſhall relate the occurrences as they fell out in the order of time.

There was a meeting of preſbyterian miniſters at Glaſgow on the 20th of January for ſynodical correſpondence; at which they came to ſeveral reſolutions, and made ſundry propoſals too tedious to be here inſerted; eſpecially ſince the ſeverity of the times prevented them from taking effect.

The miniſters who had accepted the indulgence were brought under hardſhips on account of their not being paid their ſtipends; which obliged ſeveral of them in the month of January, to petition the council for warrants to receive them, which a good many of them obtained; but at length, upon ſome pretence or other, the prelates got an act of council on the ninth of March, 'ordering that no indulged miniſters get warrants for their ſtipends, without teſtificates from the ſheriff or magiſtrates in the bounds, that they have not kept conventicles ſince the 24th of March 1674.' But, ſays Mr Wodrow, this reſtriction did not affect many of them. However, ſome months after this ſeveral of them were brought to great inconveniencies, as we ſhall relate.

The ſame day the Rev. Mr John Greg was before the council for keeping a conventicle at Leith mills. He owned the charge, and was ſent priſoner to the Baſs, where not a few died. After he had been impriſoned there for the ſpace of eight months, his confinement was changed to the pariſh of Carſtairs in Lanerk-ſhire.

About this time letters came from court, dated the 27th of February, ordering Mr James Stuart ſon to Sir James Stuart late provoſt of Edinburgh, to be apprehended, with all his books and papers, and made cloſe priſoner in Edinburgh, and to be allowed no converſe with any either by word or writing. This gentleman was ſuppoſed to have publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, *An account of Scotland's grievances by reaſon of the duke of Lauderdale's miniſtry, humbly tendered to his ſacred majeſty.* Which galled the party ſo much, that though none of them were able to confute the facts he mentioned, they were reſolved to take the ſevereſt courſe they could with him. Mr Stuart, knowing their deſigns, went out of the way. But his cabinets were ſealed up, by order of council, on the 10th of March, and a ſtrict ſearch was made for him through Edinburgh, which he eſcaped; and, during his retirement made ſuch a proficiency in ſtudy and piety, that he afterwards made a conſiderable figure, and diſcharged the office of king's advocate with great applauſe for many years after the revolution.

The prelates complaining of the increaſe of conventicles about Edinburgh, orders were given to Lord Roſs's troop to march in different parties and ſuppreſs them. On the 11th of March the town of Edinburgh was fined in 100 l. ſter. for conventicles alleged to be kept within their liberties. And next day four companies of foot and a troop of horſe were ordered to quarter in Glaſgow for the eaſier ſuppreſſing theſe meetings.

As the duke of Lauderdale had the chief management of affairs, it is proper that we take a view of what paſſed in the Engliſh parliament in relation to him. The parliament ſat down there in April, and the commons immediately fell upon Lauderdale; and thoſe who knew what had paſſed between him and Dr Burnet moved that the doctor ſhould be examined before a committee. I ſhall give this examination in the doctor's own words. 'I was, ſays he, brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of town.—I was next examined concerning his deſign of arming the Iriſh papiſts. I, ſaid he, as well as others, had heard him ſay, He wiſhed the preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Iriſh papiſts to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning his deſign of bringing a Scotiſh army into England. I deſired to be excuſed as to what had paſſed in private diſcourſe, to which I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were high treaſon. They preſſed me long; and I would give them no other anſwer. So they all concluded that I knew great matters, and reported this eſpecially to the houſe. Upon this I was ſent for, and brought before the houſe. I ſtood upon it as I had done at the committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed that was high treaſon; and as to all other things I did not think myſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew duke Lauderdale was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. And ſince he had uſed myſelf ſo ill, I thought myſelf the more obliged not to ſay any thing that looked like revenge for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told by the houſe, though they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the nation, as well as into matters of treaſon, and they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them, otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known; upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned.'

Mr Wodrow, in his appendix, book II. No. 47. ſays, That the houſe not being fully ſatisfied with his anſwer, he was again called in to explain himſelf; and being withdrawn,

drawn, some heads of his testimony, to avoid mistakes. were drawn up in writing; and being again called, and the same read to him, and having amended it in some particulars at the bar of the house; the same is as follows, viz. That coming into England, out of Scotland, the first Saturday in September 1673, he went to visit the duke of Lauderdale in his lodgings at Whitehall, where the duke and he conversed of the affairs of England and Scotland, and particularly of the proceedings of parliament concerning the declaration for suspending the penal laws in matters ecclesiastical; and being afterwards asked, Whether if Scotland, being called to assist the king, they would assist him or not? He answered, he thought they would not; but the duke replied, he believed they would, and that his coming into England would bring a great many. That the duke asking him of the affairs of Scotland, he answered, The people of Scotland, that were at such a distance, could not imagine what to think of the king's speech and declaration: whereunto the duke replied, *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* and that all had forsaken the king but himself and lord Clifford. This is much the same with what the bishop himself says of his conversation.—Upon this and other informations the parliament drew up a very warm address against Lauderdale, but to no purpose; for he continued firm in the king's favour, and in that of the duke of York; so that in Scotland every thing was managed as they saw proper.

'In the month of May, Henry lord Cardross being in Edinburgh, and having left his lady at home by herself, Sir Mungo Murray, accompanied with Walter Stewart, Henry Graham, George Murray, James Spotiswood, Andrew Hume, and others, went in a tumultuous manner to his house of Cardross in the night time, and, without producing any orders, frightened the lady, then big with child; and made her get out of her bed, broke open his lordship's closet where his papers lay; and having seized upon Mr John King his lordship's chaplain, and Mr Robert Langlands tutor to Cardross's brother, (the late colonel John Erskine of Carnock) carried them away. All this his lordship laid before the council in a respectful petition, wherein he represented clearly, that this outrage was illegal, and an encroachment upon the privileges of peers, by forcibly taking away his domestic servants at such an unseasonable time, though they had been accused of no crime, and obliging his lady, then big with child, to get out of her bed, &c. But such was the iniquity of the times, that, instead of paying any regard to this reasonable petition, they made use of it as a handle against him; for some country people, who had profited by Mr King's ministry, having rescued him from the soldiers, this was made a handle of for prosecuting lord Cardross, though he was then at Edinburgh, and so could be noways accessary to the rescue.

'In the beginning of June a paper war was commenced between the archbishop of St Andrews and the bishop of Dumblain, who had been translated from his bishopric to that of the isles, for declaring his sentiments in relation to a national synod. The two bishops were then at London; but as the matter of the controversy was personal, respecting their conduct to one another, I shall not trouble the reader with it. The bishop of Dumblain answered all the interrogatories put to him, by a meeting of the bishops at St Andrews, with great openness and candour.

'Mr King's rescue was soon known at court, so that, on the 12th of June, his majesty wrote to the council, complaining of this attempt upon his forces, and the rescue of Mr King; together with the increase of conventicles in Teviotdale and East-Lothian; that the indulged ministers kept irregular and disorderly communions, appointing fasts, &c. In consequence of this letter a committee was appointed to consider the contents of it. And on the 22d of June the advocate was ordered to form a libel against lord Cardross and others, on account of Mr King's rescue.

'And the better to suppress conventicles, the council, on the 13th of July, appointed garrisons in the following houses, consisting each of a company of foot and twelve horse, viz. at Bridgehouse in Linlithgowshire, at Cardross in Perthshire, at Glentirring in Stirlingshire, at Mearns in Renfrewshire, at Douchill in Kinrossshire, at Dean in Kilmarnock in the shire of Ayr, at Airdrie in Lanerkshire, at Newark in Selkirkshire, at Hunthill in Roxburghshire, at Blane in Berwickshire, in the laird of Riddel's house in Roxburghshire, and at the castle of Dumfries in the shire of Dumfries. The officers and soldiers were to be at the said places by the first of August. Burnet says, 'That two were the chief dwelling houses of two peers, the rest were the houses of gentlemen that had gone into the party against duke Lauderdale. And though these were houses of no strength, and not at all properly situated for suppressing of conventicles, yet they were taken; soldiers were put in them, and the countries about were required to furnish these small garrisons with all things necessary. This, says that historian, was against the express words of the law that had lately settled the militia.'

'On the 15th of July they wrote to Lauderdale, giving him a detail of their proceedings since the 24th of March 1674. They likewise appointed a solemn fast to be observed on account of a long and threatening drought, which had a melancholy prospect as to the fruits of the ground.

'The same day most of the indulged ministers, being represented as having acted contrary to their instructions, and against the law, Sir John Nisbet the advocate was ordered to have them summoned before the council. Accordingly Mr James Veitch at Mauchlin, Mr John Gemble at Symington, and Mr Hugh Campbell at Muir-kirk, for having married and baptized in other parishes, not administering the Lord's supper upon the same day, admitting persons of other parishes, without certificates from the ministers of them, ordaining several persons to the office of the ministry, without authority from the council, and taking upon them to appoint days of fasting and humiliation; for these heinous crimes were the above ministers solemnly charged to appear and answer. But though these and sundry others were summoned, yet it seems they did not appear. Mr Wodrow thinks that the matter was made up by lord Stair and other well-wishers, as nothing could be laid to their charge, but keeping fasts in their own parishes for the same reason that the council appointed one.

'Soon after this the lord Cardross, instead of having any redress for the outrage that was committed in his house, was most unjustly prosecuted: for, on the 5th of August, the affair of Mr King's rescue was before the council, and sentence was passed against this excellent nobleman for being concerned in that attempt, because some of his servants was there, and finding that his lady had been present at many conventicles. They therefore ordered his lordship to enter the castle of Edinburgh, and remain confined there during his majesty's pleasure, and fined him in 1000 l. sterling, and 1350 l. Scots more, because he did not oblige his tenants to give bond not to keep conventicles.

'Next day one John Sandilands was fined in 300 merks for being at a conventicle near Bathgate in the beginning of the year. Upon the payment of which, and giving bond for 1000 merks if ever he went more to those meetings, he was set at liberty.

'On the same day they took under consideration the garrisons appointed for the houses above mentioned, and passed an act enjoining the major-general to see that the officers be careful to hinder any disorders from being committed by any under them, and to keep good intelligence for preventing all disorderly meetings, and for apprehending the preachers at conventicles, or any ministers who by the council are declared fugitives, &c. One would think that the appointment of such garrisons in the time of peace was unprecedented, illegal, and subversive of the liberty of the subject, especially as this was enacted without any order from the court, or so much as acquainting the king till it was done; besides the charge of maintaining them was a great burden on the country. At length it appeared so illegal and unreasonable, that peaceable gentlemen and subjects should be quartered upon like enemies, that it was found fault with at court; and though the bishops defended it for some time, yet they were obliged to drop it. However, the country groaned under this grievance more or less for several years.

'This same day the acts against conventicles were length-

ened out for three years longer, and a new commiſſion was given to the earls of Winton, Linlithgow and Wigton, lord Balmerino, &c. for ſuppreſſing them and other church irregularities.

At the ſame time the council gave out letters of intercommuning againſt the following miniſters, gentlemen, ladies, and others, whoſe names I here inſert from the letters themſelves, viz. Meſſ. David Williamſon, Alexander Moncrief, William Wilheart, Thomas Hogg, George Johnſton, Robert Gilleſpie, John MacGilligen, John Roſs, Thomas Hogg, William Erſkine, James Donaldſon, Andrew Anderſon, Andrew Mortoun, Donald Cargil, Robert Maxwells elder and younger, and James Fraſer of Brae, Sir John Kirkcaldy of Grange elder,—Hamilton of Kinkell, James his brother, John Geddy in Falkland, John Arnots of Pitgrunzies, elder and younger, Archibald Arnot in Newburgh, Mr Thomas Arnot in Colleſſy, Andrew Arnot merchant in Kirkcaldy, Thomas Shaw elder of Goſpitrie, his ſon David, Henry Schaw in Balgony, George Fleming in Balbuthie, William Sethrum in Lundimill, John Miller in Dirnock, Andrew Kinnier merchant in St Andrews, John Thomſon in Fawfield, —— Govan in Crail, Robert Henderſon in Tarbet, —— Douglas portioner in Colleſſy, Thomas Blythe heritor in Kennoway pariſh, —— Weems, lady Colvil, John Adam bailie of Strathmiglio, James Pryde in Nether Urquhart, David Coventry and John Henderſon in Arlary, Robert Stark in mills of Forth; William Page, John White, and Richard Clidſdale in Cowpar of Fife, lady Balcanquell, colonel Robert Halket, John Smith in Dundee, John Balfour in Lethum, Alexander Walker in Friertoun, George Spence in Fordel, Patrick Melvil in Burnſide, —— Wardlaw heritor in Kirktoun, Colvil, lady Baily in Dinnino pariſh, James Grieve and Andrew Kinnier in St Andrews, James Lothian in Kingſbarns; Mr James Bonnar of Greggſtoun, John Scot in Lathones, lady Collerny, David and Alexander Campbells in Kirkcaldy, William Livingſtone of Greenyards, —— Farquharſon of Shilbrae, James Somervel at the boat of Cardroſs, Harry Dow of Weſterpolder, Mr John King chaplain to the lord Cardroſs, John Dalk portioner of Murdiſtoun, James Muir portioner of Burdiſtoun, lady Pittendreich in Logie pariſh, Robert Fork portioner of Kilpatrick, John Starks elder and younger of Balknock, —— Symer of Brathnes, William Crawford of Powmill, John Lundy of Baſſtard, Mr James Lentron and his ſpouſe, John Collier of Lochgelly, dame Anna Riddel lady Collerny, —— ladies Uathanks elder and younger, John Fairfoul of Kinloch, dame Margaret Farquhar ladyhill, —— Hamilton relict of Francis Galloway of Todihaugh, Simon Alexander feuar in Kirkliſton, and James Wilkie tenant in Cliftonhall. The great crimes for which theſe were intercommuned, were their preaching or hearing at conventicles, or not appearing when ſummoned, when they knew that by appearing they muſt either renounce their principles, or fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of their perſecutors. They choſed therefore to keep out of the way; and now they were intercommuned, not only declared rebels, (that many of them were before) but by theſe letters they were cut off from all ſociety in the kingdom of Scotland; and it was declared, That whoſoever ſhould receive, harbour, or converſe with them, either by word or writing, or any other way, or ſupply them with meat, drink, clothes, or any other of the accommodations or neceſſaries of life, ſhould be purſued with rigour, as guilty with them of the ſame crimes; and all ſheriffs, &c. and their deputes, were ordered to apprehend them wherever they can be found. The reader therefore cannot be ſurpriſed that they quitted their habitations, and wandered about from place to place, not like a ſort of banditti, as biſhop Burnet does wantonly, if not wickedly, ſay, but rather as faithful confeſſors, who being perſecuted in one place fled to another, according to the direction of their great Lord. And as to their falling into a fierce and ſavage temper, as the ſame hiſtorian ſaith, though like might beget like it had been no wonder. However, the moſt that can with truth be ſaid of them is, that they looked upon and repreſented their perſecuters as enemies to God as well as to them, which they had too great reaſon for doing.

On the ſame 6th of Auguſt the council wrote to the earl of Moray to put the laws in execution againſt keepers of conventicles in the ſhire of Elgin and the neighbouring places. There were not many preſbyterian miniſters in the north of the Tay; however there were ſome, as Mr John MacGilligen, Mr Anderſon Mr Fraſer, and Mr Thomas Roſs, who had much of the divine preſence with them, and great ſucceſs attending their miniſtry this ſummer. Mr MacGilligen, with other preſbyterian miniſters in that country, were intercommuned, yet this did not diſcourage them in their work. But, as many ſerious people longed for the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper, ſo, after much pains in preparing them for that ſolemn ordinance, both by public preaching and from houſe to houſe, he adminiſtered that ſacrament in September, at Obſdale, in the houſe of the lady dowager Fowlis. He was aſſiſted by Mr Hugh Anderſon miniſter at Cromarty, and Mr Alexander Fraſer miniſter then at Tyriot, afterwards at Abbotſhall; and ſuch an effuſion of the ſpirit of God was vouchſafed on that occaſion, that, however many in this age may look upon theſe things as enthuſiaſtic, yet the eldeſt Chriſtians there declared they had never been witneſſes to the like. The people ſeemed to be in a tranſport, and ſome were almoſt at that, *Whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell.* And even the hearts of ſtrangers were wrought upon. So that however they were perſecuted by men, yet they were owned by God.

At this communion they were very providentially kept from diſturbance; for the deſign of the ſolemnity taking air, Sir Roderick MacKenzie of Findon, the ſheriff depute, at the inſtigation of the biſhop, ſent a party to apprehend Mr MacGilligen. But when they came to Alnes, the place of his reſidence, where they expected to have found him, they ſpent ſo much time in pillaging his orchard, that the forenoon's ſervice was over before they got to Obſdale, upon which the miniſters retired; and the party not finding Mr MacGilligen, marched off, and thereby gave them an opportunity of meeting again unmoleſted in the afternoon. However, this good man was obliged to abſcond, and we ſhall relate what he ſuffered next year in its proper place.

On the 2d of September the council committed Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to priſon, for refuſing to contribute for the ſupport of the garriſons above mentioned, which he juſtly looked upon as a ſenſible encroachment upon the liberties of the ſubject; and becauſe when a ſentence was paſſed againſt him, he gave in a bill of ſuſpenſion to lord Collingtoun, and took inſtruments upon his refuſal of it; this was conſtructed an high affront to be born with.

Next day all the indulged miniſters in the ſynod of Glaſgow got a charge of horning to pay the ordinary dues to Ludovick Fairfoul clerk to the ſynod, and to Mr David Clunie their burſar. Some paid, others refuſed. The ſame day the council wrote to the king, complaining of Polwart's giving in a bill of ſuſpenſion to the lord Collingtoun, and that they had impriſoned him on that account. On the 15th of October they received his majeſty's anſwer approving of their conduct, and requiring them to declare him incapable of all public truſt, and to ſend him priſoner to Stirling caſtle.

On the 4th of November the Rev. Mr Thomas Roſs, in the ſhire of that name, was apprehended for conventicles, and impriſoned in Tain, and afterwards ſent to the Baſs, where he continued for ſome time with others of his brethren.

Little more occurs during the reſt of this year; only in December the council gave a commiſſion, much of the ſame nature with the former, to the two archbiſhops, and the earls of Seaforth and Dundonald, concerning conventicles, which were the eye-ſore of the prelates. On the 16th of December the council, finding that Mr James Mitchel had endeavoured to make his eſcape, ordered him to be ſecured in a cloſer place in the tolbooth.

I ſhall only obſerve, that, as many in the ſhire of Berwick appeared againſt the arbitrary proceedings of theſe times, ſo the fines levied by the earl of Home in that ſhire, during this year, for non-conformity, amounted to 26,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. Scots; whereof, in the pariſh of Gordon

Gordon alone, 33281. 4 s. Scots. From which the reader may eaſily form a judgment of the vaſt oppreſſion of the people, by the fines impoſed for non conformity and conventicles.

CHAP. XI.

Of Mr Mitchell's torture: the proceedings of the council: the circumſtances of the indulged: the proſecutions for conventicles: the occaſion of the Highland hoſt, and other occurrences to the end of the year 1677.

NOtwithſtanding the letters of intercommuning, and the ſevere penal laws in force, and though the ſoldiers in the garriſons were diligent in haraſſing, robbing, wounding, and impriſoning whom they reckoned haunters of conventicles, yet theſe meetings could not be ſuppreſſed. The miniſters would preach, and the people would hear, being 'in nothing terrified by their adverſaries.' The Lord's ſupper was likewiſe adminiſtered in ſeveral places. Mr John Law, after the revolution one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, diſpenſed that ordinance, in the night time, to a numerous meeting at Kippen, being aſſiſted by Mr Hugh Smith and Mr Matthew Crawford. Mr Alexander Jamiſon and Mr Hugh Smith adminiſtered the ſame ordinance at Haggs near Glaſgow; and at another time Mr Smith adminiſtered it to his own pariſhioners at Eaſtwood, aſſiſted by Meſſ. William Thomſon, John Ray, and Matthew Crawford, which proved ſealing times to many. (Mr Jamiſon died ſome time this year. He had been profeſſor of philoſophy at St Andrews, and had a patent to be profeſſor of divinity, but did not accept, though all knew he was well qualified for it, being a perſon of great piety and learning.) Theſe things much galled the biſhops, wherefore they ſet the managers to work in order to put a ſtop to them. But, to be more particular,

About the beginning of the year 1676, duke Hamilton went to London, where the king was pleaſed to hear ſome of his complaints againſt Lauderdale, in preſence of the duke of York, the earl of Athol, (now made a marquis) and others. The former urged the miſerable circumſtances of many country people, who were fined, confined, baniſhed, &c. for their non-conformity, and all through ill advice and unjuſt repreſentations made to the government. Lauderdale, on the other hand, accuſed Hamilton, and kept his ground, ſo that at length Hamilton left the court. The former thus prevailing, things were carried with a high hand againſt the non-conformiſts.

On the 6th of January, Mr Henry Knox, the epiſcopal miniſter at Dunſcoir, complained, that on the 28th of December laſt, his houſe had been robbed, himſelf and wife beat by ſix or ſeven perſons; and on the 27th the miniſter of Gargunnock complained of a riot of the ſame kind: wherefore the council, on the 10th of February, fined the heritors of Dunſcoir in 5000 merks, and thoſe of Gargunnock in 6000, to be paid to their miniſters. Theſe miniſters would have had no cauſe to complain had they met with a riot once every year.

Mr James Mitchel, having been ſome years in priſon, and having refuſed to own what he had confeſſed before the council, in preſence of the juſticiary, was ordered, this 6th of January, to be examined by torture, concerning his being in the rebellion 1666, as it was called. But ſeeing there was no proof of his being in that inſurrection, and that it had happened near ten years before, it was certainly hard meaſure to torture him for that now. However, a committee was appointed, of which the earl of Linlithgow was preſes. Mr Mitchel was brought before them on the 18th of January, about ſix in the evening. The earl told him, He was brought before them to ſee whether he adhered to his former confeſſion. He anſwered, 'My lord, it is not unknown to your lordſhip and others here preſent, that, by the council's orders, I was remitted to the lords of juſticiary, before whom I received an indictment at my lord advocate's inſtance, whereby I was to be forfeited of life and fortune, although I have no fortune. To which indictment I anſwered at three ſeveral diets. And the laſt diet being deſerted by my lord advocate, I humbly conceive, that, both by the law of the nation, and practice of the court at that time, I ought to have been ſet at liberty; yet notwithſtanding I was, contrary to law, equity and juſtice, returned to priſon; and upon what account I am this night before your lordſhips I know not.' The preſes told him, he was not accuſed before them either upon life or fortune, but called to ſee whether he would own his former confeſſion. Mr Mitchel anſwered, That he knew no crime he was guilty of, and therefore no ſuch confeſſion as was alledged.' Upon this the treaſurer-depute ſaid, The pannel was one of the moſt arrogant cheats, liars and rogues he had known. The priſoner replied, 'My lord, if there were fewer of thoſe perſons you have been ſpeaking of in the nation, I ſhould not now be ſtanding this night at the bar.' After ſome farther diſcourſe he was remanded to priſon.

On the 22d he was again brought before them in the lower council houſe, when a paper was produced, alledged to be ſubſcribed by him; and being interrogated as above, he ſaid, My lord, I acknowledge no ſuch thing. The preſes ſaid, Sir, you ſee what is on the table, (meaning the boots) I will ſee if theſe will make you do it. Mr Mitchel ſaid. 'My lord, I confeſs, that, by torture, you may cauſe me to blaſpheme God, as Saul did compel the ſaints; you may compel me to ſpeak amiſs of your lordſhips, to call my ſelf a thief, a murderer, &c. and then pannel me upon it: but if you ſhall, my lord, put me to it, I here proteſt before God and your lordſhips, that nothing extorted from me by torture ſhall be made uſe of againſt me in judgment, nor have any force in law againſt me or any other perſon. But to be plain with you, my lords, I am ſo much of a chriſtian, that whatever your lordſhips ſhall legally prove againſt me, if it be a truth, I ſhall not deny it; but, on the contrary, I am ſo much of a man, and a Scotſman, that I never held myſelf obliged by the law of God, nature, or the nation, to be my own accuſer.' So that, ſtill perſiſting in refuſing to own the ſubſcription of the paper they had produced, he was again ſent to priſon.

On the 24th of January, the priſoner was brought before the juſtices, and the executioner and the boots were preſented. He was again interrogated, as above; but, perſiſting in his refuſal, he was tied in an elbow chair, and ordered to be tortured with the boots. The executioner aſking which of the legs he ſhould take; the lords ſaid, Any of them. And he taking the left, Mr Mitchel ſaid, Since the judges have not determined, take the beſt of the two, for I freely beſtow it in the cauſe, and ſo he put his right leg in the engine. Upon this the advocate deſired leave to ſpeak a few words, but continued his diſcourſe for a conſiderable time. Upwards of thirty queſtions were propoſed to Mr Mitchel, particularly concerning the affair of Pentland, to ſee if they could find him in a contradiction. But perceiving their deſign, and the wedge pinching the boot, and paining him moſt ſenſibly, he ſpoke as follows. My lords, (not knowing that I ſhall eſcape this torture with my life) I beſeech you to remember what Solomon ſaith, 'He who ſheweth no mercy, ſhall have judgment without mercy.' And if there be any here preſent, as I hope there are few or none, whoſe diſpoſition is ſo eager in purſuing after innocent blood, that nothing elſe than a full draught will ſatisfy them; I ſay, let ſuch remember what is ſpoken Rev. xix. 2. 'For true and righteous,' &c. And now, my lords, I do freely and from my heart forgive you, who are judges ſitting on the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrid work, and alſo thoſe who are vitiating their eyes beholding the ſame; and I do intreat that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg that God may be pleaſed, for his Son Chriſt's ſake, to blot out my ſins and iniquities, and never lay them to my charge here nor hereafter.'

The queſtions being all over, the executioner took down his leg from a cheſt, where it lay all the while in the boot, and thruſting in his ſhelves began his ſtrokes, at each of which they aſked if he had any more to ſay, He anſwered, no more, my lords. There were nine ſtrokes given on the wedge, at the laſt of which he fainted through the extremity of pain; ſo that the executioner cried out, My lords, he is gone, he is gone. Then they commanded to leave off the torture, and, riſing from their ſeats, went away; after which he was carried back

to

to priſon in the chair in which he was tied during the torture. We ſhall hear more of him afterwards.

It is true Mr Mitchel had made a confeſſion upon the promiſe of his life; but the managers having revoked their promite, becauſe he would not adhere to his confeſſion before the lords of juſticiary, and to be his own accuſer, the reader muſt determine how far he was to blame now, in not owning his confeſſion judicially, as they had judicially revoked the condition upon which the confeſſion was made; and to put a man to torture, for finding out things for which they had not the leaſt proof, ſeems to be unprecedented and cruel; and to bring him to a farther trial, after torture appears to be unjuſt.

On the 10th of February ſeveral perſons were fined for being at conventicles, as Durham of Largo, 1200 l. Scots for harbouring Mr John Welſh, and 2500 l. for being at two conventicles where he preached. This was either the ſecond or third time that this gentleman was fined. Edward Gilleſpie was fined in 200 l. R. Richardſon 100 l. Colonel Ker and lady Whiteſlaid 500 merks each, and Meſſrs. Stuart, Stirling, Hamilton, 100 l. Scots a piece; all for being at a houſe conventicle in Edinburgh; and that they might be puniſhed twice for the ſame fault, the magiſtrates were likewaies allowed to fine them for their relief. Such was the juſtice of theſe times!

At this time ſome priſoners in the tolbooth of Stirling met with an uncommon piece of ſeverity. About the end of 1674, fifteen men were impriſoned at Stirling for being at a conventicle; eight of them, by ſome intereſt, got out after 15 months confinement, the other ſeven laid their deplorable caſe before the council. Charles Campbell, one of theſe, was upwards of 60 years of age, John Adam near 70, and ſome of the reſt were under great bodily indiſpoſition: but ſuch were the tender mercies of theſe councellors, that they made a preſent of them to one captain Maitland, an officer in the French ſervice. An order came for this end to the magiſtrates of Stirling, ſigned by Linlithgow, Haltoun and Collingtoun. Accordingly, when every thing was got ready, about midnight, on the 18th of February, the poor men were all (except one John Paterſon who was let out ſome days before as in a dying condition) brought forth without having the leaſt previous notice, and delivered to about 50 foot ſoldiers who carried them off fettered and tied to one another; but ſuch is the ſupport of a good conſcience and a good cauſe, that they all went off with chearfulneſs, leaving their wives and children behind them.

About this time lord Cardroſs ſent up a petition to the king; notwithſtanding his majeſty wrote to the council, the 24th of February, requiring them not to ſet him at liberty till he had made full payment of the fine impoſed upon him. In the ſame letter Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart and lieutenant general Drummond were ordered to be ſet at liberty, only the former was to remain incapable of all public truſt till further orders.

On the firſt of March the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and the biſhops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, were appointed to enquire if all the maſters of the univerſities and colleges had taken the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy according to law. Orders were likeways given for making a ſtrict inquiry, whether all magiſtrates of burghs and other inferior officers had ſigned the declaration, and to proſecute ſuch as had not.

The ſame day a very ſevere proclamation was emitted againſt conventicles, by which the decay of religion and increaſe of profaneneſs is aſcribed to the ſeparation from public worſhip, and the frequency of conventicles. But the truth is, the decay of religion, &c. was chiefly owing to the bad practices of the incumbent clergy, and the want of diſcipline in the eſtabliſhed church, as ſeveral of themſelves have acknowledged; whereas the preaching of the ejected miniſters in private houſes, and in the open fields, had a ſingular tendency to ſuppreſs vice, and turn many to righteouſneſs, and was remarkably bleſſed of God for theſe valuable ends; but every thing that was evil muſt now be attributed to conventicles. By the ſaid proclamation papiſts, according to the cuſtom of the times, were blended with preſbyterians; and magiſtrates were ordered to proſecute them, and apprehend intercommuned perſons and fugitives. However, papiſts were not much ſtartled thereat, for they knew that they had little to fear from the threatnings of this time. What follows was ſtill harder; all preachers who do not attend public worſhip, that is, hear the incumbents at their own pariſh churches, before the firſt of June, were to be puniſhed for non conformity. If this was not perſecution for conſcience ſake, the reader muſt judge what is. All who harboured the intercommuned were made liable to the ſame pains with them, and a reward of 500 merks were ordered to be preſently paid to any who ſhould diſcover ſuch. All inferior judges and magiſtrates were threatened if they did not execute the laws. The fine of 500 merks was impoſed upon each burgh, where a conventicle was kept, beſides the pains mentioned in their bond to the council. It was farther declared, that the heritors ſhall be fined in a year's rent of the houſe where any ſuch meetings ſhould be held; and to encourage informers, a part of this fine was promiſed to them. In ſhort, if any chaplain, ſchoolmaſter, or pedagogue, was entertained without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe, a nobleman was to pay 3000 merks, a gentleman 1200, and a burgeſs 600.

Great were the hardſhips of non conformiſts in England at this time; but nothing could exceed the perſecuting ſpirit the managers of Scotland diſcovered. The ſoldiers were the daily executioners of the laws. And now and then the council ſent ſpecial commiſſions to particular perſons for ſuppreſſing conventicles. Accordingly, on the ſaid firſt of March, a committee was ordered to ſit at Edinburgh, another at Glaſgow, another at Stirling and in Fife, and one for Aberdeen-ſhire, Moray and Roſs. I ſhall have occaſion to relate the proceedings of that at Glaſgow in its proper place; only at this time I obſerve, that a very ſtrict ſearch was made for conventicles and ejected miniſters in Glaſgow and other burghs, and the town of Perth was fined.

The clamour made by the epiſcopal clergy, in the beginning of the year, againſt the indulged miniſters for breaking their confinement and the inſtructions given them by the council, produced a new proclamation, dated the firſt of March, wherein particular notice was taken of the firſt four rules; but the two laſt, relating to their attending on the dioceſan meetings, and paying the dues to the clerk and burſer of the dioceſan ſynod, were omitted. The proclamation concludes thus: 'And whereas it is informed, that the ſaid outed miniſters, indulged as aforeſaid, at leaſt many of them, having violated and contraveened the foreſaid orders and inſtructions (upon which terms they were permitted and indulged to preach and exerciſe the other functions of the miniſtry) whereby many diſorders are occaſioned, the ſaid lords do therefore of new again command and require all theſe indulged miniſters to keep and obſerve the foreſaid orders and inſtructions in time coming, and ſpecially for keeping within the bounds of their own pariſhes, and celebrating the communion upon one and the ſame Lord's day, as they will be anſwerable at their peril. And ordain their preſents to be printed, and copies thereof ſent to the ſeveral miniſters.' And the ſame day, as my author found from the regiſters, the council 'diſcharged the nonconforming miniſters to admit any of the miniſters not licenſed by law to their communions or pulpits, and, if they diſobey, appointed the biſhop of the dioceſe to depoſe them.'

From this additional order, and the clauſe within the parentheſis (upon which terms they were permitted and indulged to preach and exerciſe the other functions of the miniſtry) one would be apt to imagine that this proclamation was intended to divide preſbyterians among themſelves; and it is certain the indulgence proved the occaſion of much diviſion. They who could not comply therewith on account of the eraſtianiſm that run through the whole of it, condemned thoſe who complied, as renouncing preſbyterian principles, becauſe it was ſaid that the obſervation of theſe inſtructions was the terms upon which they were indulged; and therefore when they accepted of the indulgence upon ſuch terms, they conſented to receive their miniſtry, and the free exerciſe of it, on theſe conditions; ſo that, whether they punctually obſerved them afterwards or not, the bargain was eſtabliſhed. And though theſe inſtructions, when firſt given, were not ex-

partly

preſſly ſo called, yet the manner of propoſal was ſuch, as all who would not willingly be enſnared, might have been convinced, that ſo, and no otherwiſe, they were intended, and upon the matter, could bear no other conſtruction. On the other hand, they who had clearneſs to accept of the indulgence, though they could not obſerve the rules and inſtructions given, argued, that they did not look upon theſe as the conditions of their acceptance, but as the impoſitions of the magiſtrate; as the reader will ſee from a petition of the Rev. Mr Thomas Wylie, occaſioned by the above mentioned proclamation, of which I ſhall give the following abbreviate.

Moſt honourable,

'I would moſt willingly have forborn this addreſs, if not conſtrained thereto by your lordſhips late act—The act September 3. 1672, in its complex contrivance, with the other two of the ſame date, were not a little grievous to many, and to me: yet,—looking upon theſe rules in the ſecond act as enjoined *ſub pœna*, I reſolved (having an invitation from the people) thankfully to accept of the permiſſion,—and to anſwer, when challenged, for every breach of the rules, which I ever looked upon as orders, and not as terms, or conſiderations, upon which we were permitted to preach: neither can I look upon them, or any thing in the firſt contrivance, as ſuch; for terms upon which, &c. import a compact between the giver and receiver; but in this matter I knew of no ſuch thing. Your lordſhips only enjoined them,—with certification, as thoſe concerned will be anſwerable; ſo that—there is nothing in all theſe acts ſo much as intimating that your lordſhips intended any conſent or obligation, by way of condition, from the receivers of your offer; but—contented yourſelves with the intimation of your pleaſure with certification.—Your lordſhip's offer being free, the acceptance arbitrary, the rules not enjoined as conditions, but commands *ſub pœna* and the reſolution of miniſters, as to them being either to give a ſatisfying reaſon, or ſuffer with a good conſcience for neglecting them—I and others have been in readineſs, hitherto, to anſwer every one convincingly, who either out of malice were apt to reproach, or out of ſcruple to ſtumble at the leaſt uſe making of the allowance, as if we thereby had involved ourſelves in complying with an approbation of prelacy, eraſtianiſm, the ſupremacy in its full extent, &c. which things to approve were contrary to the known principles of preſbyterians. But now, it being your lordſhips pleaſure to impoſe theſe rules upon us as terms upon which we are permitted and indulged, &c. I confeſs,—though—I do not deny to the king's majeſty his juſt power about matters eccleſiaſtical allowed him by the word of God, and practiſed by the godly reforming kings of Judah, yet I dare not, becauſe of the awe of God upon me, do any thing, as my own proper fact and deed, that will involve me in ſuch approbation and compliances contrary to my conſcience; ſuch as the acceptance of the rules, under the notion of terms upon which, &c. or the obſervance of them impoſed as orders, would do.' Upon this he prayed for the free and full exerciſe of his miniſtry, without any ſtraitening impoſitions.

He alſo drew up another paper, containing ſhort and ſolid reaſons why preſbyterian miniſters could not in their practice fall in with the rules commanded by the council; but, as I have already given an abſtract of the grievances of ſeveral preſbyterian miniſters as to the indulgence, and particularly of Mr John Burnet, I muſt here refer the reader to Mr Wodrow, p. 430 and 431. Some other things relating to the indulged will fall in afterwards.

Mean while the committee at Glaſgow ſat down on the 6th of April. Sir George Maxwell of Nether-pollock and his ſon John, Sir Archibald Stewart of Caſtlemilk, the laird of Dunlop, James Hamilton of Aikenhead, Gabriel Hamilton of Weſtburn, Mr Hugh Corbet of Margray, Mr Nathan Hill of Lambhill, Patrick Hamilton of Neilland, gentlemen; Meſſ. Andrew Mortoun, Hugh Smith, Matthew Crawford and James Wodrow (after the revolution profeſſor of divinity at Glaſgow) miniſters; John Johnſton and Matthew Cunning merchants in Glaſgow, and others, were ſummoned before them, to declare upon oath what conventicles they had been at ſince 1674, what children they had baptized, and whether they had received or harboured intercommuned perſons. The two firſt, thro' the intereſt of ſome of the members, got off without ſwearing. As none of the miniſters and preachers appeared, they were declared rebels, and the ſoldiers had orders to apprehend them where ever they could. The reſt refuſing to ſwear were reputed guilty, and after being fined for as many conventicles as the committee thought fit, were impriſoned at Glaſgow, and from thence ſent to Edinburgh, where they continued in jail for ſome months.

During which time ſeveral occurrences happened. The council met on the 26th of April, when they had a letter from his majeſty, dated the 2d of January, ſignifying his royal pleaſure to take off the reſtraint from the biſhop of Dumblain, and from Meſſ. Turner, Robertſon, Cant and Hamilton, ordering the council to act accordingly; with which they complied.

At the ſame meeting, the better to ſuppreſs conventicles, the council extended their proclamation of the 8th of April 1669, to the whole kingdom, whereby every heritor, on whoſe eſtate any conventicle ſhould be held, was to be fined in 50 l. ſterling. However, it was eaſy for the managers to overlook themſelves in this caſe, and they would doubtleſs take care of that.

Next day the council ordered liſts of the intercommuned perſons, and of ſuch as were denounced and declared fugitives, to be tranſmitted to all ſheriffs and magiſtrates of burghs, in order to their being apprehended. And, being informed of ſome conventicles in the ſhire of Ayr, they appointed the earl of Dumfries, and others, to inquire thereinto, and to puniſh the guilty.

The indulged miniſters in the dioceſan ſynod of Glaſgow, having got a charge of horning to pay the ordinary dues to their clerk and burſar, they all made payment, except Meſſ. Anthony Schaw, Alexander Wedderburn, Ralph Roger, George Ramſay, John Spalding, John Bell, Robert Boyd, John Wallace, Robert Bell, William Tullidaff, William Maitland, Andrew Hutcheſon, Thomas Wylie and Gabriel Cuningham. Wherefore Fairfoul the clerk got a horning againſt them, and on the firſt of June gave them warning that he was to diſtreſs them. They repreſented their caſe in a petition to the council; but, though no anſwer is recorded, yet it ſeems the matter was dropt.

As the indulgence was very diſſatisfying to many conſcientious people, ſo, about this time, ſome young preachers began at their deſire to preach, on the Lord's day, in the borders of ſome of the pariſhes of the indulged, which theſe laſt apprehended was unneceſſary, ſince they conſtantly preached themſelves, and that it would tend to divide and diſtract the people; but the truth is, the indulgence itſelf, and the accepting of it, was the occaſion of the diviſions that afterwards broke out.

On the fifth of June the council received the reports from their commiſſioners for trying conventicles in Aberdeen-ſhire, Glaſgow, &c. and found that the lady Polmais in Stirling-ſhire had been before them, and declared upon her honour that ſhe was free from what they charged her with; but, refuſing to ſwear to their queſtions, had committed her caſe to the council. The laird of Balgony and his lady, with lady Kennet, were ordered to be denounced for not appearing before theſe commiſſioners. Mr Hugh Campbell at Muirkirk was ordered to be ſummoned before the council for preaching without a preſentation; and the magiſtrates of Glaſgow were appointed to produce Mr Alexander Gordon, or his ſureties, for holding a conventicle there.

The ſame day the council referred the proceſſes againſt Nether-pollock, Torrence and Daldowie, for keeping of conventicles, to the commiſſion for public affairs.

About the middle of this month the following accident produced ſome remarkable alterations. While Mr James Kirkton (before the reſtoration miniſter at Martin, and miniſter in Edinburgh after the revolution) was walking in the ſtreet of Edinburgh, he was civilly accoſted by one captain Carſtairs, together with James Scot of Tullichaw, and a footman. As Mr Kirkton was going aſide with Carſtairs, he aſked Scot who he was; to which Scot replied with ſilence and ſtaring; whereby Kirkton found he was trepanned, and a priſoner. Carſtairs brought him to the houſe of one Alexander a meſſenger, and, ſending off Scot

and his footman, carried him into a dark room. Then Kirkton asked what he meant. Carstairs replied, Sir, you owe me money. Mr Kirkton asked whom he took him for. Carstairs said John Wardlaw. Kirkton undeceived him, and ingenuously told him who he was; to that the other said, he had nothing to say to him.

After they had been together about half an hour, Mr Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, a relation of Kirkton's, together with Andrew Stevenson and Patrick Johnston merchants in Edinburgh, being informed of Mr Kirkton's circumstances, came to the door, and called to Carstairs to open, asking what he had to do with a man in a dark dungeon. Carstairs refused to open the door, and drew out a pocket pistol. Whereupon Kirkton grasped his adversary, and, in the struggle, both fell on the ground, and Kirkton called out, murder! Then Jerviswood and the two that were with him burst open the door, and parted them, without offering any violence to Carstairs, and rescued their friend.

Upon the misrepresentation of this affair to lord Halton by Carstairs and Scot, a council was immediately called; to whom Halton told that some of their public officers had catched a fanatic minister, but that he had been tumultuously rescued. Jerviswood was brought before them, and gave them a faithful account of the affair, so that the council would have dropt it, had not Sharp said, If Carstairs was not supported, and Jerviswood made an example of, there would be no prosecuting of the fanatics: and therefore the next council-day, June 22. Jerviswood was fined in 500 l. sterling, and kept four months in prison before he was released. He paid 2000 merks of his fine to Carstairs, and with no small difficulty was forgiven the rest. The council referred Andrew Stevenson and Patrick Johnston to the committee for public affairs, by whom they were fined, the former in 1000 l. Scots, and the latter in 1000 merks, and ordered to remain in prison till payment.

This was reckoned great injustice; for though it was pretended that Carstairs was a commissioned officer, and had produced his commission for apprehending ejected ministers, &c. at the council-board: yet he produced no warrant to Jerviswood and the rest when they rescued Mr Kirkton. Bishop Burnet tells us, 'That Bailie asked him what warrant he had to use him as he did; and that Carstairs said he had a warrant to carry him to prison, but refused to shew it.—And after he had made Kirkton go out, he said he was resolved to pursue Carstairs for this riot; but says Burnet, before the next council-day, a warrant for committing Kirkton, and six or seven more, was signed by nine privy-counsellors, but antedated. Lord Athol told the doctor, that he was one who signed it.' So that, as Mr Wodrow justly observes, the managers went upon a base forgery.

Mean while Mr Kirkton sent a true narrative to the duchess of Lauderdale. When the duke saw it he seemed surprised, and owned he had never met with two such different accounts, as that sent by Halton and this by Mr Kirkton. Soon after Mr Kirkton's letter and information were sent to the council. Halton was enraged at this, and misrepresented all who had spoke in favour of Jerviswood, as if they had agreed to subvert lawful authority, and were combined against the king, and for the fanatics. Accordingly a new nomination of the council came down, and all who would not submit to Halton and the primate were left out; as duke Hamilton, who had spoke much in defence of Jerviswood, the lord privy seal, the earl of Kincardin, the earl of Dundonald, and others. Kincardin and a few more went to court, and laid the affair before the king, but without any effect.

For, on the 20th of July, a new commission of council was sent down, wherein the archbishop of St Andrews was appointed to preside in absence of the chancellor. And the same day the two archbishops, the lord privy seal, the earls of Argyll, Mar, Moray, Linlithgow, &c. or any three of them, were appointed their committee for public affairs, and received commission and authority to meet when and where they pleased, and to take trial of conventicles, invasions of pulpits, &c. with power to summon, apprehend, bring under bond, and give what orders they thought proper to the forces, sheriffs, and other magistrates, and to consider the condition of prisoners, and to do all things necessary for his majesty's service, and make report to the council.

And now prelacy was at the height, for the two archbishops, with any third creature, had in a manner the whole management put into their hands. What a low pass must religion and liberty have been in, when the primate and other two in his chamber, might give what orders they had a mind?

The same day the council had before them several who had been imprisoned by the committee at Glasgow, and fined them as follows, viz. James Hamilton of Aikenhead 1000 l. Scots; Mr Hugh Corbet of Hargray, Mr Ninian Hill of Lambhill, and Gabriel Hamilton of Westburn 1000 merks each; Patrick Hamilton of Neilsland 300 l. Matthew Cumming 200 l. What came of the other, formerly mentioned, is not known: but as Alexander Wardrop of Dalmarnock gave his oath, and confessed his being at one conventicle, he was fined only in 50 merks; and they were all ordered to remain in prison till they paid their fines, which they quickly did.

The committee of council ordered all sheriffs, &c. to summon before them all who should be informed against by the conforming clergy, and to fine and imprison them, and give an account of their diligence to the council. Their under officers summoned multitudes; but people, finding they must give their oath *super inquirendis*, did not appear, and were therefore declared fugitives, and afterwards intercommuned. This obliged many to wander from place to place. However, God remarkably appeared for them, raised up friends to supply their necessities, and support them in their distresses. Which dispersing of ministers and people tended greatly to the spreading of the gospel. They who formerly preached to a few in private houses, now preached to multitudes in the fields, with great success, though at the utmost hazard. And as the vicious lives of most of the prelatical clergy had deaded many in their wickedness, so the faithfulness, integrity and holy zeal of these confessors were convincing proofs that there was a reality in religion, especially considering the remarkable judgments that now and then fell upon their merciless persecutors.

Such was the persecuting spirit that raged at this time, that it reached to places out of his majesty's dominions; for, by the influence of Sharp, the king was prevailed with to write to the states general of the united provinces, to remove James Wallace, Mess. Robert MacWard and John Brown out of their provinces. It is likely this James Wallace was the colonel of that name who was engaged at Pentland. But the states, being convinced of the unreasonableness of this demand, especially as Mess. MacWard and Brown had complied with the sentence passed upon them in the years 1661 and 1662, would not comply with it; and gave notice to lord Benningen their ambassador in England, to communicate their resolution in the most prudent way he could. The curious reader may see a translation of the worthy resolution of the states, dated the 31st of July, in Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 434, 435.

Though our managers could not obtain their ends abroad, yet they increased the persecution at home; for, on the third of August, the council intercommuned Mr James Kirkton, Alexr. Lenox, John Rae, David Hume, Edmund Jamison, Robert Lockhart, John Welwood, John Weir, Andrew Donaldson, Thomas MacGill, James Webster, burn, Thomas Douglas, Fran. Irvine, Alex. Bertram, and Alexander Wilson; and renewed their commission for suppressing conventicles in the northern shires, with a particular eye to Banff. They likewise past sentence in absence against above 40 in Fife, and about 30 or 40 more in Churnside and the country adjacent.

The same day Mr Alexander Forester was, by the council, ordered to the Bass, and Mr William Erskine and the laird of Bedlane, both in Stirling castle, to Dunbarton. At the same meeting, Mr Robert Steedman at Carsbie, Mr George Haliburton at Dalgety, and Mr James Dunn of the family of Dalhousie, were denounced for keeping conventicles, as were Alexander Gordon of Knockbrex, Henry MacCulloch of Barnholm, — Hay, of Arrochar, the old lady Monrieth, Robert MacClellan of Balmaghie, Patrick Vance of Drumblair, all in Galloway; Thomas Blak-

Blackwell and others, in Glaſgow, were denounced for alledged harbouring of intercommuned perſons; and Mr Douglas of Cavers was ſummoned to appear for keeping Mr James Osburn, as his chaplain, without the biſhop's licence, and not appearing they were both denounced and outlawed.

Whether this was the Mr Osburn, who was, after the revolution, profeſſor of divinity in the Marſhal-college of Aberdeen, I know not; but I was aſſured by his ſon, the late principal of that univerſity, that he was a very great ſufferer in this period; but, ſuch was his modeſty, he declined ſpeaking on that ſubject; ſo that the particulars are not known.

The ſame day Kerſland was ſent priſoner, along with Jerviſwood, to Stirling caſtle, where he continued ſome time. From thence he was ſent back to Dumbarton, and lay there till October 1677. The reader may now ſee how much buſineſs was tranſacted in one day; but, as the perſons were moſtly abſent, and the committee for public affairs had prepared every thing for voting, proceſſes could not be tedious.

On the ſixth of September, Robert Andrew in Culroſs was fined in 50 l. ſterling for keeping conventicles. And, on the 11th of October, the council being informed that Mr John MacGilligen, was apprehended in Moray, ordered him to be brought to the priſon of Edinburgh. The ſufferings of this valuable perſon, ſince the eſtabliſhment of prelacy were many. And the manner of his being apprehended was remarkable. Being called to baptize a child of his dear brother Mr Hugh Anderſon, he ſtayed at his houſe all night. And that night, at three different times, he dreamed that there were three men come to the houſe to apprehend him. Though he was no obſerver of dreams, yet the repetition of the ſame thing made him thoughtful. He committed his caſe to God, and had ſcarce got up and was dreſſed, when three of Seaforth's ſervants came and ſeized him, and carried him to Fortroſe, where he was ſome time in priſon, and, in a ſpeech to the provoſt, bore an excellent teſtimony againſt prelacy.

From thence he was ſent to Nairn; and about the beginning of February he and Mr Hog were brought up to Edinburgh, where Mr Hog was impriſoned, but Mr MacGilligen was ſent to the Baſs, where, for ſome time, he was not allowed a ſervant to make his bed, being forced to do all theſe ſervile offices for himſelf. But he has left it on record, that the upper ſprings flowed liberally and ſweetly, when the nether ſprings were imbittered to him. And though, through the intereſt of lord MacLeod, he had afterwards ſome more liberty, yet here he contracted a gravel which put an end to all his ſorrows.

Mr William Bell and Robert Dick were, upon the 12th of October, both ſent to the Baſs for a field-conventicle near Pentland hills. And, on the 6th of November, the council, being informed that Mr Patrick Hamilton, brother to the laird of Halcraig, had preached in a private houſe at Edinburgh, fined Mrs Mary Hepburn, lady Saltoun, in 200 l. Scots, and her daughter Mrs Mary Lidingtoun in 200 merks, for being preſent; and ſent Mary Baldine and Beſſie Muir to priſon, till they ſhould find bail for 1000 merks each to remove from the town of Edinburgh and ſix miles round it. At the ſame ſederunt they releaſed Mr Andrew Kennedy of Clowburn, upon a bond of 10,000 merks to appear when called, though nothing criminal could be proved againſt him.

And ſuch was the zeal of the managers, that, on the 30th of November, the council fined James Dunlop of Houſtill in Renfrew ſhire, in the ſum of 1000 merks, for neglecting his duty in ſuppreſſing conventicles, and declared him incapable of acting any more as bailie-depute of the regality of Glaſgow. Though nothing could be laid to his charge, except that he could not keep pace with the prelates in perſecuting thoſe who heard the goſpel. However, he was afterwards reſtored to his office, but, being unacceptable to the archbiſhop and others, he did not long continue in it.

On the 7th of December Mr John Law, late miniſter at Campſie, being called and not appearing, was ordered to be denounced. He was charged for keeping conventicles, handling pulpits, and being concerned in ordaining perſons for the miniſtry. Two days after this the town of Edinburgh was fined in 50 l. ſterling for a conventicle lately held there. I ſhall now end the tranſactions of this year with an account of ſome who ſuffered, but the particular dates I know not.

For ſeveral years the Rev. Mr Andrew Donaldſon, late miniſter at Dalgety, continued to preach in a gentleman's houſe in the country, till, through the inſtigation of the prelates, he was intercommuned on the 3d of Auguſt this year. Although he was now old and infirm, and did not preach except ſometimes on the Sabbath evening to his own family, and a few others who came to hear him, yet for this cauſe, a party of ſoldiers came one night and carried him out of his bed to the priſon of Linlithgow, where he continued more than a year. The commander of the party, by whom he was apprehended, died under great horror of conſcience for the part he acted in this matter. In the months of April or May 1679, he gave the earl of Argyll warning of his after ſufferings and death, as the noble peer told ſeveral in the caſtle of Edinburgh a few days before his martyrdom. Mr Donaldſon continued under trouble till the year 1687.

Gilbert Macilwraith of Dinmurchie, a gentleman of a moderate eſtate in the ſhire of Ayr, was this year intercommuned merely for not appearing. In the year 1680 he was forfeited with many others in abſence, and the gift of his eſtate and moveables was made over to the earl of Glencairn. His wife and children were very rudely treated, being expelled their houſe with nothing but their clothes on their back, and a child in the craddle. All this and much more was proved before the committee of parliament after the revolution.

In the year 1677 things grew ſtill worſe. Meſſ. John Welſh, Gabriel Semple, Samuel Arnot and John Scot of Hawick, having laſt year been obliged to retire to England, they were very uſeful in Cumberland and Northumberland, reclaiming ſinners, and inſtructing many who ſcarcely had the goſpel ever preached among them before. Some went alſo to the north of Ireland, where they were of great ſervice.

In the beginning of this year a great number of preſbyterian miniſters, indulged and not indulged, aſſembled at Edinburgh, and Mr Ralph Roger was choſen their moderator. Some, ſuch as the Rev. Mr MacWard, looked upon this as an eraſtian meeting, ſince ſeveral of the indulged were members of it, and ſince the motion made by the Rev. Mr Blackadder was treated in a manner with contempt; for, when he propoſed that they ſhould firſt ſet ſome days apart for faſting and humiliation on account of their defections, ſome cried out, *Diviſve, diviſve*, and others, *Come, let us unite*. Mr Welwood, Mr Cameron, and a third, were called before this meeting for preaching ſeparation from the actually indulged; but they declined them, as not a lawfully conſtitute and qualified judicatory. Be theſe things as they will, the miniſters thus aſſembled did not take upon them the authority of a general aſſembly; but gave it as their opinion that the ſentences inflicted on the proteſtors 1661, ſhould be reverſed, that the indulged and not indulged ſhould preach with one another without diſtinction, and that the indulged ſhould not confine themſelves only to their own pulpits. They had likewiſe a good deal of debate concerning indefinite ordination, whether, eſpecially in the perſecuted ſtate of the church, miniſters might not be ordained, without any proſpect of a ſettlement among a particular congregation; but they came to no reſolution.

Conventicles ſtill abounded notwithſtanding the ſanguinary laws in force. Mr Welſh, &c. returned to the ſouth and weſt in ſpring. The ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was adminiſtered in the fields near the water of Girvan in Ayr-ſhire, where thouſands were preſent, and great ſucceſs attended the preaching of the goſpel on that occaſion.

As a price was ſet upon Mr Welſh's head, he ſtill travelled about with ſome of his friends armed in their own defence. The conforming clergy magnified theſe meetings, as if the whole of the preſbyterians were in arms; and the biſhops gave out that an inſurrection was intended, notwithſtanding ſuch a thing was far from any of their thoughts.

On the 6th of January a letter came from the king to the

the council, making void all the commiſſions about the militia formerly granted to duke Hamilton, which no doubt they carefully intimated to him.

On the 28th Mr James Fraſer of Brae was apprehended about ten at night, when engaged in family worſhip, and carried directly to priſon. He had his ſhare of ſufferings during the preceding years, was one of thoſe who had been intercommuned about two years before, though none whom he valued ever ſhunned his company for that. He was next day brought before a committee of council, but, as he himſelf relates it, was charged with no crime, but only examined, and verbally accuſed as a ſeditious perſon, who did rend the church of Chriſt. That the reader may have a ſpecimen of their enſnaring proceedings, I ſhall mention a few of their queſtions, with his anſwers. *Qu.* 'Did you ever preach in the fields? *Anſ.* Your lordſhip knows, that that, according to your law, is criminal; and I am not obliged to be my own accuſer. It is enough that my throat be cut, though I do it not with my own hands. If you have a mind to ſtage me on that, bring my accuſers, and then proceed as your lordſhip thinks fit. *Biſhop.* Though theſe ſhifts be taken from others, yet they muſt not, Sir, be taken ſo from a man of parts. *Dundonald.* Sir, you would gain the good-will of the committee by being ingenuous and free. I aſſure you none of us have any ill will at you, or intend to take any advantage of you, or of any of your party, from any thing you ſay. *Anſ.* I thank your lordſhip. *Halton.* Did you ever preach at Linlithgow? *Anſ.* It may be I have. *Biſhop.* Yes, Sir, you have, and in the fields there too, and that to great conventicles. *Anſ.* I deſire that may be proved.' He was likewiſe interrogate as to his principles concerning government, and frankly owned his averſion to prelacy; but, ſays he, 'As to my loyalty, I would not care much though all ſaw what was in my heart anent it.' In ſhort, nothing was proved againſt him. Nevertheleſs he was, after examination, remanded to priſon. His pockets were ſearched for letters, &c. and all company diſcharged. But he remarks, that 'the Lord was a light round about him, and him they could not ſhut out.' Next morning he was wakened by one of the jailors, and ordered to make ready to go immediately to the Baſs, for ſo the council had appointed. Accordingly he and Mr James Mitchel who had endured the torture were conducted thither by a party of 12 horſe and 30 foot. He remained there two years and a half. But after the affair of Bothwel the king granted an indemnity, and ordered that all priſoners for non conformity, who had not been in that riſing, might be ſet at liberty. Accordingly, in July 1679, he and other miniſters were brought from the Baſs to the priſon of Edinburgh, and in 24 hours time, upon finding bail for 8000 l. ſterling to appear when called, was ſet at liberty. Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder was bail for Mr Fraſer in the ſum of 5000 merks Scots; nevertheleſs he continued in a wandering condition till November 1681, when we ſhall meet him again.

Mr Andrew Foreſter, having been lately apprehended in Fife, was upon the 8th brought before the council, and ordered to be kept cloſe priſoner in Edinburgh. There had been a meeting of about 50 or 60 of the ejected miniſters on the 20th of May 1676 to whom he was clerk. When he was taken, their minutes were found about him, and upon his refuſing to relate the particular circumſtances of it, he was impriſoned as above.

The ſame day Scot of Pitlochie was ſent to the Baſs, and Meſſ. Thomas Blackwell, William Stirling and Robert Fork were ordered to be brought in priſoners to Edinburgh. An information was given to the government, after the revolution, that Mr Blackwell was committed to priſon 1677 for conventicles, when under a moſt violent fit of the gravel. However, one night, the door being open, and the jailor drunk, he and William Stirling a fellow-priſoner got out for which the magiſtrates of Glaſgow were fined in 10,000 merks, but the moſt of it was remitted after the indemnity 1679. Mr Blackwell was purſued by thoſe who were bail for the jailor, and again committed to priſon, where he continued for a long time much afflicted with the gravel and was obliged to tranſact for 7000 merks to his purſuers, the greateſt part of which he paid, though William Stirling was not at all purſued.

This year the excellent lord Cardroſs ſuffered further hardſhips. However, on the 8th of February, he was permitted to go out of priſon till the 18th on account of his lady's indiſpoſition.

On the 13th the council gave a commiſſion to lord Maxwell a papiſt, to apprehend preſbyterian miniſters and others, and to levy 5000 merks of fines lately impoſed on the pariſh of Dunſcoir for a riot. Such was their zeal againſt popery! On the 22d Robert Blac and William Gray of Colroſs were ſeverely fined for conventicles. And on the 1ſt of March the council wrote to the earl of Strafforth, ſeverely reprimanding him for having granted a warrant to the ſheriff of Nairn to give ſome liberty to Mr MacGilligen; for they had been informed that that ſheriff had, for ſome time before he was ordered to apprehend Mr MacGilligen kept him as a chaplain, and ſuffered him to preach and keep conventicles. The ſame day they allowed lord Cardroſs to go about his affairs, upon a bond of 1000 l. ſterling, for every offence committed by him or his lady, which we ſhall find was afterwards rigorouſly exacted.

Great care was taken at this time to have the youth educated to their mind. Accordingly, on the 6th of March the council made an act diſcharging all ſtudents from being admitted to academical degrees, unleſs they took the oath of allegiance and declaration; and ſignifying that the maſters ſhould be deprived if they conferred any degrees upon other terms. The ſame day letters were ordered to be ſent to the ſheriffs, bailies of regalities, &c. to encourage them in proſecuting thoſe who went to conventicles, by informing them that they were to have the fines of all below heritors for their own uſe. They likewiſe appointed the earls of Linlithgow and Wintoun, the lords Elphinſton and Belhaven; the treaſurer-depute, the advocate, and lord Collingtoun, or any three of them, to be the committee for public affairs.

The biſhops being, it ſeems, diſpleaſed that many went from Edinburgh to Dalmenie to hear Mr Alexander Hamilton the indulged miniſter of that place, the council, on the 7th of March, removed him to Delſerf. The compliances of ſome of the indulged gave offence to many, being judged inconſiſtent with preſbyterian principles.

On the 4th of April, the council, in a letter to Lauderdale, complained of the increaſe of conventicles, and that, when the preacher or hearers were proſecuted, they repaired to England; and therefore earneſtly begging that his majeſty would provide a remedy for this evil.

On the 2d of May letters were ſent, by order of the council, to many of the royal burghs, to be more careful in ſuppreſſing of conventicles; and the ſame day Robert Bennet of Cheſters was brought before them for being at a field-meeting, where they alledged the king's forces were reſiſted; and the ſoldiers who apprehended him and Mr Blackwell were allowed 10 l. ſterling out of the fines for each of them. Orders were likewiſe ſent to colonel Borthwick, to place guards at the gates of the city of Glaſgow on the Sabbath day, to prevent people from going thence to theſe meetings: nay, they diſcharged all the ejected miniſters, who did not enter into their confinement 1672, from entering into any churches, declaring that, for the future, they would indulge no more. This doubtleſs was very acceptable to the prelates.

Next day, May 3d the earl of Dumfries repreſented to the council, that Mr William MacMillan of Caldow, in the pariſh of Balmaclellan in Galloway, had, for ſome time, been impriſoned at Dumfries for non-conformity, and prayed that he might be let out and confined to the bounds of his own pariſh, which was complied with. This excellent perſon, after the eſtabliſhment of prelacy, was greatly perſecuted by Mr Moir the epiſcopal miniſter and Sir James Turner, ſo that he was obliged to leave his mother's family, diſperſe his own, and live like a fugitive the beſt way he could. Though he was not at Pentland, yet Sir William Bannantyne quartered his men on his family, detained him and ſeveral other priſoners in the houſe of Earlſtoun. His houſe was ſpoiled, his furniture ſeized, tho' he had given a bond containing a penalty of 1000 l. to anſwer the council, or juſticiary, for any thing that could be laid to his charge. This gentleman went frequently to Ireland, till at laſt he was licenſed to preach 1673 by the

the preſbyterian miniſters of the county of Down. When engaged in this work, he was informed againſt by the prelates and the earl of Nithſdale, who ſent two of his militia troop, with ſome other violent papiſts, who apprehended and carried him priſoner, firſt to Kirkcudbright, and then to Dumfries, where, without any accuſation, he was continued priſoner 35 months without intermiſſion, to the great prejudice of his health.

On the ſame 3d of May Mr James Drummond was ordered to be brought to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, becauſe when formerly ſet at liberty, he engaged not to keep conventicles, and yet was taken preaching; and the committee for public affairs, in their report to the council, gave it as their opinion, that he ſhould be ſent to the Baſs. My author obſerves, that, if he made ſuch a promiſe, he was almoſt the only preſbyterian miniſter that did ſo at this time; that they all gave bond to appear when called, but none of them would engage not to preach.

The 28th of June the committee for public affairs reported to the council their proceedings againſt the preſbyterian miniſters in their hands. Mr Wodrow has inſerted their report at large, Vol. I. p. 447, &c to which I muſt refer the reader. The ſame day the council fined Mr Bennet of Cheſters in 400 merks for conventicles, and for hearing and converſing with Mr Welſh, and ordered him to remain in the Baſs till payment: they likewiſe fined Adam Stobie of Luſcar in 3000 merks, and after he paid the fine he was baniſhed the kingdom: and the ſame day John Anderſon of Dowhill younger (ſeveral times provoſt of Glaſgow after the revolution) was brought before the committee for public affairs, and accuſed for being at many conventicles, and for a ſeries of non conformity, and refuſing to ſwear was reputed guilty, and, becauſe he would not hear his pariſh miniſter, was fined in 500 l. ſterling, and ordered to ly in priſon at Edinburgh till he paid it. He remained there till the beginning of October, when he was releaſed upon his paying 2000 merks.

On the 19th of July the council gave a commiſſion to Sir William Murray of Stanhope, and to ſome officers of the militia, to diſperſe conventicles in the ſhire of Peebles, and the ſame day Mr Robert Trail, ſon to Mr Robert Trail miniſter at Edinburgh, was brought before the council, and acknowledged that he had kept houſe-conventicles. But being aſked, if he had preached at field conventicles, he referred that to proof, becauſe the law made it capital. He owned he had converſed with Mr Welſh when on the Engliſh border, and that he was ordained to the miniſtry by Preſbyterian miniſters at London 1670. But refuſing to clear himſelf by oath, he was therefore ſent to the Baſs. Major Johnſton got 1000 l. Scots for apprehending him. This Mr Trail was afterwards an uſeful miniſter to a congregation of diſſenters in London. His ſermons on the Throne of grace, the Lord's prayer, and John xvii. 24. are much eſteemed by many.

On the 24th of July Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, for not obliging his tenants to ſubſcribe the bond, was fined in 1200 l Scots: and the ſame day they made an act ordering heritors to be ſummoned for conventicles as well as tenants, in order to be made liable for their fines, if it ſhould appear they had not obliged them to ſubſcribe the bond, as required by the proclamation the 18th June 1674, which put multitudes of gentlemen to a great deal of trouble. Accordingly James Smith of Tullochſhaugh, and many heritors in the ſhires of Lanerk and Renfrew, were charged to appear before the council on the 7th of Auguſt, to be examined as to their being at conventicles, their neglecting to take bond of their tenants, and to give their oath upon theſe articles, otherways to be accounted guilty. The ſummons to Tullochſhaugh was dated the 20th of July, two days after the council granted the priſoners in the Baſs liberty to walk every where above the walls, except Mr James Mitchel, who was ordered to be kept cloſely confined.

But, before I proceed to relate what immediately followed upon theſe proceedings, it ſeems proper to obſerve, that, either in June or July this year, the duke and dutcheſs of Lauderdale came down to Scotland, and that one of the dutcheſs's daughters, by her firſt huſband, was married to the lord Lorn, afterwards the firſt duke of Argyll. The other was deſigned for the marquis of Athol's eldeſt ſon, but that did not take effect.

The preſbyterian miniſters in Glaſgow, Paiſley, Irvine, and Hamilton, judging it proper to addreſs his grace, pitched upon Mr Matthew Crawford to go to Edinburgh to conſult with Mr John Carſtairs. A meeting of miniſters there approving the motion, employed Mr Anthony Murray, a relation of the dutcheſs of Lauderdale. He got acceſs to the duke, and humbly entreated his grace to interpoſe with the king for taking off the letters of intercommuning laid on ſo many miniſters, and releaſing their brethren in the Baſs and other places, and that they might have liberty to meet for drawing up a ſupplication to the king's majeſty. The duke told him, that he was ready to do all the ſervice he could to him, but would grant no favour to that party, being (as he ſaid) unworthy of any. From this the miniſter concluded, that evil was determined againſt them; however, next council-day, when ſeveral lords repreſented that the preſſing of the bond would ruin their tenants and lay their lands waſte, the duke began to talk pretty openly of a third indulgence, and ſoon ſignified his inclinations to ſundry preſbyterian miniſters by lord Melvil. But when the two archbiſhops complained of this to the duke, it is ſaid he told them, that he intended no liberty to the preſbyterians at all; only it was convenient to keep them in hopes till an army was raiſed to ſuppreſs them, which was now in agitation.

On the 2d of Auguſt John Cuningham of Bedlane was releaſed from his confinement, upon giving bond and ſecurity to re-enter when called. Then the council emitted a new proclamation, by which all heritors, wadſetters, and liferenters, were required to engage themſelves by bond, not only for themſelves and families, but for all that lived under them, that they ſhould not keep or be preſent at any conventicle, or baptize or marry with ejected miniſters, under the higheſt penalties contained in the former acts. See Wodrow's appendix, No. 79.

The ſame day lord Cardroſs was ſummoned to appear on the 7th of Auguſt, before the council, for two irregular baptiſms, two of his children having been baptized by perſons who were neither his own pariſh miniſters, nor licenſed by the council. His lordſhip gave them a plain repreſentation of the caſe, acknowledging that, during his long confinement, he had a child born in the town of Edinburgh; and that, not being permitted either to attend his lady in her labour, or diſcharge the other duties relating to the child, he was not in a capacity to conform to the act of parliament in that caſe; he only knew that the child was truly and Chriſtianly baptized, but never inquired by what miniſter it was done. Notwithſtanding whereof Cardroſs was fined in half a-year's valued rent.

The ſame 7th of Auguſt the lady Kinnel was fined in 5000 merks, and the lady Pitlochie in 1000, for being at conventicles. And, to render the ends of the laſt mentioned proclamation the more effectual, the council, on the ſame day, erected a kind of high commiſſion, authoriſing ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen to put the laws againſt conventicles and other diſorders in execution. The commiſſioners had certain bounds aſſigned them. The lord treaſurer was appointed for the ſhire of Edinburgh, —— for Linlithgow, the marquis of Athole for Perth, the earle of Hume for Merſe and Teviotdale, &c. They were to inform themſelves of all perſons within the bounds aſſigned them, who withdrew from public ordinances, went to houſe or field conventicles; of all diſorderly baptiſms and marriages, &c. and report their diligence once every three months to the council.

When the laſt proclamation and bond came weſt, it much alarmed the noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors; for they reckoned it the hardeſt thing that could be, that they ſhould oblige themſelves for thoſe that were not in their power, and be required to do what was impoſſible; and alledged, that many of the counſellors could not ſafely bind themſelves for their own families, and therefore how could country gentlemen be bound for multitudes under ſevere penalties?

Upon this a conſiderable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors of the ſhire of Ayr met, and, having choſen the earl of Loudon preſes, agreed upon a letter to the council, excuſing themſelves for refuſing a bond which they could not keep, and propoſing another expedient for ſecuring the peace of the country, even the granting a farther

farther liberty to preſbyterians. This was taken ſo ill by the managers, that the excellent nobleman who ſigned the letter was never more in favour; ſo that, after enduring ſundry hardſhips, he left his native country, and died at Leyden.

The proclamation met with no better treatment in Clidſdale. Duke Hamilton was no friend to it, and the heritors of Lanark unanimouſly agreed to refuſe the bond. This oppoſition a little ſoftened the ſevere inſtructions and commiſſions at the council's meeting in October, when they made an act agreeable to the report then given in by the committee for public affairs, 'That if any perſon that is ſummoned be ready to ſwear, or pay his fine, he ſhall not be troubled with bonds, or other engagements, ſince the conſtant puniſhment of tranſgreſſors will ſupply the neceſſity of bonds, and ſince the law itſelf is the ſtrongeſt bond that can be exacted of any man,' &c. However, theſe continued but a very ſhort while.

On the 10th of Auguſt, according to the author of the hiſtory of indulgence, there was a proclamation, in which it is declared, that, ſince divers of the indulged miniſters had neglected their inſtructions given them by the council, all heritors, &c. were diſcharged from paying any part of their ſtipend for the year 1677, and in time coming, without a ſpecial order and warrant from the council. However, at this time many indulged miniſters were ſummoned to appear before the council, but there were few or none who appeared. Mr James Currie was before them on the 7th, and being accuſed for being at a conventicle, he owned, that, as the conventicle was in the corner of his own pariſh, he went to expoſtulate with the preacher for withdrawing his people from him; and this being his caſe he was diſmiſſed. But Mr James Greg being called and not appearing, his indulgence was declared to be forfeited, and he diſcharged from preaching any more in Carſtairs. At the ſame time the council being informed that the indulged miniſters did not keep their inſtructions, a new copy was ordered to be ſent to each, ſignifying, that, if they break them, they ſhould be immediately turned out, and otherwiſe cenſured. They having likewiſe information that Mr — Gilchriſt had been ſettled in the pariſh of Carſphairn, after the death of Mr John Semple, ordered him to be diſpoſſeſſed, and brought in priſoner to Edinburgh. Now, ſince the indulged were put to theſe hardſhips, the reader, I ſuppoſe, will not be ſurpriſed that others, who had not freedom to accept of any indulgence, and yet exerciſed their miniſtry where they had opportunity, had the hardeſt meaſure of ſufferings.

The prelatic party was very ſtrong at this time in the council; for though ſome were for moderate meaſures, as Argyll, the preſident, Stair, Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, and a few more, yet the generality were for carrying things to the utmoſt extremity. Upon the 4th of September Sir George MacKenzie of Roſehaugh was admitted a privy counſellor, and about this time Sir John Niſbet, who had been his majeſty's advocate for ſeveral years, was turned out and ſucceeded by Sir George, who was greatly inſtrumental in the after ſufferings of the preſbyterians; ſo that the prelates themſelves could never charge him with any thing like moderation.

At the ſame ſederunt a letter from the king, dated the 24th of Auguſt, was read, ſignifying it was his royal pleaſure, that, for the future, all the officers of ſtate ſhould accept their commiſſions *durante beneplacito*. By this means all the inferior officers were made to depend on him who had the king's ear. But, though this was Lauderdale's contrivance, it was afterwards turned againſt him.

On the 9th of October the committee for public affairs gave it as their opinion, that Mr Robert Trail, Scot of Pitlochie, Mr James Drummond, and Mr Fraſer of Brae, ſhould be ſet at liberty from the Baſs, upon giving bond to appear when called. But, notwithſtanding this, Mr Fraſer was continued through the particular ſpite of the primate. I know not what the council did as to the reſt. Only Mr Alexander Peden was ordered to be let out of the Baſs, upon obliging himſelf to depart from Britain, and not to return under a ſevere penalty. Several others had ſome liberty granted them by this ſederunt, as Meſſ. Hog, MacGilligen, and Thomas Roſs; but it was the eve of a ſevere perſecution.

Though conventicles greatly increaſed this year, yet both miniſters and people behaved in a moſt peaceable manner: nothing of diſloyalty could be laid to their charge, notwithſtanding the finings, confinings, impriſonments, denouncings, and intercommunings they endured. A paper writ by a gentleman of a very good intelligence at this time, ſays, That, by a ſober computation, it appeared, that, before the end of this year 1677, near 17 000 were thus harraſſed; but ſtill they met peaceably. It is true ſeveral of them came with arms, in order to defend themſelves from the barbarous outrages of the ſoldiers, which was a great handle to the prelates, who, upon hearing of the deſign of any farther favour to thoſe who could not in conſcience ſubmit to abjured prelacy, left no ſtone unturned to defeat the deſign. In order to this they raiſed a mighty cry That the church was in danger from an intended inſurrection, which had not the leaſt foundation. The following incident was alſo aggravated.

Carſtairs, who had been very diligent in haraſſing the preſbyterians in the eaſt parts of Fife, had turned out lady Colvil from her houſe, ſo that ſhe was obliged to conceal herſelf for ſome time in the fields and mountains, which greatly impaired her health. His fellow went round the country with about a dozen of men, having no other warrant but the archbiſhop's commiſſion, under pretence of ſearching for denounced and intercommuned perſons, and committed many outrages. About the beginning of October, ſix or ſeven gentlemen being in the houſe of John Balfour in Kinloch, Carſtairs came with his company while one of the gentlemen was accidentally at the door. Philip Garret, an Iriſh tinker, one of Carſtair's gang, advanced, and, without aſking a queſtion, or reciting the leaſt proclamation, fired at the gentleman, but happily miſſed him. However, Garret followed into the houſe. By this time the gentlemen being alarmed, one of them fired at Garret, and wounded him in the ſhoulder, ſo that he fell. Mean while Carſtairs and his men fired in at the windows at the gentlemen and wounded one of them. Upon this the gentlemen, in their own juſt and neceſſary defence, made a ſally, and put Carſtairs and his men to flight. But no more blood was ſhed, only Kinkell's horſe was ſhot, and Garret received ſome ſlight wounds with a ſword. Carſtairs informed the council in his own way; ſo that this was looked upon as an high act of rebellion. The gentlemen, and ſeveral others, were ſummoned before the council, and not appearing, were all denounced rebels. This affair was charged upon the whole body of preſbyterians, though it was ſome time before it was known in the weſt country. However, as this happened juſt when the biſhops wanted a handle, they carefully improved it.

Accordingly, on the 17th of October, the council wrote to the earls of Glencairn and Dundonald, and the lord Roſs, in order to aſſemble the commiſſioners of the militia, and juſtices of peace, mentioned in an incloſed letter, in the ſhires of Ayr and Renfrew, at Irvine, on the ſecond of November next to come, in order to concert proper meaſures for ſuppreſſing conventicles, and that on account of the extraordinary inſolences committed againſt the orthodox clergy, by ſtirring their pulpits, threatening, or abuſing their perſons, ſetting up of conventicle-houſes, and keeping of ſeditious and ſcandalous conventicles in the fields, the great ſeminaries of rebellion, &c.

As to inſolences, &c. except it was one or two inſtances, ſays my author, and that on no ſmall provocation, not one of thoſe riots that came before the council were in the ſhires of Ayr and Renfrew. And as to the invading of pulpits, it is owned, that, upon a vacancy, and at the invitation of the heritors and people, preſbyterian miniſters did ſometimes preach in them. In ſhort, the whole of this application to theſe gentlemen was but a ſham, for they had concerted meaſures among themſelves; only there muſt be ſome time to bring them to bear, as appears from a reſolution of the council the day before the gentlemen were to meet.

Mean while, about the end of October, the advocate was ordered by the council to proſecute Mr James Mitchel for

for his intended aſſaſſination of the biſhops of St Andrews and Orkney. They likewiſe received a letter from Lauderdale, acquainting them with the deſigned marriage of the prince of Orange to the princeſs Mary, the duke of York's eldeſt daughter; for which they wrote a letter of compliment to his majeſty, expreſſing the greatneſs of that happineſs they expected from this match; and they commanded public rejoicings in the city of Edinburgh on that occaſion.

As the marriage of the royal houſe of Stuart with papiſts, have been the great plagues of the three kingdoms, and have brought our religious and civil liberties frequently to the very brink of ruin, ſo their marriages with proteſtants have been as great bleſſings, not to us only, but to the whole proteſtant church. To theſe it is we are indebted, firſt, for the glorious revolution, and, next, for the illuſtrious family which now happily fills the throne: and had the managers ſeen the conſequences of the happy intended marriage intimated to them at this time, it is to be queſtioned whether they would have been ſo forward in their rejoicings.

About this ſame time Mr Ker of Kerſland was ordered to confine himſelf in the town of Irvine, and a mile round it, being within five miles of his own houſe at Kerſland. He had ſome time allowed him to go with his family, then at Glaſgow, to the place appointed. When he came to his family at Glaſgow, he was viſited by many of his friends and acquaintances. But the ſame night, when he was conducting the lady Caldwell and her daughters home, he and Robert Hamilton of Airdry were both apprehended by ſome of the king's life guards at Glaſgow, and kept in the guard-houſe till next day. Major Cockburn, the commanding officer, was willing to releaſe Kerſland, only detained him till the archbiſhop's pleaſure was known, who, as a counſellor, ordered him to be made cloſe priſoner in the tolbooth, and immediately rode to Edinburgh. The lady Kerſland followed, to prevent miſinformations. During this a fire broke out at Glaſgow, and the priſon being in danger, I am informed that ſeveral of the inhabitants went to the magiſtrates, deſiring that the priſoners might be taken out, leſt they ſhould periſh in the flames; and, upon their refuſal, the people took the ſtrongeſt ladder they could find, and as many as were able laid hold on both ſides of it, and with united force burſt open the doors and releaſed the priſoners; among whom Kerſland got his liberty. Mr Wodrow ſays, that after this he retired, and abſconded all that winter, during the ſpring, and following ſummer, when he kept company with the perſecuted miniſters, heard the goſpel preached by them in the fields, till he retired to Utrecht, where he died the 14th of November 1680. However, it would ſeem, that, after he was ſet free at Glaſgow, he was ſome way or another retaken, and ſent priſoner to Edinburgh; for, p. 456, he ſays, Upon the 29th of November, Robert Ker of Kerſland, and Durham of Largo, priſoners in Edinburgh tolbooth, are ordered to be liberate without any conditions, which was not common at this time.

On the firſt of November the committee for public affairs informed the council that they had ordered two men to be ſcourged for a riot on the miniſter of Torphichen, and two more for a riot on the miniſter of Borrowſtounneſs, which met with the council's approbation. The ſame day they turned out Mr John Welwood from the kirk of Tarboltoun, and ordered him to be apprehended. And, about a fortnight after, Mr James Forthie, chaplain to the Trinity-hoſpital at Edinburgh, was turned out for being at a conventicle.

As an evidence that the council's ordering the heritors of Ayr and Renfrew to meet at Irvine, to fall upon proper methods for ſuppreſſing conventicles, was all ſham, and that they had concerted meaſures among themſelves, on the 1ſt of November, the day before theſe gentlemen were to meet, they came to the following reſolution, viz. 'Upon ſome information of ſome growing diſorders and inſolencies in the weſtern ſhires, it was thought fit a proclamation be drawn, in caſe of an inſurrection, and the neareſt Highlanders ſhould be ordered to meet at Stirling upon advertiſement by proclamation; and letters are to be writ to noblemen and gentlemen, to have their vaſſals and tenants ready and at a call. It was further thought fit that arms and ammunition ſhould be ſent to Stirling. The forces at Glaſgow are ordered to Falkirk, and new men are to be preſently levied to complete them, and the ſoldiers ordered for the Highlands countermanded.' Though they might be informed of a deſigned inſurrection, yet there was no ground for it. But now the Highlanders, men too univerſally accuſtomed to theft and rapine, muſt be made reformers! A contrivance becoming Scots biſhops.

On the ſecond of November, the heritors of Ayr and Renfrew met at Irvine, as they were ordered, and, after a good deal of reaſoning upon the council's letter, they unanimouſly came to three reſolutions. 1. That it was not in their power to ſuppreſs conventicles. 2. That it is their humble opinion, from former experience, that a toleration of preſbyterians is the only proper expedient to ſettle and preſerve the peace, and cauſe the foreſaid meetings to ceaſe. 3. That it is their humble motion, that the extent thereof be no leſs than what his majeſty had graciouſly vouchſafed to his kingdoms of England and Ireland. Theſe reſolutions they communicated to the three noblemen by whom they were aſſembled. But their lordſhips, knowing how unacceptable it would be to the council, declined receiving it, and the gentlemen would make no alteration. And therefore the three lords, on the 8th of November, ſent a letter to the council, ſignifying, that the gentlemen had declared that it was not in their power to quiet the diſorders.

Though the leading men in the council appeared diſſatisfied with this refuſal, yet it is probable it was what they wanted, that they might have a handle to proſecute their cruel intentions againſt the weſt country. Accordingly they now reſolved to execute their project formerly agreed to, of raiſing ſuch a number of the ſavage Highlanders as might over-run and depopulate the weſtern ſhires, though in a time of profound peace. It does not appear that they had as yet any orders of this from court, and therefore they were obliged to wait for ſome time till the king's letter came down to impower them to act. Mean while they were not idle in preparing for the execution of their deſign.

Accordingly, on the 15th of November, the council ordered the commiſſioners of the militia to meet at Edinburgh on the 17th, under the ſevereſt penalties, and the guards to muſter on Larber-muir on the 29th. On the 26th four companies of ſoldiers were ordered to be quartered about Edinburgh. Next day they eſtabliſhed a poſt betwixt Edinburgh and Port patrick for correſponding with Ireland; for the king being informed of the danger of an inſurrection, for which there was not the leaſt ground, not only offered them the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh forces, but likewiſe commanded the viſcount of Granard to march the Iriſh forces to the coaſt, to be in readineſs to come over to Scotland upon a call. However, the Highland hoſt anſwered the end of the managers, without the aſſiſtance of foreigners. The ſame day they wrote to the abſent councellors to be preſent next council-day. Accordingly on the 6th of December they met, and wrote to the earls of Huntley, Perth, and Airly, to have their men in readineſs to march.

The ſame day Mr James Mitchell, formerly mentioned, was brought from the Baſs to Edinburgh.

On the 17th the council ordered Dr James Leſlie, principal of the Mariſhal-college of Aberdeen to be apprehended and ſent to Edinburgh. He had written to the biſhop of London reflecting on the council and the duke of Lauderdale, and his letters ſome way or another came into their hands; and therefore he was deprived of his place, ordered to beg his grace's pardon, and then was ſet at liberty.

On the 20th the council met, and received the king's letter for raiſing the Highland hoſt, of which I cannot but inſert the following abſtract.

CHARLES R.

Right truſty and well beloved, &c. We have been very much concerned at the accounts we have had, not only out of Scotland, but from ſeveral other hands, of the great and inſufferable inſolences lately committed by the fanatics, eſpecially in the ſhires of Ayr, Renfrew, Stewartry of

of Kirkcudbright, and other adjacent places, and also in Teviotdale, and even in Fife, where numerous conventicles, which by act of parliament are declared rendezvouses of rebellion, have been kept, with solemn communions of many hundreds of people, and seditious and treasonable doctrine preached against our person and all under us, inciting the subjects to open rebellion, and to rise in arms against us, and our authority and laws, unlawful oaths imposed, the churches and pulpits of the regular clergy usurped, by force invaded, and their persons still threatened with assassination and murder, and (what they have not formerly attempted) preaching houses have been lately built, and unlawful meetings of pretended synods and presbyteries kept, thereby designing to prosecute their rebellious intentions, and to perpetuate the schism.

These insolencies, being so recent, have moved us to provide fit and timeous remedies; and therefore we have appointed some of our English forces to march to the north near the Scotch border, and a part of our army in Ireland to ly at Belfast, near the sea coast towards Scotland.

We have been with much satisfaction informed, that you have required the noblemen and others, who have interest and considerable vassalr—in the Highlands and places —adjacent, to be in readiness with what forces they can bring out, to rendezvous at Stirling, and from thence to march with our standing forces, upon the first advertisement, for the prosecution of our service. And, seeing we are fully resolved to maintain and defend the government of the church in that our kingdom, as it is now established by law,—therefore we do hereby require and authorise you to command all these forces before mentioned—to march to these shires and places—so infested with rebellious practices, and there to take effectual courses for reducing them to due obedience to us and our laws, by taking free quarters from the disaffected, and by disarming of all you shall find necessary, and securing all horses above such a value as ye shall think fit, by causing the heritors and liferenters to engage and give bond for their tenants, and others who live upon and possess their lands, that they shall keep no conventicles, that they shall live orderly and obedient to the laws, and by causing the tenants and masters of families give the like bonds; by causing every parish, and the heritors of it give surety that no conventicles shall be kept within any part of the parish, property, or commonry, nor harbour or commune with the rebels, or persons intercommuned; and for keeping the persons, families, and goods of the regular ministers harmless, and that under such penalties as ye shall think fit, by causing all heritors, tenants, liferenters, and others, take the oath of allegiance to us, by using and prosecuting all other means and methods—for—putting at last an end to those insolences and disorders; and, in case of resistance, that, in our name, you give warrant to resist them by force of arms.

And, for the more effectual prosecution of these our commands, that you punish the disobedient, or those you judge disaffected, by fining, confining, imprisonment or banishment. And farther, that ye place sufficient garrisons in all places where ye shall from time to time find it necessary. And if, at any time hereafter, ye shall judge that these forces ye have prepared are not sufficient for this undertaking, we do impower and authorise you to call to your assistance those of our forces now lying in the north of England and the north of Ireland, one or both, as ye shall find cause —

And, lastly, we do authorise and require you to call together our militia of that our antient kingdom,—and to command and charge all heritors, freeholders, and others, and, if need be, all betwixt fifty and sixteen, to come and attend our host, under the pain of treason, according to the ancient laws of that our kingdom; and that ye emit —such proclamations, as ye shall find it necessary for this our service from time to time,—And so we bid you heartily farewel. Given at Whitehall, December 11. 1677.

In consequence of this letter from his majesty, the managers agreed to raise an army, known in Scotland by the name of the Highland host. Accordingly, on the 26th of December, a commission passed the seals for raising the Highlanders and others, and forming them into troops and companies. By virtue of this commission they were to be at Stirling by the 24th of January next; in their march they were to take, and, if the same should be refused, force quarter for their money: nay, by this commission they had authority to take free quarter, as the council or their committee should appoint, and, if need be, to seize on horses for carrying their sick men, ammunition, or provisions. In a word, they were indemnified against all pursuits, civil and criminal, on account of killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as should oppose them.

One would imagine, from such mighty preparations, that the whole nation was upon the point of being invaded. But all this was for the suppressing of conventicles, and distressing those who had given no provocation, further than that they could not abandon their religious principles, and submit to abjured prelacy; and therefore an army of Highlanders must force it down their throats. Perhaps some of the managers might expect that the oppressions of the Highland army, now to be raised, would force the people to take arms, and so a fine handle would be given to make a sacrifice of them to the resentments of the prelates and the duke of York. Notwithstanding the people generally adhered to their principles, and at the same time patiently endured their sufferings.

CHAP. XII.

Of the trial and execution of Mr James Mitchel; the proceedings of the council and committee; the bond of conformity; together with the ravages of the Highland host during the months of January and February 1678.

THE first two months of the year 1678 present us with a series of oppression as unprecedented as barbarous. Several noblemen and gentlemen, foreseeing the terrible effects of the measures now pursuing, resolved to go to court, and give the king a faithful account of the circumstances of Scotland. But, when this took air, the bishops and Lauderdale, in order to frustrate the design, procured an act of council to be passed on the third of January, discharging all noblemen, gentlemen and heritors from leaving the kingdom without the council's permission, and requiring all between 60 and 16 to be in readiness to join the king's host. And as duke Hamilton was of the greatest rank and interest in the west, the council on the same day, wrote to his grace, signifying their resolution, that a committee of the council should go along with his majesty's forces, who were to rendezvous at Stirling, and to march west from thence for his majesty's service, and requiring him to meet the said committee at Glasgow, the 26th of this instant, and to receive and obey such orders of the council, or the said committee, from time to time, as should be thought necessary.

The same day Lauderdale, at the command of the council, wrote to the earl of Cassils, requiring him, as bailie principal of Carrick, to attend the said committee, at Glasgow the 25th instant, and receive, and obey their orders, which his lordship did accordingly.

It was now determined to prosecute Mr James Mitchel; and therefore, on the third of this month, Sir Geo. Lockhart and Mr John Ellis were appointed to plead for him before the justiciary. Bishop Burnet says, 'Things being then in great disorder, by reason of the numbers and desperate tempers of those who were intercommuned (he should rather have said, by reason of the illegal, cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the managers) Sharp pretended he was in great danger of his life, and the rather because the person who made the attempt upon him was let live still; and therefore Sharp would have his life, and duke Lauderdale gave way to it.' Sir Archibald Primrose, lately turned out of the register's place, was made justice general. He fancied, says Burnet, that orders had been given to raze the act that the council had made, but turning to the books, he found the act still on record. So he took a copy of it, and sent it to Mr Mitchel's council, and a day or two before the trial went to Lauderdale, who, together with Sharp, lord Rothes, and lord Halton, were summoned as the prisoner's witnesses. Primrose told Lauderdale that many thought a promise of life had been given; the latter stiffly denied it: and the former said,

ſaid, That he heard there was an act of council made about it, and wiſhed that that might be looked into. Lauderdale ſaid he was ſure it was not poſſible, and he would not give himſelf the trouble to look over the books of council.

His trial began on the 7th of January. The great proof brought againſt him was his confeſſion the 10th of February 1674. Many and long were the reaſonings upon the points in the indictment; and Sir George Lockhart argued, in behalf of the priſoner, with great judgment and learning, to the admiration of the audience, ſhewing, that no extrajudicial confeſſion could be allowed in court, and that his confeſſion was extorted from him by hopes and promiſe of life. I muſt refer the curious reader to Mr Wodrow's appendix, where he will find the defences, replies and duplies at large, No. 93. The debates were ſo tedious, that the court adjourned till the 9th of January.

Then, after ſome witneſſes were examined relating to the attempt upon the biſhops, the lord advocate produced his witneſſes for proving Mr Mitchel's confeſſion. And, firſt, the earl of Rothes, being ſhewn Mr Mitchel's confeſſion, ſwore, That he was preſent and ſaw him ſubſcribe that paper, and heard him make the confeſſion contained therein, and afterwards ratify the ſame at the council-bar, in the preſence of the king's commiſſioners, the lords of priy-council ſitting in council, and that he had ſubſcribed the ſaid confeſſion; but that he did not at all give any aſſurance to the priſoner for his life; that the priſoner never required any ſuch aſſurance; and that his lordſhip does not remember that there was any warrant given by the council to his lordſhip for that effect; and, ſays he, if there be any expreſſions in any paper, which may ſeem to infer any thing to the contrary, he conceives it hath been inſert upon miſtake. Charles Maitland of Halton and the duke of Lauderdale ſwore much to the ſame purpoſe.

Then archbiſhop Sharp, ſwore, that that day the panel or priſoner did fire at his grace, he had a wave of him paſſing from the coach, and paſſing the ſtreet, which made ſuch impreſſion upon his grace, that, by the firſt ſight he ſaw of him, after he was taken he knew him to be the perſon who ſhot the ſhot. Depoſes his grace ſaw him at the council-bar, in preſence of his majeſty's commiſſioner and council, acknowledge his confeſſion before the committee, and heard him adhere thereto, and renew the ſame; and that there was no aſſurance of life given him, nor any warrant to any other to do it; only he promiſed, at his firſt taking, that, if he would freely confeſs the fault, and expreſs his repentance for the ſame at that time, without any farther troubling judicatories therein, his grace would uſe his beſt endeavours for favour to him, or elſe leave him to juſtice. But that he either gave him aſſurance, or gave warrant to any to give it, is a falſe and malicious calumny. And that his grace made no promiſe to Nicol Somervel other than that it was his intereſt to make a free confeſſion.' This Nicol Somervel offered to give his oath, that the archbiſhop promiſed to him to ſecure his life if he would prevail with him to confeſs. The archbiſhop denied this, and called it a villanous lie.

After theſe witneſſes were examined, the advocate declared he had cloſed the probation; whereupon the priſoner produced a copy of an act of council, 12th March 1674, praying that the regiſter might be produced, or the clerks be obliged to give extracts, which they had refuſed. 'Lockhart, ſays Burnet, pleaded, That ſince the court had adjudged that the council was a judicature, all people had a right to ſearch into their regiſters, and the priſoner who was like to ſuffer by a confeſſion made there, ought to have the benefit of thoſe books. But Lauderdale, who was in the court only as a witneſs, and ſo had no right to ſpeak, ſtood up and ſaid, That he and thoſe other noble perſons were not brought thither to be accuſed of perjury; and added, That the books of council were the king's ſecrets, and that no courts ſhould have the proſing of them.' In ſhort, this defence was rejected, and next day Mr Mitchel was brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged in the Grais-market of Edinburgh on Friday the 18th inſtant.

As ſoon as the court broke up, the lords went up ſtairs, and, to their ſhame, found the act recorded and ſigned by lord Rothes the preſident of the council. 'This action ſays that hiſtorian, and all concerned in it, were looked at by all people with horror. And it was ſuch a complication of treachery, perjury and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known.'

Mr Mitchel, in a letter to a friend, from the tolbooth of Edinburgh, February 1674, ſays, That, as to his deſign againſt Sharp, 'he looked on him to be the main inſtigator of all the oppreſſion and bloodſhed of his brethren that followed thereupon, and of the continual purſuing of his life. And he being a ſoldier, not having laid down arms, but being ſtill upon his own defence, and having no other end or quarrel at any man, and ſo had a right to take every avantage againſt him. Moreover, we being on no terms of capitulation, but, on the contrary, ſays he, I, by his inſtigation, being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to purſue him on all occaſions.' A little further he ſays, 'I ſhall offer to your conſideration that paſſage, Deut. xiii. 9. wherein it is manifeſt, that the ſeducer or enticer to worſhip a falſe God is, to be put to death by the hand of thoſe whom he ſeeks to turn away from the lord,' eſpecially by the hand of the witneſſes, whereof I am one, as it appeareth Deut. xiii. which precept I humbly take to be moral, and not merely judicial or ceremonial. And as every moral precept is univerſal as to the extent of place, ſo alſo as to the extent of time and perſons.' After this he took notice of Phineas, Elijah, &c. and added, 'I know that the biſhops both will and do ſay, That what they did againſt the Lord's people, whom they murdered, they did it by law and authority, but what I did was contrary to both, I anſwer, the king himſelf, and all the eſtates of the land, and every individual perſon in the land, both were and are obliged by the oath of God upon them, to have extirpated the perjured prelates and prelacy; and, in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes. —And now they vaunt of authority! But what authority do they mean? Truly I know not, except it be the authority of their aggregated gods, new gods, &c.

The reader will by this time perceive, that Mr Mitchel looked upon himſelf, as in a ſtate of war, and that Sharp was doubtleſs one of the chief inſtigators of the oppreſſion and bloodſhed of this diſmal period, he therefore thought he had a right to take every opportunity of cutting him off, eſpecially as all the ways of common juſtice were blocked up. However this matter will come again before us, when we ſhall relate how Sharp met with what he juſtly deſerved at God's hand.

But ſuppoſing Mr Mitchel's attempt unjuſtifiable, yet, conſidering the promiſe of life given him, it is plain, he was unjuſtly put to death, as was ſufficiently argued at his trial. Two days after the ſentence an order came from court for placing Mr Mitchel's head and hand on ſome public place of the city, but, as the ſentence was paſſed, no alteration could be made, and if this order was procured by Sharp's means, he miſſed his end.—About this time Mr Mitchel's wife petitioned the council that her huſband might be reprived for a ſhort time, that ſhe might be in caſe to ſee and take her laſt farewel of him, eſpecially as it was not 12 days ſince ſhe was brought to bed, and was then in a fever. But no regard was paid thereto; for, on the 18th, he was executed according to the ſentence. His laſt ſpeech being interrupted by the beating of drums, he threw it over the ſcaffold, and is as follows.

Chriſtian People,

IT being rumoured abroad, immediately after I received my ſentence, that I would not have liberty to ſpeak in this place, therefore I have not troubled myſelf to prepare my formal diſcourſe, or account of the pretended crime for which I was accuſed and ſentenced; neither did I think it very neceſſary, the fame of the proceſs having gone ſo much abroad, what by a former indictment given me, near four years ago, the diet whereof was ſuffered to deſert, in reſpect the late advocate could not find a juſt way to reach me with the extrajudicial confeſſion they oppoſed to me. All knew he was zealous in it; yet my charity to him is

ſuch, that he would not ſuffer, that unwarrantable zeal ſo far to blind him, as to overſtretch the laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of a native ſubject. Next by an extreme inquiry of torture, and then by exiling me to the Baſs, and, after all, by giving me a new indictment, at the inſtance of the new advocate, who before was one of mine, when I received the firſt indictment, and to which new indictment and debate in the proceſs I remit you, and particularly to theſe two defences of an extrajudicial confeſſion, and the promiſe of life given to me thereupon by the chancellor, upon his own and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity whereof I am content to die, and ready to lay down my life, and hope your charity will be ſuch to me, as a dying man, as not to miſtruſt me therein, eſpecially as it is notoriouſly adminiculate by an act of ſecret council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of ſtate preſent in council at the making of the ſaid act, and whom the act bears to have been preſent, the duke of Lauderdale being then his majeſty's commiſſioner, likeways preſent; and which act of council was by the lords of juſticiary moſt unjuſtly repelled; but I ſhall have charity for ſome of the ſaid lords, who, I know, would have given law and juſtice as to my juſt abſolution, if they had not been overpowered with plurality of votes by thoſe who are overawed and dared by the lords of the ſecret council; but that will not abſolve their conſciences at the laſt day. As to my advocates and lawyers, I ingenuouſly acknowlege their care, fidelity, and zeal in my defence, which I hope will be a ſtanding fame to ſome of them for this and all future generations. Thus much for a ſhort account of this affair, for which I am unjuſtly brought to this place. But I acknowlege my private and particular ſins have been ſuch as deſerved a worſe death to me; but I hope in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to be freed from the eternal puniſhment due to me for ſin. I am confident that God doth not plead with me in this, for my private and particular ſins; but I am brought here, 'that the work of God may be made manifeſt, and for the trial of faith, John ix. 3. and 1 Pet. i. 7. and that I may be a witneſs for his deſpiſed truths and intereſts in this land, where I am called to ſeal the ſame with my blood. And I wiſh heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the perſecution of the true members of Chriſt in this place, ſo much actuated by thoſe perfidious prelates, in oppoſition to whom, and in teſtimony to the cauſe of Chriſt, I at this time lay down my life, and bleſs God that he hath thought me ſo much worthy as to do the ſame for his glory and intereſt. Finally, concerning a Chriſtian duty in a ſingular and extraordinary caſe, and anent my particular judgment concerning both church and ſtate, it is evidently declared and manifeſted elſewhere. So farewel all earthly enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, into whoſe hands I commit my ſpirit.

JAMES MITCHEL.

N B. The reader will find the teſtimony, referred to in the cloſe of this ſpeech, in the laſt edition of Naphtali, it being too long for this place.

I ſhall now proceed to affairs of a more public nature. When the deſign of the Highland hoſt was formed, as we have related, the chancellor Rothes went to Fife, and with much difficulty prevailed with moſt of the heritors to go into the following bond.

WE the noblemen, barons, and heritors of the ſheriffdom of Fife, under-ſubſcribing, faithfully bind and oblige us, that we, our wives, bairns, and ſervants, reſpectively, ſhall no ways be preſent at any conventicles or diſorderly meetings, in time coming, under the pains and penalties contained in the acts of parliament thereanent.

As alſo, we bind and oblige us, that our hail tenants and cottars reſpectively, their wives, bairns, and ſervants, ſhall likewiſe abſtain and refrain from the ſaid conventicles and other illegal meetings not authoriſed by law; and in caſe any of them ſhall contravene the ſame, we ſhall take and apprehend any perſon or perſons guilty thereof, and preſent them to the judge ordinary, that they may be fined and impriſoned therefore, as it is provided by the 8th of parliament made thereanent, otherwiſe we ſhall remove them and their families, from off our ground; and, if we fail herein, we ſhall be liable to ſuch pains and penalties as the delinquents have incurred by the law. And, for the more ſecurity, conſenting thir preſents be regiſtrated in the books of council, &c.

This bond was ſigned at Couper, on the 3d of January, and preſented to the chancellor on the 10th; and though the reader may perhaps think it was a pretty ſtrong obligation, yet our managers, not judging it ſufficient, inſiſted that the heritors ſhould ſign the following

Bond of Conformity.

WE the noblemen, barons and heritors of the ſheriffdom of Fife, under-ſubſcribing, faithfully bind and oblige us, that we, our wives, bairns and ſervants, reſpectively, ſhall no ways be preſent at any conventicles or diſorderly meeting in time coming, but ſhall live orderly in obedience to the law, under the pains and penalties contained in the acts of parliament thereanent. As alſo we bind and oblige us, that our hail tenants and cottars reſpectively, their wives, bairns and ſervants, ſhall likewiſe abſtain and refrain from the ſaid conventicles, and other illegal meetings not authorized by law. And farther, that we or they ſhall not reſet, ſupply or commune with forfeited perſons, intercommuned miniſters, or vagrant preachers, but do our utmoſt to apprehend their perſons. And in caſe our ſaid cottars, tenants and their foreſaids, ſhall contravene, we ſhall take and apprehend, &c. as in the former bond.

This new bond was ſent to the ſhire of Fife; and the ſame day the council ordered 100 men to be detached from the four militia regiments for ſuppreſſing conventicles there, and to be maintained by the ſhire. The pretence was, becauſe it was in this country that Mr Welſh began field conventicles, which afterwards ſpread through the kingdom.

About the ſame time the nobility and gentry of the ſhire of Ayr, apprehending that the Highland hoſt was chiefly intended againſt them, deputed five of their number to go to Edinburgh, and repreſent to the council that moderate meaſures would more effectually put a ſtop to the alledged diſorders, eſpecially as they could not obſerve the leaſt appearance of diſloyalty among the people, notwithſtanding their being addicted to conventicles; but Lauderdale would hearken to nothing, unleſs the gentlemen would preſently ſign the bond, and oblige themſelves for all the reſt of the heritors. This they could not do, and ſo returned as they came; nay, they could not obtain ſo much as a delay of the orders for the forces to march, until the gentlemen of the ſhire were met to conſider the terms propoſed; ſo bent were the managers, at the inſtigation of the prelates, to execute their cruel deſigns.

Though the general rendezvous of the forces was appointed to be at Stirling the 24th of January, and the committee of council to meet at Glaſgow the 26th, yet upon the ninth ſecret orders were given to the half of the regular forces, a ſquadron of horſe, and four companies of foot, to march weſt. Accordingly they entered Glaſgow on the 13th, being the Lord's day, in time of public worſhip, and immediately made a ſtrict ſearch for arms, and fugitive and intercommuned perſons. The biſhop of Argyll, and ſome others, had repreſented, that on that day, the ejected miniſters were to adminiſter the Lord's ſupper, and that an inſurrection was to follow. Whence the real ground of this fright, if it may be ſo called, was, that the preſbyterians in and about Glaſgow had kept the Tueſday before as a day of private faſting and humiliation in this time of calamity and diſtreſs. However the duke took, and the ſoldiers were quartered at Glaſgow, to prevent an inſurrection that was never thought of. John Anderſon of Dowhill was ſeized, but was ſet at liberty upon ſecurity to appear when called. The ſoldiers, though harbingers to the Highlanders, having behaved with the utmoſt inſolence, were greatly exceeded by their ſucceſſors.

On the 15th a train of artillery was ordered weſt, and 1000

1000 merks iſſued from the treaſury to defray the expences, though they had neither towns to beſiege nor armies to encounter. And, on the 18th, the marquis of Athol, the earls of Mar, Moray, Glencairn, Wigtoun, Strathmore, Linlithgow, Airly, Caithneſs, Perth and lord Roſs, were appointed as a committee of council to attend the army: of that number nine were officers in the army, or had brought down the Highlanders, and ſo were the more likely to manage things to purpoſe. The ſame day theſe noblemen, or any five of them, received full power to iſſue out proclamations and orders to purſue and puniſh delinquents, to apprehend and ſecure ſuſpected perſons, and to order ſuch bonds to be ſubſcribed as they ſhould think fit. In a word, they were inveſted with the authority of the privy-council, as their commiſſion fully bears. At the ſame time theſe commiſſioners received full and extenſive inſtructions too tedious to be here inſerted. I ſhall only obſerve, that by virtue thereof, they were to manage the army, and give orders to the country, to ſheriffs and other magiſtrates; nay, they, or any three of them, were veſted with a juſticiary power, and conſtituted a criminal court. But then the managers, to ſave themſelves, ordered this committee to free from quartering all the lands of counſellors, and ſuch as have ſubſcribed the bond, and obey the orders of the committee.

On the 21ſt of January the council met at Edinburgh, when a letter was read from duke Hamilton, wherein his grace excuſed himſelf from attending the committee by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. They, at the ſame time, ſent their orders to gentlemen of the ſhire of Lanerk, to meet at Hamilton, when required by the committee, and receive their orders.

Things being thus far ſettled, and the marquis of Athol; the earls of Mar, Moray, Caithneſs, Perth, Strathmore and Airly, having aſſembled what men they could raiſe from the Highlands, marched to Stirling where they were joined by the lord Linlithgow with the regular forces on the 24th of January. Theſe, with the Angus militia, and ſome gentlemen from Perthſhire, marched next day from Stirling, and were all at or about Glaſgow by the 26th.

The numbers were as follows: about 1000 foot of regular forces; the Angus militia and Perthſhire gentlemen 2200; Highlanders about 6000; horſe guards 160 beſides five other troops of horſe; together with the ſeveral retinues of the lords of the committee and others, with a vaſt number of ſtragglers, who came only for booty and plunder; ſo that, by a moderate computation, they may be reckoned to have been 10,000 in all. They had a large quantity of ammunition, four field-pieces, vaſt numbers of ſpades, ſhovels and mattocks, as if they had been to attack ſtrong fortifications. They had likewiſe good ſtore of iron ſhackles, as if they had been to carry back a parcel of ſlaves and thum-blocks, as they called them, for the examination and trial of ſuch as they ſhould ſee required it. The muſqueteers had their daggers ſo made, as, if need were, to faſten on the muzzles of their pieces for manling horſe, like our bayonets, not then brought to perfection. Such a formidable company could not but fill all the country with conſternation in a time of peace; nay, the very gentlemen and officers in the army itſelf, who were of any temper and reaſon, were ſurpriſed upon their entering into a country entirely peaceable, which had been repreſented, and they had expected it, to be all up in arms.

At Glaſgow the committee of council met, opened their inſtructions, and immediately ſet about diſarming the peaceable country, and preſſing the bond; and, on the 28th of January, the ſheriffs of Roxburgh, Stirling, Lanerk, Renfrew, Wigtoun and Dumfries ſhires, and the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, were before them, and received inſtructions and orders—to aſſemble all the heritors, liferenters, &c. in their reſpective ſhires, for ſubſcribing a bond which had been ſigned by the lords of the committee; of which a copy was given them—to oblige the leaders of the horſemen of the militia—troops to deliver up all the militia-arms, ſwords, piſtols, holſters, and all the heritors, and others in whoſe hands they were, to do the ſame;—to diſarm all other perſons, except privy counſellors, officers and ſoldiers in the king's pay, together with noblemen and gentlemen of quality, who were permitted to wear their ſwords only—to give the committee a liſt of theſe perſons of quality. In ſhort, the ſheriffs were ordered to diſarm their ſhires upon oath, and report their diligence by the ſeventh of February next. I ſhall not here give the reader a copy of this bond, becauſe it is almoſt verbatim the ſame with that ſent by the managers to the ſhires of Fife.

They who took the bond, being to receive protection, were obliged to ſubſcribe this additional clauſe: 'And I do farther hereby oblige me, that I ſhall not own any perſon's lands or goods, but ſuch as do properly belong to myſelf, under colour of the protection given to me, and that under ſuch pains and penalties as the council or committee of council ſhall impoſe, in caſe I contraveen.'

There were, about this time, many papers writ againſt this bond, and particularly theſe following things, among others, were urged. 1. That the council had no power to preſs it, or any other, without the authority of king and parliament; whereas they had no authority for this but the king's letter. 2. None of preſbyterian principles could take this bond, becauſe it obliged him to walk according to the law eſtabliſhing epiſcopacy, and to take that to be a rule which he judged unlawful; and ſo to act contrary to the dictates of his conſcience, which is not to be forced. 3. The bond obliged him, who ſigned it, to give no relief to, or have any converſation with outed vagrant miniſters, though ſometimes they might be great objects of charity and compaſſion. And if we are not to ſhut our bowels of pity againſt Turks and Pagans, when in miſery, how can we ſuffer them to be ſhut againſt Chriſtians? Are we not taught *to do good to all*, eſpecially the *houſhold of faith*? Whereas, when our relations are, what is called, *vagrant miniſters*, this bond obliges us to be unnatural. 4. The bond obliged to take and apprehend thoſe it ſpeaks of. But how unſuitable is it for gentlemen, and moſt of the king's free liege, to turn macers or meſſengers at arms? And who can be forced to that unleſs he pleaſe? We are only obliged to take traitors, or ſuch as are guilty of leſe-majeſty. 5. None can bind for more than himſelf, and conſequently whoever took this bond bound himſelf to an impoſſibility. For how can a nobleman or gentleman bind himſelf to that which all the king's forces could not do? If the council, or their committee, had required men to oblige themſelves to endeavour the conformity of others, there had been ſome colour of reaſon; but to bind men to be liable for other mens tranſgreſſions was without all precedent; and the law of God, in the cloſeſt relation that can be, expreſly ſays, *That the ſon ſhall not die or ſuffer for the father's tranſgreſſions*, much leſs *the father for the ſon's*, and, leaſt of all, the maſter for the tenant's.

Theſe are a few of the reaſons that were urged againſt this bond. The reader will remember, that, when the council found it expedient not to inſiſt upon preſſing a bond much like that we are now treating of, they gave this for a reaſon. That the law itſelf is the ſtrongeſt bond that can be exacted of any man. How unſteady muſt their councils have been, that, in about four months time, they ſhould preſs this bond ſo univerſally, and force it upon people by the dreadful motive of a ſtanding army and a Highland hoſt!

On the 29th of January the committee for public affairs was ordered by the council to remove ſome fanatic miniſters from the tolbooth of Edinburgh and the Canongate to the Baſs. My author takes notice, that this was the firſt time that he met with the epithet of fanatic miniſters in the regiſters.

The ſame day the committee commanded the earl of Caſſils, as bailie principal of Carrick, to receive from all perſons, in whoſe hands the militia arms were, all the ſaid arms, and to order all heritors, &c. to bring with them their tenants, cottars and ſervants, with their arms of all ſorts, to be delivered upon oath, to ſuch as the major-general ſhould appoint, in the preſence of his lordſhip or his deputes, declaring, That all who refuſed ſhould have ſoldiers quartered upon them; and to give an account of his diligence to the committee at Ayr on the 7th of February following; which was done accordingly. Mean while the Highland hoſt marched weſt, and by the 7th of Febru-

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ary were dispersed all over Cuningham and Kyle, where they behaved as if they had been in an enemy's country. It is remarkable that they were let loose upon the shire of Ayr before the committee went along with them, or any offer of the bond was made to them.

On the seventh of February the committee sat down at Ayr; and, among the first things they did, they ordered the earl of Cassils to pull down the meeting-houses in Carrick. According to their orders the earl had delivered up all his arms, except his sword, and therefore desired that he might have the assistance of some soldiers in case of resistance: but this was refused, neither would they restore him any of his arms, which made him hesitate a little upon their unreasonable demands, till one of his friends, a member of the committee, whispered him in the ear, that there was but an hair-breadth between him and prison, and therefore he no longer declined their orders. However, some country people having notice of what passed, out of regard to his lordship, saved him the trouble, and pulled the meeting-houses down before he came.

The same day they received the report of the sheriffs appointed to be given in. The return from the sheriff of Dumfries and Nithsdale was voted satisfactory. Mr Ezekiel Montgomery, sheriff depute of Renfrew, reporting, That only two of the most insignificant gentlemen, and three burgesses, had taken the bond, the committee was displeased. But the report from the shire of Lanerk provoked them out of measure; for it seems, that of 2900 heritors and feuars, only nine of small interest of the former, and ten of the latter, had signed the bond. The duke of Hamilton, the lords Blantyre and Carmichael peremptorily refused it; and when, by force or fraud, some complied, their compliance cost them many bitter reflections.

In the more remote shires, some of the sheriffs pretending they had not received a copy of the bond, declined a report, and begged a new day for presenting the bond a second time, and renewing their inquiry for arms. This was granted; but when they were required to demand of every person upon oath, 'Whether he had any arms? or disposed of any since the first of January last? if gifted or sold? to whom? or if hid? and where?' These queries were extended to all the shires, nay, the officers of the Highlanders were, in some places, intrusted with this matter; so that by this means the whole country was rendered incapable of defending itself in case of any emergency.

Mean while the committee at Ayr published an act on the ninth of February commanding all the heritors and others to appear before them on the 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st, in order to take the bond. And accordingly notice was given them by the sheriffs-officers, and all the parishioners of Dundonald were summoned to meet in the church at the Kirktoun, and bring with them all the cottars, servants and arms of all sorts. The earl of Cassils, by virtue of an order from this committee, ordered their act to be published through the parishes within the bounds of his bailiary or jurisdiction. But, notwithstanding his complying with every thing, on the 10th of February 1500 men were sent upon free quarters into the jurisdiction of Carrick, 10 or 12 days before the gentlemen were to appear before the committee; and most of them were quartered upon the earl of Cassils estate, where they committed many insolences and cruelties, for which there was no remedy.

Mean time the reports made from several shires, convincing the council that it would be no easy matter to make the bond take, they went another way to work. Accordingly, on the 11th of February, they published a proclamation, discharging all heritors, liferenters and masters to receive tenants or servants without certificates that they had taken the bond; so that this bond became an universal test. The bond was annexed to the proclamation, and was signed at Edinburgh by the counsellors that same day, and ordered to be signed by the lords of session at their first meeting. The same 21th of February the committee at Ayr published a proclamation much to the same effect, discharging all persons from harbouring tenants or cottars who refused the bond, under the penalty of 600 l. Scots for each tenant.

On the 14th of February the council made an act for securing the public peace, as they termed it. '—That since every private subject may force such from whom they fear any harm, to secure them by lawborrows; and that it hath been the uncontroverted and legal practice of his majesty's privy council, to oblige such, whose peaceableness they justly suspected, to secure the peace for themselves, their wives, bairns, men, tenants and servants, under such penalties as they find suitable to their contempt, guilt or occasion upon which such sureties are sought; therefore the lords of the privy council, considering that his majesty hath declared his just suspicion of those who refuse or delay to take the said bond, and being themselves justly suspicious of their principles and practices who refuse the same, do ordain, that all such persons be obliged to enact themselves in the books of secret council, that they, their wives, bairns, &c. shall keep his majesty's peace; and particularly that they shall not go to field-conventicles, nor harbour or commune with rebels or persons intercommuned; and that they shall keep the persons, families and goods of their regular ministers harmless, and that under the double of every man's yearly valued rent, (if he have any) and of such other penalties as shall be thought convenient—if they have no valued rent, &c.

It is plain the managers were grievously vexed at the general refusing of the bond, not by the meaner sort only, but even by noblemen, gentlemen and several of the most eminent lawyers; the earls of Crawford, Calendar and Roxburgh, the viscount of Kilsyth, the lords Balmerino, Melvil and Newark, all stuck at it. Bishop Burnet says, 'That this put Lauderdale in such a frenzy, that, at the council table, he made bare his arms above his elbow, and swore by Jehovah he would make them enter into those bonds.' Therefore, to force a general compliance, they fell upon this new and unprecedented method of lawborrows *.

Now though such security be no ways unreasonable with respect to private persons; yet, that the king and government should require this of his subjects, and of the meanest of them, who refuse an unreasonable bond, seems most unaccountable, as it evidently discovers a jealousy between the sovereign and his subjects, and declares him to be in dread of them. I shall not trouble the reader with remarks on the preamble of this act, in which the presbyterians are charged with schism and rebellion. The same historian says, that 'these things seemed done on a design to force a rebellion which they thought soon would be quashed, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army; and that Lauderdale's party depended so much on this, that, in their hopes, they began to divide among themselves the confiscated estates: so that on Valentine's day, instead of drawing mistresses, they drew estates. And great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection: and they were much dejected when they knew it was false.' Many thought it very surprising that such a series of oppression, injustice and cruelty, had not long before this stirred the people up to violent measures.

Jointly with this act the council sent farther instructions to their committee at Ayr, enjoining them to use their utmost endeavours to reduce the heritors and others to obedience who have not taken the bond,—to purse the said heritors and liferenters for all conventicles kept on their lands since the 24th of March 1674,—to command all sheriffs, bailies of regalities, and their deputes, to take the bond themselves, and, in case of refusal, to proceed against them;—to allow all heritors, who take the bond, to wear their swords, otherwise not, &c. And, as to the lawborrows, they were to insist for security from all who refused, according to the act. In short, it was ordered that the recusants should have an indictment given them and be prosecuted to the utmost.

While the committee was thus engaged, the militia and Highlanders were ravaging the country about Kyle, Carrick and Cuningham, without the least provocation on the part.

* The import of a lawborrows is, that, when two neighbours are at such variance, as that they dread bodily harm from one another, the party injured procures from the justiciary, (formerly from the council) or any other judges competent, letters charging the other to find caution or security that the complainer, his wife, children, servants, &c. but before such letters can be granted the complainer must give his oath that he dreads bodily harm, trouble or molestation from him against whom he complains.

part of the ſuffering people, and even the few heritors and tenants who took the bond ſuffered much the ſame with thoſe who refuſed it. And it is remarkable, that the poor oppreſſed people continued ſo peaceable, and ſo patiently bore the ſpoiling of their goods, and other outrages done to their perſons, that the managers had not ſo much as a falſe alarm, except once, when it was talked, without any foundation, that a number of people was aſſembled in arms about Fenwick muir; for, on the 18th of February, the council were told, that their committee, being informed of perſons in arms about Fenwick, had ſent out a party, but none appeared, neither could they find that there had been any in arms. The ſame day the council ordered the Highlanders to be diſmiſſed and ſent home, and appointed the militia of Mid-Lothian, Eaſt-Lothian, &c. to march towards Glaſgow in their room. I do not know but they might be aſhamed at the reports they received of their unprecedented ravages and oppreſſions.

On the 19th, and following days of February, many of the heritors of the ſhire of Ayr were before the committee; and the earl of Dumfries, Auchmannoch, and ſome of ſmall conſideration, together with the magiſtrates of the town of Ayr, took the bond; but the generality ſtood out; and theſe had an indictment and charge of lawborrows given them to anſwer in 24 hours before the committee. One gentleman peremptorily refuſing the bond, and being threatened with having the Highlanders ſent to his eſtate, told them, He had no anſwer to that argument, and could not help it; but, before he would comply with the lawborrows, he would go to priſon.

Next day the recuſants were called to anſwer to their indictment. Lord Cochran, being among the firſt that was called, complained of the ſhortneſs of the diet allotted them, begged more time, and the aſſiſtance of lawyers, ſince they were required to give their oath concerning a crime that might be found capital. When all were removed, the lords gave it as their judgment that the council's diets were peremptory, and behoved to be anſwered preſently; and that whatever the depoonents declared ſhould never infer capital puniſhment. When his lordſhip was called in, and had this intimated to him, he urged that, by act of council of the 5th of October laſt, all libels againſt conventicles were to be reſtricted to a month backwards, and none was bound to ſwear but for himſelf; and that they, who were ready to purge themſelves by oath as to their own guilt, were to have no bonds preſented to them. The advocate declared he knew of no ſuch act. Cochran referred the matter to the clerk's oath, but that was refuſed, and his lordſhip was told that he muſt either ſwear, or be reputed guilty. Whereupon he gave his oath, That he was free of conventicles, and all his ſervants to his knowlege. In the afternoon lord Catheart, Sir John Cochran and the laird of Ceſnock being called, refuſed the bond in the ſame manner that lord Cochran had done. And the laird of Kilbirnie particularly urged the above act of council, and offered to produce a copy of it, which was peremptorily refuſed; and, to prevent his taking inſtruments upon his offer, the earl of Caithneſs got the meeting to be ſuddenly adjourned. Others that came before them were threatened with exorbitant fines, double quartering, impriſonment, and the like, and were at length forced to anſwer their interrogatories: nay, ſuch was their unaccountable proceeding, that they preſented the bond to a young lord under age, and, becauſe he refuſed it, they treated him as the reſt. But, notwithſtanding theſe ſeverities, the earls of Caſſils and London, the lords Montgomery, Cochran, Catheart and Bargeny, with all the reſt of the gentlemen and heritors of Ayrſhire, and the town of Irvine, peremptorily refuſed; and therefore were all ordered to be declared rebels, and outlawed.

On the 21ſt Patrick Sheriff in Knows, and James Shiels in Boltoun, were fined for being at conventicles, and ordered to ly in priſon till they made payment.

This committee having ordered ſeveral gentlemen in Carrick to be impriſoned, they, upon the 22d of February, iſſued a proclamation, commanding all heritors and land lords, tenants and ſervants, who had not ſigned the bond, to part with all their horſes above the value of 50l. Scots, in a ſhort limited time, under the penalty of forfeiting the horſe, and paying 100 l. for each horſe above ſuch a value.

The ſame day the earl of Caſſils appeared, and, refuſing to ſubſcribe the bond tendered to him, was therefore charged to appear next day before the lords of the committee, under the pain of rebellion, for being at conventicles, and other high crimes, and to give his oath upon the truth of his indictment. And though he appeared and cleared himſelf by oath, of all the crimes laid to his charge, yet, becauſe he refuſed to ſubſcribe the bond, the lords appointed a meſſenger to charge him with letters of lawborrows; and, in caſe of failure, to denounce him rebel within ſix days. Hereupon he wrote to their lordſhips, intreating a week's delay, which was refuſed him. Wherefore he immediately repaired to Edinburgh to attend the privy council, and offer them all poſſible ſatisfaction. But, upon his coming thither, a proclamation was iſſued, commanding all the weſt country noblemen, heritors, and others, to depart from Edinburgh, to their own houſes, within three days; before which time he was actually denounced rebel at the market-croſs of Ayr, and letters were ſent for apprehending his perſon. Wherefore his lordſhip found himſelf under a neceſſity to repair to London, in order to lay his caſe before his majeſty.

Mean while, on the 26th of February, the council had a letter from their committee, deſiring garriſons might be appointed upon the removal of the Highlanders, which was complied with. Next day the committee was ordered to intimate to the town of Irvine, that they muſt find perſons qualified to ſerve in the magiſtracy, who are willing to take the allegiance, declaration, and ſign the bond, or elſe loſe their privileges. And the ſame day the council impowered the magiſtrates of Glaſgow to tear the burgeſs tickets of all who refuſed the bond, and to turn all recuſants out of their council. On the laſt of February the council recommended to their committee not to burden any who ſigned the bond with proviſion for the garriſons.

The reader muſt be informed, that the garriſons were occaſioned by a letter, wrote by the conform clergy in the weſt to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, wherein they ſignified, that they might abandon their charges as ſoon as the Highlanders left the country, if garriſons were not appointed. How far it was their duty, and how agreeable to that ſacred function which they pretended to bear, to have any hand in ſuch proceedings, let the world judge. It is true, my author did not ſee that letter, but he has publiſhed a letter from the preſbytery of Ayr to the ſaid archbiſhop, which ſufficiently confirms the fact. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 479.

At laſt the committee, about the end of February, ordered the Highlanders home. They were now convinced that there was no forcing the bond upon the weſt country; neither did they riſe in arms, as was expected, but bore all their oppreſſions with incredible patience. The Highlanders therefore, having waſted the country, marched off, except 500, who, with the Angus militia and ſtanding forces, continued till the end of April, when orders came to diſmiſs them alſo. When they returned, they took along with them a great many horſes, and vaſt quantities of goods out of the merchants ſhops; together with pots, pans, all ſorts of wearing apparel, bed-clothes, and ſome plate bearing the names and arms of gentlemen. Nay, two of their colonels, Airly and Strathmore, were ſaid to have ſent home great ſums of money, more than they poſſibly could have got by their pay. And this is not to be wondered at, ſince from one country pariſh it was calculated they had got about 1000 l. ſterling. Upon their march homeward they took free quarters without reſtraint, except now and then that the country people would attack the ſtragglers, and retake ſome of their own goods. And Mr Wodrow tells us, that the ſtudents in the college of Glaſgow, and other youths, oppoſed 2000 of them at the bridge of Glaſgow, and would not permit them to paſs till they had delivered the ſpoil, and then only by forty at a time, who were conveyed through the weſt port, without being ſuffered to go through the town; that the cuſtom houſe there was almoſt filled with pots, pans, bed clothes, wearing apparel, and the like. A particular account of all the depredations and ravages of this

lawleſs Highland hoſt would fill a volume; and they behaved with greater inſolence and cruelty than a foreign enemy would have done; for, not content with free quarters, though that was moſt illegal, they openly robbed both on the high-way and in houſes, and every where took, from the country people, pots, pans, wearing apparel, and every thing they could lay their hands on; and whoever made any reſiſtance, were knocked down and wounded. In ſome places they tortured people, by ſcorching their bodies at large fires, and other ways, till they diſcovered where their money and goods were concealed. They killed their cattle, and drove away their horſes; and, as if poſſeſſed of the authority of king and parliament, they impoſed taxes on ſeveral places, threatening to burn their houſes if they were denied. The meaneſt ſtraggler exacted his ſixpence a day, and the modelled forces their ſhilling, or merk Scots. Nay, they openly offered to commit rapes; ſo that it is proper even to draw a veil over their unnatural and horrid wickedneſs committed up and down the country. In ſhort, it is hard to ſay which is moſt to be admired, the conduct of perſons of honour and quality, in being acceſſory to and encouraging of ſuch things, or the patience of an oppreſſed people in bearing their ſufferings without reſiſtance; for my author ſays, That, unleſs in the pariſh of Campſie, where one of the Highlanders was killed, he had not found that reſiſtance was made any where.

It is true, though the greateſt part of the committee were furious promoters of thoſe oppreſſions, yet there were two or three of a more moderate diſpoſition; but theſe were out-voted. The marquis of Athol was particularly taken notice of for his clemency, and the earl of Perth for his equity. However, this moderate party prevailed at laſt ſo far as to get the Highlanders removed.

I ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome farther particular inſtances of the loſs and hardſhips ſuſtained on this occaſion, eſpecially in the ſhire of Ayr. The noblemen and gentlemen of that ſhire made ſome calculation of loſſes, in a paper which they drew up, in order to lay them, if need were, before his majeſty. Mr Wodrow has given it at large. However, the following abridgment of it is ſufficient for my purpoſe.

An account of the loſſes the following pariſhes ſuſtained by quartering, robbing, and ſpoiling of the ſoldiers and Highland hoſt.

In KYLE.

	L.	s.	d.
Ayr and Alloa	12120	0	0
St Quivox	900	0	0
Monktoun	2700	0	0
Tarboltoun	6180	0	0
Galſtoun	3679	0	0
Craigie	735	5	0
Riccartoun	2844	0	0
Dundonald	3373	6	0
Barnwel	836	0	0
Symingtoun	1300	0	0
Mauchlin, Muirkirk & Dalgean	8985	8	0
Cultoun	3537	12	0
Ochiltree and Auchinleck	5211	7	8
Cumnock, old and new	3015	6	4
Sum of Kyle	55417	11	0

In CARRICK.

Straiton	12000	0	0
Colmanel	1009	0	0
Kirkoſwald and Girvan	1816	0	0
Barr	1000	0	0
Daylie	180	0	0
Maybole	2700	0	0
Dalmellingtoun & Kirkmichael	4981	0	0
Sum of Carrick	31677	0	0

In CUNINGHAM.

	L.	s.	d.
Kilmarnock and Fenwick	24431	0	0
Kilwinning	5895	15	8
Stevenſon	622	12	8
Ardroſſan	1549	13	4
Dalry	653	12	8
Dunlop	653	12	8
Irvine pariſh without the town	1029	16	6
Largs	1907	0	0
Killbryde	692	0	0
Killbirny	2080	0	0
Lowdoun, or Newmills	2934	13	0
Dreghorn and Pearſtoun	1505	17	0
Kilmawers	3250	15	0
Stewartoun	6062	12	8
Beeth	4891	0	0
Iſle of Meikle Cumray	266	13	4
Sum of Cuningham	50402	2	2
Sum total of Kyle, Carrick, and Cuningham	137496	13	2

It would be endleſs to mention the loſſes of particular perſons; however I cannot omit ſome inſtances. When this dreadful hoſt came to the ſhire of Ayr, the curate of Kirkoſwald procured a regiment for that pariſh; and ſuch was his ghoſtly care for his flock, that, by his direction, quarters were given for theſe plunderers. The ſmall pariſh of Dalmellingtoun, where one Quintin Dick had his reſidence, had 900 of them upon it.

The heritors who took the bond, and their lands, were free from quartering and exactions as far as thoſe Highland robbers could be reſtrained; but others had no mercy. Sir William Cuningham of Cuninghamhead, though but a ſchool boy, had the laird of Dun's whole troop quartered upon his eſtate; ſo that his tenants were grievouſly oppreſſed, and the victual that was laid up in the tower of Cuninghamhead was rendered uſeleſs by their treading it under their feet, to the great prejudice of the innocent minor. And all this under the direction of — Dunbar of Grange, nephew to Dun, and a cornet in his troop. This Dunbar forced his landlord, David Muir, to give him what money he had, threatening otherwiſe to hang him in his own barn; which he and his ſervants would have done, had they not been prevented by a number of women.

The town of Kilmarnock ſuffered extremely at this time. John Borland on the bridge loſt 100 l. Scots. William Taylor merchant had a whole company of them quartered for one night beſides his quota. Matthew Hopkins loſt 500 merks. William Dickie merchant had nine of them upon him for about ſix weeks; and when they were off they robbed his houſe, carried off a ſtocking full of ſilver money, broke two ribs of his ſide, and ſo frighted his wife, then big with child, that ſhe died ſoon after. This good man loſt upwards of 1000 merks. Hugh Mowat, James Stewart, and his ſon, and James Aird, with many others, were dreadfully oppreſſed. In a word, before they left Kilmarnock, they reſolved, on the Sabbath-day, to plunder the town, as ſeveral houſes felt to their coſt. When Mr Alexander Wedderburn, indulged miniſter there, was interceding for the place, a Highlander puſhed him ſo ſeverely on the breaſt, with the butt-end of his muſket, as proved the occaſion of his death.

The pariſh of Evandale in Lanerk ſhire loſt 1700 l. 12 s. Scots. The ſmall pariſh of Cambuſlang, in the ſame ſhire, likewiſe ſuffered much; particularly John Crofbie, David Donald, James Jackſon, William Kerr and Thomas Robertſon. The lady of Sir Patrick Houſtoun was by their inſolent rudeneſs frighted to death.

From theſe few hints the reader may form a judgment of the diſmal ſtate of the country during the time of the Highland hoſt, and what a ſenſible pleaſure it muſt have given all ranks to ſee them marching back to their own mountains. But ſtill the meaſures of oppreſſion were carried on as I am to relate.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the proceedings of the council and their committee after the return of the Highland hoſt: the appointment of garriſons: the convention of eſtates: the riſe: the progreſs of the perſecution, and other things to the end of the year 1678.

THE damages done by the Highland hoſt were ſo great, that the managers were pleaſed to diſmiſs them; but ſtill they continued to purſue the non-conformiſts with rigour and ſeverity. Accordingly, on the firſt of March, a letter from the committee was read in council, ſignifying that they had charged all who had not taken the bond with lawborrows, and had ſent their names to the council, in order to their being declared rebels; but that the noblemen and gentlemen charged had left their own houſes, and come in to Edinburgh; ſo that the principal perſons concerned cannot be apprehended. All the heritors in Renfrew and Lanerk were thus charged.

The ſame day Mr Robert Anderſon was before the council for non-conformity; but he was releaſed upon giving bond to appear when called. But though the lord Cochran, the laird of Kilbirnie, and others, offered a petition for the ſuſpenſion of the laborrows, yet the council ſignified to their committee, that they would receive no petitions from the gentlemen come to Edinburgh, and that they had commanded them by proclamation to remove.

Mean while the committee at Ayr, paſſed an act on the fourth of March, appointing garriſons in the following places, viz. in the houſe of Blairquhan in Carrick, of 100 foot and 20 horſe; in Barſkimming and Ceſnock, of 50 foot and 10 horſe each; and ordering the commiſſioners of ſupply to meet on the 7th, to provide neceſſaries for them,

them, and give an account of their diligence on the 8th.

But, before theſe things could be done, the council, on the 6th of March, ſent a letter to his majeſty, giving him an account of the proceedings of this committee with reſpect to the bond, &c. and throwing the moſt falſe and inſidious reflections on the non-conformiſts, in order to have their iniquous conduct authoriſed by the king; for they intimate, that all things were done in purſuance of his orders in his letter of the 11th of December laſt. But, as biſhop Burnet very well obſerves 'when very illegal things were to be done, the common method was, that a letter was drawn for it to be ſigned by the king, directing it upon ſome colour of law or antient practice, and he readily ſigned whatever was ſent to him.—

Next day Henry Muir, commiſſary clerk at Kirkcudbright, was charged before the council for being at conventicles in September or October laſt, and of correſponding with Meſſ. Welſh, Semple, Arnot, &c. He owned he once heard Mr Arnot at a field conventicle; yet, by the intereſt of the biſhop of Galloway, he was diſmiſſed without any farther trouble. We ſhall hear that one James Learmont was executed for being only preſent at a field conventicle; but he had not a biſhop to intercede for him.

It does not appear that the committee met on the 8th; but on the ninth, they made another act, ordering the clerks of the commiſſioners of ſupply to ſummon the ſaid commiſſioners to meet at Ayr on the 12th, both for providing the neceſſaries for the garriſons, and ſettling the prices they were to pay for their proviſions; and that, if they fail in their duty in this reſpect, the officers and ſoldiers ſhall have liberty to take theſe neceſſaries from the next adjacent places, with the rates to be fixed by the committee, except the lands of privy counſellors, and thoſe employed in his majeſty's ſervice, or ſuch as have taken or ſhall take the bond. But the commiſſioners of ſupply having moſt of them refuſed the bond, and not chuſing to give any actual concurrence with the impoſition of garriſons in time of peace, did not meet on the day appointed; and therefore the committee, on the 12th of March, fixed the prices on hay, ſtraw, oats, &c. whereupon the officers of the army brought in what they wanted from the adjacent places, and called the heritors of every pariſh, near their garriſon, to meet in order to fix the proportion of each pariſh for furniſhing the garriſon with neceſſaries, all proteſted perſons being free.

On the 13th the council publiſhed their proclamation, ordering the bond to be ſubſcribed by all the heritors in the ſhires of Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Berwick, Peebles, and Selkirk; and next day they gave orders to charge the recuſants with lawborrows, as had been done in the weſt. But though the bond was ſubſcribed in ſeveral ſhires, yet the heritors were generally backward, particularly in Eaſt-Lothian, where, from among upwards of 1000 heritors, not above 50 or 60 ſigned it; and by this time conventicles began again to be much frequented.

On the 15th a decreet was paſſed, at the inſtance of the king's advocate, againſt Patrick Thomſon in Kinloch, George Fleming in Balberty, Alexander Hamilton of Kinhil and his ſervant, — Henderſon. Robert Hamilton brother to the laird of Preſtoun, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Ruſſel ſenar of Kettle, James and John Reids there, John Balfour tenant to Lundy, Alexander Balfour there, John Archer in Strathmiglo, John Adam bailie there, and about 20 more, who, they ſaid, had met at the houſe of Balfour of Kinloch, with others, to the number of 60 or 80 armed men, with an intent to have murdered captain William Carſtairs, and —— Garret his ſervant, when the captain required them to deliver up—an intercommuned preacher, and to have fired 12 or 14 ſhot, whereby Garret was mortally wounded, and died on the ſpot.

It is ſufficient to obſerve, that few of thoſe here named were preſent at the time when that affair happened, particularly John Archer and others. There was no preacher among them; neither was Garret killed on the ſpot, as they repreſented: but it was neceſſary that things ſhould be aggravated. And indeed nothing was more common than for the letters, proclamations, acts of council, &c. to have their preambles or narratives filled with the groſſeſt lies and miſrepreſentations. All theſe perſons were outlawed, except two or three mean country people who appeared.

The ſame day a letter from the committee in the weſt was read in the council, deſiring that the heritors who refuſed the bond might be ſtopt from repairing either to the borders, or into Ireland, to avoid being apprehended. Accordingly, next day, a draught of proclamation was ſent to the committee, diſcharging all perſons to go to Ireland without paſſes; and requiring them at the ſame time to ſend in liſts of all who were charged with lawborrows, and ordered the ſhire of Dumbarton to take the bond at Glaſgow, where it ſeems the committee ſat for the reſt of their time.

Theſe proceedings were ſo illegal and ſubverſive of the liberties of the ſubjects, that about the end of this month duke Hamilton, the earls of Roxburgh and Haddington, lieutenant-general Drummond, and ſeveral other gentlemen of figure in the weſt and ſouth, thought it neceſſary to repair to court, in order to lay the ſtate of the nation before his majeſty. Nay, even Athol and Perth, who had been officers in the army that invaded the weſt, went along with them; for obſerving the peaceable carriage of the preſbyterians, and converſing with noblemen and gentlemen of good ſenſe, they were determined not to be any more active in the ſeverities uſed againſt them. The earl of Caſſils had been up ſome time before, and it ſeems that, by means of the duke of Monmouth, he got acceſs to his majeſty.

The managers at Edinburgh pretended to ridicule theſe noblemen, and aſſured their friends, that ſince they had not firſt laid their grievances before the council, the king would pay no regard to them. However, their going off without aſking leave was as ſurpriſing as it was unexpected, eſpecially their being joined by the marquis of Athol and the earl of Perth. The biſhop of Galloway made a heavy complaint of the conduct of thoſe two noblemen in a letter to the lord regiſter.

It is ſaid, that when theſe two noblemen, with their ſervants and other gentlemen, were on the road in Annandale, they loſt their way, and, it being late, were obliged to put up in a cottage in that country. The people having ſome knowlege of their errand, treated them with abundance of civility; and when their lordſhips, who could not get their horſes within doors, expreſſed their concern leſt they ſhould be ſtolen, having heard that Annandale was noted for horſe ſtealing, the country people told them they were in no hazard, for there was no thieving among them now, ſince the field preachings came into that country; and talked of many other branches of reformation brought about by means of Mr Welſh and other preachers.

As ſoon as the council got notice of the departure of duke Hamilton, on the 26th of March, they ſent up the earl of Moray and the lord Collingtoun, in order to vindicate their proceedings, and thoſe of their committee, againſt what might be objected by the noblemen and others who were gone to court.

The ſame day a letter from their committee was read in the council, ſignifying that the bond had been offered in the ſhire of Stirling, and that in the pariſh of Campſie, ſix miles north of Glaſgow, ſome hundreds aſſembled in arms, and killed one of the ſoldiers, and deſired an order to proceed againſt the heritors of that pariſh, for building a dwelling-houſe and meeting-houſe to one Mr Law, (after the revolution one of the miniſters in Edinburgh) adding, that the country about Glaſgow was much infeſted with unlicenſed chaplains, and deſiring that ſome perſons might be made examples of.

The earl of Caſſils gave in his caſe to his majeſty upon the 28th of March, containing a particular account of all that has been related concerning his lordſhip, ſubſcribed with his own hand; but, as ſoon as it was given to the king, a copy of it was ſent down by an expreſs to the council, atteſted by J. Foreſter ſecretary to the duke of Lauderdale.

Next day Mr Robert Wylie, governor to Francis lord Semple, a youth then at the univerſity, was ſummoned to appear before the committee of the council, but he did not; and his pupil withdrawing got a charge of lawborrows. And, on the 1ſt of April, the council had a letter from

from their committee in the weſt, ſignifying that they had ſummoned before them lord Semple's governor and lord Cochran's chaplain, for officiating without a licence from the biſhop, and intended to proſecute thoſe who entertained them. And the ſame day the council received his majeſty's letter approving their conduct, and the proceedings of their committee, and thanking them for their careful proſecution of what he had recommended to them in his letter of the 11th of December laſt. However this did not diſcourage the patriots, who were gone up to London, from laying before his majeſty the injuſtice of ſeveral things he had approved of, as ſhall be related in its proper place.

On the 3d of April the council, taking under their conſideration thoſe commiſſioners of ſupply who did not aſſemble for ſettling the proviſions for garriſons, ordered the earls of Caſſils and Loudon, the lords Cochran, Cathcart, Bargeny, Sir William Muir of Rowallan, &c. to be called before them; but they did not appear: ſo this affair came to nothing.

The ſame day the copy of the earl of Caſſil's caſe was produced in council, and Mr Patrick Anderſon was ordered to be ſent to the Baſs, unleſs he preſently gave ſecurity, under the penalty of 2000 merks, to leave Edinburgh and five miles round it, and converſe with none but thoſe of his own family. This was hard treatment for alledged keeping of conventicles at his own houſe, and correſponding with Meſſ. Welſh, Williamſon, &c.

Next day they agreed upon a letter to be ſent to his majeſty, wherein they ſay.—'Whereas the earl repreſents, that we granted commiſſions to the marquis of Athol, and others, to take free quarters — we humbly conceive that your majeſty had juſt reaſon to look on his juriſdiction of Carrick, and ſome other weſtern ſhires, as in a ſtate of rebellion, ſince field-conventicles are by your laws declared to be rendezvouzes of rebellion; and that theſe were ſo increaſing, that there were far more armed men aſſembled in them almoſt weekly, than could be repreſſed by almoſt thrice the number of your ſtanding forces.—But yet our orders are falſely repreſented; for we only gave orders to take free quarters as your council and committee ſhould order; and that your council has given orders is denied; — yet, to the end that none ſhould ſuffer but ſuch as ſhould continue guilty, it was offered by your council, that only ſuch as ſhould refuſe to ſecure the peace ſhould be quartered upon; and accordingly protections were granted to all ſuch as ſecured the peace.—Whereas it is repreſented, that a bond was preſſed without law, it is humbly aſſerted, that the bond was only offered, but not preſſed.—And as to the legal ſecurity by lawborrows, it is expreſsly warranted by the 129th act, parl. 9. James I. And univerſal lawborrows are warranted by act 13. parl. 6. James II.—Upon which account it is humbly craved, from your majeſty's juſtice, that the earl of Caſſils, who hath contemned your proclamation, and charged your privy-council with crimes of ſo high a nature, may be ſent down priſoner, to be tried and judged according to law.'

This is but a very ſhort abſtract of the letter, which the reader will find at large in Wodrow, p. 501, &c. who juſtly obſerves, that there was as little rebellion at field conventicles as in churches. It was the council who firſt called them *rendezvouzes of rebellion*, and from this inferred that the weſt-country was in a ſtate of rebellion; how juſtly muſt be left with the reader. Beſides, it is abſolutely falſe that there were weekly more armed men at theſe conventicles than thrice the number of the king's forces could ſuppreſs. That ſome had attended theſe meetings in arms is not denied; neceſſity obliged them to defend themſelves againſt the wicked aſſaults of the ſoldiers. They tell his majeſty that his council did not give orders for free quarters. But what a ſhift was this, when the committee did it by their authority? And it is falſe that free quarters were only taken from the refuſers of the bond, when it is well known that the Highlanders came ſeveral days before the time of taking the bond; and free quarters were allowed on the lands of Cuninghamhead, ann others, who could not be reckoned refuſers. In a word, it may make the reader ſmile to hear them ſaying the bond was offered, but not preſſed. If the ſending in of an army, the charging with lawborrows, and putting to the horn, was not preſſing, then nothing can be called ſo.

With the above letter the committee ſent up to the king an information of their proceedings with the earl of Caſſils; and about this time the managers thought it neceſſary to publiſh a paper, intitled, 'A true narrative of the proceedings of his majeſty's privy council in Scotland for ſecuring the peace of that kingdom in the year 1678.' Remarks were made upon this narrative, in a letter to a friend, which abundantly expoſed what was aſſerted therein.

On the 6th of April the council ordered Mr Alexander Roſs, a miniſter in the north, who had been detained priſoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for the ſpace of four months, without laying any thing to his charge, to be releaſed, upon giving ſecurity to live peaceably. And being informed, on the 10th, that many in the ſhire of Lanerk had not ſurrendered their arms, they ordered their committee to do all they could to diſarm them, who accordingly did their utmoſt; but many choſe rather to run all hazards than to come and deliver their arms upon oath.

On the 13th the committee at Glaſgow, conſidering that Mr Wylie and lord Semple had both withdrawn, wrote to the earl of Dundonald, one of his lordſhip's tutors, to do all he could to get him to return to the univerſity; and, on the 16th, lord Semple's mother, a profeſſed papiſt, petitioned the council that they would either recommend the care of her ſon's education to ſuch perſons as ſhall be anſwerable to their lordſhips, or take ſome proper meaſures for ſecuring to him his ſmall fortune during his minority, and himſelf in ſuch principles as were moſt ſuitable to his majeſty government, and might engage him in loyalty to the king and his ſucceſſors. The council upon this injoined the biſhop of Argyll and lord Roſs to appoint ſome perſons of ſound principles and loyalty to be tutor to the petitioner's ſon.

On the 19th an expreſs arrived, and the council ſat down at eight in the morning, when a letter was read from his majeſty, ſignifying that he had conſidered the repreſentations made by ſome of his ſubjects relating to the methods lately taken with the weſt country, and that he was reſolved to hear things more fully, and in the mean time commanded that the bond and lawborrows ſhould be ſuſpended till his farther pleaſure; and that all his forces, except his own guards, be immediately diſbanded. This ſurprized the managers, who were expecting the earl of Caſſils to be ſent down priſoner; and therefore they diſpatched Sir George MacKenzie to London, by whom they wrote to the earl of Moray, and lord Collingtoun, ſignifying their readineſs to obey his majeſty's commands, and reflecting on thoſe noblemen and others that had gone to court at this time, as if they had done all they could to ſhake the foundations of authority, to ſuch a degree as it will be paſt remedy, if not ſpeedily and vigorouſly adverted to by his majeſty; and therefore they begged them to concur with the advocate in repreſenting things to the king.

But, on the 22d, Sir John Cuningham went up himſelf to London; and though he and Sir George Lockhart, who had gone before him, had neither of them refuſed the bond, yet they were clear to give it as their judgment, that the impoſing of it and the lawborrows was contrary to law; and the ſentiments of ſuch eminent lawyers could not but have weight.

However diſſatisfying the king's laſt orders were, yet the Blue coat and the Nithſdale regiments, who were got as far as Lanerk, were diſbanded. Lord Haltoun went to the committee at Glaſgow, and gave them the firſt information of this ſudden change; but, at the ſame time, aſſured them of the king's favour, and that he would approve of their proceedings, though his affairs in England made it neceſſary to diſband the forces, and ſuſpend the bond for a little while. And, on the 24th, the council wrote to their committee, that, ſince diſorders by numerous field conventicles in Fife, Merſe, Teviotdale and Linlithgow were come to ſuch a height, and matters of moment were to be deliberated upon on the firſt of May, therefore they deſired them, as their buſineſs in the weſt was finiſhed, to come in to Edinburgh. What theſe matters of importance were, which

which the council were to have before them, I know not; poſſibly they were to concert upon proper methods for ſuppreſſing what they called the increaſing of diſorders by numerous field conventicles, and for this end to have a ſtanding army, notwithſtanding the late orders for diſbanding the forces; and no doubt they took care to repreſent things in their own way to the king.

Mean while, on the fifth of May, there was a large field-meeting on the hills of Whitekirk over againſt the Baſs. A party of about 40 ſoldiers and 20 country people whom they preſſed to go along with them, commanded by enſign Charles Maitland, being ſent by the governor, came upon them. The people reſolved to keep together, and not offer any violence unleſs they were attacked. The party advanced, and commanded them in the king's name to diſperſe. Some who were near them anſwered, that, though they honoured the king, yet they were reſolved to hear the word of God. Upon this a ſoldier giving a blow to one of the people, an able-bodied countryman knocked him down. Being thus engaged, the people on that ſide of the meeting quickly ſurrounded and diſarmed the ſoldiers, and ſent them off. No harm was done to any of them, farther than that one was killed on the ſpot. Two of the meeting were taken that day, and ſeveral others afterwards, among whom were James and Geo. Learmonths, William Temple, Rob. Hepburn in eaſt-Saxton, and Will. Bryſon younger in Dumbar. The firſt of theſe were executed in September, as ſhall be related.

Though, on the 10th of May, the council recalled the garriſon at Ayr, yet on the 14th they had a letter from the king, dated the ſeventh, declaring, That, conſidering the ſhounding of field-conventicles, theſe rendezvouzes of rebellion he thought fit that ſome more forces ſhould be raiſed, and that he expected a ſpeedy and exact account of what number and quality of troops would be neceſſary. —How fluctuating were his majeſty's councils! the one day to order the forces to be diſbanded, and the next, in a manner, to order a new levy to be made. However, this letter was what the managers wanted. And the ſame day, in their return, they took notice of the growth of conventicles, and that the raiſing of new forces was the beſt way to ſuppreſs them; and therefore they propoſed two troops of horſe, each conſiſting of 100 men; and, as the ſupport of theſe neceſſarily called for money, that a convention of eſtates ſhould be ſummoned to provide it. But before theſe things could be brought about ſeveral occurrences happened.

Accordingly on the ſaid 14th of May, the council were informed of a conventicle at the houſe of Williamwood, where the meeting was diſperſed, and upwards of 70 men were taken priſoners by the dragoons who purſued the common people. The miniſters happily eſcaped. About 34 Glaſgow people, and as many countrymen were carried priſoners to Glaſgow, where they were examined by lord Roſs and others. The bond was offered to them, and the few that complied were releaſed; but the reſt after ſome days impriſonment, were ſent to Edinburgh under a ſtrong guard, where we ſhall leave them till we ſee what paſſed between the king and thoſe who in March laſt had gone to court. Many of them after long attendance, came away.

But at laſt, on the 25th of May, duke Hamilton, lord Cochran, Sir John Cochran, and lieutenant-general Drummond, were commanded to attend upon his majeſty at four o'clock. When they appeared, the king being accompanied with the duke of York and Monmouth, and the treaſurer, firſt aſked why they had come to him contrary to his proclamation? The duke of Hamilton who ſpoke firſt intreated his majeſty to let him know why he had laid him under marks of his diſpleaſure, viz. his being turned out of his council, and, ſince ever he came to London, not having had the honour of kiſſing his majeſty's hand. The king replied, He would firſt know the grounds of their complaints before he returned an anſwer. The duke ſaid, That he had his majeſty's encouragement to come, ſince he told them, when laſt at court, that, when he was any way wronged, he ſhould come to himſelf and make it known. Upon this they gave his majeſty a particular account of the invaſion of the Highlanders, their quartering and plunders, &c. the bond, the lawborrows, their being denounced and forbid by proclamation to lay their condition before the king. To which the king anſwered, That theſe were horrid things, and deſired they would ſet them down in paper. The treaſurer ſaid, that whatever was in theſe free quarterings, and in the reſt, they might have been prevented by taking the bond, which he conceived there was law for, there being two alternatives in it, either to deliver their tenants priſoners, or turn them out of their farms. To this it was replied, That there was no obliging maſters to apprehend their tenants; the fartheſt the act of parliament 1670 went, was to oblige maſters for their families and ſervants. 2. The maſters could not be obliged to turn tenants out of their lands, in regard the puniſhment for going to a conventicle was by law appointed to be a fine, which was not ſo grievous as turning them out of their poſſeſſions. Beſides, they urged that moſt of the tenants had leaſes, by virtue of which they had a legal right to their poſſeſſions, and could not be turned out for a crime that was only fineable by law. This conference held two hours, and much was ſaid by both parties. The king, in the concluſion, told them, That he could not judge of what they had ſaid unleſs they would give it under their hands, that he might lay it before his council. They anſwered, that they came to his majeſty to inform him of the wrongs and oppreſſions of the country, and not to accuſe the council, which they knew was dangerous, unleſs his majeſty would indemnify them; which the king refuſing, They ſaid they left the matter with him to do in it as he thought proper. In a word, though ſometimes the king ſeemed to be moved, yet, being ſtill under the influence of Lauderdale, he gave them no redreſs. So far from it, that on the 28th of May, three days after this conference, he wrote to the council, approving of their whole conduct, and recommending to them to take all ſuch legal courſes as they ſhould find neceſſary for preſerving the authority of the ſtate, and ſecuring the government of the church as by law eſtabliſhed.

The ſame Day John Bowie, James, John and Robert Maxwells, Dav. Corſbie, Will. Niven, Will. Urie, Jam. Lickpervick, Jam. Blackwood, Rob. Reid, Dav. Ferguſon, Will. Steven, Dav. Gray, Arch. Haddoway, Mungo Cochran, Rob. Hay, and many others, being called before the council, to give their oath who preached at the above conventicle at Williamwood, and refuſing, were ſentenced to be tranſported to the plantations, and to ly in priſon till a ſhip was got ready.

At the ſame time a letter was read appointing Lauderdale commiſſioner, and a proclamation was publiſhed for calling a convention of eſtates to meet at Edinburgh on the 20th of June next. In this proclamation the kingdom is repreſented to be in danger from thoſe execrable field-conventicles, the rendezvouzes of rebellion; and therefore, in order to ſuppreſs them, this convention was called to raiſe and provide for more forces.

Theſe conventicles got a new epithet. They were formerly called ſeditious, and rendezvouzes of rebellion, but now they are called execrable. But it was well known that theſe meetings had much of the divine preſence among them; and, as one obſerves, many were really converted, more were convinced, and generally all who attended them were reformed from their former immoralities. Beſides we have related that the occaſion of theſe meetings was owing to the execrable proceedings of the managers of that time. Neither is it any wonder though ſome were obliged to attend them in arms, when we conſider the ſanguinary laws that were made againſt them, and how they were expoſed to the illegal aſſaults of the ſoldiers. For a long time they met without any arms, and were frequently diſturbed and diſperſed. Some were killed, others were wounded, which they patiently endured without reſiſtance. At laſt ſeveral miniſters had a price ſet upon their heads, and many were outlawed; and therefore, finding that they thus were appointed as ſheep for the ſlaughter, they looked upon it as their duty to provide for their neceſſary defence. We have related how they were debarred all manner of liberty to worſhip God in public, and on the ſevereſt penalties forbid to aſſemble either in the churches or in private families. But, being perſuaded that it was their

their duty not to forſake the aſſembling of themſelves together, they therefore took to the fields.

On the 13th of June, about 16 more who had been at Williamwood conventicle, were ſentenced to be tranſported. They were given to Ralph Williamſon of London to diſpoſe of them, to ſell them to the beſt advantage; and they were to ly in priſon till they could be ſhipped off. On the 20th, George Hume of Kimmergham and Jane Hume lady Ayton, having been impriſoned for a clandeſtine marriage, (I ſuppoſe for being married by a preſbyterian miniſter) were releaſed on paying 1000 merks fine, and 750 merks for pious uſes.

On the 26th the convention of eſtates met according to appointment, Parliaments now could not be ventured upon, leſt an inquiry ſhould be made into the ſtate of the nation, and propoſals made for redreſſing grievances. A convention anſwered the end of raiſing money, which was the chief thing now in view.

On the 10th of July they paſſed their act and offer of 1,800,000 l. Scots to be raiſed in the ſpace of five years, being 360 000 l. Scots yearly. In the preamble to this act they ſay, among other things, that it is not fit that this kingdom ſhould only, of all others, remain without defence, at a time wherein theſe dangerous field conventicles, declared by law rendezvouſes of rebellion, do ſtill grow in their numbers and inſolences, againſt all which the preſent forces cannot in reaſon be thought a ſuitable ſecurity.

The deſign of this aſſeſſment was to maintain an army for ſuppreſſing theſe conventicles, which were the butt of their malice: and now the biſhops had what they wanted; their friends were provided for in the army; the preſbyterians were divided among themſelves on account of the indulgence, and the impoſition of this ceſs increaſed their diviſions; and the rigorous execution of it, together with the cruel oppreſſions of this new army, occaſioned a riſing, which ſhall be related in the next volume.

Some looked upon it as unlawful to pay this ceſs, and others were of opinion, that, ſince violence was both expected and uſed, it was more adviſeable, by a piece of money, to preſerve themſelves and their families alive, and their ſubſtance from being taken from them, than, by an abſolute refuſal, to give an occaſion and afford a legal pretence to the cruelty of the collectors to deſtroy all. They added, that paying ceſs in theſe circumſtances, was not ſpontaneous, but conſtrained, and therefore the payers were to be excuſed, and looked upon as ſufferers rather than actors. There was a few others who paid this impoſition with a declaration, chuſing the middle way between paying it without any teſtimony againſt what was evil in it, and refuſing to pay it all. Among them was Quintin Dick of Dalmeliugtoun. The reaſons of his conduct I ſhall lay before the reader in his own words, as follow: '—After much liberty in pouring out my heart to God, I was brought to weigh that, as my paying of it might be by ſome, interpreted a ſcandal, and a ſinful acquieſcence in the magiſtrate's ſinful command; ſo, upon the other hand, my refuſing to pay it would be the greater ſcandal, being found to claſh againſt a known command of God, of 'giving to all their due; tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom; and knowing that Chriſt Jeſus, for that ſame very end, to evite offence, did both pay tribute himſelf, and commanded his followers to do it, I could ſee no way to refuſe payment of that ceſs, unleſs I had claſhed with that command of paying tribute to Ceſar. So, to evite the ſcandal of compliance on the one hand, and diſobedience to the magiſtrate, in matter of cuſtom, on the other, I came to a determination to give in my ceſs to the collector of the ſhire of Ayr, with a proteſtation againſt the magiſtrate's ſinful qualification of his commands, and a full adherence unto theſe meetings of God's people called *conventicles*, which in the act, he declared his deſign to bear down. I had no ſooner done this, but—it was ſaid, that my proteſtation was only to evite ſufferings, and could be of no weight, being *proteſtatio contra in facto*. But being perſuaded that it is the magiſtrate's right to impoſe and exact ceſs and cuſtom, I could have no clearneſs to ſtate my ſufferings in oppoſition to ſo expreſs a command of God. And as to the magiſtrate's ſinful qualification, having ſo openly declared and proteſted againſt it, I conceive the cenſure of this, to evite ſufferings is groundleſs, ſeeing that the enemy has ſubſcribed with my hand, before witneſſes a reſolute adherence to that which they ſay this leads to overthrow; and, if he mind to perſecute upon the ground of owning conventicles, he has a fair and full occaſion againſt me under my hand, &c.

Thus far he. But to do juſtice to thoſe who refuſed to pay this ceſs, I muſt briefly relate their ſentiments on this head. Thus they allowed, 1. That tribute and cuſtom are to be paid to the perſons ordained by God; but the impoſition of tyrants, enacted and exacted for promoting their wicked deſigns againſt religion and liberty, are no ways due; and therefore it is no equity to pay them. 2. It is lawful to pay them when due, either by law or contract, even though they ſhould afterwards be abuſed to pernicious ends; but theſe payments for ſuch wicked ends, either particularly ſpecified in the very act appointing them, or openly avouched by the exactions, are of another nature from impoſitions fundamentally appointed for the public good. 3. It is ſometimes lawful to pay them, even when illegally exacted, if afterwards they were, by dedition or voluntary engagement, legally ſubmitted to by the true repreſentatives: but not ſo when they were never either lawfully enacted or legally exacted, or voluntarily engaged by the repreſentatives, except ſuch as repreſent the enſlavement of the nation, and betrayal the country, religion, liberty, property, and all perſons intereſts, and declaredly impoſed to further the diſtruction of all. If it be objected, that Chriſt paid cuſtom lest he ſhould offend, and that the Jews wondered at his prudent anſwer, 'Render to Ceſar the things that are Ceſar's, and to God the things that are God's, it is ſufficient to obſerve that he taught them, in general, to give nothing to Ceſar in prejudice to that which is God's; and conſequently it muſt be unlawful to pay a tax that is appointed for ſuppreſſing the worſhip of God, where ever it is performed agreeable to his word. And to make the caſe parallel, it is no leſs than blaſphemy to ſay that Chriſt would have paid, or permitted his followers to pay a tax, profeſſedly impoſed for levying a war againſt himſelf, or baniſhing him and his diſciples out of the land, or to fill the mouths of the greedy phariſees; or that he would have paid, or ſuffered to pay their extortions, if they had been exacted of him or his diſciples, for his preaching or working miracles; or if help or hire had been demanded for the encouraging thoſe that ran to ſtone him for his good deeds. 4. It is lawful to pay a part to preſerve the whole, when it is extorted only by force and threatnings, and not exacted by law; when it is yielding only to a leſſer ſuffering, and not conſenting to a ſin to ſhift ſuffering; for though, no doubt, a man may give a robber a part to ſave his life, or preſerve the reſt, yet, if the robbers require not only a part for himſelf and his underlings, but demand it for this very end, that he may be in caſe to murder his father, mother, wife, children and friends, whom he has in his power; the queſtion is, Whether it would be lawful for any perſon to comply in theſe circumſtances? but the impoſers of the ceſs did not look upon themſelves as robbers, but claimed this exaction as a juſt debt; and that, for this declared purpoſe, to enable them to beat down the aſſemblies of Gods faithful people. 5. It is lawful paſſively, by forcible conſtraint, to ſubmit to the execution of ſuch wicked ſentences as impoſe thoſe burdens, if it be not by way of obedience to them; this is ſuffering and not ſinning. But it is unlawful to comply with the payment of a ceſs, when impoſed with an evident deſign to overthrow the work of God, and haraſs and proſecute his people. The duty, in that caſe, is to take joyfully the ſpoiling of our goods, and not to comply with ſinful demands. 6. It is lawful, of two evils of ſufferings, to chuſe the leaſt, when they are in our choice; but this is not the preſent caſe. It is true, there is this alternative, either to comply and pay the ceſs, or elſe to be expoſed to the rigorous oppreſſions of the laws then made. If the firſt could be done without ſin, then it doubtleſs might, to avoid the terrible conſeqnences of the laſt. But, as an active compliance with the former is ſinful, we are to chuſe ſuffering rather than ſin. When Chriſt was toſſed at ſea with his diſciples, had the Jewiſh rulers given peremptory orders to furniſh money for paying thoſe whom they

they were to employ to ſink the ſhip, can it be imagined that any of the lovers of Jeſus would have complied with their demands? Now, has not Chriſt, and all the intereſt he hath in the nation, been embarked, as it were in one bottom? And have not the rulers ſent their peremptory orders to pay a ceſs for ſinking his floating intereſt? Can any who profeſs to love him comply with this? Can this compliance, eſpecially, be given into by thoſe, who, by ſolemn covenant, were obliged to maintain and defend it? Thus I have given a brief account of ſome of thoſe things ſaid in behalf of thoſe who refuſed this ceſs. The reader will find this point largely diſcuſſed in *the Hind let looſe*, from which I have taken theſe hints. I now go on to the ſubſequent occurences.

On the firſt of Auguſt, John Millar in Kirkaldy, David Barclay, Robert Murnoek, and ſeven or eight more, were brought before the council for having been at ſeveral field-conventicles. They refuſed to ſwear againſt any who were preſent with them, and ſo had a ſentence of tranſportation paſſed againſt them.

They likeways renewed their former act, requiring all concerned in the execution of the laws to take the oath of allegiance and declaration, and appointed their act to be printed and ſent to the members of inferior judicatures, town-council, and magiſtrates. It ſeems William Stirling, bailie depute of the regality of Glaſgow, had not exerted himſelf ſufficiently in ſuppreſſing conventicles; and therefore on the 14th of Auguſt, he was ordered to appear before the council, where he having alledged, that being newly veſted with that office, he was unacquainted with the methods of the court, the lords required him to be more diligent for the future, and ſo diſmiſſed him. The ſame day Sir James Stewart late provoſt of Edinburgh, who had, for ſome time, been priſoner in the caſtle, was, by reaſon of his old age and infirmities, ſet at liberty, upon giving a bond of 10,000 merks to appear when called. At the ſame time Thomas Kennedy of Grange, confeſſing that he had been at a conventicle laſt year, was fined in 800 merks, which he preſently paid, and was diſcharged.

Next day the council wrote two letters, the one to Dundonald to order Mr Wyllie to appear before them on the 11th of September, and provide a proper tutor for lord Semple; the other to the bailie of Montroſe, concerning a conventicle near that place, at which ſeveral attended in arms; but the matter was dropt. The ſame day the magiſtrates of Ayr were ordered to apprehend Mr John Cunningham, chamberlain to the laird of Enterkin, for harbouring Mr John Welſh.

About the end of this month a conſiderable number, both of the indulged and not indulged miniſters, met at Edinburgh, for compoſing the differences that had ariſen on account of the indulgence, which ſeveral had been touching againſt, and, as ſome apprehended, carried things to an exceſs in their ſermons. They had two probationers before them, but to little purpoſe; a third declined to converſe with them, or be ſubject to their admonitions.

We have related how diſſatisfactory the indulgence was to many, and how the acceptance of it offended numbers, becauſe it flowed entirely from the ſupremacy. On the ſeventh of October 1671, the Rev. Mr John Livingſton wrote a letter from Roterdam to his pariſhioners of Ancrum, in which he condemned thoſe who accepted the indulgence, without any public teſtimony either of their adherence to the oath of God, and Work of Reformation, or againſt the uſurpations of the civil magiſtrate upon the royal prerogative of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: and among other things tells them, 'if any miniſters have had a hand in contriving or procuring that indulgence, I ſuppoſe they have done more miſchief to the church of Chriſt in that land [Scotland] than all the prelates and all their hirelings.' Beſides, the reader will obſerve, that theſe worthy perſons, who had not freedom to accept of the indulgence, were expoſed to the rage of the perſecutors, and deprived of all their liberties both civil and ſacred; and therefore, though they had expreſſed themſelves in their ſermons in terms that could not be altogether juſtified, had they not great provocation? And when they are convinced that the indulgence was injurious to Chriſt as head of the church, flowing from and depending upon the magiſtrate's ſupremacy; that it was inconſiſtent with preſbyterian principles; that it invaded the rights of the Chriſtian people, not only by depriving many of them of their own miniſters, but alſo obliging them to ſubmit to any the council ſhould ſend them; that by this eraſtianiſm was eſtabliſhed; were they to be condemned in preaching againſt it, nay, and in bearing their teſtimony againſt the accepters of it? I doubt not in the leaſt but many who accepted the indulgence were worthy and valuable perſons; but *humanum eſt lubi*, and it was certainly the duty of miniſters to concert meaſures for bringing about peace and union; but, at the ſame time, how they were to be condemned, who, for the ſake of union, could not renounce their principles, muſt be left with the reader. It is certain exceſſes of all kinds are to be avoided; but it is not to be wondered at, that, when the infection of apoſtacy did ſo univerſally prevail, ſome exceeded the bounds of moderation in ſhewing their zeal againſt it.

On the 11th of September, Patrick MacDougal, Mr James Laurie of French, Thomas Hay of Park, John Blair of Dunſkey, Andrew Agnew of Sheuchan, Alexander Veitch of Glen, William Veitch tenant to Glencranſtoun, and Adam Ruſſel late bailie of Peebles, were proſecuted for houſe and field conventicles. They who appeared were acquitted.

The ſame day Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, in conſequence of a letter from the king, was ordered to be removed from the tolbooth of Edinburgh to the caſtle of Dumbarton. This gentleman had been impriſoned in September 1675, and was ordered to be releaſed in February 1676. If that order was complied with, it would ſeem he was again committed to priſon; for it is plain he was at this time in goal at Edinburgh.

Another letter from his majeſty was read in council, at the ſame time requiring them to raiſe two Highland companies, each conſiſting of 150 men, beſides officers, for putting a ſtop to the depredations in the Highlands, whether this order was complied with, my author did not find from the regiſters. The ſuppreſſing of conventicles took up moſt of their time; for at the ſame meeting they ordered the arms and papers of non-conformiſts to be ſearched for and ſeized. And next day ſoldiers were ſent to Coupar of Fife for executing whatever orders they ſhould receive from the council, or their committee, or the major general. They alſo enjoined the magiſtrates of Kirkcaldy to proceed againſt thoſe that had left their pariſh church to frequent conventicles, and thanked the magiſtrates of Dundee for their care in this reſpect. They likewiſe wrote to the marquis of Douglas, deſiring him to preſent John Haddoway, James and William Clelands, in conſequence of his bond to produce them when called. They had been before the council 1677, for being at conventicles; but upon his lordſhip's bond the proceſs againſt them was delayed. At the ſame meeting the chancellor produced a letter from the earl of Dundonald, ſignifying that the commiſſioners of aſſeſſment for the ſhire of Renfrew ſcrupled the declaration, which they conceived related to burghs, and not to ſhires; whereupon they ordered that both the allegiance and declaration ſhould be tendered to them, and a liſt of the recuſants, &c. ſhould be ſent to the council. And, on the 13th of September, both theſe were re-impoſed on the burghs. At which time James Moſman was fined in 1000 merks, William Laing and another in 500 merks a piece; and ſix or ſeven more, all tenants of the laird of Cavers, 100 merks each for hearing Mr Welſh and other ejected miniſters; and the council gave them to know, that, unleſs they paid their reſpective fines againſt next November, they ſhall be tranſported. And they actually paſſed ſentence of tranſportation againſt Mr John Harroway, for preaching, baptizing and marrying without epiſcopal ordination, and refuſing to declare, upon oath, who the preſbyterian miniſters were by whom he was ordained. Robert Dick, merchant in Preſtonpans, was likewiſe indicted for being at a conventicle, and refuſing to clear himſelf by oath, he was declared guilty, and ordered to be baniſhed. They likewiſe ordered the earl of Linlithgow to bring in ſeveral perſons priſoners who had lately been at a conventicle near Renfrew. The ſame day they wrote to lord MacDonald ordering him to come before them on the 27th, and give

ſecurity

ecurity for the peace of the bounds; but he was in no haste to obey their ſummons. And on the 16th the biſhop of Glaſgow was admitted a counſellor and a member of the committee for public affairs.

While the council was thus taken up about conventicles the trial of James and George Learmonts, William Temple, Robert Hepburn of Eaſt-fenton, and William Bryſon younger in Dumbar, came on before the juſtice court, conſiſting of lord Carrington juſtice general, lords Collingtoun, Strathord, Caſtlehill, Forret and Newton. They ſat down on the 11th of September, and the priſoners were indicted for being at the conventicle over againſt the Baſs, and being art and part in the murder of the ſoldier, &c. In the beginning of the proceſs the advocate paſſed from Hepburn and Bryſon, in order to purſue them before the council for field conventicles. Mr David Thoirs, advocate for the priſoners, pleaded that their ſimple preſence, in a croud of a thouſand perſons, cannot make them guilty; and offered to prove that they came unarmed; and that others, declared fugitives, and not them, were ſeen to ſtrike the deceaſed with ſwords and halberts, whereas the priſoners retired before the engagement. The king's advocate replied, that field conventicles were rendezvouzes of rebellion, and the priſoners preſence there in arms was enough to prove them guilty, which he undertook to make good. The lords, in their interlocutor, declared that preſence at field conventicles, and giving council and command, infer guilt, and accordingly referred the ſame to be proved.

The witneſſes were examined; and James Manderſtoun ſwore that he ſaw James Learmont at a field conventicle May the fifth; that he had no arms; but that he heard him ſay, Let no cowards be here to day; but let ſuch as have arms go out to the forefide; that he ſaw William Temple there with a ſword. Other two witneſſes ſwore much to the ſame purpoſe; but none ſwore that James Learmont had an actual concern in the engagement. In his laſt ſpeech he tells us, that the jury, at firſt, declared he was not guilty of the blood that was ſhed. Their verdict was, 'That they found William Temple guilty of being at the conventicle libelled, near the place where the man was killed, with a ſword under his arm, but not drawn; as alſo, that James Learmont was not only guilty of preſence, but of words, conform to the depoſition of witneſſes.'

When this was given in the advocate declared that they deſerved the diet againſt George Learmont. Several others who were at the ſaid conventicle, as Sheriff, Cowan, Dawſon, Brock, Miller and Bull, were called, and not appearing were declared fugitives, and outlawed. Next day, September 13th, the following ſentence was pronounced, viz. That James Learmont be taken to the Grafs-market of Edinburgh, on Friday the 27th inſtant, and there have his head ſevered from his body, &c. No ſentence was this day pronounced againſt Will. Temple; and though, according to their own law, he was certainly more guilty than James Learmont, yet a ſentence of tranſportation was all that paſſed againſt him.

This good man, James Learmont, was executed on the 27th according to his ſentence. In his laſt ſpeech, which is recorded in Naphtali, he bore an honourable teſtimony to the covenants and work of reformation, againſt popery, prelacy &c. prayed that God would give repentance, to thoſe who were acceſſory to his death, exhorted all people to ſhew loyalty to the king and all lawful magiſtrates, and all their juſt and lawful commands, in ſo far as they agreed with the word of God: and concluded his long ſpeech with theſe words, 2 Tim iv. 7, 8. 'I have fought a good fight, &c. Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even ſo come Lord Jeſus.'

On the 9th of October a letter from the king was read in council, ſignifying that he had granted commiſſions to raiſe a regiment of foot conſiſting of eight companies, and three troops of horſe of ſixty men each, beſides officers, for ſecuring the kingdom from foreign invaſions and inteſtine commotions, and requiring all the officers of the former and new levied forces to repair to their reſpective poſts upon pain of diſpleaſure. Upon this the council appointed the earls of Moray, Wigtoun, and Linlithgow, the biſhop of Galloway, (for he muſt be employed for the church in military affairs) the lords Elphingſton, Reh and Collingtoun, and Mr Maitland, or any three of them, to meet the 22d inſtant, and deliver commiſſions to the officers named by his majeſty, and to order them to rendezvous on the links of Leith the laſt Thurſday of November.

The ſame day Mr James Hamilton, the indulged miniſter at Evandale, was rebuked before the council for preaching in a vacancy, and ſo breaking his confinement; but, that being his firſt fault, he was diſmiſſed without any farther cenſure. And, at the ſame ſederunt, Alex. Buchanan in Bucklyvie, And. Buchanan in Shirgarton, and about ſeven others, were baniſhed for conventicles, and ordered to be kept priſoners till they ſhould be tranſported.

Next day the council appointed garriſons in ſeveral places of the Highlands, for preſerving the peace there, and permitted Dame Margaret Ker to wait upon the lord of Polwart, a priſoner in Dumbarton caſtle, till the 6th of November next.

In November a proceſs commenced againſt ſome of the indulged miniſters in the ſhire of Renfrew, as Mr Pat. Simpſon and Mr Jam. Wallace, for breaking their confinement: of which more next year. And on the ſeventh, Tho. and Will. Govans, Alex. Anderſon, Rob. Paterſon, James Wilſon, John Jervie, Jam. Brown, Nich. Cliſſhie, Dav. Kid, and John Arnot, having confeſſed their being preſent at conventicles, and refuſing to declare upon oath who preached, or who elſe were preſent, were baniſhed to the plantations, Mr John Govan denying that he was at the conventicles charged againſt him, and only had converſed with Mr Foreſter his brother-in-law, was ordered to ly in priſon till his caſe ſhould be farther conſidered. He was however ſet at liberty on the 11th of November. At the ſame time the council wrote to the lord MacDonald, commanding him to appear before them on the 28th inſtant. But that popiſh lord had a friend in court, and ſo paid but little regard to the charge.

On the 14th Mr A. Peden petitioned the council to be releaſed from Edinburgh jail, and permitted to repair to Ireland, eſpecially as he had not been charged with houſe or field conventicles for theſe twelve years paſt; but, inſtead of granting his petition, they ordered him to be tranſported to Virginia. After his ſentence was paſſed it was reported that Mr Peden ſeveral times ſaid, That that ſhip was not yet built that ſhould carry him or the other priſoners to any of the Engliſh plantations in America.

The ſame day a letter came from the king concerning raiſing and modelling 5000 foot and 500 horſe out of the militia; and the council ſent up inſtructions relating to this for his majeſty's approbation. Next day, November the 15th, they iſſued a proclamation for obſerving a public faſt on the 18th of December next, on account of the popiſh plot diſcovered in England.

The chief promoters and authors of this were, Pope Innocent XI. Cardinal Howard, Johannes Paulus de Oliva general of the Jeſuits at Rome, Pedro Jeronymo de Oxeda provincial of the Jeſuits in New Caſtile, La Chaiſe confeſſor to Lewis XIV. the provincial of the Jeſuits in England, the Benedictine monks at the Savoy, the Jeſuits and ſeminary prieſts in England, who were then in number about 1800, the lords Petre, Powis, Bellaſis, Arundel of Wardour, Stafford, and ſeveral perſons of quality. The deſign was to murder the king, ſubvert the conſtitution, introduce popery, and extirpate the proteſtant religion. When the king was taken off, the duke of York was to receive the crown as a gift from the pope, and hold it in fee. If any diſturbance happened, the city of London was to be ſet on fire, and the infamy of the whole was to be laid upon the preſbyterians and fanatics, in order to excite the church to cut them to pieces, the better to make way for the eaſier ſubverſion of the whole proteſtant religion. This plot was diſcovered, and ſeveral were executed for being concerned in it: and though it was diſcredited by many, yet it is plain the managers in Scotland believed it; and therefore, as I have obſerved, appointed a ſolemn faſt to be obſerved. As to the particulars of this wicked conſpiracy, I muſt refer the reader to the Engliſh hiſtorians, and go on to obſerve, That, on the 18th of November, Sir George MacKenzie was made juſtice-

juſtice-general, and Craigie juſtice-clerk. And, on the 11th, Thomas Wauch merchant in Hawick, William Turnbull, and Margaret Barclay, were ſentenced to be baniſhed for houſe and field-conventicles, becauſe they refuſed to ſwear as to the circumſtances of them.

The popiſh plot, above mentioned, had filled the nation with conſternation; and therefore, on the 28th, the council ordered the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the earls of Moray and Linlithgow, the biſhop of Galloway, lord Halton, Mr Maitland, and Haddo, or any two of them, to inſpect the papers lately ſeized by the earl of Moray, and appointed the committee of public affairs to meet next day, and conſider the affair of the papiſts. But it is plain they could make no diſcoveries: for, on the 30th, they wrote to the king, in which they congratulate his majeſty upon the diſcovery of the plot, and aſſured him, that, after the ſtricteſt ſearch, they could not find that any in this kingdom had been concerned in that execrable and impious conſpiracy, and promiſed that they would not fail to make a farther inquiry. They wrote at the ſame time to Lauderdale much to the ſame purpoſe. And, December the 12th, ordered the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to ſearch through Edinburgh, Leith, and Canongate, next Sabbath and the following, for houſes where papiſts aſſembled and ſaid maſs, and to apprehend the prieſts, and all they ſhould find at theſe meetings, and impriſon them. They likewiſe wrote to the ſteward of Annandale to order a meeting houſe that had been lately erected near Caſtlemilk to be burnt and deſtroyed, and to ſend the names of thoſe by whom it was ordered to be built. So much for the proceedings againſt the papiſts. But what were theſe in compariſon of the methods of rigour, oppreſſion and tyranny taken with proteſtant non-conformiſts, whom they hunted like patridges on the mountains, fined, confined, impriſoned and baniſhed? For, on this very 12th of December, the council gave a warrant to the earl of Linlithgow to ſend a party to receive the following perſons, who had received ſentence of tranſportation for houſe and field conventicles, and to deliver them to Edward Johnſton maſter of the St Michael of Scarborough, then lying at Leith, viz. James, John and Robert Maxwells, William Urie, James Lickprevick and Robert Reid, all in Cathcart; William Niven in Eaſtwood; James Blackwood and David Corſbie in Carmonnock; Archibald Haddoway, John Bowie, William Hay, Mungo Cochran, John Anderſon ſervant, John Cumming, Arthur Dougal, William Rae, Gabriel Thomſon merchant, and William Steven, all in Glaſgow; David Ferguſon and Edward Gray in Bridgend; Mr Robert Meikle chaplain to Sir James Stewart, Stephen Porteous taylor in Canongate; John Clerk writer, Patrick Somervel and William Hackſton in Edinburgh; Adam Stobie of Luſcar, James Moſman of Mount, William Laing, John Cavers, Mr John Harroway, Robert Dykes, John and William Newmans, James Miller in Kirkaldy; George Alexander in Newburgh; David Barclay in Cowquhalty, Gilbert Marnock chapman, Thomas Mowbray, Alexander Stuart, James Law and John Fairbairn, all in Kirkliſtoun; William Angus in Aberuthven; James Brown, Robert Puntoun in Dalmenie: Richard Clidſdale, Mr Adam Abercorn chaplain to lady Cavers; William Turnbull brother to Beulie; — Cuningham cook to the earl of Strathmore; William Temple in Lintoun, Mr Alexander Peden miniſter, James Fyde, Robert Reid wright in Langſide; Thomas and William Govans, and Alexander Anderſon, ſervants; John Graham, Alexander and John Buchanans, Andrew Bowie, Walter MacGechan, John Urie, Daniel MacDonald, David Kid, John Arnot, John Jervie in Falkirk, and John Rae. Sixty ſeven in all.

They were delivered to Johnſton for the benefit of Williamſon, who was to carry them to Virginia. Mr Peden was of great ſervice to his fellow ſufferers, and frequently aſſured them of deliverance. Though they had a tedious paſſage between Leith and Graveſend, yet when they came thither Mr Williamſon was not there; where fore Mr Johnſton, who had the charge of their maintenance, after waiting ſome ſmall time for Williamſon, ſet them on ſhore to ſhift for themſelves. They received great kindneſs from the country, when they knew the cauſe of their ſufferings; and they generally got home to their own country. Mr Peden returned to Scotland about the month of June next year.

Alexander Anderſon, one of theſe exiles, who was not ſixteen years of age, in a paper he left behind him, dated December the 10th, takes notice, 'That he is the youngeſt priſoner in Scotland, and that the Lord had opened his eyes, and revealed his Son in his heart ſince he came under the croſs; that, though he had much difficulty to part with his friends and relations, yet he had now found that fellowſhip with Chriſt did much more than balance the want of the company of his deareſt relations. He declared his adherence to the work of reformation from popery and prelacy, to the national and ſolemn league and covenants, and witneſſed againſt pulling down the government of Chriſt's houſe, and ſetting up lordly prelacy, and joining with them. He regretted the indulgence, as what upon both ſides had been matter of ſtumbling and offence among good people; and declared his fears that a black and diſmal day was coming upon Scotland; that it is good to ſeek the Lord, and draw near to him, &c.

On the 19th of December James Daes of Coldingknows was obliged to beg pardon on his knees, for ſpeaking ſome words againſt the management of affairs at that time. The ſame day they had a letter from the king, thanking them for their care in moddelling the militia, and for the diſtribution they made of the 5000 foot and 500 horſe in the different ſhires through the kingdom; for by this means the militia, from which the ſaid foot and horſe were taken, effectually anſwered all the ends of a large ſtanding army, and was a promiſing method to bear down and ruin the preſbyterians. Every one of them for himſelf, as well as every one of the regular forces was appointed to take the following oath: viz. '*I. A. B.* do ſwear to be true and faithful to my ſovereign lord king Charles, and his lawful ſucceſſors, and, in my ſtation, to maintain the preſent government in church and ſtate as it is now eſtabliſhed by law, and to oppoſe, to my power, the damnable principle of taking up arms againſt the king, or thoſe commiſſionate by him, upon any pretext whatſoever; and to be obedient in all things to his majeſty's major general or commander in chief, authoriſed by his majeſty for the time being, and will behave myſelf obediently to my ſuperior officers in all that they ſhall command me for his majeſty's ſervice. And I do farther ſwear, that I will be a true, faithful and obedient ſoldier, every way performing my beſt endeavours for his majeſty's ſervice obeying all orders, and ſubmitting to all ſuch rules and articles of war as are or ſhall be eſtabliſhed by his majeſty. *So help me God.*

To the tranſactions of this year I ſhall add a few things of which I have not the particular dates. Some time of it, when colonel Struthers was purſuing all Scotſmen in the northern counties of England, Henry Hall of Haughhead was engaged in a ſkirmiſh near Crocktom, a village on the Engliſh border, where that gallant and religious gentleman Thomas Ker of Hayhope was killed. Mr Hall after this came down to Scotland, where we ſhall meet with him next year. He had a religious education, and oppoſed the public reſolution. After the reſtoration he was a great enemy to prelacy, and ſuffered many hardſhips; ſo that he was obliged to leave his eſtate, and retire into the north of England in 1665. In the year 1666 he was taken when coming from Pentland, and, with ſome others impriſoned in Ceſford-caſtle; but was releaſed by the favour of the earl of Roxburgh who was his relation. Then he again retired to Northumberland, where he was very uſeful.

James Graham of Claverhouſe, who will make a diſmal figure in the next volume, came this year with a numerous party of ſoldiers, took free quarters for ſeveral days in the houſe of Gilbert MacMeihen in New-Glenluce pariſh; and when they went off, though they had conſumed ten times the value of the ceſs, they carried with them three horſes worth 10l. ſterling. John Arrol, who commanded this party, was killed next year at Drumclog, and had his bowels trod out by a horſe.

At another time this year an officer came with a company of wild Highlanders, and fired upon a number of people aſſembled for the worſhip of God at the hill of Coltenachar in Perthſhire. By a kind providence one An-

drew Breddy was the only perſon who was killed. He left behind him a wife and four children.

We have had frequent occaſion to mention the Rev. Mr Blackadder, who, before the reſtoration, was miniſter at Troqueir near Dumfries. When the reſt of his brethren were ejected a party of the guards came to ſeize him, but he was out of the way. His wife and children, to whom the ſoldiers were very rude, were forced to retire to Barndennoch in the pariſh of Glencairn. In the year 1665 being with his wife at Edinburgh, a party of Sir James Turner's men came at midnight, turned their children out of their beds, and obliged one of them, in his ſhirt, to hold the candle till they ſearched the houſe, and went through Mr Blackadder's books and papers, and took away what they pleaſed. The manner in which they threatened the poor children is ſo ſhocking, that I forbear to mention it. After this he was forced to leave that houſe and ſcatter his family. Mr Blackadder was one of thoſe who preached in the fields, was againſt the indulgence, and continued in that practice till this year, when he went over to Holland, and was very uſeful in healing the breaches between Mr MacWard and Mr Fleming. We ſhall hear more of him next year.

It will now be proper to give ſome account of the ſufferings of the Rev. Mr James Webſter, who after the revolution was miniſter in Edinburgh, and died 1720. This worthy perſon ſtudied in the univerſity of St Andrews. About three or four days before the claſs was to receive their degrees, an order came from the archbiſhop to remove him from the claſs, becauſe he had not regularly attended upon ordinances as diſpenſed by epiſcopal miniſters. He was this year apprehended in the town of Dundee on the Lord's day afternoon, when at a private meeting for prayer, conference, and reading the ſcriptures. Next day the magiſtrates informed the council that they had ſeized a conventicle with Mr Webſter the preacher. The perſons taken with him were fined by order of the council; and he was kept 18 months priſoner. With difficulty he was releaſed upon urging the indemnity 1679, for he was yet no preacher. About the year 1685 or 1680, when he was living peaceably in the houſe of Grier of Diſcanth, a party of lord William Douglas's troop came on a Sabbath morning, and carried him to Dumfries. He was examined on the ordinary queſtions and was put into the thieves-hole, along with John Clerk a farmer, and John Haldane a weaver, who had for their companions three men who were in hold for robbery, murder and beſtiality. Mr Webſter and his two friends were kept in this naſty place about three weeks, and after that removed to the Pledge houſe, the uſual priſon for debitors, and was confined there four weeks, and then releaſed by lieutenant-general Drummond. The gentleman in whoſe houſe he was apprehended was likewiſe kept priſoner for ſome time. Soon after this Mr Webſter was a third time taken priſoner when walking the ſtreets of Edinburgh, but the viſcount of Strathallan quickly let him go.

I ſhall conclude this chapter by juſt mentioning the ſufferings of the Reverend Mr Alexander Wilſon miniſter at Cameron, in the preſbytery of St Andrews, from which he was ejected with others. About the beginning of November this year an order was procured by Sharp from the council, requiring the magiſtrates of Coupar to baniſh Mr Wilſon and his family from that town in forty eight hours after they received the orders. The intimation of this came to their hands on Saturday, when at the preparation ſermon before the ſacrament to be diſpenſed by an epiſcopal miniſter next day, ſo that they had patience till Monday, when the magiſtrates came to Mr Wilſon and intimated the orders to his wife, for he had thought proper to withdraw. They commanded her to leave the town in 24 hours. There was no withſtanding. Six ſmall children, with one of them ſick, could procure no favour. She therefore removed to a neighbour's houſe that very night, and next day the doors of her own houſe were ſecured; ſo that with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could get as much of her own furniture as could ſerve her neceſſity; and, had it not been for the lady Preſtonhall Mr Wilſon muſt have had no ſhelter. However, he survived his troubles, and returned to his flock at Cameron after the revolution.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the proſecution for conventicles, and other branches of nonconformity, together with the violent death of the archbiſhop of St Andrews, till the riſing at Bothwel.

ON the 2d of January 1679, the council wrote to the archbiſhop of St Andrews, and the biſhops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, enjoining them to call the maſters of the univerſities, and other ſchool-maſters, before them, and oblige them to take the oaths appointed them by law, and to deprive the recuſants; for they were reſolved that none ſhould be entruſted with the education of youth but thoſe of their own principles. We ſhall afterwards hear what was the effect of this.

On the 4th, Mr T. Warner, who had been indulged to the pariſh of Balmaclellan, was ſummoned before the council for not keeping his confinement, converſing with intercommuned perſons, and preaching at conventicles, and not appearing was outlawed. However, he ſurvived this tragical period, and continued at Balmaclellan till the day of his death 1716.

On the 9th Mrs Margaret Barclay, niece of Sir David Barclay of Collernie, who had for ſome time been in priſon at Edinburgh for being at private meetings, was ſet at liberty for the recovery of her health, upon giving ſecurity for 500 merks to return to jail by the 20th, if called, or when called, and mean while to confine herſelf to her room under the ſame penalty.

After many conſultations held about the end of the laſt year, for ſuppreſſing the preſbyterians, regulating the forces, collecting the ceſs, and other things of the like nature, at laſt, on the 9th of January, the committee of the council for public affairs agreed to ſend the following overtures to his majeſty for his approbation. 1. That the council appoint ſheriff-deputes, and other officers, to put the laws in execution, only againſt ſuch as withdraw from public ordinances, keep conventicles, are guilty of diſorderly baptiſms and marriages, harbour or converſe with fugitives, and intercommuned perſons, or vagant preachers, and may renew the commiſſions given to noblemen, &c. in Auguſt 1677, and give them ſuch other inſtructions as they ſhall think proper. 2. That the ſoldiers have orders to diſperſe conventicles by force of arms, and be indemnified for killing or wounding, in caſe any of theſe meetings make reſiſtance when commanded to diſmiſs in the king's name. 3. That the ſoldiers have power to ſeize and impriſon the preacher, and as many others as they can conveniently carry with them, until they find bail to anſwer for their crimes, &c. And, ſays the overture, 'in regard the multitudes, who frequent theſe rendezvouſes of rebellion, are ſuch as they cannot at all be ſeized, nor probation eaſily led againſt them, the ſoldiers be impowered to take from the reſt of the perſons found thereat (whom they cannot conveniently carry to priſon) their upper-garments, that the ſame may be a means of conviction, and an evidence againſt them; and that the ſoldiers be impowered to take all the arms that any perſon ſhall be found to have at theſe ſeditious meetings, and the horſes of any that ſhall have arms.' 4. That none be allowed to enter into the ſecond claſs in colleges, nor received apprentices, till they oblige themſelves to hear the church. 5. That his majeſty would be pleaſed to order the council to ſee, that act 5. ſeſſ. 2. and act 2. ſeſſ. 3. of his firſt parl. appointing magiſtrates and council of burghs, and others in public truſt, to take the declaration, and all the acts concerning pedagogues, chaplains, and ſchool-maſters, diſcharging them to officiate without licence from their reſpective ordinaries, and the acts and proclamations of council publiſhed thereupon, be put in due execution. 6. That the king would order the lords of the treaſury to pay 500 l. ſterling, to any who ſhould apprehend Mr John Welſh; 3000 merks for apprehending of any of their preachers who are declared traitors; 2000 merks, for each of thoſe preachers who are declared fugitives, or are intercommuned; and 900 merks for every other field preacher. And, 7. That the council proceed againſt all the indulged miniſters who do not obſerve their orders; and that, upon the decreaſe of any of them, the vacancy be ſupplied by the orthodox miniſters.

Theſe

Theſe overtures for ſuppreſſing ſchiſm, &c. were all approved of by the council, and ſent to his majeſty, who ordered the council to put them in execution, which they did accordingly.—Whence we may ſee the ſpirit of the then prevailing party, and that the execution of theſe things could not fail of exaſperating people to the higheſt degree. Such powers given to the military were not unprecedented, but entirely ſubverſive of the liberties of the ſubject.

While theſe things were in agitation, the council, on the 16th of January, wrote to Lauderdale, deſiring him to interpoſe with the king to allow one of his frigates to tranſport thoſe under ſentence of baniſhment to the plantations. Mr Peden and others, who had been ſent off laſt year, having been ſet at liberty, as has been related, the granting this would for the future prevent the like: whether this was complied with I know not; however, it is eaſy to ſee with what rigour they were willing to proceed againſt thoſe whom they called diſorderly perſons.

On the 19th, Mr William Veitch (after the revolution miniſter at Dumfries) returning in the night time to his own houſe to ſee his ſick child, was apprehended by major Oglethorp carried to Morpeth jail, and notice ſent to the court. He had been obliged to retire into the north of England, where he preached with great ſucceſs, and met with many remarkable eſcapes ſince the year 1671.

On the 23d, James Lawſon, a boy of 14 years of age, who had been impriſoned for being at conventicles (for under this adminiſtration no age was thought too young to be attacked) was, after ſome weeks confinement, ſet at liberty, the counſellors being juſtly aſhamed of ſuch ſeverity to a child.

The ſame day the council publiſhed a large proclamation againſt papiſts, but, like all others of this nature, no care was taken by the biſhops or judges to proſecute them; only G. Young, a popiſh prieſt, was, by order of the council, this day ſent to the Baſs. At the ſame ſederunt the biſhop of Galloway obtained the king's diſpenſation for non reſidence.

On the 31ſt the king's letter of the 25th was read in council, ordering them to receive upon the borders Mr Veitch, then priſoner at Morpeth, and confine him to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and proceed againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity of law. He was accordingly brought in priſoner to Edinburgh.

When ſuch oppreſſive meaſures were taken, it was pity that any thing ſhould have happened to divide preſbyterians among themſelves; but the indulgence being accepted by ſome, and refuſed by others as inconſiſtent with their principles, they who had not complied therewith looked upon it as their duty to bear teſtimony againſt it; and ſeveral at this time began, more than was formerly done, to preach up ſeparation from the indulged. And indeed no attempts were able to reconcile many of theſe people to thoſe who had given into ſuch a courſe of defection, as they juſtly looked upon the indulgence to be. Nay, conſiderable numbers broke off from the indulged; and, however ſome may condemn their conduct, yet they, no doubt, acted conſiſtent with their principles. Nevertheleſs ſome vacant pariſhes privately called preſbyterian miniſters to ſettle among them, as Mr Matthew Crawfurd to Lesmahago, and Mr Neil Gillies to Greenock.

On the 6th of February the council ordered the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and other patrons, to turn the following perſons out of their charges, unleſs they take the oaths on or before the firſt of March next, viz. Meſſ. Alex. Dickſon, profeſſor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh, Geo. Sinclair ſchool maſter in South Leith, Geo. Allan his aſſiſtant, Alex Strang ſchool maſter in the Canongate, John Govan his aſſiſtant, with James Scot junior; the biſhop of Edinburgh having given information that thoſe perſons had not conformed: notwithſtanding ſeveral, if not all of theſe, choſe rather to undergo a courſe of ſuffering than comply. The ſame day Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart was ſent from Dumbarton to Stirling caſtle, and out of their great goodneſs they allowed his lady to be in the room with him.

The ſame day a proclamation was iſſued, offering the rewards ſpecified in the ſixth of the foregoing overtures. How ſtrange was it, that they, who called themſelves Proteſtant biſhops, ſhould thus proſecute and haraſs the greateſt enemies to popery in the nation, while, in the mean time, ſeveral popiſh prieſts and Jeſuits were now ſent down from England!

To execute theſe, and other laws of the ſame nature, the new levied forces were ordered weſt at the particular deſire of the prelates, ſome of them to ly at Glaſgow, in order to prevent the preaching of the goſpel in private houſes, or the adjacent fields; and, on the 13th of February, the army was diſperſed through the ſouthern and weſtern ſhires, in the beſt manner they could; for ſuppreſſing field-aſſemblies. And the council, the better to accompliſh their wicked deſigns, ordered the officers and ſoldiers, whenever they ſaw any number of people in the fields, to apprehend them until they gave bond, and obliged themſelves, under certain penalties, to live orderly, keep their pariſh churches, and not go afterwards to conventicles, &c. The ſame day the council ordered the committee for public affairs to nominate a few of their number to be a ſecret committee, with power to order whom they pleaſed to be apprehended.

Two days after this Mr Patrick Simpſon the indulged miniſter at Kilmacolm, was ordered to be denounced for not anſwering to his ſummons; but it would ſeem he gave a neceſſary excuſe, for he continued in the peaceable exerciſe of his miniſtry at that place ſeveral years thereafter.

On the 18th the magiſtrates of Glaſgow were ordered by the council to turn Mrs Blackwel out of her houſe, and take poſſeſſion of it. Her huſband, Mr T. Blackwel, had been declared fugitive. The ſame day Mr John Wallace, the indulged miniſter at Largs, was called before the council; though no proof could be brought againſt him, yet, becauſe he was not free to anſwer one of their enſnaring queſtions, they declared his indulgence void. At the ſame time the pariſhioners of Balmaclellan were diſcharged from paying any more ſtipend to Mr Warner till farther orders. The ſame day Gordon of Earlſtoun, Gordon of Holm, Gordon of Overbar, Neilſon of Corſack, MacCartney of Blaiket, Maxwell of Hills, Hay of Park, MacDougal of French, MacDougal of Corrochtree, James Johnſtoun late provoſt of Stranraer, William Spittle at Port, —— Johnſtoun collector there, Mr William Cathcart and John Inglis commiſſary of Kirkcudbright, being ſummoned to anſwer for conventicles and harbouring intercommuned perſons, and not appearing, were all ordered to be declared rebels, and outlawed.

Two days after William Page was fined in 1000 l. Scots, John Arnot in Greentide in 500 merks, and Geo. Marſhal in Balvaird in 100 l. Scots, for being at field-conventicles, and they were ordered to ly in priſon till they paid their fines.

On the 22d Mr Veitch was before the committee for public affairs. Sharp preſided, and put many enſnaring queſtions to him, in which he was ſeconded by the biſhop of Edinburgh; ſuch as, Have you taken the covenant? He replied, This honourable board may perceive that I was not of age to take the covenant when you and other miniſters of Scotland tendered it. In ſhort, he ſigned his examination; and though there was nothing found to militate againſt him, yet they gave it as their opinion that he ſhould be ſent to the Baſs till the king's pleaſure be known, becauſe he was forfeited for what they called the rebellion in 1666, and when the council ſat on the 25th, they approved of the judgment of their committee.

On the 25th of February John Inglis was turned out from being commiſſary of Kirkcudbright, but was afterwards remitted to the biſhop of Galloway, to be reponed as he ſaw cauſe.

The army being to march at this time, the council ordered them to be furniſhed with ammunition; and the ſame day appointed ſome, who attended the ſeſſion-houſe as agents, who were ſuſpected to correſpond with the outlawed miniſters, and others, to be called before their committee, and give ſecurity for their good behaviour for the future, or take the oath of allegiance, or elſe be baniſhed the town of Edinburgh. They likewiſe ordered Pat. Glaſs, who had been priſoner theſe four years paſt, to be ſet at liberty on his paying 200 l. of the fines impoſed upon him, and that the town-major have 58 l. ſterling

ſterling for taking Mr Moſman, whom they called a vagrant preacher.

On the 27th they ordered a letter of thanks to be wrote to the earl of Seaforth, for his diligence in ſuppreſſing conventicles in the moſt northern parts.

The ſame day Mr Sam. Nairn, brother to the laird of Sanford, Mr James Rymer in Pitlochie, James Thomſon, — Miller, Will. Beltie, Tho. Neſs, Jam. Neſs, John Wiſheart, and David Heady, were ſummoned before the council for conventicles, and not appearing were denounced and put to the horn. The ſame day Mr James Dalrymple, who had been ordained by Preſbyterian miniſters, was informed againſt for preaching in the fields and in private houſes in Edinburgh, particularly in the houſe of one James Fea. This James Fea, and other of the hearers, were fined in 100 merks each, and the proceſs continued againſt Mr Dalrymple.

In order to proſecute the overtures before mentioned, the council, on the 27th of February, agreed upon a liſt of commiſſioners to execute the laws againſt the Proteſtant non-conformiſts, gave them inſtructions to uſe the utmoſt rigour, and named deputes in the ſeveral ſhires, each clothed with the power of a juſtice of peace, who had anarmy to aſſiſt and ſupport them. The curious reader may ſee the liſts and their inſtructions at large in Wodrow, vol. 2. p. 14. being too long to be inſerted here.

About the beginning of March the forces were ſettled in the particular places aſſigned them, with orders to purſue and ſearch for thoſe who frequented field meetings, to kill all who reſiſted them, to impriſon and deliver to magiſtrates, or ſend into the council, all whom they apprehended. A party of theſe military reformers ſeized about 23 countrymen of the pariſh of Evandale, ſeveral of whom were poor ſcraph erds, and made them ſwear, whether they ſaw anyarmed men going up and down for a month paſt. It would be endleſs to mention all their outrages, how they deſtroyed the corn with their horſes, threw what they could not uſe into the rivers in ſome places, and burnt it in others; ſo that the laws then in being were wholly ſubverſive of the liberties and properties of the ſubject. Theſe were the fruits of prelacy in Scotland!

Lord Roſs, and other officers of the army, made a ſtrict ſearch, through the weſt and ſouth, for intercommuned miniſters, field preachers, and others, ſo that many narrowly eſcaped, and were put to no ſmall difficulties, in wandering from place to place to conceal themſelves from their cruel enemies. However, at this ſearch there were only two taken, viz. Mr Archibald MacLean, a worthy old miniſter, who was ſo infirm that he could not get out of the way, and Mr William Kyle, who after the revolution was a miniſter in Galloway. They left off ſearching, for a few days, in hopes of ſurprizing the non-conformiſts. Accordingly, all of a ſudden, the ſearch was renewed, and Mr John Law was taken in a houſe belonging to the laird of Kincaid. And ſuch was the cruelty of theſe men, that, though he offered all manner of ſecurity to ſurrender at pleaſure, his wife being at the point of death, yet they were deaf to all he could ſay, hurried him to Edinburgh, and from thence to the Baſs, and, while on the road thither, he was never ſuffered to be alone, to commend either himſelf or his dying ſpouſe to God. About this time there was a ſtrict ſearch made in Edinburgh, where Mr Geo. Barclay (after the revolution miniſter at Uphall) was apprehended and put into the guard houſe. However, he got out of a window and made his eſcape, but afterwards endured many trials and preſervations, ſometimes in foreign countries, ſometimes in the north of England, and ſometimes in Scotland. Mr Robert Roſs and Mr James MacAulay were taken at Leith and ſent to the Baſs.

While theſe things were tranſacting, dame Margaret Stuart, and her huſband Sir William Fleming of Ferm, were brought before the council on the fourth of March. This lady was accuſed of being at ſeveral conventicles, and owning the charge Sir William was fined in 4000 merks.

But, as the Engliſh parliament ſat down March 6th, I muſt take a view of ſome things on the ſouth of the Tweed. The king had diſſolved his laſt parliament, in hopes to obtain a more pliable houſe of commons; but the elections were carried with great heat, and went every where almoſt againſt the court; for the people being diſcontented, and full of ſuſpicions and fears, choſe repreſentatives the moſt averſe to popery and arbitrary government. The king, to ſuppreſs the ſuſpicions, affected an extraordinary ſeverity againſt the papiſts; but this was too frequent an artifice to be capable of perſuading the people that his majeſty was truly zealous for the proteſtant religion.

When the time for the meeting of parliament drew near, his majeſty, perceiving a ſtorm gathering againſt the duke of York, by the advice of the earl of Danby, thought proper to ſend him abroad. 'Before he went away the king gave him all poſſible ſatisfaction with relation to the duke of Monmouth, who was then become very popular, ſeveral giving it out that he was the king's lawful ſon: but his majeſty made a ſolemn declaration in council, and both ſigned it, and took his oath on it, that he was never married, nor contracted to that duke's mother nor to any other woman except to his preſent queen. The duke of York went firſt to Holland, and then to Bruſſels, where he met with a cold reception.' However he had this to comfort him, that the king had given aſſurance that he never would conſent to any thing in prejudice to his right of ſucceſſion.

There was at this time a great oppoſition to the duke of Lauderdale, and the adminiſtration of affairs in Scotland as very much favouring popiſh deſigns. The earl of Shaftſbury had a very remarkable ſpeech in the houſe of lords, in which among other things, he ſaid,—'Popery and ſlavery, like two ſiſters, go hand in hand. In England popery was to bring in ſlavery, in Scotland ſlavery was to go before, and popery was to follow. I do not think that your lordſhips, or the parliament, have juriſdiction there. It is a noble and ancient kingdom, they have an illuſtrious nobility, a gallant gentry, &c. But yet we cannot think on England as we ought, without reflecting on the condition they are in. They are under the ſame prince, and the influence of the ſame favourite and counſels, and are hardly dealt with. Can we, that are the richer expect better uſage? For it is certain, that, in all abſolute governments, the pooreſt countries are moſt favourably dealt with, when the ancient nobility and gentry cannot enjoy their royalties.—If the council table there can impriſon any nobleman or gentleman for ſeveral years, without bringing him to a trial, or giving the leaſt reaſon for what they do, can we expect the ſame will ever preſerve the liberties of the ſubjects here?—They have lately plundered the richeſt and beſt countries of the kingdom, by having brought down the barbarous Highlanders to devour them, and all this without any colourable pretence; nor can there be found out a reaſon of ſtate for what they have done, but that their wicked miniſters deſigned to procure a rebellion at any rate; which, as they managed it, was only prevented by the miraculous hand of God.—My lords, I am forced to ſpeak this the plainer, becauſe, till the preſſure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, it is not poſſible for me, or any thinking man, to believe that good is meant us here.

The houſe of commons, being juſtly apprehenſive of the danger the nation was in from the increaſe of popery, the encouragement the papiſts ſecretly received, and, above all, from the duke of York, who by the aſſertors of the liberties of England, was looked upon as being at the bottom of all the mal-adminiſtrations they wanted to get rid of prepared a bill for excluding the duke from ſucceeding to the imperial crown of England, and bringing in the next proteſtant heir. This bill was twice read in the houſe, and ordered to be committed by 207 againſt 128. But his majeſty, not reliſhing theſe proceedings, prorogued the parliament till the 14th of Auguſt, by which means the excluſion-bill was defeated for a time. Thus we ſee what a brave ſtand theſe Engliſh patriots made at this time for their religion and liberties. They well knew, and the whole nation afterwards found, how inconſiſtent a popiſh prince over a proteſtant people was for ſecuring either the liberties of the ſubject, or the proteſtant reli-

gion.

tion. But it is time now to return to the affairs of Scotland.

On the 11th of March the council wrote to Lauderdale concerning Mr Veitch, to know his majesty's pleasure, especially since, as they declared, he was not found in any crime, and offered to prove that he was in Edinburgh at the time of Pentland. Mean while they ordered him to the Bass.

The same day the council wrote to Lauderdale, 'That 18 or 20 armed men, prompted by the bloody principles of their traiterous books, sent for major Johnstoun to the house of one Mrs Crawford, a known and most irregular fanatic, and, at his entry, discharged several shots at him, and those he had with him; after which, with drawn swords, they beat, bruised, and threatened to kill him, if he would not swear never to dissipate conventicles; which he having refused, according to his duty, they mortally wounded him, and some that were with him.' But however the matter might have been thus represented to them, yet it was aggravated beyond the truth. The case was, that two or three persons, whom the major bore hard upon for their non-comformity, in order to have a little revenge, got some to give him notice of a meeting where they were to be, and when he went thither, heartily drubbed him, but there was nothing like mortal wounds. However, this was looked upon as a high crime and misdemeanour, and a proclamation was issued for apprehending the guilty, and a handle made for prosecuting the innocent; for the same day they made an act, ordering lists to be given in to the magistrates of all the lodgers in Edinburgh every night, and that the wives and families of all outed ministers be turned out of the town by the 21st of March; nay, they enacted farther, that all persons who were summoned, shall, in case of not appearing, be reputed guilty, and fined.

On the 18th of March Mr Veitch was ordered to be prosecuted before the justiciary on the 24th; at which time he was brought to the bar, and prayed that he might be allowed advocates to plead for him, and that his case might be laid before his majesty. The lords not being willing to pass sentence of death upon a forfeiture in absence 13 years ago, as some would have had them, postponed the matter till the 8th of April; and, when they met then, they farther delayed it till June, and from that to July, when we shall meet with him again.

Mean while, on the 30th, there was a large meeting at Camberhead near Lanerk. A party was sent to disperse it, but, understanding their strength, they contented themselves with rifling some women, as they went, of their plaids and bibles, and seizing some men. Upon this a considerable body went from the meeting in arms, and demanded the prisoners. The officers refusing to comply, a scuffle happened, wherein the commander was wounded, and some taken prisoners, whom they very soon released. This occasioned the adjacent country to be much harassed for several weeks.

In the mean time, on the 2d of April, the council, being informed of conventicles in Edinburgh, resolved to prosecute the landlords of those houses where they were held. Accordingly one George Turnbull, a baker, was fined in 300 l. Scots, because of three conventicles said to be kept in the chamber of Isabel Crawford one of his tenants. At the same sederunt Gordon of Craichlaw younger, and his spouse, Gordon of Colvenan, MacGhie of Drumboy, Ramsay of Boghouse, Dame——Stuart Lady Castlestuart, MacGhie of Larg, Heron of Littlepark, Dunbar younger of Machiemore, Archibald Stuart of Castlesend, Anthony Heron in Wigg and his spouse, Stuart of Tondergie, MacGhie in Penningham, MacMillan in Craigwell,——Stuart of Ravenstoun and his lady, together with——provost of Wigtoun, were summoned for non-conformity and, not appearing, were denounced and put to the horn. And it is observable, that the episcopal incumbents sent lists of such persons as these to Edinburgh, urging the council to prosecute them, so that great numbers were denounced in absence. These severe proceedings obliged many to wander from place to place, and therefore no wonder though they embraced the first opportunity to relieve themselves from such oppressions.

The accounts of the scuffle at Lanerk, on the 30th last, came to the council on the 3d of April, aggravating the matter to the last degree; upon which they ordered preparations to be made for sending soldiers to those parts. The same day they appointed William Carmichael, sheriff depute of Fife, to proceed against the non-conformists in Fife. His violent oppressions were such, that several were provoked to resolve on cutting him off; but missing him, they fell upon the archbishop of St. Andrews, as we shall hear. At the same time orders were given to the sheriff-deputes of Fife and Kinross to call before them those who were concerned in rescuing Mr Walter Denoon from a party that was carrying him to Edinburgh.

Next day a committee was appointed to examine into the affair of the scuffle, in Lanerk; the earl of Argyll had his majesty's thanks for securing the peace of the Highlands, and on the 12th a commission was granted to his lordship to use his utmost endeavour to disarm the papists there, particularly lord MacDonald, Keppoch, MacLean of Torlaish, MacLean of Ardgoner, and MacLean of Berlois, or others suspected of popery.

On the 25th the committee appointed to examine into the affair of Lanerk met there; upon their strictest inquiry could find nothing but what has been related; only, in their report which was given in to the council, they mentioned the murder of two soldiers near Newmills which was charged unjustly upon the suffering party. The actors were not known, only there was great reason to suspect one John Scarlet, a person of a most infamous character. I shall only trouble the reader with the circumstances of this murder. The fact was certain, and the noblemen, heritors and gentlemen in the shire of Ayr, where it was committed, met on the 28th, and sent in a letter to the council signifying their abhorrence of it, and their dissatisfaction with armed conventicles, and with some of the doctrines preached at them.

The reader has seen that it was necessity, and the great law of self-preservation, that obliged people to go armed to those meetings, for their better security against the soldiers who were sent to disperse them; and, as they looked upon the indulgence as inconsistent with presbyterian principles, and the cess as an unlawful tax, imposed with no other design than to suppress the meetings of the Lord's people for public worship, and persecute those who could not in conscience comply with prelacy; so it is not to be wondered though they warned their hearers against complying with these things. How far they may have exceeded I cannot determine. No doubt, had they observed the rules of carnal prudence, they would both have desisted from meeting together, or, if they did meet, have been altogether silent as to these things, But what could be expected from men who made conscience of their principles, and on that very account were made to suffer all manner of hardships, but that they would bear testimony against every method taken by their persecutors to overturn their civil and religious liberties, and that they would use their utmost to defend themselves? Accordingly, finding that small meetings were more exposed to danger than larger assemblies, they therefore altered their method and determined to confine themselves to one meeting, and that in such places which they thought stood in most need of the gospel, and where they might assemble and preach with greater safety. It is true many serious and good people, ministers as well as others, did not chuse to take these methods. Mr Welsh, &c. preached in those places where they were but few that came armed. And in this situation matters with respect to field meetings continued from December till May.

In the beginning of April the worthy Mr James Welwood brother to Mr Andrew, author of a treatise intitled, *The Glimpse of Glory*, died at Perth, in the 30th year of his age. The night after he died his corpse were removed from John Barclay's house into a private room belonging to one Janet Hutton, till his friends might consult about his funeral, that John Barclay might not come to trouble for concealing him. It was quickly spread abroad that an intercommuned preacher was dead in the town; upon which the magistrates ordered a messenger to go and arrest the corpse, and would not suffer them to be interred at Perth, but ordered the town militia to be raised

ed, and imprisoned John Price box master or treasurer to the guildry, for refusing to give out the militia arms. However the magistrates allowed his friends to carry the corpse out of the town, and bury them where they pleased without their precincts; but any of the town's people who were observed to accompany the funeral were apprehended and committed to prison. At last the corpse were with great difficulty interred in the church-yard of Drone. This is a lasting evidence of the tyranny of the managers in this period, who would neither suffer the persecuted people to be at peace when alive, nor to be buried when dead.

On the 1st of May the council, being alarmed with the accounts they received concerning the persons who attended the field meetings in arms, gave authority to the earl of Linlithgow to order a party of horse, foot, and dragoons to pursue Messr. Welsh, Cameron, Kid, or Douglas, and their followers, to seize and apprehend all who attended their conventicles, and, in case of resistance, to pursue them to the death. The execution of these orders occasioned the rising that fell out next month, as we shall relate.

On the 3d, while a party of horse was riding furiously to Coupar of Fife, Andrew Ayton younger of Inchdarnie, going to his aunt's the lady Murdochcairne, perceived them, and rode hard to escape. One of them observing this, broke from the rest by order of the commander, and without asking any questions, fired at the young gentleman, and mortally wounded him, for two balls went through his body. Such was the cruelty of this party, that though his relation Sir John Ayton sent to Coupar for a surgeon, they ordered that no surgeon should leave the town without permission; nay, they sent some of their number to bring him that night to Coupar. On the way he fainted four times through the effusion of blood. The magistrates suffered him to be carried to an inn, where he died next morning, and heartily forgave the soldier by whom he was murdered. This pious youth was but 18 years of age, and had for some time been intercommuned. When he went with others to visit Mr James Welwood on his death-bed, and gave him an account of the tyranny and wickedness of Sharp, Mr Welwood said, You'll shortly be quite of him, and he'll get a sudden and sharp off going, and ye will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven; which came litterally to pass.

For, on the 3d of May, Mr James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, came to his untimely end. There were several accounts given of this remarkable event. It will be sufficient to my present purpose to lay before the reader the substance of what was published by the authority of the council, taken from the bishop's daughter and his servants who were present, the substance of those given by the actors concerned, by which means he will have the narrative of both sides. The substance of what was published by authority is as follows.

'On the 3d of May—this excellent prelate,—about nine o'clock in the morning, took his coach in Kennoway —accompanied only with four of his servants, and his eldest daughter in the coach with him. About half an hour before he was attacked, his great soul, it seems, presaged what came to pass, he fell on a most pious and serious discourse to his daughter, giving her such pious instructions and directions as he would have done if upon his death bed; whereunto she gave such becoming and satisfactory answers, that he embraced and formally blessed her. Afterwards coming near to a farmer's house called *Magus*, he says, There lives an ill-natured man, God preserve us, my child. Within a very little time after, the coachman perceiving some horsemen on the spur after them, calls to the postilion to drive on, for those men had no good in their minds. My lord finding the coach run so hard, looked out to see what the matter was; and then perceiving armed men pursuing, he, turning to his daughter, said, *Lord have mercy upon me*, my poor child for I am gone. Upon which presently three or four of the ruffians fired at the coach, but touched neither of them in the coach. The coachman put faster on and outrun the most part of the rogues (my lord's own servants, of which the best armed was wounded in the head by a sword, being mounted on weak hackney horses, had fallen behind before this, and were disarmed at the first coming up) while at last one of the best mounted overhighed the postilion, and by wounding him in the face, shooting the coach-horse which he led in the back, and cutting him in the hams, turned the coach out of the way, and gave the rest the advantage to come up. Then they fired again: one of them had his pistol so near my lord, that the burning calfin was left on his gown, and was rubbed off by his daughter, which wounded him two or three inches below the right clavicle, in betwixt the second and third ribs; and then another of them, on the other side of the coach, run him upon the region of the kidneys with a small sword; thereafter they called, Come out, cruel and bloody traitor; but not any offered to lay hands upon or drag him out of his coach, as is falsly reported in the relation, the assassins being all yet on horseback; whereupon most composedly, he opened the door of the coach himself, and stept out; and then said, Gentlemen, you will spare my life, and whatever else you are pleased to do you shall never be questioned for it. They told him there was no mercy for a Judas, an enemy and a traitor to the cause of Christ. Well then, said he, I shall expect none from you; but promise to me to spare my poor child, directing his speech to one, whom it is suspected, by looking him broad in the face, he knew; and reaching forth his hand to him, the bloody villain starts back from my lord, and, by a mighty blow, cut him more than half through the wrist. Then said my lord, I hope you will give me some time to pour out my soul to God, and I shall also pray for you; and presently falling on his knees, he said, *Lord forgive them for I do. Lord receive my spirit.* While thus praying on his knees, (one of the traitors, standing some paces off, called to the rest, Spare those gray hairs) and his hands lifted up, they struck furiously at him, and wounding him therein in three places, which nevertheless he kept up bleeding to heaven, while one of them cut him to the very bone, a little above the left eye; whereupon my lord said, Now ye have done the turn; then falling forward he stretched himself out and laid his head on his arm, as if he had been to compose himself for sleep, when some of the villains from their horses, and others a-foot (having alighted) gave him about fifteen or sixteen wounds in the head, and, in effect, the whole occipital part was but one wound; after which they riffled his pockets, and took some papers out of them and so mad was their spite and rage, that even after he was dead, and the murderers gone some way from the body, one of the furious and bloody assassins returned, and thurst twice or thrice at him with a sword. They robbed his daughter of some gold and other things she had in a little box, (they had wounded her, thrusting at her father, betwixt whom and them she had interposed herself, by a stab in her thigh and one of her thumbs) then they took away my lord's night-bag, &c. They also robbed his servants, and took their arms from them; and then went away as they came.—Thus fell that excellent prelate.—

The reader will now expect the account of this matter from the papers and relations of the actors concerned.

During the last and current year the persecution was most severe in the county of Fife, and particularly William Carmichael was impowered to seek for and prosecute all non-conformists and intercommuned persons in that shire. Besides his apprehending, fining and imprisoning multitudes, it was his custom to seize servants, and put fiery matches between their fingers, together with several other methods of torture, in order to force them to discover where their masters were, or any thing belonging to them. He would likewise beat women and children to make them inform against their husbands and parents; not to mention rapes, adulteries, and other instances of abominable wickedness.

As the suffering people had no legal way of redress, several of the wanderers of this shire, being deprived of the protection of the laws of their country, resolved to get rid of Carmichael; and for this purpose fixed on Saturday the third of May, when as they were informed he was to be a hunting. Accordingly, about nine of these persons, some of them being gentlemen of good families, upon the day appointed, searched for him through all the country round Coupar, but to no purpose.

While

While they were talking of ſeparating and quitting their project, they were informed by a boy that the archbiſhop's coach was at Ceres, and in a little would come that way. This much ſurpriſed them, that, when they were juſt parting and giving over their ſearch for the ſervant the maſter ſhould come in the way, even their arch enemy and ſource of all their miſeries. Upon which one of them ſaid it ſeems he is delivered into our hands, and propoſed to embrace this opportunity for cutting him off, and that one ſhould have the command of the reſt for that purpoſe. Mr Hackſtoun of Rathillet being preſent, this burden was laid on him; but he oppoſed the motion, and would have no hand in what followed, whether becauſe it was a matter of blood, as to which he was not clear in his own mind, as my author affirms, or if, as others alledge, it was becauſe that he having received perſonal injuries from the archbiſhop, it might be thought that he did it in revenge, I cannot certainly ſay.

By this time they were come to a little village called Magus, where they diſcovered the biſhop's coach. One of them, on a ſwift horſe, rode up to ſee if Sharp was in it. The biſhop obſerving him, cried out to the coachman to drive on. The gentleman hearing this threw off his cloke and purſued at full ſpeed, as likewiſe did the reſt, only Rathillet kept at a diſtance, and did not at all engage in the action. While they were thus purſuing in Magus-muir, Wallace, one of the biſhop's ſervants, turned upon him and cocked his piece; but ſome of them coming up ſoon diſmounted and diſarmed him; and as the coach was driving furiouſly away, they fired their muſkets, but could not ſtop it, till the perſon on the ſwift horſe came up to the coach crying out, Judas, Be taken. The primate called with the greater violence, Drive, drive, drive; but at laſt they cut the traces of the coach and ſtopt it.

By this time the reſt were come up and found the biſhop's daughter with him in the coach, and therefore the captain ordered him to come out, that no harm might come to her, whom they had no intention to hurt. This he refuſed; whereupon two of them, the reſt being engaged in diſmounting and ſecuring his ſervants, fired upon the biſhop, while his daughter was ſhrieking and crying moſt bitterly. But finding that he was not touched, the captain commanded him to come out; and, while the biſhop lingred, and cried for mercy, the commander ſaid, 'I take God to witneſs, whoſe cauſe I deſire to own in adhering to the perſecuted goſpel, that it is not out of any hatred of your perſon, nor from any prejudice you have done or could have done to me, that I intend now to take your life, but becauſe you have been and ſtill continue to be an avowed oppoſer of the goſpel and kingdom of Chriſt, and a murderer of his ſaints, whoſe blood you have ſhed like water.' Another ſaid, 'Repent, Judas, and come out.' The biſhop replied, 'Gentlemen, ſave my life, and I will ſave yours.' The firſt anſwered, 'I know it is not in your power to ſave us or to kill us: I again declare, it is not any particular feud or quarrel I have at you, which moves me to this attempt, but becauſe you are an enemy to Chriſt and his intereſt, and have wrung your hands in the blood of his ſaints, not only after Pentland, but ſeveral times ſince; and particularly for your perjury and ſhedding the blood of Mr James Mitchel, and having a hand in the death of James Learmont, and your perfidious betraying of the church of Scotland. Theſe crimes, added he, and that blood, cry with a loud voice to heaven for vengeance and we are this day to execute it.' And again he ordered him to come out, and prepare for death, judgment and eternity. The biſhop ſtill refuſed, and cried for mercy and offered him money. The captain ſaid, 'Thy money periſh with thee:' and told him he allowed him time to pray, and commanded him again to come out. The biſhop ſtill refuſed. One of them at a diſtance cried out, 'Seeing there have been ſo many lives unjuſtly taken by him, for which there is not the leaſt ſign of repentance, we will not be innocent if any more be taken that way.'

Then one of them fired a piſtol at him in the coach, which did not touch him; and another wounded him with a ſword, at which he cried out, Fy, fy, I am gone; but the wound was not mortal. At laſt, when he found they would force him out of the coach, he thought proper to come out. But by no means could they perſuade him to pray, which much ſurpriſed them. Then they diſcharged a power of ſhot upon him, which made him fall back, ſo that he lay as dead.

But one of them giving him a prick with his ſword, he raiſed himſelf. Then being apprehenſive that ſhooting would not do, the commander ordered them all to draw their ſwords, upon which he made the moſt hideous and terrible ſhrieks that ever were heard. At laſt the commander ſtruck him with a ſhable on the face, and one of his chops fell down. He tried to ſpeak, but was not underſtood. They redoubled their ſtrokes, and killed him outright. But they took nothing with them but arms and papers; and after diſmounting and diſarming his ſervants, they rode away in a body to a place three or four miles from Magus-muir, and continued till night, when they ſeparated, and ſhifted for themſelves the beſt way they could. When they reflected on what they had done, they were much ſurpriſed at their own preſervation, ſince the whole was tranſacted between twelve and one at mid day.

Thus fell archbiſhop Sharp. And the reader will obſerve, that the main difference between the two accounts I have given conſiſts in the biſhop's carriage; the former repreſents him as a ſaint, and the latter as averſe to any thing like preparation for death: but which of the two is moſt conſiſtent, with the carriage and behaviour of this prelate, through the former courſe of his life, muſt be left with the reader. This matter is moſt unjuſtly charged on the whole body of the preſbyterians; nay, the actors themſelves had no thoughts of making any attempt upon him, till, miſſing Carmichael his coach came in their way.

It is ſaid that the biſhop had ſeveral notices that he would come to an untimely end, as his having a remarkable dream to this purpoſe while at the univerſity But I ſhall not trouble the reader with theſe things. The action was much condemned. It was ſaid, That, let the biſhop have been ever ſo bad, yet the actors had no right to purſue him to death; for none of them had the power of the ſword, nor were in any public judicative capacity, and conſequently what they did was murder and aſſaſſination. On the other hand, it was ſaid, that, as the archbiſhop was a murderer and avowed perſecutor of God's people, an apoſtate from, and a betrayer of the cauſe of Chriſt, and as it was not poſſible to have recourſe to the magiſtrate for juſtice, the conſtitution of the government being overturned, the actors could not therefore be charged with murder, nor the action be eſteemed any other but an extraordinary execution of the law of God againſt ſuch a capital offender; beſides, they looked upon themſelves as in a ſtate of war, and conſequently as having a right to cut off their great enemy, by whom they and others were perſecuted to death. An ingenious author has theſe words in his political diſcourſes. 'Cæſar had violated every tie that can bind the human ſoul, oaths, truſt, and law; he had violated every thing dear to human kind, their peace, liberty, rights and poſſeſſions. He did all this by means the moſt black and flagitious; by plots, faction, corruption, robbery, devaſtation, ſacrilege and ſlaughter. What was left to the oppreſſed Romans to do under the bonds of the oppreſſor with his ſword at their throat? Law and appeals were no more; a tyrant was their maſter, the will of a tyrant their law.—In ſhort, there was no other way of aboliſhing his tyranny, but by diſpatching the tyrant.' How applicable this is to the preſent caſe muſt be left with the reader; only it is obvious, that, whether the actors were right or wrong, he met with the juſt reward of his deeds, and God was righteous in the providence. By his death new deſigns of cruelty were prevented; for the laſt thing he did was voting for and puſhing a violent proclamation we ſhall hear of, dated the 1ſt of May; on the 6th he was to have gone to court to uſe his utmoſt for more cruel and rigorous methods of oppreſſions againſt the ſufferers: but my author juſtly remarks, that though Saul, when breathing out cruelty againſt the Chriſtians, was converted; yet this apoſtate, when doing the like, went to his own place.

It likewiſe deſerves a remark, that, after the moſt diligent and exact ſearch, none were ever apprehended that were actually concerned. They who were executed on this account, on Magus-muir, afterwards, were no ways acceſſo-

acceſſory. Mr Hackſtoun of Rathillet was indeed preſent, and afterwards taken and put to death; but we have heard how he behaved. One Andrew Guillan was likewiſe preſent, and afterwards executed; but all the hand he had was, that, living near the place, he was taken out of his houſe, held their horſes, and was a witneſs of what was done.

9 Though this violent death of the archbiſhop was made by a few private perſons, and by them too without any premeditated deſign, till they had information of his coach's coming that way, yet, as has been obſerved, it was unjuſtly laid to the charge of the whole body of the preſbyterians, and particularly repreſented as one of the dismal effects of field meetings, theſe rendezvouzes of rebellion, as they were called. But, had they put the ſaddle on the right horſe, if the archbiſhop's death was murder, they ſhould have looked upon themſelves as the murderers, in ſupporting that perfidious prelate in thoſe arbitrary meaſures, whereby the ſpirits of the people were juſtly exaſperated, and they conſtrained, in their own neceſſary defence, to do what they did. However, the managers never thought of thoſe things, but made uſe of this as a handle for farther unheard of ſeverities.

Accordingly, when the news of this affair reached Edinburgh, the council met on Sabbath the 4th of May, and after taking the depoſitions of the biſhop's ſervants, they publiſhed a long proclamation for diſcovering and apprehending the perſons concerned in this action; in which, after having diſplayed all their rhetoric in expoſing the cruelty of the fact, they, among other things, ordered all perſons in the ſhire of Fife, upon certain days, to meet at certain places mentioned in the proclamation, in order to be confronted by the witneſſes; and ſecured all who were under letters of horning, or intercommuned, from all danger of being apprehended for the ſpace of 48 hours before and after the times appointed for their appearance; at the ſame time certifying, that whoever ſhould not appear, ſhould be reputed either guilty or acceſſory. They likewiſe offered an indemnity to any of the aſſaſſins who ſhould diſcover their accomplices and a reward of 10 000 merks to any who ſhould inform who the aſſaſſins were, to be paid upon their being apprehended or convicted. At the ſame time they wrote to the king and Lauderdale giving an account of theſe things. I ſhall make no remarks here, ſince all this is nothing but what might have been expected: but one would think they took a very improper method. For can any imagine that any concerned in this fact would ever appear at any of thoſe meetings appointed in the proclamation?

On the ſame day about 30 perſons were hearing Mr William Hamilton at the houſe of Mrs Durham his relation. They were all ſeized, and immediately committed to priſon, where ſome continued a longer, and others a ſhorter time. Mrs Durham and Mrs Carſtairs were releaſed after a few days; but the managers were moſt cruel to the preacher; for, though he was ſeized with a flux, and preſented a petition atteſted by two phyſicians, that his life was in hazard, praying that he might, for a little, have the benefit of the air, and offered any bail that could be deſired, yet they rejected the petition, and aſſured his friends they would proſecute him for houſe conventicles next council day; but before that time he died in priſon, and ſaved them the trouble. This excellent pious youth was brother to the laird of Halcraig, was no intercommuned perſon, nor was any thing ever laid to his charge, unleſs his preaching once in a relation's houſe to a few friends after public worſhip was over. For this conventicle the magiſtrates of Edinburgh were fined according to the laws of this period.

Beſides this inſtance of ſeverity to a perſon who could have no acceſſion to the biſhop's death, vaſt numbers were exceedingly haraſſed in Fife and other places, particularly John Archer, tallow chandler in Strathmiglo, who had ſuffered much in his perſon and family ſince 1674. He was, ſoon after the biſhop's death, apprehended in his own houſe and ſent priſoner to Edinburgh, without any reaſon aſſigned; neither could he think of the cauſe, till he was brought before the council, and charged with being acceſſory to the biſhop's death. But though he cleared that he was in Edinburgh for ſeveral days before and after that fact, yet it was with great difficulty he was ſet at liberty about the end of the year.

Mean while, on the 8th of May the council emitted a proclamation, diſcharging all ſubjects to travel in arms without a licence, except noblemen, landed gentlemen, and their children and ſervants travelling with them. They likeways wrote to Lauderdale, giving him an account of their proceedings and diligence in apprehending thoſe that were concerned in the death of the primate. They alſo ordered the earl of Linlithgow to diſpoſe his forces in the beſt manner he could for ſuppreſſing conventicles, and made Adam Urquhart of Meldrum for his diligence in their ſervice, a juſtice of peace in the ſhire of Roxburgh, to act in conjunction with Henry Ker of Graden; and afterwards he was made one in Tevviotdale, the Merſe and Selkirk.

While theſe things were a doing, the committee for public affairs had impowered the ſheriff depute of Fife to ſecure and make an inventary of the goods of John Balfour of Kinloch, Hackſtoun of Rathillet, and the three Balfours of Gaſtoun, as being moſt ſuſpected of the affair of the archbiſhop, till they be apprehended and brought to a trial. They had alſo called before them ten perſons apprehended by Meldrum; two of whom viz. Robert Neilſon and Nicol Story, they remitted to the advocate, becauſe of the diſcoveries they were ſuppoſed to make of Mr Welſh. They found that the bail for Mr Alex. Gordon had forfeited their bond for not producing him, and therefore had incurred the penalty of 5000 merks; that Mr And. Kennedy of Clowburn be reputed guilty, and fined in 1000 merks, for refuſing to ſwear (which was accordingly inflicted in a few days after) that Mr John Law be diſmiſſed, Bennet of Chеſters be continued in priſon, and Scot of Pitlochie be ſummoned to appear the next council day. The council approved of all this on the ſaid 8th of May.

On the 13th the council met, and received the king's letter, approving the draught of a proclamation againſt field conventicles, which they ordered to be publiſhed. By this proclamation, all judges and officers of the army were ordered to proceed againſt all who go to field meetings with arms, as traitors, nay, and to execute the laws againſt thoſe who go to field-meetings without arms; adding, 'We being fully convinced, by reaſon and experience, that thoſe meetings do certainly tend to the ruin and reproach of the Chriſtian religion and diſcipline, to the introduction of popery and hereſy, the ſubverſion of monarchy, and the contempt of all laws and government.' So that, by this proclamation, the officers of the army were, in a manner, either veſted with the authority of judges, or elſe had power to haraſs or deſtroy the poor ſuffering people; which, in proceſs of time, they actually did.

The draught of this proclamation was made on the firſt of this month, and very much puſhed forward by Sharp, and was the laſt public deed in which he was concerned, though not publiſhed till after his death; for the council would not enact it till they had firſt got the king's approbation. However, this was the primate's legacy, and a ſpecimen of what he would have done had he gone up to court. Can any then be ſurprized when ſuch ſanguinary laws were made, that the people, diſtreſſed by ſuch a ſeries of oppreſſions, ſhould think of concerting meaſures to reſcue themſelves from the bondage of their oppreſſors? It is rather ſurpriſing that they bore thoſe things ſo long.

On the 14th, Mr George Scot of Pitlochie was fined in 3000 merks for conventicles, and Mr Patrick Simſon was turned out of Kilmacolm, where he had been indulged, for breach of confinement, and keeping of conventicles; but afterwards he received a little more favour. At the ſame time, the council had a letter from the king, declaring that he will reſent the biſhop's death, and recommending to them to go on in their ſearch for thoſe concerned in it; to which they ſent a very reſpectful anſwer.

On the 25th, Mr John Spreul writer in Glaſgow, who had been ſome time in priſon, and Mr Robert Wylie, were both ſet at liberty upon giving bond to appear when called; and the ſame day, the council approved the over-

ture,

ture, obliging heritors either to produce their tenants, or be liable for their delinquency.

On the 27th, the council wrote to his majeſty, ſignifying that the earl of Argyll had deſired aſſiſtance againſt the lord MacDonald and the rebel papiſts; but, conſidering the great increaſe of field conventicles, they could not ſpare any of the ſtanding forces; however, they had iſſued a proclamation againſt them; and ordered the ſheriffs of Dumbarton and Bute to join the earl. May not the reader here ſee, that our Scots epiſcopalians were more zealous in perſecuting proteſtant non conformiſts, than in oppoſing popery?

The ſame day the council approved the following report made to them from their committee for public affairs, viz. their ordering farther ſearch to be made for thoſe who had killed the primate, and that witneſſes ſhould be brought againſt Henry Schaw an intercommuned perſon; that they had diſmiſſed upon bond the priſoners taken by Muldrum, except Meilſon and Story; that they had ordered the ladies Torwoodlie, Gallaſhiels, and Newton younger, the laird and lady Aſhieſtiel, the lady Fernylie, Mrs Pringle and her daughter, with ſeveral other perſons of meaner rank, who had been ſurprized at a conventicle by Claverhouſe, to be ſummoned before the council; that they remitted Mr Thomas Wilkie, the miniſter taken at that conventicle, and Mr Francis Irvine, an intercommuned miniſter, to the council, by whom they were ordered to the Baſs; and that they had ordered Mr James Deas to pay his fine by the ſecond Tueſday of June, and to re-enter the priſon on that day. But before that time they had other buſineſs on their hands.

Thus I have finiſhed the firſt part of this work. And, though it opens a black and diſmal ſcene, yet the next part will give us a more horrible repreſentation; for the perſecution not only continued, but ſtill grew more and more ſevere. It is our happineſs we do not live in ſuch times of ſlavery and oppreſſion; but it is greatly to our reproach that we ſo wretchedly improve our invaluable privileges.

The HISTORY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

Of the riſing at Bothwell, and the attempts made againſt Lauderdale.

FROM what has been related in the former part, we may eaſily form a judgment of the diſmal ſtate of the nation on account of the arbitrary proceedings of thoſe who had the management of affairs, and the unaccountable ſeverities which many innocent people endured.

The rigorous and military execution of the ſanguinary laws, now in force, could not but exaſperate thoſe who were by this means robbed of their liberties and properties, and of every thing that was dear and valuable, eſpecially, as oppreſſions of every kind were ſtill increaſing. All legal methods of redreſs were cut off from the poor ſuffering people. What then could they do? Surely one might think, that it was incumbent upon them to fall upon meaſures for getting from under the feet of their cruel oppreſſors: for who would chuſe to continue in miſery, if they could, by any lawful and juſtifiable method, extricate themſelves from it? They were moſt averſe to take arms, until they were forced to take it in their own defence. And though they were obliged to have recourſe to this expedient, yet they never deſired to have an opportunity of making uſe of it; but, being declared rebels on this account, they were conſtrained to perſevere in it, till the fury of the perſecutors drove them to the riſing I am now to give an account of.

It has been already obſerved, That, when they found that ſmall meetings were more expoſed to danger than greater aſſemblies, they altered their method, and reſolved to aſſemble in one meeting, in thoſe places which they apprehended ſtood in moſt need of the goſpel, and where they might meet together in greater ſafety. They who thus aſſembled were generally thoſe who were averſe to the indulgence, and the accepters of it; and many came to it armed. The orders given to the ſoldiers, and the ſevere laws made on account of the primate's death, tended to increaſe their numbers; but the diviſions occaſioned by the unhappy indulgence were of great diſadvantage to them, and at laſt proved their ruin. I need not here repeat what has been already ſaid on this point.

When the numbers of the perſecuted party were conſiderably augmented, Mr Robert Hamilton, brother to the laird of Preſtoun, and ſome others, moved that ſomething might be done as a teſtimony againſt the iniquity of the times. Accordingly, after ſerious conſideration and prayer, they reſolved to continue to hear the goſpel, notwithſtanding all the dangers to which they might be expoſed, and to publiſh to the world their teſtimony to the truth and cauſe which they owned, and againſt the ſins and defections of the times. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ſaid Mr Hamilton, Mr Thomas Douglas one of their preachers, and about 80 armed men, were pitched upon to go to ſome public place to publiſh their declaration, and burn the papers mentioned in it. They judged that the 29th of May was the moſt proper time for putting this in execution. Accordingly, the afternoon of that day, they came to Rutherglen, a ſmall royal burgh two miles from Glaſgow, where they extinguiſhed the bonefires, put their reſolution in practice, and affixed a copy of their declaration to the market-croſs; the following is according to the copy thereof ſubjoined to the informatory vindication.

The declaration and teſtimony of ſome of the true Preſbyterian party in Scotland, publiſhed at Rutherglen, 29th May 1679.

AS the Lord hath been pleaſed ſtill to keep and preſerve his intereſt in this land, by the teſtimonies of ſome faithful witneſſes from the beginning; ſo, in our day, ſome have not been wanting, who, through the greateſt hazards, have added their teſtimony to thoſe who have gone before them, by ſuffering death, baniſhment, torturings, forfeitures, impriſonments, and what not, from a perfidious and cruel adverſary, to the church and kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the land: therefore we, owning the ſame intereſt of Chriſt, according to the word of the Lord, and the national and ſolemn league and covenant, deſire to add our teſtimony to the teſtimonies of the worthies that have gone before us (though we be unworthy, yet hoping we are true members of the church of Scotland) and that againſt all things done prejudicial to his intereſt, from the beginning of the work of reformation, eſpecially from 1648 to 1660, but more particularly from the ſaid year 1660, and downwards, againſt the acts following. As againſt the act of ſupremacy, the declaration whereby our covenants were condemned; the act for the everſion of the eſtabliſhed government of the church, and for eſtabliſhing of abjured prelacy; the act reciſſory of all acts of parliaments and aſſemblies for eſtabliſhing the government of the church according to the word; the act of Glaſgow putting the ſame in

in execution, whereby, at one time, were violently caſt out above three hundred miniſters, without any legal procedure; likewiſe the act for appointing an holy anniverſary day to be kept every 29th of May, for giving thanks for the ſetting up of an uſurped power, deſtroying the intereſt of Chriſt in the land, whereby the creature is ſet up to be worſhipped in the room of our great Redeemer, and a power is aſſumed which is proper to the Lord only; for the appointing of ordinances in his church, as particularly the government thereof and the keeping of holy days belongeth to no prince, prelate, nor perſon on earth, but only to our Lord Redeemer. And farther, we give our teſtimony againſt all ſinful and unlawful acts, emitted and executed, publiſhed and proſecuted by them againſt our covenanted reformation. And, for confirmation of this our teſtimony, we do here this day, being the 29th of May 1679, publicly, and moſt juſtly, burn the foreſaid act at this croſs of Rutherglen, being the chief burgh of the nether-ward of Clydeſdale, as they perfidiouſly and blaſphemouſly have burnt our holy covenants through ſeveral cities of theſe covenanted kingdoms. We hope none will take exception at our not ſubſcribing this our teſtimony, being ſo ſolemnly given; for we are ready to do it, if neceſſary, and to ſubſcribe it with all our faithful ſuffering brethren in the land.

When this declaration was publiſhed, Mr Hamilton and the reſt retired from Rutherglen towards Evandale and Newmills. This affair made a great noiſe both at Glaſgow and Edinburgh. Mr Graham of Claverhouſe (afterwards viſcount of Dundee) having unlimited powers to kill and deſtroy all he found in arms, came ſuddenly upon the town of Hamilton on Saturday afternoon the 31ſt of May, and in that neighbourhood ſeized Mr John King, and about 14 others, who were not in arms, nor had any thing laid to their charge. They who eſcaped, and ſome who joined them in order to reſcue Mr King, repaired to the meeting, which they heard was to be at Loudonhill next day, expecting aſſiſtance from them.

Mean while Claverhouſe having likewiſe intelligence of that meeting, and reſolving to diſperſe them, marched early from Hamilton on Sabbath-morning the firſt of June, and carried his priſoners with him bound two and two, his men driving them before them like ſo many ſheep. Public worſhip was begun by Mr Douglas, when they were informed of Claverhouſe's approach. Wherefore all who were armed reſolved to leave the meeting, face the ſoldiers, and if poſſible, relieve the priſoners. Accordingly, about 40 horſe, and 150 or 200 foot came up with Claverhouſe and his party near Drumclog, and after a ſhort and cloſe engagement defeated Claverhouſe, and reſcued the priſoners. Claverhouſe had his horſe ſhot under him, and narrowly eſcaped; above 20 of the ſoldiers were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners, whom they releaſed upon their being diſarmed. The countrymen loſt not above two or three. One John Mortoun was killed; Thomas Weir and William Dalziel (which laſt was concerned in the biſhop's death) died in a few days of their wounds.

The country people, after this action, reſolved, ſince they could not ſeparate without evident hazard, to keep together till they ſaw how matters would turn out. Mr Hamilton marched that night to Hamilton, and Claverhouſe eſcaped to Glaſgow, and alarmed the ſoldiers there. Next day Mr Hamilton, and thoſe who joined them in their march, being too much fluſhed with their ſucceſs, marched to Glaſgow, and entered the town about ten o'clock; but after ſix or eight were killed, among whom was one Walter Paterſon a pious youth in the pariſh of Cambuſnethan, and two or three wounded, they were obliged to quit the place, and retire to Hamilton, where they pitched a ſort of camp.

Such was the inhumanity of the ſoldiers, that the dead bodies which were left in the ſtreet were for ſome time not permitted to be buried. Some papers ſay, That Claverhouſe and ſome of the officers gave orders that none ſhould bury them, but that the butchers dogs ſhould be ſuffered to eat them. But, be that as it will, it is certain that 7 dead bodies lay in the ſtreet from 11 in the forenoon till night; and when they were taken into houſes to be dreſſed for their burial, the ſoldiers came and ſtript them of their dead-clothes; nay, when they permitted them to be buried, none durſt appear to perform this ſervice but women, whom, notwithſtanding, the ſoldiers attacked, and cut the paſſes with their ſwords: and when the women uſed their plaids for paſſs, the ſoldiers took their plaids from them. In ſhort, they were obliged to ſet the coffins in the ſtone-houſes, near the High church, where they continued till the ſoldiers left Glaſgow.

Early on the third of June the council met, and, having received a falſe account of thoſe tranſactions, iſſued a proclamation againſt the rebels, as they called them, wherein, after aggravating the riſing, they ſay, That a party of diſloyal perſons, who had formerly taſted of royal bounty and clemency, [viz. the finings, impriſonings, intercommuning, baniſhments, &c. mentioned in the former part of this hiſtory] had come to Rutherglen, and proclaimed their rebellious covenant, and had committed a great many outrages, &c. And therefore all perſons in arms were charged to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves to the earl of Linlithgow, or any other officer or magiſtrate, within the ſpace of 24 hours after the publication of this proclamation, or elſe to be treated as traitors, and rendered incapable of mercy [but there was no promiſe of pardon.] In ſhort, all maſters of families, heritors, &c. were required to be careful, leſt any of their children, ſervants, or tenants join the rebels, or elſe they were to be looked upon as diſaffected perſons. We ſhall relate how the ſoldiers improved this clauſe after Bothwel. The reader is to judge whether they who were now in arms had any encouragement to ſurrender. The ſame day they wrote to Lauderdale an account of theſe things.

Then the council iſſued a proclamation ordering the militia to rend zvous, and to join and act with the regular forces, under ſevere penalties; and another ordering all the heritors and freeholders to attend the king's hoſt; and made all preparations they judged neceſſary for ſuppreſſing the rebellion, as it was termed. I ſhall only obſerve, that all, or moſt of the officers, named for this hoſt, were violent perſecutors of the preſbyterians, many of whom had a warm ſide to popery, and ſome were profeſſed papiſts. But to return to the affairs of the weſt.

On the third of June, Lord Rois, and the officers in Glaſgow, finding that the gathering of the country people ſtill increaſed, marched with the forces to Kilſyth, and carried with them, in carts, ſome of the wounded countrymen who fell into their hands, and about the firſt were joined by the earl of Linlithgow at Larbertmuir; but, being falſely informed that the weſt country army was 8000 ſtrong, they wrote to the council, that it was the general ſenſe of the officers, that his majeſty ſhould be applied to for aſſiſtance from England. The council required them to march to Edinburgh, and ſent orders to the governor of Stirling to take ſpecial care of that city, and at the ſame time wrote to Lauderdale an account of their proceedings, and required help from England. On the 7th of June the army was cantoned about Edinburgh, where they continued till the 16th.

Mean while matters were ſo managed at court, that the duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh was pitched upon to command an army for ſuppreſſing this inſurrection. When the council received the news of this, they, on the 15th, wrote to court, and propoſed that Dalziel might be made lieutenant general under the duke.

About the middle of this month, lord MacDonald, a profeſſed papiſt, and the MacLeans, having for ſome time ravaged the lands of the earl of Argyll, ſent a petition to the council, offering their ſervice in ſuppreſſing the rebels in the weſt, whoſe addreſſes, ſay they, we have rejected, and praying that the earl of Argyll might be required, in the mean time, to deſiſt, &c. The inſinuation, that the weſt country people had addreſſed them, needs no confutation; for they who oppoſed prelacy could never encourage popery. But it was generally believed that this army of profeſſed papiſts, now in arms, though they falſely pretended ſelf-defence againſt the earl of Argyll, were yet in cloſe correſpondence with, if not under penſion to the duke of York, and in concert with thoſe concerned in the popiſh plot in England. But if this was not the caſe, yet how unaccountable it was, that the council ſhould remove

give a petition from the commander of this popiſh party, when all papiſts in arms were by a late proclamation, declared to be guilty of treaſon, muſt be left with the reader; eſpecially as it was with difficulty that they were not employed in acting againſt the weſt-country army, of whom we were now to ſpeak.

The ſucceſs they met with at Drumclog, and the retiring of the forces from Glaſgow, gave opportunity to many to join them from all quarters, conſidering the neceſſity there was to aſſiſt them in this extremity, and that themſelves were liable to the ſame common danger from their enraged enemies. They were likeways convinced of the righteouſneſs of the cauſe in which they were engaged, and that, if they ſhould be made a ſacrifice to the rage of their perſecutors, they would be accountable for their blood, did they withhold their help. From theſe conſiderations many came from Galloway and Nithſdale, from Carrick, Kyle, Cuningham, Renfrew, Lanerk, the Lothians, and Stirling-ſhire; and among them were ſome gentlemen of note.

The author of the memoirs of North Britain, printed at London 1715, ſays, 'I know very well that inſurrection is repreſented as a rigorous tumult of a few factious enthuſiaſts; but it is moſt certain that ſeveral gentlemen of note engaged in that buſineſs, the tyranny of the Tories being become intolerable.' And therefore, though biſhop Burnet vindicates the non-conformiſts from having formed any deſign of rebellion before this, yet he was miſinformed when he ſays, 'That none came into this attempt but thoſe deſperate intercommuned men, who were, as it were, hunted from their houſes into all thoſe extravagancies that men may fall in who wander about inflaming one another, and are heated in it with falſe notions of religion.' Such invidious reflections are no more than what might be expected from the pen of a prelate on this ſubject, for I can ſee no extravagancies they fell into but what was the natural effect of the oppreſſion of the managers, and there were a great many gentlemen that joined them, and many more who favoured their deſign.

There were likewiſe ſeveral miniſters among them, as Meſſ. John Welſh, John King, John Kid, William Fo ſter, Thomas Douglas, Samuel Arnot, John Rae, George Barclay, John Semple, &c. They never, as Mr Wodrow thinks exceeded 4000, though Echard would have them to be 17,000, when they were routed at Bothwell; but then many were but ill-armed, and it was their loſs that they had no officers who underſtood the art of war.

When the king's forces left Glaſgow, Mr Welſh and ſeveral others came hither from Carrick, and interred the bodies of thoſe who had been killed in the late attempt, together with the heads of the ſufferers for Pentland. They ſhewed the like kindneſs to the heads and hands of thoſe which had been ſet up at Kilmarnock, Irvine and Ayr, and were well received by the good people every where; but the diviſions that broke out among them occaſioned the defeat of their deſigns at this time.

The principal thing they had in view was to publiſh a declaration to the world, ſhewing the reaſons of their conduct. Mr Hamilton who took upon him the command, Mr Douglas and Mr Cargil, &c. were of opinion that the indulgence ſhould be condemned; but this was oppoſed by Mr Welſh, the laird of Kaitlock, and others; but Mr Hamilton and his adherents being more numerous, the following general declaration was agreed to by the majority.

'We who are here providentially convened in our own defence, for preventing and removing the miſtakes and miſapprehenſions of all, eſpecially of thoſe whom we wiſh to be, and hope are friends, do declare our preſent purpoſes and endeavours to be only in vindication and defence of the true reformed religion in its profeſſion and doctrine, as we ſtand obliged thereunto by our national and ſolemn league and covenants, and that ſolemn acknowledgment of ſins, and engagement to duties made and taken in the year 1648, declaring againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm, and all things depending thereupon.

When the army increaſed, there were ſeveral who found fault with the laſt clauſe of the above declaration, becauſe it comprehended the indulgence, and therefore moved that it might be taken out; they ſaid that nothing ſhould be in the declaration that had a tendency to exclude any preſbyterians from joining in their aſſiſtance, eſpecially as the indulgence, in its own nature diſputable, had not yet been declared ſinful by any general aſſembly, or other competent judge. On the other hand it was argued, that the point controverted was only declared againſt in general terms; that eraſtianiſm was as expreſly abjured by this church as prelacy: and that the indulgence was the fruit of eraſtianiſm. The debates were carried to a great length.

At another meeting Mr Hamilton, and thoſe of his ſentiments, moved that they might obſerve a day of faſting and humiliation before they ſhould be engaged with the enemy; but they who oppoſed a teſtimony againſt the indulgence did not reliſh this motion, unleſs, ſuch grounds of faſting ſhould be given as they all could agree in. However, they were at this time over ruled, and a committee was appointed, conſiſting of four miniſters and four gentlemen, to draw up ſome cauſes of faſting and humiliation. Accordingly they referred to what was written in the cauſes of God's wrath, and then mentioned, 1. The extravagant rejoicing at the reſtoration. 2. The eſtabliſhing of prelacy. 3. The neglecting of public teſtimonies againſt that abjured hierarchy. 4. The ſin of many in taking unlawful bonds. 5. The paying of unlawful ceſs, &c. for ſupporting the ſupremacy and ſuppreſſing the goſpel. 6. The complying with abjured eraſtianiſm in the matter of the indulgence. They who were of different ſentiments from Mr Hamilton would not come into thoſe things as proper to be laid down as cauſes of humiliation, and ſo no faſt was kept. And thus diviſions broke this little army before they were broken by the enemy.

When the cauſe of their appearing and continuing in arms came to be conſidered at a meeting of their officers, which they called a *council of war*, Mr Hamilton and his adherents were for having it ſtated upon the footing of the Rutherglen declaration; but they who favoured the indulgence propoſed that the king's authority ſhould be expreſly owned, according to the 3d article of the ſolemn league and covenant. Againſt this it was argued, that, as they had made no declaration againſt him, ſo they muſt be excuſed, and not urged to declare poſitively for him, eſpecially as he was now in a ſtated oppoſition to the intereſt of Chriſt, and had, upon the matter, declared war againſt his people, and all the preſent oppoſition cruelty and perſecution in Scotland, for redreſs of which they were now appearing, were carried on in his name. The covenants, they ſaid, only bound them to him in the preſervation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdoms: but the king had actually overturned the true religion, ſet up prelacy and eraſtianiſm, ruined the covenanted work of reformation, invaded the liberties of the kingdom, perſecuted to the death the aſſerters of both, and plainly broke the conditions of government ſworn at his coronation. To this it is anſwered, That, in 1638, the aſſembly and covenanters owned the king's authority though he had declared war againſt them. That this method of throwing off the king's authority would obſtruct the redreſs of their grievances, and fruſtrate the deſign of their appearance. But here the reader muſt obſerve, that Mr Hamilton and his adherents propoſed no declaration againſt the king's lawful authority, only would not poſitively mention him or his intereſt in the declaration: and it is certain that what they aſſerted, concerning the king's oppoſition to the true religion, &c. was fact. How far their inference was juſt muſt be left with the reader. However, they who oppoſed Mr Hamilton and his adherents ſo far prevailed, as on the 13th of June to get a declaration publiſhed at Glaſgow, called the *Hamilton declaration*, wherein the king's intereſt is expreſly aſſerted. The reader may eaſily ſee that this little army muſt have laboured under great diſadvantages from their diviſions when the enemy was coming upon them.

As they had been ſome days about Hamilton, ſo it will be proper to return to the king's army.

We have heard that the army under the command of

the earl of Linlithgow was cantoned about Edinburgh, and on the 17th they were at Kirkhill park belonging to Cardross, who suffered much at this time by the soldiers.

On the 18th the duke of Buccleugh, and Monmouth came to Edinburgh, and was admitted a privy-counsellor. The author of the memoirs of north Britain, formerly quoted, says, 'That the Tories in England perswaded the king to send his grace against those unfortunate people to make him odious to the protestant party in both kingdoms, who wished well to all endeavours for preservation of the protestant religion, their rights and privileges.'

This same day the council wrote to Lauderdale acquainting him of the duke's arrival, and thanking his majesty for sending him.

On the 19th the duke went to the army, but marched slowly towards Hamilton. Next day he sent to the council, complaining that their march was retarded for want of provisions, which were accordingly sent to him. But some think the reasons of his grace's slow motions was, because he expected some application to be made to him by those now in arms.

On the 20th the council received a letter from the king approving of their proceedings, and requiring that they would prosecute the rebels with fire and sword, and all other extremities of war. These were orders our managers were ready enough to obey; accordingly they transmitted a copy of his majesty's letter to the duke, whose army then lay within two miles of the kirk of Shots and was about ten thousand strong, which was more than twice the number of those they had to deal with.

There were, at this time, pains taken to dispose those in arms to lay before the duke their grievances, with professions of loyalty to the king; but their disorders still increasing did a great deal of damage, for the time of action approached, and their numbers decreased before the king's army came up. When they heard of Monmouth's arrival, a motion was made to model their army, and pitch upon such officers as were best skilled in military affairs. About this time a person unknown came into one of their meetings with a paper, as he said, from some ministers and others, which they earnestly desired all might sign. The tenor of it was, 'We the officers of the presbyterian army do hereby declare, That we have no intention or design to overturn the government, civil or ecclesiastical, whereunto we are solemnly sworn by our national and solemn league and covenant; and that it is our judgment and opinion that all matters now in controversy be foreborn and referred to be determined by their proper judicatories, viz. a free and unlimited parliament, and a lawful general assembly.' But both these proposals were dropt for a time.

On Saturday the 21st the officers met, when those who were not of the sentiments of Mr Hamilton and his adherents were most numerous, and their debates ran higher than ever, though the king's forces were almost in view. At this meeting it was urged that all places in the army should be declared vacant, and officers harmoniously chosen, that so they might be entirely united in the time of action. Mr Hamilton and those of his way of thinking declared their willingness on condition of the right stating of the quarrel. Upon this the indulgence was again brought upon the carpit, and the dispute was carried to such a pitch, that Mr Hamilton, John Paton, Wil. Carmichael, And. Turnbull, &c. left the meeting. They who remained chosed a new preces and clerk, and entered upon business; but were unwilling to nominate officers when so many had withdrawn. However, being acquainted with Monmouth's willingness to receive application from them, and that being an affair which could admit of no delay, they unanimously voted a supplication to his grace, wherein, after giving a general account of their grievances, they prayed that some of their number might have liberty, under safe conduct, to come and lay before him their grievances and requests.

On Sabbath the 22d the duke and his army were come to Bothwell muir and their advanced guards to Bothwell-town within a quarter of a mile from the bridge. The countrymen lay encamped on the south of the river Clyde in Hamilton-muir, and had an advanced party ready to dispute the passage at Bothwell-bridge, if the king's army should attempt it. Early that morning Mr David Hume, the laird of Kaitloch, and some say Mr John Welsh in disguise went to the duke with the supplication. They had easy access, and besides the supplication, prayed, That they might be allowed the free exercise of religion, and to attend gospel-ordinances dispensed by their own faithful presbyterian ministers without molestation: that a free parliament and a free general assembly, without the clogs of oaths and declarations, should be allowed to meet for settling affairs both in church and state; and that all those who now are or have been in arms should be indemnified.' The duke heard them patiently, but refused to treat with them till they had laid down their arms and submitted to the king's mercy. He sent them back to their friends, and ordered them to bring an answer in half an hour at farthest. In short, when the commissioners came to the army, they renewed their debates, and so no answer was returned.

The king's troops in the mean time had free liberty to plant their canon, and lord Livingston began the attack on the bridge with the foot guards, the countrymen stood their ground near an hour, and defended the bridge with much gallantry. Hackstoun of Rathillet, one of their commanders, shewed a great deal of bravery upon this occasion; but their ammunition failing them, and not being properly supported, they were obliged to quit the bridge where their main strength lay. Upon this the duke ordered the whole army to pass the bridge with the canon before them, and soon after the whole west country army was routed.

Thus the rebellion at Bothwell, as it was called, was suppressed. From this I cannot but observe, that the righteousness of a cause is not to be concluded because it is not always successful. It is plain those people rose in defence of their religion and liberties. A better cause none could be engaged in, and yet they were defeated. Again, though their appearance had been called rebellion, yet every one, who has just sentiments of liberty and law, must view it in another light. We have observed, that the constitution of the government was overturned, perjury, violence and oppression were established, and those very people put from under the protection of the law, and exposed to bonds, imprisonments, banishments, ravages and plunderings. And though they did rise in arms, and declare against the civil and religious oppressions then established by authority, yet they never did declare against the oppressors. It is true, though several of them would not take the king's interest into the state of the quarrel, yet they did not declare against him. I shall only add, that had they been successful, so as to have restored the civil and religious liberties of their country, all good men would have honoured their memory; and as it was, they deserved to be had in great reputation. Let rebellious Jacobites call this rising rebellion, none who own the glorious revolution, and the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, can esteem it so. The chief thing in which these patriots were to blame, was their making this attempt without some greater probability of success than for ought appears, they had at that time. But as matters then stood the division of the indulgence ruined this attempt. It is certain they who were for bearing their testimony against it acted according to the principles of the presbyterians. Happy had it been for the nation had it never been complied with, especially by so many worthy and godly ministers.

There cannot be any just account given of the number of the slain, because they were murdered up and down the fields as the soldiers met them. It was reckoned 400 were killed, and 1200 surrendered prisoners on the muir, who were not only disarmed and stripped almost naked, but made to ly flat down on the ground, and not suffered to change that posture. And if any of them did so much as raise himself a little, he was shot dead in an instant. There had been a much greater slaughter had it not been for the duke, and the interest of several noblemen and gentlemen at that time with his grace. Nevertheless great were the severities used by the soldiers, of which

which the following are glaring inſtances. Mr William Gordon of Earlſtoun, having his affairs to ſettle, could not join the country army, but ſent his ſon Mr Alexander before, who was in the action. Mr William not knowing of the diſaſter of the weſt-country army, and riding as quickly as he could to join them, was met by a party of Engliſh dragoons, and refuſing to ſurrender was killed on the ſpot. His friends could not get him buried with the reſt of his family, and therefore he lies interred in the churchyard of Glaſſerton. A pillar was erected over his grave, but no inſcription was ſuffered to be upon it. Mr Alexander Gordon, one of the predeceſſors of this ancient family, entertained the diſciples of the great Wickliff, and had a New Teſtament in the vulgar tongue, which they uſed to read in meetings in the woods near the Airds. Mr Afterwards Sir Alexander Gordon, the preſent Sir Thomas's father, narrowly eſcaped at this time, by means of one of his tenants, who, knowing him as he rode through Hamilton after the defeat, made him diſmount, put his horſe furniture into a dunghill, and obliged him to put on woman's clothes and rock the cradle, by which means he was preſerved. We ſhall hear more of him afterwards.

Several were murdered in cold blood by the ſoldiers, that ſame day, on the road near Hamilton. They were going to hear ſermon in the camp, not knowing that the ſoldiers had got over the river, particularly James Scoullar and Gavin Semple in the pariſh of Glaſsford, John Browning, Rob. Strobo, William Hamilton, Rob. Steil, Wil. Pate and Arch. Dick, all of the pariſh of Evandale, and Rob. Finlay in that of Stonehouſe, though they had no arms. Next day Arthur Inglis in Cambuſnethan, reading his Bible in a furrow, was looked upon as a Whig by the ſoldiers who happened to perceive him, and therefore one of them fired at a diſtance, but miſſed him. The good man looked about, and not offering to move, the ſoldiers came and clave him through the ſcull, and ſo diſpatched him; and indeed they ſcarcely ſpared any they met with near the field of battle.

Dreadful were the conſequences of this fatal action, and had it not been for Monmouth's lenity, they had been much greater; for ſome of the officers propoſed to burn Glaſgow, Hamilton and the country round Bothwellbridge; but the general rejected the motion with indignation. We ſhall hear that moſt of the gentlemen in the weſtern ſhires were brought to inexpreſſible trouble. I ſhall only now mention the caſe of Sir Thomas Stuart of Coltneſs, ſon to Sir James Stuart late provoſt of Edinburgh. He was obliged firſt to abſcond, and then retire to Holland, orders being iſſued for apprehending him, though neither he nor any of his ſervants were there.

Dalziel's commiſſion to be lieutenant general came down on the day of battle. The laird of Lundin brought the firſt news of the action to the council, who immediately ſent diſpatches to Lauderdale, and wrote to col. Struthers in Northumberland to ſecure the borders, ſtop and impriſon the rebels, and gave orders where they thought it proper to accompliſh this end; but theſe things I omit being no more than what might have been expected.

The priſoners taken at Bothwell were this day brought into Edinburgh, among whom was Mr John Kid. In their journey they were generally tied two and two, made a gazing ſtock in the places through which they paſſed, and expoſed to the cruel mockings of the profane, who ſaid, Where is now your God? Take him up now, and Mr Welſh who ſaid you ſhould win the day; though Mr Welſh never ſaid any ſuch thing. When they came to Edinburgh, the council ordered the magiſtrates to put them into the inner Gray-friars church-yard, with proper centinels over them, viz. 24 to guard them at night, and 8 in the day time. The officers were to keep a liſt of the centinels, that, if any of the priſoners ſhould eſcape, the centinels ſhould throw the dice and anſwer body for body. The officers were to be accountable for the centinels, and the town of Edinburgh for the officers. Theſe orders were put in execution, and the priſoners were all carried to the place appointed, except a few who were put in priſon, and continued in that incloſure near five months, moſtly in the open air. Here they generally ſtood all day, and lay all night on the cold ground without any other accommodation; and if any of them, in the night time, had raiſed their head for a little eaſe, the ſoldiers were ſure to fire at them. It would be endleſs to recount all their hardſhips, and with what difficulty perſons were allowed to bring them any neceſſary proviſions; how the women were inſulted and abuſed by the ſoldiers, for no man had acceſs. It was eſteemed a ſingular favour that ſome huts made of dales were ſet up for them a few weeks before they were brought out of this place.

On the 25th, having had an account from the general of his having ſent parties in queſt of the rebels whom he looked upon as diſperſed, the council ordered Henry Ker of Graden to ſearch for Turnbull of Bowly, Turnbull of Sandyhill, Henry Hall, and Mr Archbald Riddel, as being either at or acceſſory to the rebellion; and next day they publiſhed a proclamation againſt the rebels, as they called them. Many names were inſerted in this proclamation, and among others Mr John King. The two brothers of the earl of Galloway were named in the proclamation, but the council afterwards declared thoſe two had made it appear that they were not in the rebellion.

This proclamation made way for the ſoldiers to commit many cruelties up and down the country. A great many parties were diſperſed through the weſt and ſouth; but none were ſo noted for their barbarities as Claverhouſe and thoſe under his command. Accordingly, upon any frivolous information, they attacked the houſes of thoſe whom they pretended had been in the riſing, eſpecially through the ſhire of Ayr, which had ſuffered ſo much the laſt year by the Highland boſt. The reader will be able to judge what diſtreſs that part of the country was in by a few inſtances.

William MacLeweyand, in the pariſh of Bar, had been at Bothwell; his wife got liberty to have him releaſed from the Gray friars church-yard; but, as they were returning home, Claverhouſe came with his troop to this man's houſe, and rifled it of every thing; and during the reſt of this perſecuting period they ſuffered many ſuch plunderings, which I have not room to mention. James MacJarrow, in the ſame pariſh, though he was not at Bothwell, ſuffered much in the ſame manner.

Claverhouſe, marching into Galloway with ſome Engliſh dragoons, &c. ſcarcely made any diſtinction between thoſe who had been at Bothwell, and others, ſeized all the horſes they could find, plundered the houſes, particularly in the pariſhes of Carſphairn, Balmaclellan and Glencairn. In one houſe in Balmaclellan they forced a woman before her huſband, and then pillaged the houſe. In the pariſh of Glencairn, in order to oblige a poor harmleſs youth to tell who of his neighbours were at Bothwell, they tied a ſmall cord round his head, then faſtened the two ends of it about the butt of one of their piſtols, and twiſted it ſo hard, that the fleſh was cut round into the ſcull. In the ſame pariſh they ſeized a poor ſhepherd boy, and, to force him to diſcover his maſter, faſtened two cords to his thumbs, and by theſe hanged him up to the roof of the houſe. Mary Gordon of Robertoun ſuffered much by frequent quarterings of ſoldiers, who took away her horſes, and plundered her houſe. In a ſhort time after they returned, and carried her and her only ſon John Gordon, a boy, to priſon together, with two of her ſervants, who were both tranſported to America. She and her ſon continued ſome time in hold to their great loſs. Her tenants were ſadly oppreſſed for her ſake. One of them, John Sprat, was plundered, and fined in 20 l. for ſpeaking to his own ſon who had been at Bothwell.

Other ſhires were not exempted. Francis Park, in the pariſh of Carmonnock, had 14 ſoldiers quartered upon him, and was obliged to give 50 l. to ſave his houſe from being plundered, becauſe he had lent his plough to a neighbour of his who had been at Bothwel. George Park in the ſame pariſh, was forced to give 200 merks for harbouring his own ſon, who had been in the riſing. John Mitchel's wife, in the pariſh of Cathcart near Glaſgow, had lighted matches put between her fingers to force her to diſcover her huſband, and, when the ſoldiers found they could not prevail, they rifled the houſe, and deſtroyed the proviſions. I ſhall leave the reader to make reflections on theſe things.

On the 4th of July the council wrote to the sheriffs on the south of the Tay, to send up exact lists of the heritors who did not attend the king's host, or who left it without permission. This occasioned many to suffer, as we shall relate next year. At the same time they received a letter from the king, dated the 29th of June, concerning the prisoners, in which his majesty was graciously pleased to require the council to examine such of them as they thought could best discover the rise and progress of the late rebellion, and what correspondence the rebels had especially with the kingdom of England, and to offer them pardon upon making out their discoveries, but to put them to the torture if they refused to inform in what the council had reason to believe they knew. His majesty approved of their sending 3 or 400 of them to the plantations, and ordered the ringleaders to be prosecuted as traitors, and the rest to be set at liberty upon their enacting themselves not to take arms against the king or his authority.

Together with this letter a proclamation came down of the same date, of which I must give the following abstract, as this was the foundation of the third indulgence. 'We having—past so many acts, in favour of the protestant religion, against field conventicles, whereby our subjects were withdrawn from public ordinances, in such ways as exposed them to hear Jesuits, or any other irregular preachers, and were at last debauched to meet in arms in formed rebellions—We have therefore thought fit—to recommend the vigorous execution of all our former laws—against such rendezvouses of rebellion.—As also, we most peremptorily command all in office under us, to prosecute, with all legal rigour, those inhuman and execrable murderers of the late archbishop of St Andrews, and all such as have had accession thereto.—But we being desirous to reclaim all such—as have been misled by ignorance or blind zeal,—and to convince all indifferent persons that too great severity is as far from our design as our inclination, have, according to the power reserved to us by—our second parliament, suspended the execution of all laws and acts against such as frequent house conventicles in the low countries on the south side of the Tay only, excepting Edinburgh and two miles round, the lordships of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, the cities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Stirling, and a mile round each.—And—we hereby suspend all diligences for fines, upon the account of conventicles, except such fines as are imposed by our privy-council, and such—as were—transacted for prior to the 29th of May last. But—we hereby ordain all such as shall be suffered to preach to have their names given in, and surety found to our privy-council for their peaceable behaviour, only one preacher being allowed to a parish, and none to be allowed who have appeared against us in the late rebellion, nor none who shall be admitted by the unconform ministers in any time hereafter; assuring all those to whom we have extended this favour, that if they, or any of them, shall, for the future frequent any field-conventicles, or disturb the peace of these our kingdoms, we will secure our people and maintain our authority.—This our forbearance being to continue in force only during our royal pleasure.'

It is in this proclamation alledged, that they who frequented field meetings were exposed to hear Jesuits. Whether this be not a most vile innuendo must be left with the reader. Though my author says, That the favour here granted to the ministers was one of the least clogged favours that had been granted to the presbyterians since the restoration, yet I cannot but think it impossible for those who had the management of affairs in this period to grant a favour without a clog. I shall not therefore compare this with the former two indulgences, but shall leave it with the reader, whether they who exercised their ministry, in consequence of this, did not virtually acknowlege the wickedness of field conventicles, of the late appearance in arms in defence of religion and liberty, nay, and the justice of the laws then made against the brethren. However, it was certainly some favour to be excused from the rigorous execution of those wicked laws then in force, though the condition of it was a burden to many tender consciences. But, such as it was, it is likely that it would not have been granted had it not been for the interest of the duke of Monmouth; and, in consequence of it, the council ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh to release Mess. John Mosman, Archd. MacLean, James Frothie, Will. Kyle, Robert Fleming, Fran. Irvine, and Tho. Wilkie, upon their engaging to live peaceably, and not to preach at field conventicles. The ministers in the Bass were likewise sent for to be set at liberty upon the same terms.

The same day the council, in obedience to his majesty's letter, agreed that so many of the prisoners (except the ringleaders) as would oblige themselves not to take arms against the king or his authority, should be released; and ordered intimation to be made, that if they, or any of them, shall afterwards be found in arms at field-conventicles, they shall forfeit the benefit of the indemnity. Accordingly the following bond was drawn up to be subscribed by the Bothwell prisoners. 'I—being apprehended for being at the late rebellion; and whereas the lords of his majesty's privy-council, in pursuance of his majesty's command, have ordained me to be set at liberty, I enacting myself to the effect underwritten; therefore I bind, oblige and enact myself, in the books of the privy council, that hereafter I shall not take up arms without or against his majesty or his authority. As witness my hand.' &c. It is plain that they who signed this bond acknowleged that the rising at Bothwell was rebellion, and obliged themselves against defensive arms for the future; and therefore it is no wonder though many stood out, and refused to accept deliverance upon terms they thought not only contradicted their principles, but also trampled upon the blood of their brethren who died in the cause.

About this time the duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth published a pardon and indemnity to all tenants and subtenants who had been at Bothwell, in case they submitted themselves against such a day. There was likewise a bond required of the heritors in the west-country, obliging themselves to use their utmost for securing those who did not accept of this favour. But as few of the tenants chused to venture themselves into the hands of the magistrates at that time, so the heritors chiefly concerned refused the bond. On the 6th the duke took his leave of the council, and in two or three days returned to England.

On the 11th of July the council received a letter from Lauderdale, signifying, 'That the king was informed of an infamous libel wrote and dispersed at Edinburgh, printed and dispersed at London, and cried in the streets, reflecting on the proceedings of the lords of council and session; that the king orders a diligent inquiry where and by whom the copies were written out and dispersed at Edinburgh, the accounts at London bearing, That they were written in the chamber of James Hay writer, who married a niece of Sir Arch. Primrose. The council appointed a committee to examine into this affair, and wrote a letter of thanks to the king for his concern for them. That the reader may know the rise of this, he will remember that Lauderdale's administration had been blamed by many as oppressive, and subversive of the liberties and properties of the subject, and that several attempts had been formerly made in vain to get him set aside; nevertheless as such a brave struggle was at this time making in England against popery and arbitrary power, and as Lauderdale was as disagreeable there as he was to many in Scotland, so several resolved to renew their attempt against him.

Accordingly duke Hamilton repaired to court in the spring, and soon after was followed by the marquis of Athol, Sir John Cochran, and others; together with these two eminent lawyers, Sir George Lockhart and John Cuningham, with an intent to renew their accusations against Lauderdale. The king's advocate went upon the other side. Bishop Burnet says he was sent for to defend the administration. On the 29th of May the commons of England presented another address to the king, intreating his majesty to remove the duke of Lauderdale from his council and presence for ever.

When duke Hamilton and the rest got access to the king, they laid before him their grievances, which were printed under the following title, Some particular matters of fact relating to the administration of affairs in Scotland under

under the duke of Lauderdale, humbly offered to your majesty's consideration, in obedience to your royal commands. This paper exposed the ravages of the Highland host, the hardships of incapacitating persons for public trust, of which several instances were given; the injustice of illegal imprisonments, the cruelty used to prisoners, the hardships many endured by unreasonable and arbitrary fines, and by placing garrisons in gentlemens houses, &c. The curious reader may peruse the paper at large in Mr Wodrow, p. 102, &c. who justly observes, that it certainly contained a material vindication of the people at Bothwell, who appeared in defence of religion and liberty; and adds, that, had the noblemen and gentlemen, who drew up this paper, laid many things contained in it at the door of the prelates, as well as that of Lauderdale, the representation had been more full and just. But Sharp, the *primum mobile*, was gone; and so the duke was charged with all. Now it was the publishing and dispersing of this paper that occasioned the letter to the council formerly mentioned. However, before the council's answer to the king's letter reached the court, his majesty allowed a conference in his own presence at Windsor-castle as to the matters of complaint. The debates lasted no less than eight hours, viz. from ten to one in the forenoon, and from four to nine in the evening on the 8th of July, There was to be another conference on the 13th, but duke Hamilton and the rest, seeing how things were like to go, desisted from making any farther attempt; for, on the 11th of July, the complainers found that now his majesty was resolved to stand by Lauderdale; and on the 13th the king sent three letters, one to the council, another to the lords of session, and a third to the lords of justiciary, approving of all their conduct; so that Lauderdale still stood his ground. Bishop Burnet says, 'The hearing came on as was proposed; and it was made out, beyond the possibility of an answer, that the giving commissions to an army to live on free quarters, in a quiet time, was against the whole constitution, as well as the express laws of the kingdom; and that it was never done but in an enemy's country, or to suppress a rebellion. They shewed, likewise how unjust and illegal all the other parts of his administration were. The earls of Essex and Hallifax told him that every thing was made out fully.' He farther says, that though kings naturally love to hear prerogative magnified, yet, on this occasion, the king had nothing to say in defence of the administration. But when May, the master of the privy-purse, asked him, in his familiar way, what he thought now of his Lauderdale? he answered, as May himself told the doctor, That they had objected many damned things that he had done against them; but there was nothing objected that was against his service. From the whole it appears that the king was inflexible. And, as this administration had the royal countenance and approbation, the reader will not be surprized at the continuance and increase of injustice and oppression.

CHAP. II.

Of the execution of Mr King, Mr Kid, and of the five that suffered at Magus muir; the circuit courts; the third indulgence, and other remarkable things to the end of the year.

MAny suffered unto death on account of Bothwel, Mr King and Mr Kid were the first who fell a sacrifice to the rage of the prosecutors, and were the only ministers who were apprehended on this occasion. When Mr King was taken is not certainly known; only it is remarkable, that, when a party of the English dragoons were on horseback at Glasgow, one of them called for some ale, and drank to the confusion of the covenants, &c. Then meeting one of his comrades at the Stable-green port, who asking him whether he was going? he answered, To carry King to hell. This was on the Lord's day. But the poor wretch had not rode far, till his carbine accidentally went off and killed him on the spot. The party carried Mr King to Edinburgh.

Mr Kid was among the prisoners taken at Bothwell, and was frequently examined by some of the counsellors, particularly as to the occasion and beginning of this rising, and the persons concerned in it; but they could find nothing more than has been related. And though he had been accused of being a popish priest, yet he gave abundant proof of his being a firm protestant, and a good man.

Both Mr King and Mr Kid were before the council on the 9th of July. When they were examined Mr King confessed that he was with those that rose at this time; that he remembered that Earlstoun younger was with them likewise, &c. but denies that he was with them when the king's forces were assaulted at Glasgow, or that he ever heard of a rising before it happened, or was ever upon any council with them. Mr Kid confessed that he had preached in the fields, but never where there were men in arms, except in two places. They signed their confessions, which were afterwards produced as evidence against them at their trial before the justiciary.

On the 12th of July the earl of Queensberry was admitted a counsellor, for his zeal in promoting his majesty's service, and suppressing the rebels. The same day, in a letter to Lauderdale, they proposed some difficulties relating to the proclamation of the 29th of June, which was a modest way of asking a repeal of it, for they did not relish any favours to be shewn. However, on the 14th, a letter came by express from his majesty, at the procurement of the duke of Monmouth, enlarging favours to ministers, which was so very disagreeable to the managers, that the archbishop of Glasgow was dispatched to court, where it is likely he fell in with the duke of York's party; for in a little time these favours were curtailed, and about the end of the year wholly taken away. The same day Mr Kid was examined before the council; and they imagining that he was not ingenuous in his answers, ordered him to be put to the torture. It seems he was more than once in the boots, and behaved with great meekness and patience.

On the 16th Mr King was examined before the justiciary; and when he signed his confession it was ordered to be inserted in the books of adjournal, to be produced as evidence against him. Mr Kid appeared next day, but refusing to sign his confession, the lords subscribed it, and ordered it to be registered, as in the case of Mr King.

On the 18th the council granted a petition to prosecute Alexander Hamilton of Kinkell, in order to his being forfeited; and being informed that John Cuningham of Bedlane, who had been forfeited on account of Pentland, had been at Bothwell, ordered him and his sureties to be summoned before them. Mr Hamilton of Kinkell underwent a series of troubles ever since the restoration; for he had sheltered the ejected ministers, and encouraged them to preach in his house, without hindering any that had a mind to come and hear them. This exposed him to the indignation of the primate, who ordered him to be summoned from the pulpit, in order to excommunication. The people of St Andrews being so disgusted that a person of Kinkell's piety and character should be thus served, generally went out of the church. The bishop, seeing his excommunication would be treated with contempt, got him intercommuned, which obliged him to quit his house, and undergo many hardships. Soon after that a garrison was sent to his house, by whom his lady (who was then near her time) and family were turned out of doors. The garrison continued in the house several weeks, destroyed most of the furniture, and consumed the provisions. After Bothwel he was taken, bound with cords, and carried to Edinburgh, where he remained prisoner about eight months. Though he escaped forfeiture, yet his estate was ruined. And it was after a kind of banishment for several years, that, in 1687, he returned to his own house at Kinkell; but upon setting up a meeting-house, he was brought under new troubles; for, at the instigation of the primate, Ross, he and Mr Orrock the preacher were, by a party of soldiers, carried prisoners to Edinburgh, but in a little time they were set at liberty.

It was about this time that the king and council made over the moveables of those who had been at Bothwell to whom they thought proper, which occasioned great oppression; for the donators, as they were called, who had this gift made to them, in a manner plundered all they suspected;

ſuſpected, ſo that few pariſhes in the weſt and ſouth eſcaped this heavy oppreſſion.

On the 19th the council wrote to Lauderdale acquainting him that they had called the preachers, who were priſoners in Edinburgh, (my author thinks theſe were the field preachers, the others being releaſed the 4th) and offered them a bond, which two of them ſubſcribed, and the reſt refuſed, and that they had ſent for the priſoners in the Baſs in order to make the ſame offer to them. Accordingly, Mr Patrick Anderſon, Mr James Fraſer of Brae, Mr Thomas Hog, Mr John MacGilligen, Mr John MacAulay, Mr Robert Roſs, Mr John Law, and Mr William Bell, were brought from the Baſs to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where ſome other miniſters were confined, particularly Mr Robert Fleming miniſter at Cambuſlang afterwards of the Scots congregation at Roterdam. Though they were willing to find bail fot their appearance when called, yet, becauſe they refuſed to oblige themſelves to live peaceably, and not to riſe in arms againſt the king, or any authoriſed by him, they were remanded to priſon. This was contrary to the king's letter, which allowed them, either to oblige themſelves as above, or find bail; but the managers inſiſted on the firſt. Mr William Kyle and Mr Francis Irvine, who ſigned the obligation, were ſet at liberty. However, after ſome time, the reſt of the miniſters were releaſed upon bond to appear when called.

On the 22d Robert Hamilton of Airdrie, his ſervant, and about 15 other priſoners, were ſet at liberty upon obliging themſelves to live peaceably, &c. The ſame day the council had permiſſion to releaſe lord Cardroſs upon paying his fine. Mr King and Mr Kid received their indictment at this time; and, on the 24th, they petitioned the council that they might be allowed advocates to plead for them, ſince they were ſo ſoon to be tried for their life; accordingly Mr David Thoirs and Mr William Monnipenny were allowed them.

This day Mr Veitch, inſtead of having ſentence of death paſſed upon him, was, in conſequence of a letter from his majeſty, ordered to be ſet at liberty, and to retire to England. The reaſon of this ſudden turn was, that Mr Veitch, finding that ſentence of death was to be pronounced againſt him, prevailed with his friend Mr G. Elliot, afterwards one of the lords of ſeſſion, to ride poſt to London. Mr Elliot, not having acceſs to Lauderdale, applied to the earl of Shaftſbury and others of his party, by whom he was adviſed to print Mr Veitch's caſe, ſignifying his being apprehended in England, after near 13 years reſidence in that country, and ſent to Scotland to be judged for alledged crimes, and to give a copy of the caſe to each of the members of parliament. This was done. Then the king was applied to, and in a manner threatened with a parliamentary enquiry into this conduct to an Engliſh ſubject. Whereupon the king wrote the letter juſt now hinted; and it came within an hour before the ſentence of death was to have been paſſed. The ſame day about 20 more priſoners for conventicles were ſet at liberty.

Theſe favours were granted to put ſome ſtop to the clamours made againſt Lauderdale's adminiſtration; and it is not improbable, had not the duke of York come down, that there had been more of this kind ſhewn; however, they were ſo far from being agreeable to the managers at Edinburgh, that, on the 25th of July, the earl of Linlithgow and Claverhouſe had the council's permiſſion to repair to London. They were in a few days followed by the chancellor, and great changes were about this time talked of.

Mean while the trial of Mr King and Mr Kid came on, and they appeared before the juſticiary on the 18th. Their advocates gave in a petition in their favour, praying that the lords would allow them an exculpation, or liberty to vindicate themſelves from the charge of high-treaſon given in againſt them. In order to this the petition bears, that Mr King's being with the rebels did not proceed from any rebellious principles, but, being taken by Claverhouſe, he was releaſed by the rebels, and not ſuffered to go from them; ſo that, in fact, he was always in the quality of a priſoner; that, during the time he was with them, he not only refuſed to preach, but made it his buſineſs to perſuade them to return to their former loyalty, and actually perſuaded ſeveral to deſert them; and that he only carried a ſword the better to diſguiſe himſelf from being taken for a preacher, but never made uſe of it. And as to Mr Kid, that he retired from them as ſoon as he could, and abſolutely refuſed to return, and invited ſuch of them as came in his way to lay down their arms, and throw themſelves on the king's mercy. And that it was at the deſire of ſome of the moſt peaceable, that, in the ſimplicity of his heart, he went to Hamilton to perſuade them to obedience; ſo that, when Robert Hamilton, and ſome of the ringleaders, became enraged at his advice, as he was going home he was purſued by a party of rebels, who threatened to kill him if he did not return; and, when taken, he got quarters and aſſurance of his life from the lord-general, &c. And as for being preſent at field-conventicles, it was pleaded, that, if the petitioners freed themſelves from the rebellion, they were ſecured from this by his majeſty's late proclamation; and they offered to prove all the premiſes by unexceptionable witneſſes. But no exculpation was allowed them; for, when their indictment was read, the advocate produced their confeſſions before the council as proofs againſt them; and accordingly they were brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the market-croſs of Edinburgh on Thurſday the 14th of Auguſt, and their heads and right arms to be cut off, and diſpoſed of at the council's pleaſure. The reader is to judge how far it was equitable to refuſe them acceſs to vindicate themſelves as far as they were able. Intereſt was made for a remiſſion, but to no purpoſe.

On the 31ſt of July, John Balmerino, Andrew Sandgraſs, and about 20 others, were ſet at liberty, on ſigning a bond to live peaceably, and not to riſe in arms againſt the king, or any commiſſioned by him. The ſame day lord Cardroſs was ordered by the council to be releaſed, upon paying the ſums in which he was fined. Accordingly his lordſhip gave bond, and got out of priſon; but, being outlawed for not paying his fine, his ſimple and liferent eſcheat was fallen into the king's hands. We ſhall hear more of him next year.

Mean while the king ſignified, in a letter to the council, his deteſtation of the murder of the late archbiſhop of St Andrews, and commanded them to proſecute nine of thoſe who were concerned in the late rebellion, with this additional conſideration of having owned theſe murderers who were excepted from any indemnity; and that, if thoſe were convicted, they ſhould be hanged in chains in the place where the murder was committed.

Accordingly a committee was appointed, who, on the 6th of Auguſt, reported that they had ordered nine to be proſecuted as directed, had examined the priſoners in the Gray-friars church yard, and took particular notice of thoſe who refuſed to call the late riſing in arms *rebellion*, or killing the archbiſhop *murder*, and thoſe that refuſed the bond not to riſe in arms hereafter, and had made up a liſt of 30 perſons. They likewiſe gave it as their opinion, that, as there were other priſoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh and Canongate of the ſame guilt and perſuaſion, the king's advocate or depute ſhould be appointed to examine them, and proſecute nine of the moſt guilty; and that a ſecret committee, conſiſting of three or four at moſt, ſhould be ordered to give in liſts of ſuch heritors, ringleaders, and preachers, as were not yet taken, to general Dalziel, with warrants to ſecure their perſons till they be brought to juſtice. They likewiſe moved, that the priſoners for conventicles be ſet at liberty, and that William Page, who had been fined in 1000l. and Robert Blair in 2000 merks, be remitted to the treaſury for a modification. All which the council approved of, and appointed the earl of Moray, the biſhop of Edinburgh, lord Collingtoun, Mr Maitland, and general Dalziel, or any three of them, to be a committee for the ſaid purpoſes.

On the 8th of Auguſt a conſiderable number of miniſters met at Edinburgh, and agreed, '1. That all miniſters ſhould, in the firſt place, viſit their own congregations where they were formerly ſettled, and try what acceſs they can have to preach the goſpel to them. 2. That they aſſociate themſelves into meetings, as their numbers in particular bounds, and their circumſtances will beſt allow,

bow, and take care to provide preaching to the people in the bounds of their respective meetings who are desirous of it. 3. That every minister shall be a member of the meeting within whose bounds he resides. 4. That indulged ministers, not indulged to the congregations they were in when laid aside, if their people of whom they formerly had the charge, call them, return to them, and quit the places they are at present in. 5. That all who are licensed to preach be particularly taken, obliged into subjection unto the meeting which licensed them, and to subject themselves to their direction.'

Though Mr Woodrow says, that the ministers of this meeting had the principles of presbyterian government at heart, together with the preservation of the church from any hazard from persons who should afterwards be licensed and ordained, and that, had they not been stopt by the new turn of affairs at court, the last indulgence would have been so managed as to have cured the divisions and been of great service both to church and state, yet I find the Revd. Mr MacWard, Mr Brown &c. were of a contrary opinion; for as they esteemed the indulgence first and last to be the product of the supremacy, and inconsistent with presbyterian principles, so they could not call this a presbyterian meeting, because, instead of testifying against the indulgence, they plainly approved of it, and virtually abandoned that testimony which many sealed with their blood. But these things I must leave with the reader.

On the 13th, at a large meeting of the council, the king's indemnity was ordered to be published, by the magistrates of Edinburgh, with great solemnity and all demonstrations of joy. At the same time a committee was appointed to consider what was farther to be done with the murderers of the archbishop, the case of the prisoners, and the state of the Highlands. This committee proposed the holding of circuit-courts, the better to prosecute those concerned at Bothwell, and the murderers of the primate, and moved that James Hamilton an apprentice prisoner in the Gray-friars church-yard, be set at liberty. Accordingly,

On the 14th, the proclamation for holding circuit-courts in October next was published, signifying, among other things, that they who did not lay hold on the indemnity, and all who were concerned in Pentland and at Bothwell, and the murderers of the archbishop, and all who supplied or corresponded with them, were to be prosecuted with rigour before them. By this proclamation the clerks of the justice court were enjoined to have in readiness a porteous roll, or a list of the names and designations of the said rebels, and of those who should be informed against, upon oath, to have been in the rebellion, or to have harboured the rebels, or the murderers of the late archbishop of St. Andrews, and of those who had been at field conventicles since the proclamation of the 9th of June last; summonses were likeways ordered to be given in time to those who were to appear. In this proclamation for circuits, they who killed the archbishop were particularly described. All heritors and landlords, where any of the rebels lived, were commanded to apprehend and present them to the circuit, and, in case they fled, to remove their wives children and servants from off their grounds (so that the innocent were to be punished with the guilty,) by this proclamation a reward of 10,000 merks was offered to those who should bring in any of the murderers of the primate dead or alive; nay, the persons whom his majesty had cut off from his indemnity were to be pardoned, and have the reward besides, if they should apprehend John John Balfour of Kinloch, and David Hackstoun of Rathillet, dead or alive; and, to put the greater honour on these courts, all dukes, marquises, archbishops, earls, lords spiritual and temporal, were ordered to attend. I shall only observe, that these courts were established through all the principal parts of the country, where it could be imagined any of those people were supposed to be found.

The act of indemnity, above mentioned, was published the same day with all the outward signs of rejoicing. A scaffold was erected at the cross, and the magistrates, in their formalities, were witnesses to the proclamation. But, considering the many exceptions, it yielded very little joy to the people concerned in the rising; for, at one stroke, ministers and heritors who were concerned in the rebellion, or contributed to it, were cut off together, with those that did not come to assist the king's host. Nay, few could comply with the conditions of this famous act of grace; for they were to engage never to bear arms against the king or his authority, nor to be at any field conventicles. They had no notion of passive obedience and non-resistance, though, at the same time, none shewed greater loyalty than they. But what could they do, when their liberties and lives, and, which was dearer to them than all, their religion, were in the most cruel and barbarous manner invaded? It was likewise in vain to think that these brave confessors would bind up themselves from hearing the gospel in the open fields. However, this indemnity pardoned all authors of infamous libels or pasquils, all who had misrepresented any of the king's judicatories and servants. This plainly points at duke Hamilton, &c. So that matters were come to a fine pass, when some of the chief of the nobility were ranked among those whom they reputed rebels and traitors. In short, this was like king Charles's acts of grace, good for nothing. However, the publication of it was attended with ringing of bells in the forenoon, and in the afternoon Mr John King and Mr John Kid were hanged, and their heads cut off upon another scaffold. One would be tempted to think the managers pitched on that day to be a day of rejoicing for a mock indemnity, when those two faithful ministers of Christ were put to death. However, though they were cut off from having a share in this indemnity, yet they died in peace, and with a joy which none of their persecutors could intermeddle with. Their last speeches are in Naphtali, in which they bore a faithful and honourable testimony against popery, prelacy, erastianism, and for the covenanted work of reformation.

Mr Kid, when speaking of the rising at Bothwell, says, 'For personal presence with that party whom they called *rebels*, for my part I never judged them or called them such. I acknowlege there was a great many there who came in the simplicity of their hearts.——I am as sure, on the other hand, there was a great party there, that had nothing before them but repairing of the Lord's fallen down work, and restoring of the breach which is wide as the sea.—But for rebellion against his majesty's person or lawful authority, the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing. Loyal I have been and will every Christian be so; and I was ever of this judgment, to give to 'Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' After this he declared his abhorrence of popery with which he had been falsly accused, and concluded his testimony with these words, 'As I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands; so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, covenants, and all of his interests therein; though I dare not determine the time when, or the manner, how; but leave all these things to the infinitely wise God, who hath done, and will do all things well. O that he would return to this land again, repair our breaches, take away our backslidings, and appear for his work!——Come Lord Jesus, come quickly! himself hasten it in his own time and way! 'The Lord is my light and my life, my joy, my song, and my salvation.' The God of his chosen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghost keep me up, and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, to the edification of his people, and my own eternal advantage. Amen.

Mr King's testimony was much to the same purpose with that of his fellow martyr. Among other things he spoke to the commendation of the cross of Christ, and concluded in this moving and affecting manner, 'Now I bid farewel to all my friends and dear relations; farewel my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand of him who is better than seven husbands, and will be a father to the fatherless. Farewel all creature-comforts, and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me.'

Thus these two went to their master's joy, and left their persecutors to conclude the day, with their bonefires, on account

account of the notable indemnity published in the forenoon. Their heads and right hands were cut off and placed beside that of Mr Guthrie on the Nether-bow port.

On this dismal day the council wrote to Lauderdale, desiring that a frigate might be sent down in order to transport the prisoners in the Gray friars church yard. They likeways ordered the ministers, who were prisoners in Edinburgh, (those. viz. that refused their bond) to be released on finding sufficient bail to appear when called, under the penalty of 10,000 merks each.

Next day, the 15th of August, the king wrote to the council, and ordered the following persons to be criminally prosecuted. The reason was, that upon examination of some of the prisoners, several did not own the rising of Bothwell to be rebellion, nor the killing of the primate to be murder. And we shall afterwards find that several were executed on this very same account, when nothing else could be laid to their charge. The persons who had been called and examined, were James Lilebura in Kinross, refused the bond, *N M*; David Hardie in Leslie refused the bond, *N R, N M*; Robert Bogie in Newbigging, *N R, N M*; John Richardson in Stenhouse refused the bond, *N R*; Robert MacGill weaver in Gallowshiels, *N M*; David Somervell in East-Calder refused the bond, *N R, N M*; Alexander Steven in Bothwell parish, *N R N M*; Thomas Williamson in Overcranstoun, *N R, N M*; John Scott in Ettrick, *N R, N. M*; William Cameron in Dalmellingtown, *N R, N M*; Robert Miller in Waterford, *N R, N M*; James Wood in Newmills, *N R, N M*; John Govan in Kirkliston, *N R, N, M*; Thomas Pringle in Stow parish, *N R, N, M*; Andrew Sword in the parish of Borg in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, *N R, N, M*; James Gray in West-Calder, *N R, N M*; John Thomson in Shots, *N M*; John Waddel in ditto, *N, M*; Patrick Keir in the parish of Kincardin, *N R, N, M*; Thomas Brown in Edinburgh, *N R, N M*; William Anderson in Livingstone parish, *NR, N M.*

N. B. The names marked *N R* are those who would not acknowlege the rising to be rebellion, and those marked *N M* who would not own the primate's death to be murder.

About this time 15 of the prisoners in the Gray-friars church yard, whom they looked upon as the ringleaders, were brought to the tolbooth of Edinburgh in order to be tried for their life. Mr Edward Jamison was sent to them from the meeting of ministers formerly mentioned, though Mr Wodrow says he found no evidence that he was sent by them. yet he owns he went and reasoned with them at a considerable length, in order to persuade them to subscribe the bond. He urged the lawfulness of this expedient to save their lives, and endeavoured to make them sensible that their refusal would be a reflexion on religion, and the cause they appeared for, and throwing away their lives, for which their friends would not be able to vindicate them. He prevailed with 13 of them; who were set at liberty. But this compliance lay heavy on several of them. Most of the prisoners in the church-yard by the solicitation of their friends, and the advices of some ministers, particularly as is said, of Mr Hugh Kennedy, Mr William Creighton, Mr Edward Jamison, and Mr George Johnston, signed the bond, while others refused to accept deliverance upon such terms as were inconsistent with their principles. The Rev. Mr John Blackadder, being at this time in Edinburgh, was very serviceable to these prisoners, and in a particular manner dissuaded them from complying with the bond. What came of those who refused this compliance we shall hear in its proper place; only, several who did comply shared the same fate with those who did not.

On the 26th of August, William Richardson in Stenhouse, Thomas Brown shoemaker in Edinburgh, John and Alexander Balfours in Gilstoun, Thomas Williamson in Over Waristoun, Robert MacGill in Gallashiels, Rob. Miller in Waterford, James Paton in Inverkeithing, and Andrew Thompson in Sanchy, were indicted for treason in joining with those at Bothwell: but it was the month of November before any of them were brought to trial, mean while several were appointed to plead for them. The same day Mr Andrew Donaldson, Mr—Erskine, and John Henderson in Cliesh, who had been confined for conventicles, and had been forgot when others obtained their liberty, were released.

On the 19th of September the council wrote to Lauderdale for liberty to the justices to offer the bond, which was granted. At the same time new powers were given to the army to seize the murderers of the archbishop, to apprehend any ministers or heritors guilty of the late rebellion, or others of the rebels who had not signed the bond, or any who harboured them, and secure them in prison, with power likeways to dissipate field-conventicles, and apprehend the preachers and others present at them, and indemnified the soldiers of all slaughter and murder on in case of resistance. They likeways ordered the rents, money and moveables belonging to the murderers of the primate, and the heritors engaged in the rebellion, to be sequestrated; and enjoined the advocate to prosecute Mr George Johnstoun, or any other ministers who have been guilty of field-conventicles since the 29th of June last, with power to major Robert Johnstoun to search for any suspected conventicles in or about Edinburgh, &c.

On the same 19th of September they agreed on the following licence to be given to those ministers who had liberty to preach; 'The lord's of his majesty's privy-council, having considered the petition of—, representing that they have chosen—to preach and administrate the sacraments in the parish of—conform to his majesty's proclamation June 29th, and his letter July 14th, and therefore desiring that caution may be received for the said—conform to the said proclamation. The lords grant the supplicants desire, who have accordingly found sufficient caution acted in the books of privy council for the said—that he shall live peaceably, and in order thereto, that the said—shall appear before the council, when the said cautioners shall be called to produce him, under the penalty of six thousand merks in case of failie.

The following bond was likewise to be given for the said minister: 'Be it kend to all men by these presents, me——for as much as, upon a humble supplication, given in to his majesty's privy council, they have ordained caution to be received for———who is allowed to preach and administrate sacraments in the parish of ——, therefore I bind and oblige myself, my heirs and successors, that the said —— shall live peaceably; and in order thereunto, that I the said —— oblige myself and foresaids to present him before his majesty's privy council when I am called so to do; and in case of my failie in not presenting him, I shall be be liable in the payment of the sum of six thousand merks Scots money. Consenting, &c.' in common form.

It was on account of these bonds that some have called this the *banded indulgence*. At a meeting of ministers, about the end of this month, the most part judged it lawful at this time to comply; but I find them condemned by others, who thought that, by coming under these bonds, they condemned themselves as guilty of former unpeaceableness, and engaged in a sinful peace with the enemies of God, and became bound and fettered, by these bonds, from bearing a testimony against the defections of the times, and the encroachments made both upon civil and sacred liberty *. But these things I must leave with the

* Some time after this a pamphlet was published, intitled, The Banders disbanded; in which the author, said to be Mr MacWard, endeavours to prove, that it was sinful, scandalous, and inconvenient to comply with these bonds. It will not therefore be improper to give the reader a short view of some part of his reasoning on this subject. Having accordingly laid down sundry positions concerning the reformed government of the Church of Scotland, and shewn the many engagements that lay upon the nation by the covenants, to maintain and defend the same, together with the manifold encroachments and invasions made by the civil magistrate upon the royal prerogatives of Christ, the intrinsic privileges of his church, and the just freedom of his ambassadors, by introducing prelacy, and persecuting non-conformists, &c. and taken notice of the faithful wrestlings and contendings of our worthy predecessors in defence of their sacred liberties, from thence he infers, that the very name and notion of any bond and engagement, required by the then rulers as a condition of admitting ministers to the exercise of their ministry, was odious and detestable at the first view, especially to engage in such a bond as then required, and most of all that a body of ministers should vote this to be lawful and warrantable. And,

1. He produces several arguments to prove the sinfulness of giving such bonds, because the cautioner, or surety, by this bond, obliges himself to perform an impossibility; for however he might engage for himself, yet he could not engage for another, whom he could neither constrain by force, nor command by authority. He further shews, that

the reader. We ſhall find that this third indulgence was but of ſhort continuance.

On the 20th of September another proclamation was iſſued againſt the murderers of the archbiſhop, with their names inſerted, viz. John Balfour of Kinloch, David Hackſtoun of Rathillet, George Balfour in Gilſtoun, James Ruſſil in Kettle, Robert Dingwal a tenant's ſon in Cadam, Andrew Guillan weaver in Balmerinoch, Alexander and Andrew Henderſons ſons to John Henderſon in Kilbrachmont, and George Fleming ſon to George Fleming in Ballouthy. Such miniſters and heritors who were in what they called the late rebellion, and ſay that had harboured any of the murderers, or rebels, were put into the proclamation; at the end of which all magiſtrates of royal burghs were ordered to take the declaration by next Michaelmas.

The ſame day Mr William Erſkine, who had been priſoner in Stirling above three years, was ordered to be let at liberty. And though Mr James Rymer, late profeſſor of philoſophy at St Andrews, was found innocent of harbouring any of the murderers of the primate, yet he was ordered to give another bond, under the penalty of 10,000 merks, to appear before the juſticiary when called.

According to the order of time we are now come to ſpeak of the circuit courts, which were appointed to ſit down on the firſt of October, &c. A diſtinct account of their proceedings is not to be expected, as their records, if they kept any, are not to be found. According to the proclamation, the clerks, or their deputes, before the meeting of circuits, went through every pariſh in the preciſt of the court, and took up information as directed; and not only the ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, but alſo the curates, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to get informations.

From theſe informations the porteous-rolls were framed. Theſe rolls were filled up with all ſorts of perſons who had any ſubſtance, whether they had been at Bothwell or not. The moſt innocent were informed againſt by any envious neighbour, or baſe prodigal, and, when once in thoſe rolls, the greedy donators obliged them to compound for their moveables, or ſeized them, even before any indictment or ſentence. Many were the oppreſſions and hardſhips which numbers endured upon this ſcore.

When the lords of the circuit ſat down in the places aſſigned them, great numbers were before them, eſpecially at Glaſgow, Ayr and Dumfries. They who appeared, and confeſſed they had been at Bothwell, if they were not heritors, had the bond offered them. They who appeared, and deſired their indictment, were impriſoned till they found bail to appear at Edinburgh, and anſwer to the things that ſhould be laid to their charge; but all who did not appear were declared fugitives, and denounced rebels. The abſent heritors (for very few of them appeared) were denounced, and not a few ſoon after were forfeited. Noblemen, gentlemen, ſoldiers, and others, who were moſt active in the arbitrary meaſures of this period, obtained gifts of their eſtates, and ſeveral kept poſſeſſion of them till the happy revolution; and they who had no heritage had their houſes and goods ſpoiled by the ſoldiers. Theſe were the happy effects of theſe itinerary courts! We ſhall hear more of them in the following years.

On the 16th of October, the council, being informed that the duke of York was coming to Scotland, wrote to the abſent members to repair with all ſpeed to Edinburgh, ſince they intended to meet his royal highneſs on the borders. All noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood were ordered to attend them on this occaſion; and Mr Maitland of Dudhop was ſent to wait on the duke in England.

About the end of Auguſt laſt, the king being at Windſor was ſeized with three violent fits of an intermitting fever. The fits were ſo long and ſevere that the phyſicians apprehended he was in danger. The earl of Eſſex and lord Halifax, two of the four counſellors who then managed the king's affairs, fearing, if the king died, to fall into the hands of the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Shaftſbury, adviſed the king to ſend for the duke of York, which was done with all ſecrecy and ſpeed; for the duke arrived at Windſor on the ſecond of September. But the king, being then out of danger pretended a ſurpriſe at his arrival: and, when he was recovered, it was moved that the duke ſhould return beyond ſea. This was contrary to the inclinations of his highneſs; but, finding his brother poſitive, he moved that the duke of Monmouth might be put out of all command, and ſent abroad. This was complied with. Both dukes went beyond ſea. But, ſays biſhop Burnet, lord Tweeddale, being then at London, moved the lord Peterborough, that it would be more honourable, and more for the duke's intereſt, inſtead of living beyond ſea, to go and live in Scotland; his motive was, that, ſince the duke of Monmouth had loſt all credit with the king, duke Lauderdale would again be continued in his poſts, and act over his former extravagancies; he judged, that, upon the duke of York's being in Scotland, Lauderdale would be chequed. Peterborough went immediately to the king, who approved of it. So notice was given to the duke, and he was appointed to meet the king at New-market. The duke met the king accordingly; upon which Shaftſbury was ſoon turned out, and lord Roberts, then made earl of Radnor, became preſident of the council. There were ſeveral other alterations; and the king became entirely under the management of his brother. Beſides all this, his highneſs, perceiving a ſtorm gathering againſt him in England, was willing to retire till that was a little abated. However, the reader may ſee that the miniſtry in Scotland had early notice of theſe proceedings; for the council had a letter from the king on the 18th of September, ſignifying that he had recalled the commiſſion of the duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth from being general; and on the 16th of October they began to prepare for the reception of his royal highneſs, whoſe preſence very much ſtrengthened the violent party in the council, and promoted the ſevere meaſures of the prelates againſt the preſbyterians, who could expect no favour from popery and papiſts.

By a letter from the king, dated November 1ſt, general Dalziel received an unlimited commiſſion, except in emergencies of ſtate, when the council were allowed to give directions; and the officers and ſoldiers had orders to ſearch for and apprehend thoſe who were declared fugitives and rebels by the juſticiary.

When the managers found that what would ariſe, from the eſtates of thoſe who had been perſonally concerned in the riſing, would not anſwer their expectation, a more general oppreſſion was reſolved upon. Accordingly, on the ſixth of November, a committee was appointed to meet with the lords of juſticiary to conſider what was to be done with thoſe who did not attend the king's hoſt. Accordingly, on the 8th, they gave it as their opinion that that they ſhould be fined, the moſt guilty not above two years valued rent, and the leaſt in the fourth part of their rent, and be obliged to take the oath of allegiance and the declaration;

that whoever engages in this bond, thereby acknowleges the civil magiſtrate to be the fountain of all eccleſiaſtical authority, without any regard either to the rights of the people, or the juſt authority of the church-judicatories. He likewiſe obſerves, that this bond may be interpreted contrary to former lawful bonds and covenants, and ſo cannot be entered into without ſin. Beſides, he that engages in this bond, binding himſelf to pay 6000 merks in caſe he fail, or do not preſent the miniſter to the council when called, to be active in perſecuting and puniſhing himſelf for that which is not his own fault. From theſe, and ſeveral other conſiderations, he infers, that theſe bonds could not be entered into without ſin. But,

2. This author aſſerts it to be ſcandalous to enter into theſe engagements, becauſe the bond preſuppoſes the faithful miniſters of the goſpel to have formerly been of a turbulent and rebellious diſpoſition, and therefore were not now to be truſted, but others were to be taken engaged as ſureties for their peaceable carriage and behaviour; and therefore, as this has a natural tendency to put a diſgrace upon miniſters, ſo alſo to bring their miniſtry into contempt: for what reſpect can any have for the miniſtry of thoſe who are looked upon as ſo infamous as not fit to be truſted? The author, after inſiſting on ſeveral other arguments ſhewing the ſcandalouſneſs of theſe bonds, proceeds,

3. To ſhew the manifold inconveniencies of coming under the obligation of them. By this, he ſays, the miniſter is brought into a great ſnare, either to conceal ſome parts of the whole council of God, or, by preaching up his preſbyterial principles, to expoſe himſelf either to loſe his liberty, or be otherways puniſhed. By this the ſurety is obliged either to perſecute the miniſter, if he ſhould, in his apprehenſion, ſpeak any thing that ought not to be ſpoken, by preſenting him to the council, or be obliged to pay the penalty, if able, and, if not to ſuffer other hardſhips. By this alſo, not only the ſurety himſelf, but his heirs and ſucceſſors are involved with him; from theſe, and many other topics, this author infers the inconveniency of theſe bonds. How far his arguments are concluſive muſt be left with the reader, who will ſtill be a better judge in this particular if he carefully examine the pamphlet itſelf.

declaration; but, if they refused this last, to be fined in the highest degree. This was approved of, first by the council, and afterwards by the king; and measures were taken for getting lists of all those gentlemen they intended to prosecute on this point.

The same day the council ordered about 30 of the prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, who had refused the bond, to be prosecuted before the criminal court. Accordingly, on the 10th, James Finlay, Thomas Brown, J. Wood in Newmills, Andrew Sword weaver in the new artry of Kircudbright, John Waddel in New-Monkland, J. Clyde in Kilbryde, with several others, were before the justiciary. In their indictment they were charged with entering into a deep combination to overturn the fundamental laws both of church and state, proposing that they would have a parliament of their own framing without either bishops or noblemen, (*all this was false*) with burning his majesty's laws at Rutherglen; declaring his majesty an usurper, (*false*) and that he had robbed Jesus Christ of his crown, because he would not acknowledge them and their ministers to be Christ's infallible vicegerents, and to be superior to him in his own kingdom, (*false and slanderous: no such thing ever entered their thoughts*) that, when they engaged his majesty's forces, they gave for their word, *no quarter*; and that they refused it to all universally who fought for his majesty; (*false*) that they joined with the murderers of the archbishop, as their emissaries, (*still false*) and assembled an army of 10 or 12,000 men; (*they never were half the number*) that at Glasgow they robbed and spoiled the king's subjects, opened the prison doors, and threw out of the graves the dead bodies of such children as belonged to the orthodox clergy (*false*). In short, their indictment was stuffed with falsehoods, and embellished with lies. The truth is, the prisoners favoured the rising at Bothwell, though only some of them were personally there, and one without arms too. However, it was thought necessary to aggravate their rising to the utmost. My author justly observes, that, as the public papers of this period were generally so full of lies and slanders, it was no wonder though the English historians were led into mistakes when treating on the affairs of Scotland, especially considering the many lying pamphlets that were published by the Jacobites after the revolution.

The same day John Brown of Drumfarhan, James Clow in Ballock, and John Stevenson in Waterside, and eight others, were indicted for harbouring the murderers of the archbishop; but it seems the process was dropt; whereas five of the prisoners that had been indicted for the affair at Bothwell, viz. Thomas Brown, John Waddel, Andrew Sword, James Wood and John Clyde, were marked out for ruin; and, upon confessing their being at Bothwell, and refusing the bond, were condemned to be executed at Magus muir on the 18th instant, and to be hanged in chains, as if they had been the persons that killed the primate, though they were no ways accessory to it. However, it seems, that, for some reasons, their execution was put off to the 25th. And though the jury brought in James Wood as being taken at Bothwell without arms, yet the judges made no difference.

November the 13th the magistrates of Linlithgow, Inverkeithing and Kirkaldy had orders to suppress the meeting houses there; and a proclamation was published against conventicles, discharging all to preach, or hear sermons in any parish which had not given bond to the council, under severe penalties. And the same day, by another proclamation, the common people engaged in Bothwell were ordered, by the first of January next, to come and sign the bond, and satisfy the lords of justiciary why they had so long delayed it. There is no occasion for any remarks on these things.

On the 15th, 257 of the prisoners in the Gray friars church yard were put aboard a ship lying in the road of Leith, before any of their friends knew of it; and, tho' 30 were dangerously ill of a flux and other distempers, yet they were hurried away with the rest. They continued 12 days aboard before the ship sailed, and suffered inexpressible barbarity in the ship. They were so closely pinned up together, that they had scarce room to move. Their friends were neither permitted to see them, nor minister to their necessities. Some of them were forced to drink their own urine to quench their thirst; and some of the wicked sailors threw their excrements in their faces: and though a large collection, amounting, as was reported, to 14,000 merks, was made for them, yet little of it came to their hands; and indeed few of them lived long to want it, as we shall hear.

On the 24th his royal highness the duke of York was received into the town of Edinburgh with great solemnity, and was sumptuously entertained by the magistrates and the nobility. And thus the managers in Scotland caressed the great promoter and supporter of popery and tyranny, while many brave patriots in England were endeavouring his exclusion, as the only means to preserve the protestant religion and the liberties of the subject.

Next day the five prisoners above mentioned were executed at Magus muir; and nothing could be more proper, after the arrival and splendid reception of a popish prince, than to gratify him by cutting off some of the worst of heretics. The joint and separate testimonies of these sufferers are in Napthali, to which I refer the reader, who will there find the reason why they could not take the bond to save their lives, &c.

Thomas Brown was the first that was executed. He declared that he was never before in that country, and so was no ways accessory to the bishop's death; and added, 'As for my part in rising in arms, I intended no rebellion, but was then with that party in defence of the gospel, which I judged my duty,'—— after he had prayed, 'he blessed the Lord, that, if this day every hair of his head was a man, and every drop of his blood a life, he would cordially and heartily lay them down for Christ and his cause, for which he was now sentenced.'

Andrew Sword sung the 34th Psalm, and declared that he was never in that place before, and never saw a bishop, that he knew to be so. He blessed God for being kept from taking the engaging bond; and, having bid farewel to all created comforts, prayed before he died.

James Wood said the same as to the bishop's death, and was so far from repenting his being at Bothwell, or refusing the bond, that he gloried in it. When he was almost at the top of the ladder, he pulled up the napkin and said, 'Now I am going to lay down this life, and to step out of time into eternity; and if I had as many lives as there are hairs in mine head, and drops of blood in my body, I would willingly lay them down for Christ, and for you all that are here upon Christ's account. You may think that this is a frothy word, but it is the word of a dying man.' He then recommended Christ and his cause, in a moving way, to the spectators.

John Waddel declared his innocence as to the bishop's death, being never in that country before. He said that he refused to take the bond, because it was a denying of all appearances for Christ and his cause. He bore his testimony against popery, prelacy, malignancy, the indulgence first and last, and the abominable cess. Before he went to prayer, he said, 'Now, Sirs, I am not a whit discouraged to see my three brethren hanging before mine eyes, nor before all this multitude to pray.'

After John Clyde had gone to the ladder, he said, 'I think our being fetched here is like that which we have in scripture, about Herodias's suit to Herod anent John the Baptist's head, to gratify the unsatiableness of that lewd woman. Nothing would satisfy the lust of our persecutors but our blood, and in this manner and place, to gratify the bishop's friends.' He vindicated his joining those at Bothwell, and his refusing the bond, as the others had done before him. At the ladder foot he said to his brother, 'Weep not for me, brother, but weep for yourself and the poor land; and seek God, and make him sure to yourself, and he shall be better to you than ten brethren. Now farewel all friends and relations; farewel brother, sister and mother, and welcome Lord Jesus; into thy hands I commit my spirit.' And lifting his napkin from his face, he said, 'Dear friends, be not discouraged because of the cross, nor at this ye have seen this day; for I hope you have seen no discouragement in me, and you shall see no more.'

They were hung in chains according to the sentence, but now lie buried in a corn-field near Magus-muir, with a grave

a grave ſtone upon them, which was ſet up in October 1728, with an inſcription, which the reader may ſee in the laſt edition of the Cloud of Witneſſes.

On the 27th the ſhip ſailed from the road of Leith with the poor priſoners, and met with ſeveral ſtorms in her paſſage. On the 10th they got to Orkney in a very tempeſtuous ſea. The priſoners, fearing what happened, deſired to be ſet aſhore, and ſent to what priſon the maſter pleaſed. But the captain, who was a papiſt, confined them under the hatches. About ten at night the ſhip was drove from her anchor upon a rock, and broke in the middle. The ſailors quickly got down the maſt, and, laying it between the broken ſhip and the rock, got aſhore; but ſuch was their barbarity, that no intreaties of the poor men could prevail with them to open the hatches, though, had that been done, moſt of them had been ſaved; whereas all of them were drowned in the hold, except only that an honeſt ſeaman, being ſtruck with horror at this cruelty, ventured his life to go aboard, and with an ax cutting through the deck of the veſſel, got 29 or 30 of them out alive; and ſo 200 were drowned, or rather murdered. After this piece of cruelty, ſays the author of the Memoirs, I think I need no apology for ſaying, that the reign of Dioclefian, or any of the moſt cruel perſecutors of God's church, could not match this; for theſe were men delivered, men to whom life was granted, according to the king's letter, dated 29th June, and the indemnity afterwards; and conſequently the perpetrators of this villainy ought to have been puniſhed by death, but no notice was taken of it: and if it be true, as was reported, that it was not poſſible that the ſhip in which theſe priſoners were to be ſent to America, could contain proviſions ſufficient for ſuch a number for ſo long a voyage, I leave the reader to make his own reflections.

Mean while a letter came down from the king, dated the 30th of November, ordering the duke of York to be admitted to act as a privy counſellor in Scotland without taking the oaths; to which our obſequious managers readily complied, his majeſty alledging that this was the privilege of the lawful ſons and brothers of the king.

About this time John Lord Bargany, nephew to the duke of Hamilton, being ſuſpected to favour thoſe concerned at Bothwell, was impriſoned in Blackneſs. Though he was examined by a committee, yet nothing was recorded; and, after all the attempts they made to faſten guilt upon him, they were forced to drop the affair.

On the 18th of December the council ordered Alex. and James Balfours, with James Neſs, to be farther examined concerning the primate's death, and Robert Garnock ſmith in Stirling to ly in priſon for farther examination. Some were releaſed, as John Henderſon, an old man, who had been impriſoned for harbouring his ſons after they had been at what they called the *murder*, Henry Schaw and Robert Blaw, George Fleming and —Sterk were continued in priſon on ſuſpicion of acceſſion to the death of Sharp.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſufferings of gentlemen for not attending the king's hoſt: the repeal of the third indulgence: the Queenſferry paper: the Sanquhar declaration, and other things to the ſkirmiſh at Airſmoſs.

THE affair of Bothwell was improved by the managers as a ſufficient handle for oppreſſing all ranks of people who could not in conſcience conform to prelacy; for not only the heritors and gentlemen who were ſuſpected to have countenanced the riſing, but thoſe who did not attend the king's hoſt, were rigorouſly proſecuted, together with ſeveral others, for nothing but their nonconformity. They who did not appear before the circuit courts were declared fugitives, and the donators were moſt ſevere upon the houſes and poſſeſſions of thoſe who were declared fugitives; and, in ſome places, the enemies of the preſbyterians diſcovered what ſpirit they were of, when they could act without controul. Thus, from the year 1680 to 1687, no family was permitted to live in the town of Dundee, but ſuch as conſtantly heard the epiſcopal miniſters. And this year Will. Mitchel, John Davidſon, John Sterrock, Eliz. White, and ſeveral more, were forced to leave the town on this very account. But I ſhall, as briefly as poſſible, relate the proceedings in the order of time.

Accordingly, on the ſixth of January, the council gave full power and commiſſion to the earl of Glencairn, lord Roſs, general Dalziel, or any fit perſon in the army, to diſcover the heritors who were at Bothwell, in the ſhires of Ayr, Lanerk, Renfrew and Dumbarton; and likewiſe to the earl of Queenſberry, Sir Robert Dalziel of Glena, Claverhouſe, or any two of them, and ſuch as they ſhould appoint, for the ſhires of Dumfries and Wigtoun, the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright and Annandale. There were the like commiſſions given to others for other ſhires, and doubtleſs the commiſſioners acted their part.

On the 14th of January the council, in conſequence of a petition from John Lord Bargeny, ordered him to be brought from Blackneſs to the caſtle of Edinburgh whenever the advocate ſhould have his indictment ready. And,

On the 29th they impowered the earl of Monteith to diſſipate the conventicles in that ſhire, and apprehend and impriſon the preachers, in order to their being brought to trial.

On the 15th of February lord Cardroſs preſented a petition to the king, praying that his ſimple and literat eſcheat might be granted to the earl of Mar. With his petition he preſented a paper, intitled, *A ſhort account of his ſufferings.* The duke of Lauderdale had procured gift of this for his nephew Mr Maitland; and when his lordſhip's repreſentation had like to have ſome weight a copy of it was tranſmitted to the privy council, that they might interpoſe and prevent the king's granting his petition. Accordingly they wrote to his majeſty, and repreſented Cardroſs as diſaffected, &c. ſo that he obtained no redreſs, but continued under hardſhips till the revolution.

Mean while, on the 12th of February, the council granted liberty to ſuch as had a mind to uſe the Engliſh liturgy in their families, but very few were now tempted with this novelty, I ſhall only obſerve, that, while the council were paving the way for the introduction of the liturgy and ceremonies in Scotland, there was a brave ſet of patriots in England who began at this time to talk of reforming it there. And it is certain that the Scots epiſcopal clergy never received the ſervice book, till the intereſt of a popiſh Pretender came to be promoted in the reign of Queen Anne.

On the 15th of February, the duke of York took his leave of the council, and on the 17th ſet out for court, where he appeared on the 24th, and was received with great pomp and ſatisfaction by the king. The council at Edinburgh wrote up a letter full of the higheſt encomiums on his royal highneſs.

On the 18th many heritors were forfeited, moſtly in abſence, for their pretended acceſſion to the rebellion. The witneſſes brought againſt them were generally ſpies and ſoldiers. Mr Will. Ferguſon of Kaitloch, the lairds of Earlſtoun elder and younger, James Gordon younger of Craichlaw, Will. Gordon of Culvennan, Patr. Dunbar of Machrimoir, and —— MacGhie of Larg were all called, and the prepared witneſſes ſwearing to their being concerned in the rebellion, were forfeited. The reader is to obſerve, that the laird of Earlſtoun was killed when going to join the weſt country army. On this ſame day, Pat. MacDonald of Freugh was called, and two witneſſes ſwearing that they ſaw him among the rebels, was ſentenced to be executed when taken, and all his goods &c. to be confiſcated.

On the 23d a great number of gentlemen were brought before the juſticiary for abſence from the hoſt, and were fined, particularly James Young of Kirktoun in 1870 l. ——Pitlochie 700 l. Alexander Durham of Largo 1850 l. Dav. Balcanquel 500 l. Alexr. Nairn of Samford 294 l. Geo. Moncrief of Redie 300 l. James Weems in Glencorſtoun 175 l. Scots money, with many more. This was the practice of other meetings of the juſticiary, by whom not a few were fined in thouſands of pounds. We ſhall afterwards find that this affair of abſence from the hoſt was taken from the juſticiary, and put into the hands of the council.

On

On the 24th John Lord Bargeny was indicted for curſing ſome of the chief nobility, correſponding with Mr Weiſh and others of that party, maintaining the principles of Naphtali and Lex Rex, and declaring that it would never be well in Scotland till epiſcopacy was brought down, &c. and therefore ought to be puniſhed with forfeiture of life, &c. In March he was before the lords of juſticiary, who poſtponed the affair till the ſecond Monday of June, becauſe the advocate wanted ſome of his material witneſſes, notwithſtanding his pains to produce them, and the priſoner had neglected to give a copy of his letter of exculpation or defence.

The council, on the 6th of March, wrote to Alexander MacKenzie, ſheriff depute of the ſhire of Roſs, to uſe his utmoſt to ſuppreſs conventicles, and to apprehend Mr Denoon and Mr Hepburn, and diſſipate their meetings with all ſeverity.

On the 12th they wrote to the earl of Moray on the ſame ſubject and renewed their appointment of a committee for public affairs, for there had been none ſince laſt year; and accordingly they named Mr Alex. Burnet archbiſhop of St Andrews, who was tranſlated from Glaſgow after Sharp's death, the marquis of Athol, earl of Moray, biſhop of Edinburgh, lord Elphingſton, &c. or any three of them, to meet, as they ſhall ſee fit, and take the moſt effectual methods for ſuppreſſing field-conventicles and other diſorders, with all the powers the former committees had. The ſame day, being informed that theſe meetings abounded, eſpecially between the ſhires of Edinburgh, Berwick and Peebles, they ordered the general to have ſome of the guards ready to ſuppreſs them.

Some time in this month the council interpoſed in behalf of Will. Paterſon, who had the care of the priſoners whom he drowned at Orkney, for repairing the loſs he ſuſtained by his ſhipwreck. Thus a murderer was rewarded, while the innocent were perſecuted by death!

On the 8th of April they wrote to Lauderdale, and propoſed, that ſince the lords of juſticiary were ſo much engaged in proſecuting the heritors and miniſters who were in the rebellion, and the abſents from the king's hoſt, juſticiary commiſſions might be granted to ſeveral perſons for puniſhing thoſe who frequented field conventicles, &c. With the letter they ſent up articles for the general, by which they moved that the forces might attack the king's enemies, viz. 1. All who were forfeited by the parliament or criminal court. 2. All heritors and miniſters who had been in the rebellion. 3. Heritors who contributed to it. 4. All rebels who have not taken the bond. 5. All ſuch, who, though they have taken the bond, have been at field conventicles ſince the 27th of July laſt. 6. All thoſe who have done violence to the orthodox clergy. 7. Aſſaſſins, eſpecially the murderers of the biſhop, &c. All theſe propoſals were readily complied with at court, as we ſhall hear. The ſame day, James David, and Geo. Sinclairs and John Baptie in Pencaitland, were fined as guilty of field conventicles, becauſe they had heard ſermon in a private houſe where ſome ſtood without doors.

At the ſame time the Rev. Mr Gilbert Rule (after the revolution principal of the college of Edinburgh) being found guilty of keeping conventicles, and baptizing children without the pariſh of Preſtonhaugh, where he was indulged, and preaching in St Giles's church Edinburgh, and baptizing the two children of John Kennedy apothecary and James Livingſtone merchant; for theſe dreadful crimes the council deprived him of his majeſty's indulgence, and ſent him to the Baſs till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known. He had been regent in Glaſgow, and afterwards ſub-principal in the king's college at Aberdeen and before the reſtoration was miniſter at Alnwick in Northumberland; but, upon his being ejected by the Bartholomew act, he came down to Scotland, and now was impriſoned. John Kennedy was fined in 100 l. and James Livingſtone in 200 l. Scots.

On the 18th one Arthur Dongal, who had been at Bothwell, having been ſeized by the earl of Monteith with ſome papers about him, was ordered to be ſent to Edinburgh, as was one Rob. Short for ſome attempt on Mr Honeyman miniſter at Livingſtone.

On the 6th of May Mr James Ker, having preached at the houſe of Grange to about 500 hearers, while ſome were without doors, was ordered to oblige himſelf to keep no more conventicles under the penalty of 5000 merks.

The ſame day they wrote to the king, and moved that, for the ſecurity of the government, and conveniency of the forces, the manſion houſes, caſtles, and towers ſtanding on the forfeited eſtates, might be employed as he ſhould judge proper. The king thanked them for their care, and ordered them to give out commiſſions of juſticiary, and ſufficient warning to the owners of the houſes where the garriſons were to be placed. And now I am brought, in the order of time, to ſhew the riſe of new troubles, and of the increaſe of the perſecution; for on the third of June, Henry Hall of Haughead was ſeized. This gentleman, during the month of May and beginning of June, was much in company with Mr Cargill. They kept themſelves as private as they could, but at laſt were diſcovered and informed againſt by Mr John Park the curate of Carridden and the curate of Borrowſtounneſs; for the curates were very diligent in informing againſt the wanderers. Middleton the governor of Blackneſs, who was a papiſt, came to the houſe where they were, as if he had been a ſtranger, and pretended a great deal of reſpect for Mr Cargill, begged leave to drink a glaſs of wine with them. At laſt, drawing his ſword, he told them they were his priſoners, and called the houſe to his aſſiſtance; however, none regarded him except one Thomas George. Mr Hall ſtruggled hard with the governor, till Mr Cargill made his eſcape, notwithſtanding his being wounded. Mr Hall would likewiſe have got off, but Thomas George knocked him on the head with the doghead of his carbine, by which he was mortally wounded. However, the townwomen came in a body, and conveyed him out of the town. But ſuch was the nature of his wound, that, not being able to walk far, he fainted, and was obliged to be carried to the next country houſe belonging to one Robert Punton. Dalziel, in the mean time, whoſe houſe of Binns was in the neighbourhood, came with a party of the guards and apprehended him. And though every body ſaw he was a dying, yet Dalziel would carry him directly to Edinburgh; but he died among their hands before they got thither. His corpſe were laid in the Canongate tolbooth for three days without burial; neither could his friends be ſuffered to do this laſt office for him, till at laſt he was buried in the night-time. When Mr Hall was taken, there was found in his pocket an unſubſcribed paper, called, from the place where it was found, *The Queenſferry paper*, of which I ſhall give the following abſtract.

Abſtract of the Queenſferry paper.

WE underſubſcribers, for ourſelves and all that ſhall adhere to us—are reſolved—to bind ourſelves with a ſolemn and ſacred bond,—declaring thoſe and no thing but thoſe, to be our preſent purpoſes. 1. We covenant and ſwear, that we acknowlege and avouch the only true and living God, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, to be our God, and that we cloſe with his way of redemption by his Son Jeſus Chriſt,—and that we acknowlege the Old and New Teſtaments to be by divine revelation, and to contain the will of God to man, &c. 2. That we ſhall, to the utmoſt of our power, advance the kingdom of God, (if at any time God ſhall give us power) by eſtabliſhing, throughout the lands, righteouſneſs and the true reformed religion, in—its doctrine—worſhip—diſcipline and government; and that we ſhall free the land from—prelacy on the one hand,—and eraſtianiſm on the other. 3. That we confeſs with our mouth, and believe with the heart, that the doctrine of the reformed churches, eſpecially that of Scotland, contained in the ſcriptures, ſummed up in our Confeſſions of Faith, and engaged to by us in our covenants, is the only true doctrine of God; and that we purpoſe to perſevere in it to the end.—4. That we ſhall endeavour, to our utmoſt, the overthrow of the kingdom of darkneſs, and whatever is contrary to the kingdom of Chriſt, eſpecially idolatry and popery—ſuperſtition, will worſhip and prelacy,—and eraſtianiſm,—and execute righteous judgment impartially, according to the word of God and degree of offences, upon the committers of theſe things eſpecially, *to wit*, blaſphemy, idolatry,

lary, atheism, buggery, sorcery, perjury, &c.—5. Seriously considering, that the hand of our kings and rulers with them hath been a long time against the throne of the Lord,—the power and purity of our religion—and Christ's reigning over his church,—and that there is no more speedy way of relaxation from the wrath of God, (that hath ever lien heavy on us since we engaged with him) but of rejecting them, who have so manifestly rejected God,—disclaiming the covenants with God,—governing contrary to all right laws divine and human,—and to all the ends of government,—seeing they have stopt the course of law and justice—and have made butcheries and murders on the Lord's people, sold them as slaves, &c. and that upon no other account but for maintaining Christ's right of ruling over their conscience against usurpations of men, for fulfilling their vows, &c. for—1. Our ancestors neither did, nor could bind us; they did not buy their liberty and conquest with our thraldom and slavery; —neither did they bind us to any thing but to a government which they esteemed best for the commonwealth and subjects; and when this ceaseth we are free to chuse another.—2. The covenant—only binds us to maintain our king in the maintenance of the true established and covenanted religion—without the swearing and sealing of which our fathers, or rather we ourselves, refused to receive him for king, or them for rulers; and—we are free to reject him upon his renouncing of it.—3. Neither is there any hopes of their returning from these sinful courses,—having so often renewed their purposes and promises of persevering in those crimes: and, suppose they should dissemble a repentance,—yet they cannot now be believed, after they have violated all ties that human wisdom can devise to bind men. And, besides, who sees not somewhat of folly to be in this, to think to bind a king that pretends to absoluteness?—We then do reject that king, and those associate with him in the government, from being our king and rulers;—they having altered and destroyed the Lord's established religion, overturned the fundamental and established laws of the kingdom—and changed the civil government,—into tyranny—We then —do declare, that we shall set up over our selves, and over what God should give us power of, government and governors according to the word of God, and especially that word, Exod. xviii. 21.—that we shall no more commit the government—to any one single person, or lineal successor, we not being by God, as the Jews were, bound to one single family,—that kind being liable to most inconveniencies, and apteſt to degenerate into tyranny,—Moreover, we declare, that those men, whom we shall set over us, shall be engaged to govern us, principally by that civil and judicial law (not that which is ceremonial or typical) given by God to his people of Israel.—6. It being the work of the ministers of the gospel to preach—and defend the kingdom of God, and to preserve the doctrine discipline, &c. of the same, from all corruptions and encroachments of rulers and all others; and seeing the greatest part of ministers were not only defective in preaching against the acts of the rulers for overthrowing religion and reformation, but—hindered those who were willing and inforced some that did it, &c. &c. we declare, that we neither can nor will hear preaching, nor receive sacraments from any of these ministers,—nor from any who have encouraged and strengthened their hands, by hearing and pleading for them.—7.—We declare, that a gospel ministry is a standing ordinance of God,—and that none of us shall take upon him the preaching of the word, or administring of the sacraments, unless called and ordained thereto—And yet separation cannot be imputed to us; there is both malice and ignorance in the calumny; for if there be a separation, it must be where the change is, and that is not in us. We are not separating from the communion of the church, and setting up new ordinances and a new ministry, but cleaving to the same ministers and the same ordinances, where others have slidden back to new ways, and have a new authority superadded, which is like the new piece on the old garment. 8. We bind and oblige ourselves to defend ourselves, and one another, in our worshipping of God, and in our natural, civil and divine rights and liberties;—and if we shall be pursued or troubled, in our worshipping, rights and liberties,—we shall look on that as a declaring war, and take all the advantages that one enemy doth of another,—but not to trouble or injure any, but those that have injured us.'

Thus then is the substance of that paper called, *The Queensferry paper*. It was but a rude draught, and unsubscribed, and had not been consulted upon by the rest of the community. Whether there were just grounds for the severe things said against the governors at that time must be left with the reader. As to their disowning the king's authority, we shall have occasion to consider that afterwards; but, for their taking upon them to alter the form of government, and introduce a new constitution, I do not see how to vindicate it; only this must be said, that it was a rude draught, and the contents of it had never been deliberated upon.

The reader will observe, that, after the defeat at Bothwell, they who opposed the indulged kept by themselves, not being able to comply or countenance those that did accept the indulgence: and however they were blamed for running into heights and excesses, yet this must be said, That some of the greatest lengths, as my author calls them, such as renouncing the authority that then was, in less than ten years after this, had the approbation of the whole nation. That in some things they might have been wrong, who can wonder at it, considering the time in which their lot was cast?

On the 4th of June the council enjoined the general to send a sufficient number of soldiers to queensferry, for guarding the passages and apprehending those that should be informed against, together with two of the magistrates who refused to suppress the tumult, and other suspected persons, and indemnified them in case of slaughter; and ordered the advocate to prosecute before the justiciary, Anne Hamilton lady Gilchristlengh, and James Thomson tenant in Tankertoun parish, for harbouring the murderers of the archbishop.

On the 10th one Margaret Wauch was brought in prisoner from Queensferry, for being accessory to Mr Cargil's escape. When he got out, though much wounded, during the confusion about Mr Hall, he retired to a private place on the south side of the town. A certain woman, finding him there, tyed up his wounds with her head clothes and conducted him to James Punton's in Carlowrie, where he lay in the barn all night. Mrs Punton gave him some warm milk, and a surgeon happening to come to the house dressed his wounds. General Dalziel came and took James Punton in Kirkliston, where, being accused by the curate for shewing kindness to such a rebel as he called Mr Cargill, he was carried to Edinburgh, where he lay in prison three months, and payed 1000 merks fine.

The same day the council received a letter from the king, dated at Windsor the 14th of May last, wherein his majesty, after expatiating against field-conventicles, as the causes of rebellion, and signifying his resolution to preserve the sacred order of episcopacy, &c. declared that he was resolved to continue the indulgence for some time; but then that he had thought fit to send these instructions: 1. They were to suffer none to preach who had been banished from any parish or corporation in England; or who, since the last indemnity, had preached in places constructed field meetings, or who could not certify their ordination before the 29th of June last, or who did not receive their licence from them. In short, they were to indulge none upon the north side of the river Tay. 2. They were to suffer no meeting house to be within a mile of a parish church, and to pull down such as were, especially that at Newbottle. 3. They were to suffer none to preach in the parishes where they were formerly ministers. 4. No indulged minister must preach nor baptize out of their own parishes, or take upon them to marry any persons, that being restricted to the regular incumbents. 5. None is to be indulged where the generality are regular or orderly, *i. e.* Episcopalian. 6. No indulged ministers are to be suffered to keep presbyteries or synods, these being the grand nurseries of schism and sedition. 7. The families of irregular ejected ministers [*such as would have none of their indulgences*] must be removed from Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Glasgow. 8. As by a former proclamation no nonconformists were to preach in Edinburgh

burgh, nor two miles round it, so lest that city should be corrupted in its religion and loyalty, none of these preachers were to be suffered within 12 miles of it; and if the council had given any such licences, they were to revoke them. 9. They were to protect the regular ministers.

In pursuance of these instructions, which, in effect, repealed the indulgence, the council that same day recalled Mr Johnston's licence at Newbottle, and ordered his meeting house to be pulled down, which was accordingly done; and the timber and seats were sold at 10 l. ster. ing; 8 l. 6 s. 8 d. was given to the poor of the parish, and the rest to the people employed in executing these orders. The meeting houses in Kilpatrick, Longtoun Prestonhaugh, Orwal, Ceres, &c. were all ordered to be shut up, and the council gave an account of their diligence in their majesty's service in a letter to the king.

These proceedings bring to my mind what the marquis of Argyll, when under sentence of death, said to some ministers 'My skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much or sin much; for, though you go along with these men in part, if you do it not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer.' I do not in the least question that many worthy and valuable persons complied with the indulgence, but they found that no partial compliances could satisfy; and as for those who would make no compliances, yea, resisted even to blood, though their sufferings were the most severe, yet they had this for their comfort, stedfastness in their principles and peace of conscience.

On the 14th of June the advocate appeared against L. Bargeny, and offered an additional libel or accusation, signifying that his lordship had spoken in favour of the murder of the archbishop; but an act of council was produced ordering him to be set at liberty, since he had found bail to appear when called; upon which the process was dropt; for the king had likeways wrote in his favour. He was accordingly released. The whole process was malicious. Bishop Burnet says, 'When he was at liberty he discovered a conspiracy in which Halton and others were concerned. They had practised on some who had been in that rebellion to swear that he and several others were engaged in it, and that they had sent them out to join in it. They promised these witnesses a large share in the confiscated estates if they went through in the business. Depositions were prepared for them, and they promised to swear to them: upon which a day was fixed for their trial; but the hearts of these witnesses failed them or their consciences rose upon them; so that, when the day came, they could not bring themselves to swear against an innocent man, and they plainly refused it.' In short, after all practices of this kind, Bargeny was at last released.

After Mr Cargil escaped at Queensferry, he fled south, where several of his friends were wandering and concealing themselves; for the reader must know that all these wanderers were outlawed and declared rebels. Mr Richard Cameron and some others, after several meetings among themselves for forming a declaration and testimony they were to publish to the world, at last agreed upon one; and about twenty persons came armed to the small burgh of Sanquhar, where Michael Cameron read the declaration at the cross, and left a copy affixed there, as follows.

The declaration and testimony of the true Presbyterian, Anti prelatic, Anti-erastian, persecuted party in Scotland, published at Sanquhar June 22. 1680.

IT is not among the smallest of the Lord's mercies to this poor land, that there have always been some who have given their testimony against every course of defection we were guilty of which is a token for good, that he doth not intend to cast us off altogether, but that he will leave a remnant in whom he will be glorious, if they, through his grace, keep themselves clean, and walk in his ways and methods, as they have been walked in and owned by our predecessors, of truly worthy memory, in their carrying on our noble work of reformation in the several steps thereof, both from popery and prelacy, and likeways from erastian supremacy, so much usurped by him, who, it is true, so far as we know, is descended from the race of our kings; yet he hath as far deborded from what he ought to have been, by his perjury and usurping in church-matters, and tyranny in matters civil, as is known by the whole land, that we have just reason to account it among the Lord's great controversies against us, that we have not disowned him, and the men of his practices, whether inferior magistrates, or any other, as enemies to our Lord Jesus and his crown, and the true protestant and presbyterian interest in these lands, our Lords espoused bride and church. Therefore, although we be for government and governors, such as the word of God and our covenants allow; yet we, for ourselves, and all that will adhere to us, the representatives of the true presbyterian church, and covenanted nation of Scotland, considering the great hazard of lying under sin any longer, do, by thir presents, disown Charles Stuart, who hath been reigning these years bygone, or rather, we may say, tyrannizing, on the throne of Britain, as having any right, title, or interest to or in the said crown of Scotland or government, as forfeited several years since by his perjury and breach of covenant with God, and his church, and usurpation of his crown and royal prerogative, and many other breaches in matters ecclesiastic, and by his tyranny and breaches in the very rules of government in matters civil. For which reasons we declare, that, several years since, he should have been denuded of being king, ruler, or magistrate, or of having any power to act, or to be obeyed as such. As also we, under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, the captain of our salvation, do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of these practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, and his cause and covenant; and against all such as have any way strengthened him, sided with, or acknowledged him, in his usurpation, civil and ecclesiastic; yea, and against all such as shall any ways strengthen, side with, or acknowledge him, or any other, in the like usurpation and tyranny; far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free and reformed church into the bondage of antichrist the Pope of Rome. And by this we homologate our testimony, at Rutherglen, the 29th of May 1679, and all the faithful testimonies of those that have gone before us, as also of those who have suffered of late.' Also we disclaim that declaration published at Hamilton the 13th of June 1679, chiefly because it takes in the king's interest, which we are, several years since, loosed from; as also, because of the foresaid reasons, and others that we may after this (if the Lord will) publish. As also we disown and resent the reception of the duke of York, a professed Papist, as repugnant to our principles and vows to the Most High God, and as that which is the great, though (alas!) the just reproach of our church. We also, by this, protest against his succeeding to the crown, as against whatever hath been done, or any are essaying to do in this land given to the Lord, in prejudice to our work of reformation. And, to conclude, we hope after this none will blame us, or offend at our rewarding of those that are against us, as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the opportunity. This is not to exclude any that have declined, if they be willing to give satisfaction according to the degree of offence.

It is scarce worth while to take notice of the false and indistinct account given of this matter by bishop Burnet, who represents those, whom he calls *Cargillites*, as being acted by a strange spirit of fury, and that they affixed their declaration to the cross of Dumfries, since it was at Sanquhar, from whence their declaration had its name and which exposed them not only to the cruelty of their enemies, but even to the censures of those who should have been their friends. Though every expression in their declaration was not so well chosen, yet that which was most cried out against is not incapable of being defended. They disowned the king's authority, and they gave their reasons for so doing, *viz.* his breaking all his engagements, overturning the constitution both in church and state, depriving his subjects, not only of their liberties and properties but likeways of the free exercise of their religion, by claiming and assuming an absolute tyrannical and arbitrary government. If matters were as they

misrepresented, and the reader is to judge, from the former part of this history, whether they were or not, then it is certain that the conduct of the whole island at the revolution, justifies their disowning the authority that then was. 'It is certainly unlawful, says an ingenious modern author, to resist government; but it is certainly lawful, to resist the deviation from government. To resist the abuse of government is to assist government. It is allowed to be just to help our protectors; but it is equally just to oppose our enemies, madmen and spoilers. Now what was Nero, what Caligula and Claudius? The one a bloody idiot, the other two inhuman madmen.—if their course of cruelties and oppression was government, as are plagues, tempests and inundations; but if their lives and actions were altogether pernicious and detestable, the exterminating such monsters from among men would have been a service to the whole race.' And a little farther he says, 'What avail laws or liberty, ever so excellently framed, when they are at the mercy of lawless rage and caprice? If we are forbid by God to do kind laws, why do we make them? Is it not unlawful to make what is unlawful to defend? What else is the end of government but the felicity of men? and why are some raised higher in society than others, but that all may be happy?—What more right had Nero to take away the lives of innocent men than any other assassin, what more title to their fortunes than any other robber? What better right to spill their blood than any other tyger? And is it unlawful to resist robbers and assassins and beasts of prey? Did the Almighty ever say of that beastly tyrant, Touch not Nero mine anointed, and do his ruffians no harm? And as the Rev. Author of the Hind let Loose says, Though it is not the prudence of the management, but the justice of the action, that I would have vindicated from obloquies, yet nothing was wanting but success to justify both. From the whole I think I may assert, that it was from the vigorous prosecution of the principles upon which these men acted, that the nation owed the revolution, and the happiness of the protestant succession. It was therefore a pity that they had so few to take their part and espouse their cause, especially of those who were under the same covenant engagements with them. Had all the presbyterians in Scotland remained united and continued in opposing erastianism, as well as popery, none, humanly speaking, would have had occasion to accuse these men of going heights and lengths, and what not. As for their protestations against the succession of the duke of York, it was no more than what was done by these worthy English patriots who promoted the bill of exclusion. If the reader wants a further vindication of these men, I must refer him to their own informatory vindication, the Hind let Loose and Jus Populi Vindicatum, and proceed in the history of matters of fact.

When the account of the above declaration came to the council, they wrote to Lauderdale, June 30, wherein, as might be expected, they branded these poor people with the names of villains, ruffians, the scum of the people; and the same day published a proclamation for apprehending Mr Donald Cargill, Mr Richard Cameron and his brother, Mr Thomas Douglas, John Vallange, Dan. Mackitchell, Tho. Campbell, John Moodie, Pat. Gemble, James Stewart, Alex. Gordon, Francis Johnstoun, and —— Crichton. In order to this there was not only a prize set upon each of them, for the better encouragement of all who should be at pains to apprehend them, but likewise all heritors, &c. in the south and west shires, were to call all who dwelt within the bounds of their estates, from 16 years of age and upwards, to swear whether they saw any of these persons, or discovered any lurking or concealing themselves, under the pain of being looked upon as traitors themselves.

Jointly with this proclamation they ordered Dalziel to send out parties to search for and apprehend the last mentioned persons, and bring them in dead or alive, and to call to his assistance any of the nobility and gentry, with their dependants, as he should see proper.

The people concerned in the Sanquhar declaration, perceiving the preparations against them, entered into the following bond of mutual defence, subscribed by Mr Richard Cameron, his brother Michael, Archibald Stewart, John Potter, and about 30 more, which was found on Mr Cameron when he was killed at Airsmoss.

'We underscribers bind and oblige ourselves to be faithful to God, and true to one another and to all others who shall join with us, in adhering to the Rutherglen testimony, and disclaiming the Hamilton declaration, chiefly because it takes in the king's interest, which we are loosed from by reason of his perfidy and covenant breaking, both to the most high God, and the people over whom he was set upon the terms of his propagating the main ends of the covenants, viz. the reformation of religion; and, instead of that, usurping to himself the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and encroaching upon the liberties of the church; and so stating himself in opposition to Jesus Christ the Mediator, and the free government of his house; and also in disowning and protesting against the reception of the duke of York, a profest papist, and whatever else hath been done in this land (given to the Lord) in prejudice of our covenanted and universally sworn to reformation. And although, as the Lord who searcheth the heart knows, we be for government and governors, both civil and ecclesiastic, such as the word of God and our covenants allow, yet by this we disown the present magistrates, who openly and avowedly are doing what in them lies for destroying utterly our work of reformation from popery, prelacy, erastianism, and other heresies and errors; and by this we declare also, that we are not any more to own ministers indulged, and such as drive a sinful union with them; nor are we to join any more in this public cause with ministers, or professors of any rank, that are guilty of the defections of this time, until they give satisfaction proportioned to the scandal and offence they have given.'

On the first of July a process was commenced against the earl of Tweeddale, for a meeting in the town barn belonging to his lordship in the town of Inverkeithing; but, as the barn held of the town, the earl was acquitted, and the magistrates fined in 501. sterling, which the inhabitants were obliged to pay. The same day Mess. Will. Row and Jo. Gray, not having proper licences, were discharged from preaching, and Mess. George Hamilton and James Rymer, not appearing to answer for their preaching in several places, were denounced and put to the horn.

On the 6th the earl of Rothes was made a duke; and the following gentlemen were forfeited in absence for their supposed accession to Bothwel, viz. John Bell of Whitefide, John Gibson of Auchinchyne, —— Gibson younger of Inglistoun, —— Gordon of Dundeugh, — Grier of Dalgoner, — Smith of Kilroy, — MacClellan of Balmagagachan, Thomas Bogle of Boglesholе, Baird younger of Dungeon hill, Gordon of Craig, Lenox of Irelandtoun, Gordon of Barharrow, John Fullertoun of Auchinharr, David MacCulloch son to Ardwell, William Whitehead of Millhouse, John Welsh of Corsley, — Neilson of Corsack, Robert MacClellan of Barscob, and his brother Samuel, — Fullertoun of Nethermill, Geo. MacKartney of Blaiket, — Gordon of Garrery, — Gordon of Knockgray, — Herron of Little-park, Gordon of Holm, Gordon of Overbar, John MacNaught of Colquhad, Murdoch, *alias* laird Murdoch, and John Bunning of Dalvennan. Many others were forfeited whose names are not known, and many were declared fugitives. And, to conclude the affair of the forfeitures,

My author, from written accounts from Galloway, tells us, that Alex. Hunter of Colquhasben was forfeited, and his estate given to the countess of Nithsdale a papist, A. Hay of Ardwallen was likewise forfeited, and his estate given to the same popish family. His mother, a pious gentlewoman of 80 years of age, was imprisoned for nonconformity, and her annuity given to the said popish family. Thus the duke of York and his creatures were making way for the introduction of popery, so low was the reformation brought under the tyranny of prelacy.

On the 15th of July, John Niven shipmaster was prosecuted for saying at Brunt-island, 'That the duke of York had been upon a plot for taking away his majesty's life, and had contrived with the king of France to invade England with an army, and had come to Scotland to make a party and faction, and to introduce popery.' They wrote to

to London before they passed sentence, though he was found guilty. At last he was condemned to be hanged on the 18th of August; but the king, at the intercession of his dear brother, ordered the sentence to be suspended, and that he continue in prison during pleasure. On the 19th Alex. Ross was condemned for being in the rebellion; but, upon his casting himself on the king's mercy, and promising to take the oaths, obtained a remission.

CHAP. IV.

Of the skirmish at Airsmoss: the execution of Mr Hackstoun of Rathillet, and others; the Torwood excommunication, with the proceedings of the council upon it, and other branches of persecution to the end of the year.

WHile the soldiers were ranging up and down the country, in quest of the wanderers, a remarkable skirmish happened at Airsmoss, in the parish of Auchinleck in Kyle. On the 20th of July, Bruce of Earlshall, commanding Lord Airly's troops and Strachan's dragoons, having information from Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree where Mr Cameron and several of his followers were, came upon them with great expedition and fury, about four o'clock. Perceiving the enemies approach, and that there was no possibility of escape, Mr Cameron, after a short prayer, encouraged them to fight in their own defence. The dragoons that came upon them were about 120, whereas the persecuted people were only about 40 foot, indifferently armed, and 26 horse. Mr Hackstoun and Mr Cameron commanded the horse, who all behaved with great bravery; but were overpowered and broken by a vast superiority of numbers; the former was wounded and taken prisoner, and the latter was killed. There were in all nine killed on the spot, viz. Mr Richard Cameron and his brother Michael, capt. John Fowler, John Gemble, John Hamilton, Rob. Dick, Tho. Watson, Rob. Paterson in Kirkhill of Cambusnethan, a singularly pious youth, and Jam. Gray younger of Christoun, who was a youth of good parts and eminent piety. Mr Cameron was observed to pray, when he had the prospect of this engagement, 'Lord, take the ripest, and spare the greenest,' which was evidently to be seen in this pious youth. The soldiers owned he was the person who mauled them most. Several were wounded. — Manuel of Shots died of his wounds, as he entered the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and John Vallange died on the day following. Archibald Alison in the parish of Evandale and Jo. Malcolm in the parish of Dairy were taken prisoners, as was one John Pollock, who was put in the boots, and endured the torture with great firmness and resolution, and was afterwards banished. Bishop Burnet was misinformed in saying that Mr Cargill was taken here.

When Mr Cameron was killed, his head and hands were cut off by Robert Murray, and carried into the council, who ordered them to be set up on the Netherbow port of Edinburgh. It is said that Earlshall gave a guinea for this piece of service. John Fowler's head was cut off through mistake, instead of Michael Cameron's. When Earlshall came to Edinburgh, he ordered the heads to be taken out of the bag in which they were carried, put them upon a halbert, and carried them to the council. Robert Murray said, There is the head and hands that lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting. Mr Cameron's father being in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, they carried them to him to add to his sorrow, and enquired if he knew them. He took his son's head and hands and kissed them, and said, I know them, they are my son's, my dear son's. It is the will of the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days. Mr Cameron's head was fixed on the port, and his hands by his head, with his fingers upward.

Thus the famous Mr Cameron fell a sacrifice to prelatic fury, and died a martyr for religion and liberty. It was from him that these tossed and persecuted people were afterwards nick-named *Cameronians*. He was a zealous preacher, not only against prelacy, but also against the indulgence, following the example of Mr John Welwood and Mr John Kid. For a farther account of him the reader may consult P. Walker's remarkable passages of his life, who was a sufferer in this period, and the appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses. Mr Cargill, the Sabbath following, preached from 2 Sam. iii. 38.

On the 23d of July Mr Rule was appointed to be set at liberty, upon giving a bond of 500 merks to leave the kingdom in eight days. Accordingly he went abroad, studied physic, and took his degrees; after which he came and lived in Berwick, where he was very useful. While there the earl of Home formed a design to apprehend him, because, when visiting the laird of Houndwood's family, he expounded a chapter, which was constructed keeping of a conventicle; but he providentially escaped, though Houndwood was fined in 100 merks. See the account given of him by the Rev. and worthy Dr Calamy, in his abridgment of Baxter's life, Vol. II. p. 517.

On the 24th the magistrates of Glasgow were ordered to turn all the non-conform preachers out of town, and suffer none of them to live within a mile of it.

The same day, being informed of the taking of Rathillet and the other prisoners, they ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh to receive him at the Water-gate, to set him on a bare horse, with his face to the tail, to tye his feet under the horse's belly, and his hands with ropes; that the executioner go before him covered, carrying Mr Cameron's head on a halbert, and leading the horse up the high-street to the common prison; that the other three prisoners be conducted on foot bare-headed after him, with their hands tied to a goad of iron; that no meat be given to Rathillet, but what should be prepared by the master of the jail, nor any permitted to speak with him, or any letters conveyed to him.

In a letter to his friend, he says, That he was carried up to the parliament close, and brought before the council, where the chancellor read an indictment against him; first concerning the bishop's murder, to which he answered, That he was obliged by no law, either of God or man, to answer to it, either by accusing himself, or impeaching others. Being asked if he thought it murder, he told them, That he was not obliged to answer such questions, yet he would not call it so, but rather say it was no murder. Being farther asked, if he owned the king's authority, he replied, That though he was not obliged to answer, yet, being permitted to speak, he would say something to that; and first, 'That there could be no lawful authority but what was of God; and that no authority stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God; and that he knew no authority nor justiciary this day in these nations, but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful; and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were setting buggerers, murderers, sorcerers, and such others, at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and made it their whole work to oppress, kill, and destroy the Lord's people.' This enraged the chancellor and the rest so much, that they required him to give an instance. He answered, 'Though it were enough to instance my such when he saw a judicature to execute justice, yet he would instance one; and accordingly mentioned a buggerer released at the sheriff court of Fife, and employed in their service; and offered to prove it, notwithstanding all their rage. Bishop Paterson asked, If ever Pilate and that judicature, who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges? he said, He would answer no perjured prelate in the nation. Paterson replied, He could not be called perjured, since he never took that sacrilegious covenant. Mr Hackstoun told him, that God would own that covenant when none of them were to oppose it. A good deal more passed to the same purpose, which the reader may see in the Cloud of Witnesses. Notwithstanding his bold and open answers, he was threatened with torture, which he no way regarded.

On the 26th the affair of absence from the king's host was taken out of the hands of the justiciary, and put into those of the council, which was a more arbitrary court; and the following gentlemen, viz. Dundas of Borthwick, the laird of Riddel, Geo. Douglas Bonjedburgh, Ker of Cherrytrees, James Scot of Thirlestane, Francis Scot of Greenhill, P. Wardlaw, Robert Brown of Blackburn, Pringle of Greenknows, Alex. Home of St Bathans, Sir. Spence, Clappertoun of Wylieclengh, George Home of Bassenden,

Baſſenden, were fined in above 2201 l. ſterling. Many others were fined for the ſame cauſe; and about the end of this year the council ordered all found guilty of abſence to be kept in cuſtody, for the future, till their fines be diſcharged.

Mr Hackſtoun was again before the council this day, and anſwered much to the ſame purpoſe as before, and on the 27th was before the juſticiary, when, as he ſays himſelf in another letter to his friend, 'He declined the king's authority, as an uſurper of the prerogatives of the Son of God, whereby he hath involved the lands in idolatry, perjury, and other wickedneſſes and declined them, (as exerciſing under him the ſupreme power over the church uſurped from Jeſus Chriſt) who, in carrying on their deſigns of confirming themſelves in their uſurpations of the crown of Chriſt, had ſhed ſo much innocent blood through the land; and therefore he durſt not, with his own conſent, ſuſtain them as competent judges, but declared them as open and ſtated enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power belonging only to him.

On the 29th, the day before he was brought to his trial, the council, in a moſt unprecedented manner, appointed the manner of his execution. On Friday the 30th, being again brought before the juſticiary, and being aſked if he had any thing more to ſay, he anſwered, That which I have ſaid I will ſeal it. Then they told him that they had ſomething to ſay to him, and commanded him to ſit down and receive his ſentence, which he did; and he told them, 'They were all murderers; for all that power they had was derived from tyranny; and that, theſe years by gone, they had not only tyrannized over the church of God, but had alſo 'grinded the faces of the poor;' ſo that oppreſſion, bloodſhed, perjury, and many murders were to be found in their ſkirts.'

Upon this he was condemned, and carried from the bar to the place of execution. None were ſuffered to be with him but two of the bailies, the executioner, and his ſervants. He was permitted to pray; but not to ſpeak to the people. His right hand was firſt cut off; and a little after his left; which he endured with great firmneſs and conſtancy. The hangman being long in cutting off his right hand, Mr Hackſtoun deſired him to ſtrike in the joint of the left; but ſpoke no ſuch thing as biſhop Burnet repreſents, 'That when his hands were cut off, he ſhould, like one unconcerned, if his feet muſt be cut off likewiſe.' He was next drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and, ſays the Cloud of Witneſſes, was ſuffered to fall down a very conſiderable way, upon the lower ſcaffold, three times, with his whole weight; then he was fixed at the top of the gallows, and the executioner, with a large knife, cutting open his breaſt, pulled out his heart before he was dead; for it moved when it fell on the ſcaffold. He then ſtuck his knife in it, ſhewed it on all ſides to the people, crying, Here is the heart of a traitor. At laſt he threw it in a fire prepared on purpoſe, with his other inwards; and, having quartered his body, his head was fixed on the Nether-bow, one of his quarters, with his hands, at St Andrews, another at Glaſgow, a third at Leith, and a fourth at Brunt-iſland. Thus fell David Hackſtoun of Rathillet, eſq; a gentleman related to ſome of the principal families in Scotland, and a perſon of eminent piety and courage.

On the 4th of Auguſt, John Malcolm in the parith of Dairy in Galloway, and Archibald Aliſon in the parith of Evandale in Clydſdale, two other priſoners taken at Airſmoſs, were ſentenced to be hanged on the 11th inſtant in the Grafs-market, which was executed accordingly. Their teſtimonies are both in the Cloud of Witneſſes, wherein they ſhew the reaſons of their conduct, and declare their conſtant adherence to the covenanted work of reformation againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm, and tyranny. Thus all the priſoners taken at Airſmoſs, except John Pollock, were executed, as above.

Mean while, on the ſaid 4th of Auguſt, another commitee for public affairs was appointed, conſiſting of the archbiſhop of St Andrews, the earl of Linlithgow, the biſhop of Edinburgh, the preſident, Collingtoun, Lundin, Kildry, the officers of ſtate, or any three of them, with the former powers; and the former endeavours for diſcovering thoſe concerned in Bothwell were enforced with new orders. The reader perhaps may think it tireſome to purſue the various and repeated commiſſions granted in order to apprehend thoſe concerned in the late riſing.

During theſe things many parties of ſoldiers were ſent through the country to quarter in the weſt and ſouth, to be in readineſs when any of the perſecuted party were heard of; and none of them were more eager, than one captain Inglis, in ſearching for thoſe who had been hearers of Mr Cameron or Mr Cargill; Robert Cannon of Mountdroggat, once a profeſſor, was very uſeful to the ſoldiers in diſcovering the lurking places of the poor wanderers; and about this time he was made collector of the ceſs and exciſe in Carſphairn and the neighbourhood; and as he was pretty much acquainted, ſo, when the ſoldiers ſeized ſuſpected perſons, Cannon was ſent for, and they were kept or let go according to his direction. Courts likewiſe were held at New-Galloway, and other places, for the trial of thoſe who had the misfortune to fall into their hands; but, as the heritors were not very cordial in theſe things, the officers of the army took the work upon themſelves, and put many to their oaths in a moſt arbitrary and unprecedented manner.

In conſequence of the opinion of the laſt made committee, on the firſt of September, Mr James Ker and Mr Arthur Dougal were ordered to be releaſed upon bail, but Mr John Dickſon, late miniſter of Rutherglen, was ſent firſt to priſon at Edinburgh, and from thence to the Baſs, where he continued ſeveral years. By a letter from the king, of the third, the common people, who had been concerned in Bothwell, had to the firſt of March next to take the bond; but heritors, miniſters, ringleaders, &c. were ſtill excepted.

Mr Cargill was now the only perſon who ventured to preach in the fields, notwithſtanding the ſanguinary laws againſt that practice, and who proſecuted the teſtimony for religion and liberty in that manner; and conſidering all the preachings, proteſtations, and declarations againſt the wickedneſs and tyranny of thoſe who had the adminiſtration of the government in their hands, and that both the defenſive arms of men, and the Chriſtian arms of prayers, &c. had been uſed, yet that of eccleſiaſtical cenſure had not been authoritatively exerted; therefore, though he could not have the concurrence of his brethren to ſtrengthen the ſolemnity of the action, yet did he not think that defect, in this broken ſtate of the church, could diſable his authority, or leſſen the duty. Accordingly, in September or October this year, he had a large meeting at the Torwood in Stirlingſhire, when he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt ſome of the moſt violent perſecutors of that day, as formally as the preſent ſtate of things could permit; and in doing this he gave them the ordinary names by which they were called, that they all might know who the perſons were.

After he had lectured upon Ezekiel xxi. 25. 26. 27. and preached from 1 Cor. v. 13. he diſcourſed a little concerning the nature of excommunication, and declaring that he was not acted from any ſpirit of revenge, but merely from the conſtraint of conſcience; he then pronounced the following ſentence;

I being a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, and having authority and power from him, do, in his name, and by his Spirit, excommunicate, caſt out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Charles II. king, &c. and that upon the account of theſe grounds following: 1. For his high mocking of God, in that, after he had acknowleged his own ſins, his father's ſins, his mother's idolatry, he hath, notwithſtanding, gone on more avowedly in thoſe ſins than all that went before him. 2. For his perjury, in that after he had, twice at leaſt, ſolemnly ſubſcribed that covenant, he did ſo preſumptuouſly renounce, diſown, and command it to be burned by the hands of the hangman. 3. Becauſe he hath reſcinded all laws for eſtabliſhing of that religion and reformation engaged to in that covenant, and enacted laws for eſtabliſhing its contrary, and is ſtill working for the introducing popery into thir lands. 4. For commanding of armies to deſtroy the Lord's people, who were ſtanding in their own juſt defence, and for their privileges and rights, againſt the tyrannies

rannies, oppreſſions and injuries of men, and for the blood he hath ſhed in fields, on ſcaffolds, and on ſeas, of the people of God, on account of religion and righteouſneſs, (they being moſt willing in all other things to render him obedience, if he had reigned and ruled them according to his covenant and oath) more than all the kings that have been before him in Scotland. 5. That he hath been ſtill an enemy to, a perſecutor of the true proteſtants, a favourer and helper of the papiſts, both at home and abroad; and hath hindered, to the utmoſt of his power, the due execution of juſt laws againſt them. 6. For his relaxing of his kingdom, by his frequent grant of remiſſions and pardons for murderers, (which is in the power of no king to do, being expreſly contrary to the law of God) which was the ready way to embolden men in committing of murders, to the defiling the land with blood. Laſtly, To paſs by all other things, his great and dreadful uncleanneſs of adultery and inceſt, his drunkenneſs, his diſſembling with God and man, and performing his promiſes where his engagements were ſinful, &c. Next,

By the ſame authority, and in the ſame name, I excommunicate, &c. James Duke of York, &c. and that for his idolatries, (for I ſhall not ſpeak of any other ſins but what have been perpetrate in Scotland) and for ſetting up idolatry in Scotland, to defile the Lord's land, and his inticeing and encouraging others ſo to do, &c.

Next, in the ſame manner, &c. I excommunicate, &c. James Duke of Monmouth, &c, for coming into Scotland, upon his father's unjuſt command, and leading armies againſt the Lord's people, who were conſtrained to riſe, being killed in and for the right worſhipping of the true God, and for his refuſing, that morning at Bothwell-bridge, a ceſſation of arms, for hearing and redreſſing their injuries, wrongs and oppreſſions, &c.

Next, I do, by the ſame authority, &c. excommunicate, &c. John Duke of Lauderdale, &c. for his dreadful blaſphemy, eſpecially that word to the prelate of St Andrews, *Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footſtool*; his atheiſtical drolling on the ſcriptures of God, ſcoffing at religion and religious perſons; his apoſtacy from the covenant and reformation, and his perſecuting thereof, after he had been a profeſſor, pleader, and preſſer thereof; for his perjury in the buſineſs of Mr James Mitchel—for his adulteries and uncleanneſs; for his counſelling and aſſiſting the king in all his tyrannies, overturning and plotting againſt the true religion; for his gaming on the Lord's day, and for his uſual and ordinary curſing.

In the ſame manner he pronounced ſentence againſt the duke of Rothes, Sir George MacKenzie the king's advocate, and Thomas Dalziel of Binns.

After he had pronounced ſentence as above, he went on as follows, 'I think none that acknowlege the word of God, the power deputed to the church, and the reaſon and nature of that power, can judge this ſentence to be unjuſt. The pretence of its being unformal, without warnings, admonitions, &c. is fully anſwered, in that thoſe men have placed themſelves above the admonitions of miniſters, have repelled all due warnings, and wickedly put to cruel deaths the ſervants and miniſters of Chriſt, who have, with freedom and boldneſs, adventured to give them warnings and admonitions, and ſhut up all acceſs from us that remain to do the like; and as for proof of the fact I have here charged upon them, it needeth none, the deeds being notour and known, and the moſt of them ſuch as themſelves do avow, and, to their ſhame, boaſt of. And, as the cauſes are juſt, and ſuch as for which the miniſters of Chriſt have in all ages proceeded to the like ſentence, ſo, it being now done by a miniſter of the goſpel, and in ſuch a manner as the preſent circumſtances of the church of Chriſt, with reſpect to the preſent cruel perſecution will admit, the ſentence likewiſe is undoubtedly juſt alſo: and there are no powers on earth, either of kings, princes, magiſtrates or miniſters of the goſpel, can, without the repentance of the perſons openly and legally appearing, reverſe theſe ſentences upon any ſuch account. And as God, who is the author of that power, is the more engaged to the ratifying of theſe ſentences; ſo all that acknowlege the word of God, and believe themſelves ſubject to his government, ought alſo to acknowlege them.'

'If any ſhall object, as we do hear they do, that theſe proceedings, though not unjuſt, are fooliſh and rigorous; we anſwer with that word of ſcripture, which we have much more reaſon to uſe than thoſe of whom it is recorded, Gen. xxxiv. 31. 'Should he deal with our ſiſter as with an harlot?' Should they deal with our God as with an idol? Should they deal with his people as with murderers and malefactors? And ſhall we not draw out God's ſword againſt God's enemies.'

It is not my province either to condemn or vindicate this action, which not only expoſed the ſufferers to the greater fury of their perſecutors, but alſo to the cenſures of their friends, nay, and expoſed the whole body of the preſbyterians to the ridicule and ſcorn of their enemies; though nothing is more certain, than that they were neither conſulted in it, nor approved of it. However, the following queries are ſubmitted to the reader. Had not the perſons againſt whom the ſentence was pronounced been guilty of all that was laid to their charge? Was not Mr Cargill an approved miniſter of the goſpel? Can it be ſaid that kings and princes are not ſubject to the cenſures of the church? It is plain the church of England approves of the excommunication of royal perſons if they deſerve it, as may be ſeen from their homilies, which are recommended by the 35 article. Thus, in that homily of the right uſe of the church, part 2d, it is ſaid, 'And, according to this example of our Saviour Chriſt, in the primitive church, which was moſt holy and godly, and in the which due diſcipline, with ſeverity, was uſed againſt the wicked, open offenders were not ſuffered once to enter into the houſe of the Lord, nor admitted to common prayer and the uſe of the holy ſacraments, with other true Chriſtians, until they had done open penance before the whole church. And this was practiſed not only upon mean perſons, but alſo upon the rich, noble and mighty perſons, yea, upon Theodoſius that puiſſant and mighty emperor, whom, for committing a grievous and wilful murder, St Ambroſe biſhop of Milan reproved ſharply, and did alſo excommunicate the ſaid emperor, and brought him to open penance. And they that were ſo juſtly excluded and baniſhed (as it were) from the houſe of the Lord, were taken (as they be indeed) for men divided and ſeparated from Chriſt's church, and in moſt dangerous eſtate, yea, as St Paul ſaith, *Even given unto Satan*, the devil, *for a time*; and their company was ſhunned and avoided by all godly men and women, until ſuch time as they, by repentance and public penance, were reconciled.' Here then is the excommunication of a puiſſant and mighty emperor, and his being brought to open penance, approved of by the church of England.

From this the reader muſt judge for himſelf, how ill it becomes the high-flyers to make the Torwood excommunication a matter of reproach to all preſbyterians, even upon the ſuppoſition that they had approved of it, and whether that action was ſo unprecedented as ſome would repreſent it. As for the formality and ſeaſonableneſs of it at that time, I muſt refer him to what Mr Cargill ſays himſelf, and to his own reflection.

Next Lord's day Mr Cargill preached at the Fallow-hill in the pariſh of Livingſtone, and, in the preface ſaid, 'I know I am and will be condemned by many for what I have done, in excommunicating thoſe wicked men; but condemn me who will, I know I am approven of God, and am perſuaded that what I have done on earth is ratified in heaven; for, if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my generation-work, it is in that; and I ſhall give you two ſigns whereby you may know I am in no deluſion. 1. If ſome of theſe men do not find that ſentence binding upon them as they go off the ſtage, and be not obliged to confeſs it from their terror, and to the affrightment of others. 2. If theſe men die the ordinary death of men, then God hath not ſpoken by me.' The firſt of theſe was verified in the duke of Rothes; and the ſecond in the remarkable exit of the moſt of thoſe who were excommunicated.

In the month of September, Mr Archibald Riddel, brother to the laird of Riddel, together with Turnbull of Know and the laird of Down, were apprehended by the laird of Graden, and ſent in priſoners to the jail of Jedburgh. The council ordered Meldrum to bring them into

into Edinburgh, and recommended Graden to the lords of the treaſury for the reward offered by the council's proclamation for taking Mr Riddel.

On the firſt of October he was examined before a committee of the council, and owned, that, though he had not preached in private houſes, where there were people without doors, which, by the laws then in being, was conſtructed to be a field conventicle. He declined giving his oath upon this, ſince oaths were tender things; neither would he engage not to preach in the fields for the future, though he had refrained from that practice for ſome time paſt; for, ſaid he, 'I have not ſince the indemnity, judged myſelf under a neceſſity to preach out of a houſe; but I know not but he that has called me to preach this while bygone in houſes, may, before I go out of the world, call me to preach upon the tops of mountains, yea, upon the ſeas; and I dare not come under any engagements to diſobey any of his calls.' And when farther urged upon this point, he ſaid, 'Both conformed and indulged have preached in the fields without offence; as, when their churches have been ruinous, or otherways, they could not conveniently preach in the church, they have done it in the church yard.' To this the advocate ſaid, 'In ſuch caſes as theſe it is not conſtructed to be againſt law, Mr Riddel replied, 'but then, my lord, what ſhall I do with my engagement never to preach in the fields, to know whether it ſhall be conſtructed againſt law or not? your lordſhip will not allow me to explain or put a conſtruction upon my engagement myſelf.' Not being able to anſwer this, the advocate ſaid, That, if he was of Mr Riddel's principles, he would judge it his duty rather to go out of the nation, than diſturb the peace of the land by acting contrary to its laws.

I ſhall not trouble the reader any farther on this, than to obſerve, that Mr Riddel was none of the followers of Mr Cargill; nay, he expreſly owned the king's authority, and diſapproved of thoſe who were otherwiſe minded; he had never been in what they called *rebellion*: ſo that all they could lay to his charge was his preaching in houſes when people were without doors, and his refuſing to engage not to preach in the fields for the future; and yet, after this examination, he was ſent back to priſon. We ſhall meet with him afterwards.

Mean while, on the fifth of October, Mr J. Veitch, miniſter at Weſtruther, was ſummoned to appear for preaching without a licence, and, not appearing, was ordered to be denounced and put to the horn. The ſame day Francis Grier, who had been five months in priſon for lodging two of his friends who had been at Bothwell for one night, was ordered to be releaſed upon ſigning the bond. One William Punton, who had been in priſon for harbouring Mr Cargill, was releaſed upon giving a bond of 1000 l. to anſwer when called.

The time of the Engliſh parliament's ſitting now drew near, when another attempt was to be made againſt the duke of York. In order to prepare the way for this, the earl of Shaftbury, attended by 12 lords and gentlemen of note, went publicly to Weſtminſter hall, and, at the king's bench bar, by a bill in form, preſented the duke of York as a popiſh recuſant. This action ſo ſurpriſed the three principal miniſters, that, to ingratiate the king with the parliament, they adviſed him to ſend his royal highneſs into Scotland, believing it would not be in his power to ſupport him if he continued in England during the ſeſſion. The king, approving of their reaſons, obliged the duke to return to Scotland, after repeated aſſurances that he would never forſake him.

The king, however, ſays my author, gave another turn to this in his letter to the council at Edinburgh, dated October 23. acquainting them that he was to ſend down his brother for the better diſpatch of affairs among them; and the chancellor letting them know that he was to land at Kirkaldy, and be at the houſe of Leſly till the Abbay ſhould be fitted up for his reception, they ordered all the counſellors on the ſouth of Aberdeen to wait on his highneſs at his arrival, that there may be all manner of demonſtrations of joy.

Accordingly, on the 25th of October, the duke and ducheſs arrived in Kirkaldy road, and repaired to Leſly houſe, where they continued till the 29th, when they came to the Abbay of Holy-rood houſe. On Saturday the biſhop of Edinburgh, with the clergy in town, waited upon him, and expreſſed the general ſatisfaction of the orthodox clergy at his arrival. But where the orthodoxy was, in careſſing a popiſh prince retiring from the reſentments of an Engliſh proteſtant parliament, muſt be left with the proteſtant reader. But it is well known that the prelatical clergy in Scotland, for all their orthodoxy, were not only at this time, but have ever ſince been the abettors of popery. Who complimented this popiſh prince upon the birth of his ſpurious impoſtor the Pretender? The orthodox clergy. Who were the great enemies of the revolution in Scotland? The orthodox clergy. Who were the great oppoſers of the proteſtant ſucceſſion? The orthodox clergy. Who the great encouragers of rebellions ſince the proteſtant line happily took place? The irregular ſucceſſors of the ſame orthodox clergy, who almoſt, to a man, are attached to a popiſh Pretender to this very day. It is not worth while to take notice of the council's fulſom letter to the king on this occaſion, dated November the 2d, and ſigned by 27 counſellors and three or four proteſtant biſhops. Only the receiving and careſſing of the duke of York in Scotland, when a lot of brave patriots in England were exerting themſelves to the utmoſt to get him excluded from ſucceeding to the Engliſh throne, was juſtly condemned by the poor perſecuted ſufferers, who bore their teſtimony againſt it, as we ſhall have frequent opportunity to relate.

On this 2d of November, the earl of Moray's commiſſion to be ſole ſecretary of ſtate was read in council, Lauderdale having reſigned that office into his majeſty's hands, after he had poſſeſſed it 20 years. Biſhop Burnet, in deſcribing his character, ſays, 'That his great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would pleaſe the king, and his bold offering at the moſt deſperate counſels, gained him ſuch an intereſt in the king, that no attempt againſt him, nor complaint of him could ever ſhake it, till a decay of ſtrength and underſtanding forced him to let go his hold.'

From a proceſs between Meldrum and Philiphaugh, it appeared that many oppreſſions and wrong impriſonments had been committed by the former, inſomuch that, by a moderate computation, he had levied from the ſhire of Teviotdale 100,000 l.

On the 11th of November the council proceeded againſt the encouragers of prohibited books, ſuch as Naphtali, Jus regni apud Scotos in Engliſh, Jus Populi Vindicarum, Reformed Biſhop, Calderwood's Hiſtory. John Calderwood ſtationer was impriſoned for having ſome of theſe books in his ſhop. All ſtationers and booklellers were ordered to produce the liſts of what books they imported from abroad, in order to have the approbation of one of the officers of ſtate, or of the biſhop of Edinburgh.

About this time Mr James Skene, brother to the laird of Skene in Aberdeen ſhire, was apprehended as a hearer of Mr Cargill. This gentlemen had not been concerned either at Bothwell, Airſmoſs, or the Torwood excommunication, and nothing but his hearing Mr Cargill could be laid to his charge. The council met on the 13th of November, upon receiving notice that the general had ſent in ſome priſoners. Mr Skene, Archibald Stuart, and John Spreul apothecary in Glaſgow were examined before them.

Mr Spreul's trouble began ſoon after Pentland. In the year 1667, he was ſeized by a party at Paiſley, becauſe he would not diſcover where his father was; but, after many terrible threatenings of being ſhot to death, roaſted at a fire, and ſome ſhort confinement, he was diſmiſſed at that time. In the 1677 he and others were ſummoned before a court at Glaſgow, and, becauſe he abſconded, was intercommuned. Then he went abroad, and was in Ireland 1679, from whence he came to Scotland after the ſkirmiſh at Drumclog; and though he had occaſion to be in company with ſome of the weſt-country army, yet he did not join them. After Bothwell his wife and family were turned out of their houſe and ſhop, while he, after concealing himſelf for ſome time, went over to Holland. He came back this year, with a deſign to carry his family to Rotterdam; but on the 12th of November was taken out of his bed at Edinburgh by major John-

ſton, and was carried to the guard at the Abbay, where Mr Skene and Archibald Stuart were priſoners. Next day he was examined before the council concerning his opinion of the death of the archbiſhop, and his acceſſion to Drumclog and Bothwell. As to the former, he ſaid, he was in Ireland at that time, and knew nothing of it but by hearſay; that for himſelf, he would not have done it, and did not approve of it, and deſired to be excuſed from going any farther; becauſe he ſcrupled to condemn what he could not approve, ſince there muſt be a righteous judgment of God where there was a ſinful hand of man, and he might admire and adore the one, while he trembled at the other. As to Drumclog, he declared he was then in Ireland, where he firſt receved the account of it; but did not think it rebellion, ſince he owned the freedom of preaching the goſpel, and heard that what they did was only in ſelf defence. He farther owned, That upon his return from Ireland, he had occaſion to go through part of the weſt-country army, but did not join them; and ſaid, That he would not call that riſing *rebellion*, ſince he thought it was a providential neceſſity put upon them for their own ſafety after Drumclog. He refuſed to ſubſcribe his confeſſion.

The council pretending that there was a plot carrying on by Mr Cargil, Mr MacWard, and others, for murdering the king, ſubverting the government, and that Mr Spreul and Robert Hamilton were acceſſory to it, made an act on the 13th of November, ordering them to be examined by torture as to theſe things, and impowered the earls of Argyll, Linlithgow, &c. as a committee to examine them. But the reader may be aſſured that there was nothing in this plot unleſs in their own imaginations: however, it was proper that they ſhould have ſomething to ſay. The duke of York was pleaſed to gratify his eyes with this delightful ſcene, and ſo be honoured Mr Spreul with his royal preſence. The poor gentleman told them he could ſay no more than he had ſaid before the council, &c. but there was no help for him. The hangman put his foot into the inſtrument called *The boot*, and at every queſtion, gave about five ſtrokes on the wedges. The queries were, Whether he knew any thing of a plot to blow up the Abbay and the duke of York? Who was in the plot? Where was Mr Cargil? To all which he declared his abſolute ignorance. When nothing could be diſcovered, they ordered the old boot to be brought, and made him undergo the torture a ſecond time. He ſtill adhered to what he formerly ſaid. Dalziel complained that the hangman did not ſtrike hard enough, and was therefore offered the mall by the executioner to do it himſelf. When the torture was over, he was carried to priſon on a ſoldier's back; but was refuſed the benefit of a ſurgeon, and the pleaſure of ſeeing his wife. However, he recovered, and I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of him afterwards.

What paſſed at the examination of Mr Skene is related in a letter from himſelf to his brother, recorded in the Cloud of Witneſſes. He declared he was not at Bothwell; but that he owned the Sanquhar declaration, and the teſtimony of Rutherglen, and diſowned the king's authority ſo far as it was againſt the covenants and intereſt of Chriſt. Archibald Stuart, John Spreul, of whom I have now ſpoke, and Marion Harvey a ſervant maid in Borroſtounneſs, were likeways before them.

On the 15th the commiſſioners reported that they had examined Archibald Stuart by torture. They were ordered to be farther examined, and advocates were, on the 18th, appointed to plead for Mr Skene, who was brought before the juſticiary on the 22d, and condemned to be hanged on the 24th, and his head to be afterwards ſevered from his body; but the laſt part of his ſentence was diſpenſed with, and he was reprieved till the firſt of December.

Mean while John Potter farmer in Uphall in Weſt-Lothian, and Archibald Stewart in Borrowſtounneſs (the latter was at Airſmoſs, but the former had not been in arms) were both before the juſticiary, and condemned to be hanged on the 1ſt of December, along with Mr Skene. Their teſtimonies are all in the cloud of Witneſſes.

Mr Skene, in his laſt teſtimony, after having laid his blood on his perſecutors, declared againſt receiving the duke of York, and againſt every thing that had been done againſt the covenants and the work of reformation, and concluded his teſtimony much in the ſame ſtrain with Mr Hugh MacKail.

Archibald Stuart was reported to have ſaid, that he would kill the king or any of his council; but in his laſt teſtimony he ſays, 'However I and that ſuffering remnant be miſtaken, in that they gave out in their declaration, That I ſaid I would kill the king or any of his council, it is an untruth and forged calumny, to reproach the ways of God, more like themſelves and their own principles, who have killed ſo many of the people of God, both in the fields and upon ſcaffolds and us among the reſt, to pleaſe the bloody tyrant Charles Stuart's brother,—and to make men believe that we have been contriving a plot to murder them, &c. On the ſcaffold he ſung Pſal. ii. and read Mal. iii. but when in prayer he began to ſay, 'O Lord, what wilt thou do with this generation? What wilt thou do with bloody Charles Stuart? Immediately the drums were beat.

John Potter's teſtimony is large and particular; but, when ſpeaking of the enemies of God, and the perſecutors of his people, he ſaid, among other things, 'I pray that the Lord would open your eyes, that you may ſee your ſin, turn from them, and live. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done or can do to me. But for the wrongs done to Chriſt in robbing him of his right over his church and people, I know vengeance belongs to God, and he will repay them; therefore I leave them under proceſs and while they repent. And now I begin to enjoy him who is inviſible, &c.'

While theſe acts of ſeverity were carrying on in Scotland, the parliament of England met on the 21ſt of October, and on the 26th lord Ruſſel moved, that they might, in the firſt place, take into conſideration how to ſuppreſs popery and prevent a popiſh ſucceſſor. He was ſeconded by Sir Henry Chapel brother to the earl of Eſſex. And after ſeveral warm debates, it was reſolved that a bill be brought in to diſable the duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of this realm, and, after a great deal of reaſoning *pro* and *con*, the excluſion bill paſſed the houſe with a great majority. William lord Ruſſel attended by the lord Cavendiſh, Sir Henry Chapel, and almoſt the whole houſe of commons, carried the bill to the houſe of lords, where it miſcarried by a ſuperiority of 63 againſt 30. Biſhop Burnet ſays, all the biſhops voted againſt it. Rapin ſays, That eleven of them voted againſt it, and three for it, who, according to my author, were the biſhops of Cheſter, Exeter and London. When the news of the rejecting of this Bill came to Edinburgh, the chancellor propoſed to make public rejoicings there, but the duke of York declined this for the preſent. Thus a brave attempt for ſupporting the proteſtant intereſt at was this time fruſtrated; but providence had another method for accompliſhing this great deſign.

On the 20th the Revd. Mr John Carſtairs, William Johnſton and Joſeph Brody merchants in Edinburgh, were brought before a committee on account of ſome papers found with Mr Skene. Mr Carſtairs owned the king's authority, and diſclaimed the principles of Mr Cargil; but, at the ſame time, proteſted againſt Paterſon biſhop of Edinburgh ſitting in civil judicatories, refuſed him his titles, and called him only Mr Paterſon, which the biſhop reſented, and promiſed to make a return if ever it lay in his power.

On the 22d a very long and ſevere proclamation was publiſhed againſt Mr Cargill and his followers, wherein the king's great care for preſerving the proteſtant religion, was mightily cried up, [witneſs his ſupporting his brother's ſucceſſion, &c.] the followers of Mr Cargill were accuſed of the heinous crimes of rebellion, treaſon, murder, aſſaſſination, and carrying on a plot for killing the king, the duke of York, the councellors, biſhops, &c. and the teſtimonies emitted by the ſufferers, together with the Torwood excommunication, were all aggravated to the laſt degree; and therefore all the ſubjects were required to treat the plotters, &c. as rebels, &c. to apprehend them &c. and for their encouragement a reward of 5000 merks was promiſed for apprehending Mr Cargil,

3000.

3000 merks for Mr Douglas, and 1000 merks for each of the reſt of the conſpirators, &c. The council ſent up a copy of this proclamation to court, and gave his majeſty an account of theſe things. That ſome had renounced an allegiance to king Charles is certain; but that any of their deſignations encourage and aſſert the lawfulneſs of murders, aſſaſſinations, and the like, is falſe; and it was equally falſe that any plot was carried on among them for killing the king, his brother, &c. When Mr Skene was examined before a committee of the council, and was aſked if he thought it duty to kill the king, he anſwered, That he had ſtated himſelf an enemy to God's intereſt, and there was war proclaimed againſt him. This no doubt will be improved by the managers. We ſhall find that Mr Skene was not alone in this matter. How far, all things conſidered, he is to be vindicated, I muſt leave with the reader. But though, in ſome things, theſe martyrs for Chriſt may not have expreſſed themſelves in ſuch happy expreſſions as could be wiſhed, yet the injuſtice, cruelty and tyranny of their perſecutors cannot fail to leave a blot on their memory while the world laſts. Beſides, it is certain, that all they intended by its being lawful to kill the king, &c. was in their own defence.

On the 8th of December Mr Riddel was examined a ſecond time before the committee, and acknowleged the king's authority, and condemned thoſe who did not, but refuſed to engage not to preach in the fields, as before. And when the juſtice-clerk ſaid, Will you ſay that you believe not to preach in the fields, as long as matters continue as they are? His anſwer was, Really my lord, I am afraid to ſay or do any thing that has the appearance of a ſtraiter hedge about the exerciſe of my miniſtry than Jeſus Chriſt has drawn before me. And when aſked his opinion about the biſhop's death, he ſaid, if private perſons were allowed to go out of their ſtation, to kill men at their pleaſure, no man could be ſure of his life. He was again ſent to priſon.

Next day the advocate was ordered to proſecute Geo. Johnſton, James Stuart, Geo. White and Will. Dick priſoners, for being at the Torwood meeting; but, becauſe Chriſtian Spence, Sarah Spence and Janet Smith were only poor and ignorant, they were ſet at liberty, and threatned with being ſcourged if ever they were found at Conventicles. About this time Geo. Piper of Aberdeen, having been a priſoner for ſuppoſed correſpondence with Mr Skene and Mr Cargill, was ſet at liberty, ſince no ſuch thing could be made appear.

On the 16th garriſons were appointed to be kept in the houſes of Kenmuir and Freugh, and in the caſtle of Dumfries; and on the 23d the council wrote to the ſecretary Murray to procure a pardon for Will. Gordon of Culvennan who had been in the rebellion.

On the 25th of December ſome of the ſtudents in the college of Edinburgh brought to the head of the Cowgate the effigy of the pope in his robes, with his keys, mitre and triple crown; and, when they had excommunicated him, they carried him about in a chair like that where in he is elected at Rome, to the foot of the Black friars wynd. The ſtudents, knowing the thing had taken air, gave out that they were to carry his holineſs in proceſſion to the Graſs-market, the place of the execution of criminals; whereupon the guards marched thither. Mean while the boys marched in proceſſion by the Black-friars wynd to the High ſtreet, three of them going before with lighted torches. Being come thither they condemned his holineſs to be burnt: accordingly the torchmen blew up the effigy with gun powder. notwithſtanding their being attacked by ſome ſoldiers commanded by Linlithgow and his ſon; whom they warned to beware whom he ſtruck, ſince he had relations among them.

Mr G. Ridpath, having been very active in proſecting this affair, was taken up the day before it was to be put in execution, and great ſearch was made for the effigy, but in vain. Next day ſeveral gentlemens ſons were called before the council, and particularly examined whether any preſbyterian gentlemen or miniſters did contrive, aſſiſt, or direct them; who all declared there was none. The chancellor treated them civilly; but the biſhops endeavoured to enſnare them with queſtions about their conformity. However, being unable to obtain any advantage, they were diſmiſſed for that day. Only Mr Ridpath, then entering on the ſtudy of philoſophy, was very ill uſed by Sir William Paterſon and the council's ſervants, ſome of whom beat him and tore his hair. And for this, and no other reaſon, he was baniſhed his native country.

About this time the ſame ſpirit was working at Glaſgow, though in a different manner; for the ſtudents there wore coloured ribbons to diſtinguiſh themſelves from papiſts, for which ſeveral of their leaders, and particularly the marquis of Annandale, then a ſtudent, were called before the maſters and the archbiſhop. Annandale defended himſelf and his fellow ſtudents with ſpirit and reſolution; and calling the archbiſhop only *Sir*, Mr Nicholſon his regent reproved him, ſaying, William, do you not underſtand whom you ſpeak to, he is a greater perſon than yourſelf. Annandale replied, I know the king has been pleaſed to make him a ſpiritual lord, but I know likeways that the piper of Arbroath's ſon and my father's ſon are not to be compared. This ſpirit that ſhewed itſelf in the ſtudents could not but chagrin his royal highneſs; and what the conſequences of it was ſhall be related in

CHAP. V.

Of the executions of Iſobel Aliſon, Marion Harvey, Mr Cargill, and others: of the followers of John Gib: the ſufferings of heritors, &c. and other things to the ſeſſion of parliament.

THE duke of York's being now in Scotland ſharpened the edge of the perſecution; ſo that no leſs than 20 were executed in the courſe of this year 1681. The ſufferers had, it is true, declared againſt the king's authority, for which many of them were hanged, and otherwiſe perſecuted by their enemies, and cenſured by their friends. They branded them as madmen, enemies to government and civil ſociety; but it is very plain that they never oppoſed government or monarchy as ſuch, but only wicked, perjured and perſecuting governors. Theſe they did oppoſe, and that for the very ſame reaſons that brought about the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. I cannot expreſs this better than in the words of the author of the memoirs of the Church of Scotland, when ſpeaking of the Torwood excommunication, Says he, 'I deſire the impartial reader to compare it with the memorials above mentioned, [*to wit*, the memorial to the prince of Orange from the people of Great Britain, to invite him to come to their aſſiſtance] and ſee if it be poſſible for any Britiſh proteſtant, who owns the juſtice of the revolution, to reflect upon the zeal of theſe people, without bluſhing for himſelf and the whole nation, that they did not ſee and abhor the tyranny of thoſe reigns ſooner; and then they had joined with thoſe people inſtead of cenſuring their zeal; the revolution had then been brought about without foreign help at all; the prince of Orange had then been called over, as peaceably as king George, to take poſſeſſion of the crown; and the blood of near 20,000 people, who were one way or other murdered and deſtroyed by that now abdicated race of tyrants, had been ſaved. What a ſhame is it, ſays he, to us, and how much to the honour of theſe perſecuted people, that they could thus ſee the treachery and tyranny of thoſe reigns, when we ſaw it not; or rather, that they had ſo much honeſty of principle, and obeyed ſo ſtrictly the dictates of conſcience, as to bear their teſtimony early, nobly, and graciouſly to the truth of God and the rights of their country, both civil and religious, while we all, though ſeeing the ſame things yet betrayed the cauſe of liberty and religion by a ſinful ſilence and a dreadful cowardice.

But ſuppoſe, through the treatment, the unaccountable treatment they met with, they had gone a little beyond due bounds, and though ſometimes their expreſſions were not ſo well choſen, can that either condemn the principles of religion and liberty upon which they acted, nay, or their actual diſowning thoſe tyrants, who, for nothing but the matters of their God and Saviour, had declared them outlaws, rebels and traitors? Beſides, the blood of many was ſhed, againſt whom they could prove nothing

but

but what they extorted from them by their ensnaring questions. Nay, even some of the weaker sex were hanged or drowned on this score. But I shall relate the matters of fact as they happened in the order of time.

It was a dreadful affront to the duke of York to find his Holiness treated in such a manner, on that grand festival the 25th of December; and therefore the sycophant managers must not overlook such an indignity. Accordingly, on the 4th of January, the masters of the college declare their abhorrence of what their scholars had done: and, on the 6th the council commanded the magistrates to order the college gates to be shut, and the classes to be dissolved. About this time several of the students were imprisoned, besides Mr Redpath, which so exasperated the rest, that, it is said, they threatened to burn the provost's house at Priestfield, because the magistrates, who were patrons of the college, instead of protecting them, had acted violently against them: and in a few days the house of Priestfield was burnt. Whereupon the council, on the 17th, issued a proclamation, offering 2000 merks, and a remission, to any who should discover the actors; but it does not appear that any discovery was made; nay, my author says, that some wanted not their jealousies that this house was burnt by others, with a view to bring an odium on people who were no ways concerned. The author of the pamphlet now before me, intitled, 'A brief and true account of the sufferings of the church of Scotland,' &c. printed at London 1690, says, That they, viz. the managers, first alledged that the students threatened to burn the provost's house, because he, like a blockhead, had suffered the king's soldiers to enter the city, contrary to his own oath and the town's privileges, to prevent the burning of the pope; and, when they had buzzed about this supposed threatening, they burnt it themselves, and charged the students with it, to make them odious, and find occasion of dissolving the university, which they did for some time; and though the said students offered to come to any legal trial for their vindication, it was never accepted, because the council knew it could be proved that some of the duke's livery were seen come from the house just as it took fire, and that a barrel of powder having the castle mark upon it, which it was not possible for any to come at but from the king's ammunition, was found in the park near the said house. Neither does it appear that ever any was brought to a trial for this.

The order of time leads me to the case of Isobel Alison and Marion Harvey, two young women, who were executed this month, to the perpetual disgrace of the bloody managers, who could have no acts of what they called *rebellion*, in the least, to lay to their charge. When they were taken I know not. Isobel Alison was apprehended at Perth, where she lived, only for speaking against the severity used to sundry good people there; for they could accuse her of nothing else. Marion Harvey was seized while going one day from Edinburgh to hear sermon in the fields, and was last year before the council. But though they had nothing against these two young women, they were resolved to shed their blood; and therefore upon what they owned at their examination they founded their indictment, and took away their lives. That the reader may have a specimen of the injustice of this period, that afterwards became common, I shall here insert the substance of their examination, first before the council, the next before the lords of justiciary.

When Isobel Alison was before the council, she was interrogated as follows: *Question.* Where did you live? at St Johnstoun? *Answer.* Yes. Q. What was your occupation? No answer. Q. by the bishop of Edinburgh, Have you conversed with Mr Donald Cargill? A. Sir, you seem to be a man whom I have no clearness to speak to. She said to another, who asked the same question, I have seen him, and I wish I had seen him sooner. Q. Do you own what he has done against the civil magistrate? A. I do own it. Q. Can you read the Bible? A. Yes. Q. Do you know the duty we owe to the civil magistrate? A. When the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of his servants to execute his laws and ordinances on them. Q. Do you own the Sanquhar declaration? A. I do own it. Q. Do you own the papers taken at the Queensferry on Henry Hall? A. You need not question that. Q. Have you conversed with rebels? A. I never conversed with rebels. Q. Did you know Mr Skene? A. I never saw him. Q. Did you converse with David Hackstoun? A. I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him; for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth. Q. Was the killing of the bishop of St Andrews a pious act? A. I never heard him say that he killed him; but if God moved any to execute his righteous judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to that. After some other questions, they asked, Did you know the two Hendersons that murdered the lord St. Andrews? A. I never knew any lord St Andrews. Q. Mr James Sharp, if you call him so? A. I never thought it murder; but, if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. Q. Will you own all you have said; for you will be put to own it in the Grass-market? We blame you in putting your life in hazard in such a quarrel. A. I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths; for he hath freed me from everlasting wrath, and redeemed my soul; and as for my body, it is at his disposal. There were some other questions, but, as they were much to the same purpose as those above, I omit them.

Marion Harvey's examination before the council was upon the same points with that of her fellow sufferer, and therefore I must refer the reader for the particulars to the Cloud of Witnesses: only, among other things, they said, Will you cast away yourself so? to which she replied, I love my life as well as any of you, but would not redeem it upon sinful terms. They said, the rock, the cod, and bobbins were as fit for her to meddle with as these things. They offered her the assistance of ministers, but she would have none of their providing.

On the 17th of January they were brought before the lords of justiciary; for it was the constant practice at this time, the one day to bring such as fell into their hands before the council, and there, by ensnaring questions, to bring them into a confession of such things as they accounted treason, and next day to prosecute them before the criminal court. These two women were accused for having at field conventicles, harbouring of Messr. Cargill, Cameron, &c. owning the Rutherglen and Sanquhar declarations, &c.

When Isobel Alison was before them, she was examined as follows: Q. Do you abide by what you said the last day? A. I am not to deny any thing of it. She owned she had conversed with David Hackstoun, and disowned their authority. Q. Do you disown us, and the king's authority in us? A. I disown you all because you carry the sword against God, and not for him, and have these nineteen or twenty years, made it your work to dethrone him, by swearing, year after year, against him and his work, and assuming that power to a human creature which is due to him alone, and have rent the members from their Head Christ.—Q. When saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? seeing you love ingenuity, will you be ingenuous, and tell us, did you see them since the death of the bishop? A. They appeared publicly within the land since. Q. Did you converse with them within these twelve months? She was silent; but upon being urged to say either *yes or no*, she answered, Yes. Then they said, Your blood be on your own head, we shall be free of it. She answered, So said Pilate; but it is a question if it was so; and ye have nothing to say against me, but for owning of Christ's truths, and his persecuted members. They made no reply, but desired her to subscribe what she had owned, and, upon her refusing, did it for her.

Marion Harvey, before the justiciary, owned the Sanquhar declaration, &c. and then protested that they had nothing to say against her as to matter of fact; but only that she owned Christ and his truth, his persecuted people and members; of which she said, Ye have hanged some, others you have beheaded and quartered quick. To this they said nothing; but called those who were to sit on the jury,

jury, who appeared with reluctance. One of them ſaid, He did not deſire to be engaged in this matter; but he was obliged: then he deſired that the confeſſions of the two priſoners might be read, becauſe he knew not what they had to ſay againſt them. When he was ordered to hold up his hand and ſwear, he fell a trembling. The jury being fixed, the confeſſions were read, and the advocate, in a ſpeech, aggravated every particular, in order to prove them guilty of treaſon. Some of the jury urged that there was no fact proved againſt them. The advocate ſaid, But treaſon is fact; and taking himſelf again, he ſaid, It is true, it is only treaſon in their judgment, but go on according to your law; and if you will not do it, I will proceed. The jury brought them in guilty on their own confeſſion; however, the paſſing of the ſentence was deferred till the 21ſt, when they were both condemned to be hanged at the Graſs market on the 26th.

Mean while, on the 20th, the council enlarged the powers of the laird of Meldrum for apprehending thoſe who were in the rebellion. The many ſearches which were made in conſequence of this were moſt oppreſſive. The ſame day the magiſtrates of Edinburgh were ordered to call all the maſters of coffee houſes before them, and oblige them to come under a bond of 5000 merks, to ſuffer no news-papers to be read in their houſes, but ſuch as are approved of by the officers of ſtate.

Next day all the ſtudents in the college of Edinburgh were ordered to retire 15 miles from that place, within 24 hours, and not to come within theſe bounds without leave from the council, under the pain of being treated as ſeditious perſons. A fine proteſtant government, to make ſuch a ſplutter about burning the pope! but it was decent to compliment his royal highneſs the duke.

On the 26th Iſobel Aliſon and Marion Harvey were executed according to their ſentence. The reader will find what paſſed between them and Mr Riddel in the Cloud of Witneſſes, together with their reſpective teſtimonies. When they were brought from the priſon to the council houſe, in order to be carried from thence to the place of execution, Marion Harvey ſaid, with a ſurprizing cheerfulneſs and heavenly tranſport, 'Behold, I hear my beloved ſaying unto me, Ariſe, my love, my fair one, and come away.' When in the council-houſe, Paterſon biſhop of Edinburgh (ſuch was the ſpirit of the man!) ſaid, Marion, you ſaid, you never would hear a curate, now you ſhall be forced to hear one; and immediately ordered one of his ſuffragans, whom he had prepared for the purpoſe, to pray. When he began, ſhe ſaid to her fellow priſoner, Come, Iſobel, let us ſing the 23d Pſalm; which they did, and thereby drowned the curate's voice, and confounded their perſecutors.

Their behaviour on the ſcaffold is not to be omitted. Iſobel ſung the 84th Pſalm, and read Mark xvi. cried over the ſcaffold, and ſaid, 'Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous; and again, I ſay, rejoice. She was not ſuffered to pray till ſhe came to the foot of the ladder. As ſhe went up, ſhe cried out, 'O be zealous, ſirs, be zealous, be zealous! O love the Lord, all ye his ſervants! O love him; for in his favour is life!' And added, 'O ye his enemies, what will ye do? Whither will you fly in that day? for now there is a dreadful day coming on all the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt. Come out from among them, all ye that are the Lord's people.' Then ſhe concluded, 'Farewel all created comforts; farewel ſweet Bible in which I delighted moſt, and which has been ſweet to me ſince I came to priſon; farewel Chriſtian acquaintances. Now into thy hands I commit my ſpirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.' Then the executioner threw her over.

Marion Harvey likewiſe ſung Pſal. lxxxiv and having read Mal. iii. ſhe ſaid, 'I am come here to day for avowing Chriſt to be the Head of his church and King in Zion. O ſeek him, ſirs, ſeek him, and ye ſhall find him: I ſought him, and I found him; I held him, and would not let him go.' Then ſhe rehearſed briefly the heads of her written teſtimony. Going up the ladder, ſhe ſaid, 'O my fair One, my lovely One, come away.' And ſitting down on the ladder, ſhe ſaid, 'I am not come here for murder; for they have no matter of fact to charge me with; but only my judgment. I am about 20 years of age; at 14 or 15 I was a hearer of the curates and indulged; and while I was a hearer of theſe I was a blaſphemer and Sabbath-breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but ſince I heard this perſecuted goſpel, I durſt not blaſpheme nor break the Sabbath, and the Bible became my delight.' Upon this the commanding officer called to the executioner to throw her over, which he did accordingly.

On the 31ſt of January, Thomas Turnbull of Standhill, and Walter Turnbull of Bewly, were forfeited in abſence by the juſtice-court, for being in arms at Bothwell. Next day the council made an act ordering all the ſtudents to take the oath of allegiance, and prohibiting the maſters to receive any, except on theſe terms. But the duke of York having moved in council, a few days thereafter, that conſidering the youth of many of the ſtudents, the tendering of the oath might be delayed till they came to the fourth claſs, this was complied with. His royal higneſs, to render himſelf the more popular, made a progreſs, this month, to Linlithgow and Stirling.

On the 16th the proceſs of forfeiture againſt Alexander Hamilton of Kinkell was dropt, for his eſtate was ſo reduced that it was not worth ſeeking after.

On the ſecond of March John Spreul apothecary in Glaſgow was indicted before the juſticiary for treaſon and rebellion; but the matter was put off till June. The ſame day John Murray in Borrowſtounneſs, and Chriſtopher Miller weaver in Gargunnock, were indicted in common form. Their confeſſions, which they made at their examination, were much the ſame with thoſe of others. Both were brought in guilty, and ordered to be hanged in the Graſs-market on the 11th inſtant. On the 8th of March, William Gowgar in Borrowſtounneſs, and Robert Sangſter a Stirling-ſhire man, received the ſame ſentence upon the like confeſſion. John Murray was, by the council, recommended to the king's clemency, as being rather miſled than malicious. The other three were executed time and place foreſaid. Their joint teſtimony, which is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, is directed, by way of addreſs, to the ſhire of Stirling. The compilers of that collection have omitted their particular teſtimonies, becauſe they ſuppoſed them vitiated by John Gib, or ſome who were tainted with his errors, of which we ſhall give account. Nay, they tell us, that Chriſtopher Miller and Robert Sangſter were ſuſpected to be in ſome danger from theſe errors. It is remarkable, that William Gowgar having had a little paper in his Bible, which he deſigned to throw over the ſcaffold; but, when taken to the council-houſe with his fellow-ſufferers, it ſome way or other fell into the hands of the perſecutors, who, having read it, commanded the executioner to tie him harder than ordinary, ſo that he could ſcarce go up the ladder; and afterwards they would not permit him to pray. When he began to ſpeak on the ladder, and ſay, I am come here for owning Chriſt to be Head and King in Zion, the drums were immediately beat. Then they pretended that they would offer him his life on condition he would own the king; but he replied, I will own none but Chriſt to be king in Zion. Then they ſaid, Will you not retract any thing, Sir? he anſwered, No, no; I own all, I adhere to all. Upon which they immediately called to the executioner to throw him over, which he preſently did, not ſuffering him to recommend his ſpirit to God.

On the 19th of March Thomas Kennoway, an officer in the guards, came with a party to the pariſh of Livingſtone in Weſt-Lothian, with pretended orders to apprehend all who had been at Bothwel. After he had got all the informations he could, he ſent two parties, with liſts of thoſe whom they were to apprehend, late on Saturday night. He ſpent the Lord's day in drinking and carouſing, and threatened to oblige the priſoners he had taken to defray the charges. On Monday he held a court, and forced the country people to come and ſwear as to their receiving or converſing with thoſe whom they called rebels; which ſhews the hardſhips the country people were made to ſuffer.

The ſouthern ſhires were at this time dreadfully oppreſſed with theſe military courts. Soldiers were ſent through pariſhes to act as they pleaſed, and their officers appointed courts in ſuch places as they had a-mind. Thus cornet Graham held a court in Dalry, about the beginning

of this year, to which all men and women above 16 years of age were ſummoned, to declare upon oath, and ſometimes under very odd and ſtrange imprecations, whether they had been ever at field meetings, or countenanced any who frequented them. &c. They obliged them likewiſe to ſwear, with the ſame dreadful imprecations, what they knew of their neighbours or others in the pariſh. Courts of the ſame nature were held by that wretch Grierſon of Lagg, at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. It is eaſy for the reader to make proper obſervations on theſe proceedings ſo inconſiſtent with legal government.

Many heritors at this time ſuffered much. For, on the the 18th and 21ſt of March, great numbers were before the juſticiary, particularly John Williamſon ſon to Joſeph Williamſon in Holl. J. Spreul younger writer in Glaſgow, James Walker younger of Hacketburn, William Tweeddale late bailie of Lanerk, and Hugh Weir merchant there, were, in order to have the benefit of the indemnity, obliged to reſign all lands and heritages to which they had a right before the ſaid act of grace, and then were diſmiſſed; but the far greater number, who were charged as guilty of the rebellion at Bothwell, were proſecuted in abſence, forfeited in common form, and ordered to be executed whenever apprehended. Their names are theſe: Dav. White, Gideon Weir, David Gibſon, John Wilſon, Mr Thomas Pilans, James Lawrie, Archibald Simpſon, Tho. Lauchlan, William Fergnſon, John Semple, Tho. Inglis, Alex. Anderſon, John Pumphray, Rob Goodwine, Ja. Cuningham, Iſaac Blackwell ſon to Tho. Blackwell, all in Glaſgow; John Jack in Narupiair, William Padzean in Lanerk, Robert Lockhart of Birkhill, James Weir of Johnſhilp, John Steil in Over-water-head, John Haddow and James White in Douglas, William Falconer, and A. Tacket in Hamilton, Gavin Wotherſpoon of Heathrie know, John Eaſtoun of Quarryneen, William Riddel in Rutherglen, Robert Fleming in Auchinſin, John Hamiltoun of Rogertoun, Thomas Craig in Jacktoun, John Millar in Longcalderwood, John Wilſon of Highſleet, Robert Steven of Newland, John Steil of Windhill, John Cochran of Craigie, James Dikes of Halburn, John Carduff in Jacktoun, Thomas Paton at Cambuſnethan, John Whytlaw and John Paterſon at Bothwellſhiel, John White of Newk, Thomas Lin of Blairachin, John Waddel of Clidſdale, John Clyde in Kilbride, all in the ſhire of Lanerk. The moſt that was proved againſt theſe perſons was converſe with ſome who had been concerned in the riſing, which was not poſſible for them to avoid.

In this month of March James Gray of Chryſtoun was brought before the juſticiary for alledged acceſſion to Bothwell, and acquitted. This gentleman had ſuſtained prodigious loſſes, and endured many hardſhips during ſome preceeding years. And though he was now acquited, yet his troubles were not at an end; for his known averſion to prelacy laid him open to the inſatiable reſentments of the orthodox clergy, at whoſe inſtigation his houſe was pillaged by the ſoldiers. Their rudeneſs was ſuch, that his family was forced to quit the houſe, except his wife who ſtayed in one of the rooms with a young girl that attended her. Mean while captain Strachan's men continued three months about the houſe, conſuming his ſubſtance; and in the beginning of next year he was ſeized, as we ſhall relate in its proper place.

On the 3d of April a paper was affixed to the church of Kettle diſowning the king's authority; but as it contained ſeveral things diſagreeable to the ſentiments of the followers of Mr Cargill; I ſhall ſay no more of it.

On the 5th there was a proceſs againſt ſuch of the heritors of Ayr ſhire who were alledged to have been concerned at Bothwell, and theſe following were forfeited in life and fortune, viz. Gilbert Macllwraith of Dunmorchie, Thomas MacJarrow of Bar, John MacJarrow of Penjarrow, Henry MacJarrow of Authalbanie, George MacLur of Benham, Hugh Macllwraith of Auchinſlour, John Alexander of Drummochrian, —— MacMichan of Killentian, Allan Bowy of Drumbog. The ſame day the court dropt the proceſs againſt Robert Fullerton of Bennels, Robert Nilbet of Greenholm, — Kennedy younger of Glenour, and James Aird younger of Miltoun, who appeared at the bar, and offered to ſtand trial; for, it is to be obſerved, that, in both theſe proceſſes, ſentence was pronounced only againſt abſents, for few of the heritors that appeared to ſtand trial were found guilty; and it was eaſy to find thoſe guilty who were not preſent to anſwer for themſelves, which was generally the caſe.

Mr Aird, whoſe ſufferings before this time were not ſmall, notwithſtanding his being ſet at liberty, was not exempted from farther hardſhips, for he was obliged to agree with the laird of Broich, who got a gift of his moveable effects, and to give him 1000 merks. His charges before the juſticiary amounted to 300 merks. A few weeks after this parties were ſent in queſt of him, ſo that he was obliged to ly for the ſpace of 42 nights in the open fields, and for ſeveral years to keep out of the way. Many times his houſe was rifled by the ſoldiers. However, he ſurvived his troubles, and enjoyed his religious liberty and property for many years after the revolution.

On the 6th the council ſuffered Mr Riddel to go and ſee his dying mother, upon condition of returning to his confinement by the 25th; but, being afterwards charged with breaking his confinement, keeping conventicles, and baptizing children, he was ordered to the Baſs, where he continued for three years.

The ſame day the Rev. Mr J. Blackadder was apprehended by major Johnſton, and was brought in priſoner before a committee of the council, conſiſting of the chancellor, the general, the advocate, and biſhop Paterſon, where he owned he was a Preſbyterian miniſter, and had been ordained to Traquair 1653. He was examined upon ſeveral things; ſome of which were theſe: *Chan.* Did you excommunicate the king, or was you at Torwood? *A.* I was not at Torwood theſe four years. *Ch.* But do you approve of what was done there? *A.* I am not free to declare my inward ſentiments and opinions of things and perſons, and therefore I humbly beg to be excuſed; you may form a libel againſt me, and I ſhall endeavour to anſwer it as I can. When he continued to decline giving an anſwer, the chancellor ſaid, But do you approve of ſhedding the king's blood, and damning him in ſoul and body? *A.* I do not, and no good man will. *Ch.* You have done yourſelf a favour in ſaying ſo; but we hear you keep conventicles ſince the indemnity. *A.* My lord, I am a miniſter of the goſpel, though unworthy, and under the ſtricteſt obligations to exerciſe my miniſtry, as I ſhall be anſwerable at the great day. I did, and do ſtill count it my duty to exerciſe my miniſtry, as I am called thereunto *Ch.* But you have preached in the fields, that is to ſay, on muirs and hill ſides. I ſhall not aſk you if you have preached in houſes, though there is no liberty even for that. *A.* I place no caſe of conſcience, nor make any difference between preaching in houſes and the fields, but as it may beſt ſerve the conveniency of the hearers; nor know I any reſtriction as to either in the word. My commiſſion reaches to houſes and fields, within and without doors. *Ch.* No doubt you know, and have ſeen the laws diſcharging ſuch preaching. *A.* My lord, I have, and am ſorry that ever any laws were made againſt preaching the goſpel. *Ch.* Not againſt the goſpel, but ſedition and rebellion. *A.* I preach no ſedition and rebellion. The advocate came to him, and ſaid, he was ſorry he was on the reſerve as to the excommunication. He anſwered, he was noways ſtraitened as to that, but he thought he was only obliged to ſpeak of facts relating to himſelf. The council ſat in the afternoon, and ordered him to be ſent to the Baſs, where he continued till the day of his death, which was about five years thereafter, when he entered into the joy of his Lord. I ſhall only obſerve concerning this eminent perſon, that the laſt time he preached in public, he lectured upon Micah iv. from ver. 9. where, among many other things, he ſaid, 'That the nearer our deliverance, our pains and ſhowers would come thicker and ſorer upon us; and that we had been in the furnace, but, ere we were delivered we ſhould go down to Babylon; that either Popery would overſpread this land, or would be at the breaking in upon us, like an inundation of waters.'

On the 8th of April a new and ſevere proclamation was iſſued againſt conventicles, though the faithful Mr Cargill was the only perſon who now ventured to preach in the fields; and in a very little that light was put out, as we ſhall relate.

About

About this time the blaſphemies of John Gib, a ſailor at Borrowſtounneſs, made a great noiſe; for what can be expected from bearing down the goſpel but the breaking in of a flood of errors? And I cannot but agree with my author, that it is ſurpriſing more were not led aſide into groſs deluſions in ſuch a period as this; for it is plain that it was but a remnant that ſtood firm, when the moſt part, through weakneſs, made too great compliances. However, Gib had but few that were drawn aſide by him, viz. David Jamie, Walter Ker, and John Young, together with 26 women. Theſe diſowned communion with all who were not of their way, belched out curſes and execrations upon them, and kept themſelves in deſert places from all company. They were called the *ſweet ſingers*, from their being much engaged in ſinging the mournful Pſalms, as Pſalm lxxiv, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxiii, cxxxii. In the beginning of this month they unanimouſly left their houſes, and retired to deſert places, to be ſafe from the land's utter ruin and deſolation. It would be to little purpoſe to give an account of all their extravagancies. They renounced the pſalms in metre, the tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtaments, becauſe of its dedication to king James. They rejected all authority throughout the world, from the tyrant Charles Stuart (I uſe their own words) to the ſmalleſt tyrant. They condemned the names of the months and of the days of the week. But, about the latter end of April, the Gibbites were all taken by a troop of dragoons, at the Wolhill crags, between Lothian and Tweeddale, and brought to Edinburgh. The four men were put into the Canongate priſon, and the women in the correction houſe; and, it is ſaid, ſome of them were ſcourged. It appears, from the paper they gave in to the council on the firſt of May this year, that they burnt the Pſalms in metre, &c. Before they were impriſoned Mr Cargill was at no ſmall pains to reclaim them. In ſhort, Mr Cargill's followers threw them out of their ſociety, and none of the other preſbyterians ever owned them. However, the duke of York and his party were ſecretly pleaſed with theſe extravagancies. They were ſoon releaſed. Some time after the four men, with Iſobel Bonn and another woman, went to a place called the *Fryſk Moſs*, where they burnt the Bible, every one of them uſing expreſſions, at the committing of that horrid act, which I ſhall not inſert. Theſe mad deluſions were prevented from ſpreading, and ſeveral of themſelves were afterwards reclaimed. James Gray of Chryſtoun, James Moſs and James Baird, were very uſeful in putting a ſtop to theſe deluſions.

On the 4th of May all chapmen were forbid to travel without a paſs from the ſheriff; and all ſchool-maſters in the pariſhes of indulged miniſters were ordered to be removed, unleſs they had a licence from the biſhop, leſt the minds of the youth ſhould be corrupted. The ſame day one Mr Alexander Symers, having ſeen the errors of prelacy and forſaken it, was ordered to be proſecuted; but there is no more concerning him.

About this time James Pettigrew, Alexander Smith, and Robert Ruſſel, all in the pariſh of Cambuſnethan, were ſeized and carried into Edinburgh. James Pettigrew continued three months a priſoner, and paid 300 merks. He ſuffered conſiderable loſſes during the following years. Alexander Smith eſcaped in womens clothes, but was afterwards taken and reſcued. He made his eſcape a third time from Dunnoter, but was retaken 1687, and continued priſoner till the revolution. Though theſe two were alledged to be concerned in Bothwell, yet nothing could be laid to the charge of the third, who was met on the road by a party of ſoldiers, and, refuſing to anſwer their queſtions, or pray for the king at their deſire, was firſt threatened with immediate death; but that practice not being as yet common, they ſent him in priſoner to Edinburgh, where he lay near two years in irons.

On the 2d of June Mr J. Wardlaw was denounced, and Lauderdale was continued in the command of the caſtle of Edinburgh. On the 8th a proclamation was iſſued for the parliament to ſit on the 28th of next month. It was now nine years ſince there was any parliaments in Scotland; and, though the king had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with Scots parliaments, yet, duke Hamilton and others appearing in the laſt for the redreſs of grievances, it was ſoon diſſolved. But his majeſty's beloved brother was in Scotland, and, being appointed commiſſioner, all things were expected to go on ſmoothly.

The day after this proclamation new orders were given for garriſons in ſeveral houſes in the weſt country, particularly in the houſes of Sorn, the caſtle of Strathaven, and the houſe of Dean. Duke Hamilton and the earls of Loudon and Kilmarnock were ordered to get theſe houſes ready.

On the ſaid 10th of June R. Ferguſon of Letterpin was indicted for Bothwell; but it ſeems the matter was dropt.

The ſame day Mr Spreul was brought before the juſticiary, and was indicted for treaſon and rebellion, in correſponding and being preſent with the rebels at Bothwell, eſpecially with Mr John Welſh and Mr Samuel Arnot, who were called *The bloody and ſacrilegious murderers of the late archbiſhop of St Andrews*, though theſe two miniſters had no hand in that act. Sir George Lockhart, Mr Walter Pringle, Mr James Dacs, Mr Alexander Swinton, and Mr David Thoirs, were advocates for the priſoner.

At the beginning of the trial the advocate declared that he uſed the priſoner's confeſſion, when put to torture before the council, only as a mean of probation to adminiculate the other probation to be led, but doth not inſiſt upon that confeſſion at this time, either as a crime of itſelf, or a ſufficient mean of probation, without being adminiculate, as ſaid is. Mr Pringle for the priſoner alledged, that he could not come under a new trial, having been examined by the council for the ſame crime, and been tortured two ſeveral times, and having ſtill denied it; and conſequently, by the law of this and all other nations, he ought not to be arraigned and condemned for that crime upon any new evidence. This occaſioned a long debate, which I ſhall not trouble the reader with. He may ſee what was ſaid *pro* and *con* in my author, Vol. II. p. 166, &c.

After this debate was over, the lords, by their interlocutor, found the indictment relevant, or that the things ſpecified in it were treaſonable, and referred the proof to the jury; and rejected the defence founded on the torture, becauſe the council's commiſſion did not warrant the priſoner to be queſtioned on the crimes ſpecified in the indictment, and continued the action to the 13th, when Mr Pringle, for the priſoner, alledged, that, notwithſtanding the interlocutor, the defence ought to be ſuſtained, and took inſtruments upon producing the commiſſion; and Mr Thoirs added, that the committee were ſole judges of the pertinency of the interrogatories, and that the priſoner, having in torture denied the crimes laid to his charge, ought to be acquitted; and the jury acquitted Mr Spreul, for they found no crime proved againſt him. Nevertheleſs the council remanded him to priſon, alledging they had ſeveral other things againſt him, fined him in 500 l. ſterling for being at field meetings, and ſent him to the Baſs, where he continued for ſix years. William Lin writer in Edinburgh was fined in the like ſum, and ſent to the Baſs along with him. One reaſon of this ſeverity was, becauſe, when the duke of York aſked at Mr Spreul in March laſt, Sir, will you kill the king? he directed himſelf to the chancellor, and ſaid, my lord, I bleſs God I am no papiſt; I lothe and abhor all thoſe Jeſuitical and murdering principles; neither my parents, nor the miniſters I heard, ever taught me ſuch principles.

On the 15th Francis Borthwick, ſecond ſon to James Borthwick of Hartlaw, was declared to be an outlaw and fugitive, becauſe he had apoſtatized from Chriſtianity, embraced Judaiſm, and had been circumciſed, and blaſphemed the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. This my author thinks was the only inſtance of the kind ſince the reformation.

Next day Mr Alexander Haſtie and John Row were denounced for keeping conventicles. The ſame day a proclamation was iſſued for a faſt to be obſerved in the ſouth parts on the 29th, and in the more remote parts on the 6th of July. The cauſes of this faſt were the blaſphemous and ſanguinary opinions of many who had left the communion of the eſtabliſhed church, the threatened famine, and the approaching ſeſſion of parliament. I ſhall only here obſerve, that they had not acted like themſelves, if ſome virulent reproaches had not been thrown upon the ſuffering

ſuffering people. The blood of many of God's people was upon them, and, had not their eyes been ſhut, that ſhould have been mentioned as one of the chief grounds of humiliation; but they had no knowlege of this.

On the 21ſt the earl of Queenſberry, ſheriff principal of Dumfries, or his deputes, were ordered to call ſeveral before them for conventicles, which brought not a few to trouble; and new orders were iſſued againſt thoſe who had been at Bothwell; the ſheriffs and other magiſtrates were appointed to ſeize and bring them to juſtice, and ſecure their rents and lands for his majeſty's uſe, and the country from field conventicles.

Adam Philip, Laurence Hay a weaver, and Andrew Pittilloch land labourer in the pariſh of Largo in Fife, having joined in a ſociety for prayer and conference, ſigned a paper laſt month, intitled, *A teſtimony againſt the evils of the times.* That paper, ſome way or other, having come into the hands of the managers, they were apprehended, and on the 11th of July, brought before the juſticiary. They owned the ſaid paper, in which they diſclaimed the king's authority, and were condemned to be hanged at the Graſs market on the 13th, which was done accordingly. My author ſays that this paper ſeemed, by the quotations from it in their proceſs, to be wild, and to ſmell of Gib's deluſions. As to that I can ſay nothing; only the teſtimonies of the two laſt, mentioned in the Cloud of Witneſſes, breathe a ſpirit of true piety; and Laurence Hay, in particular, leaves his teſtimony to the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, to the verſion of the Pſalms in metre, and to the work of reformation, covenants national and ſolemn league, &c. Andrew Pittilloch declared againſt the four men in the Canongate tolbooth, and all that joined with them, for wronging the ſcripture. Adam Philip is omitted in the Cloud of Witneſſes.

On the 12th William Thomſon ſervant in Froſk, who had been ſeized on the laſt Sabbath of June, as he was coming from hearing Mr Cargill, was examined before the committee for public affairs. He owned his being at Bothwell, and that he had not taken the bond, &c. He refuſed to anſwer whether the riſing at Bothwell was rebellion, and concerning the king's authority and the archbiſhop's death. Being aſked if it was lawful to kill the officers of the army, he aſked at the committee if it was lawful for them to kill the people of God, adding, that, if they pleaſed, they might lay the one to the other. Being farther aſked, if, to ſave his life, he would ſay, God ſave the king? he anſwered, That he would not buy his life at ſo dear a rate as to commit any ſin.

At this time the pious, faithful, and zealous Mr Daniel commonly called Donald Cargill was in his enemies hand. The laſt time he preached was in Dunſyre common, between Clydeſdale and Lothian, when he expounded Jer. i. and preached from Iſa. xxvi. 20, 21. Some time that night (for he durſt not leave the deſert place where he preached till it was dark) he went, by the perſuaſion of Mr Smith and Mr Boig, with the lady of St John's Kirk, as far as Covingtoun-mill, to the houſe of one Andrew Fiſher a mile from that lady's houſe. James Irvine of Bonſhaw, having obtained a general commiſſion, marched with a party of dragoons from Kilbride, and next morning, by ſun riſing, came to St John's Kirk, and, having narrowly ſearched that houſe and the houſe of one James Thomſon, came next to Covingtoun mill, and there apprehended him, together with Mr Smith and Mr Boig. Bonſhaw cried out, Oh bleſſed Bonſhaw, and bleſſed day that ever I was born, that have found ſuch a prize this morning! for a reward of 5000 merks was promiſed to the apprehender of Mr Cargill.

They marched hard to Lanerk, and put the priſoners in jail till the ſoldiers had ſome refreſhment. When they got horſes they brought them out in haſte and ſet them on their bare backs. Bonſhaw with his own hands tied Mr Cargill's feet below the horſes belly very hard. The good man looked down to him, and ſaid, 'Why do you ty me ſo hard? your wickedneſs is great, you will not long eſcape the juſt judgment of God, and, if I be not miſtaken, it will ſeize upon you in this place.' And this was verified; for, ſoon after he got the price of his blood, he was killed in a duel near Lanerk. His laſt words were, God damn my ſoul eternally, for I am gone.

Fearing a reſcue, they made all the diſpatch they could to Glaſgow. When near the city they turned him on the horſe and led him in backward, which drew tears from many to ſee their old miniſter in ſuch a poſture, for he had been ſome years miniſter of the Barony church. When they came to the tolbooth they halted till the magiſtrates came to receive them. Then that wretch John Niſbet, the archbiſhop's factor, ſaid, by way of ridicule, Mr Cargill, (three times over) will you not give us one word more? alluding to an expreſſion Mr Cargill ſometimes uſed in his ſerious pathetic way of preaching. The good man, looking on him with regret and concern, ſaid, Wicked poor man, why do you mock? ere you die you ſhall deſire one word, and ſhall not have it; and ſoon after he was ſtruck dumb, his tongue ſwelling in his mouth. Robert Goodwin and John Hodge, two Glaſgow men who were witneſſes of this, went to viſit him. Goodwin deſired him to write what kept him from ſpeaking. He wrote, That it was a juſt judgment from the Lord, and the ſayings of the miniſter verified upon him for his mocking of him; and, if he had the whole world, he would give it for the uſe of his tongue again. But he died in great torment and ſeeming terror.

From Glaſgow Mr Cargill and his fellow priſoners were carried to Edinburgh, and on the 15th of July he was examined before the council. The chancellor Rothes (being one of the ſeven whom he had excommunicated at Torwood) raged againſt him, and threatened him with extraordinary torture and violent death. Mr Cargill ſaid, my lord Rothes, forbear to threaten me, for, die what death I will, your eyes ſhall not ſee it; and it is well known his lordſhip died that morning that Mr Cargill and his fellow-martyrs ſuffered in the afternoon. When he was aſked if he owned the king's authority, and the king as his lawful prince, he anſwered, As the magiſtrate's authority is now eſtabliſhed by the act of parliament anent ſupremacy, and the explanatory act, that he denied the ſame, but refuſed to give any anſwer to the other branch of the queſtion. He likewiſe declined to anſwer as to the excommunication, that being an eccleſiaſtical matter, and the council being a civil judicatory. He owned the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms, in caſe of neceſſity, denying that thoſe who roſe at Bothwell, &c. were rebels, or that he was concerned in drawing up the Sanquhar declaration. He declined giving his judgment as to the principles contained in it, unleſs he had more time to peruſe the contents. He farther declared, that he could not give his ſenſe of the killing of the archbiſhop, but that the ſcripture ſays, The Lord giving a call to a private man to kill, he might do it lawfully, and gave the inſtances of Jael and Phinehas. Theſe were the moſt material things upon which he was examined.

On the ſaid 15th Mr James Boig, ſon to James Boig merchant in Edinburgh, and Mr Walter Smith, ſon to Walter Smith in the pariſh of St Ninians, ſtudents of divinity, were examined before the council. The former owned the principles of the ſufferers; that the riſing at Bothwell was lawful, being in defence of the truth. As to the killing of the archbiſhop, he declared he was not obliged to anſwer for the actions of others. He owned the Sanquhar declaration; but refuſed to ſign his confeſſion, becauſe he ſaid that would be an owning of the king's authority, which he diſowned. The letter declared he did not acknowlege the preſent authority the king is now inveſted with, and that the grounds of the excommunication were juſt. On the 19th Mr Smith was again before the council, and, the Sanquhar declaration being read, declared that he owned it with this explication, that he did not look on thoſe who compoſed it as the formal repreſentatives of the preſbyterian church, and that he did not like the word denuded in that expreſſion, 'the king ſhould have been denuded many years ago;' but that what the king had done juſtified the people in revolting from him. As to declaring war, he did not know if they were called, or in a capacity to declare war: and therefore he was of opinion that thereby they only intended to juſtify the killing of any of the king's forces in their own defence, when aſſaulted

aſſaulted, otherwiſe it might have been eſteemed murder. As to the king's being called an uſurper and a tyrant, he ſaid, That he knew the king was an uſurper, and wiſhed he was not a tyrant.

One William Cuthil a ſailor in Borrowſtounneſs, having been taken by ſome of the earl of Mar's men was likewiſe examined, when he denied the king's authority, and declared that he deſerved to die; and that he thought the perſons who killed the archbiſhop had the glory of God before their eyes.

Mr Cargill was again before the council on the 19th of July, but refuſed to anſwer their queſtions, except as to the excommunication, when he expreſſed himſelf as above. It ſeems there was a motion made to ſpare his life, and ſend him to the Bass as a priſoner for life. When the vote was put, the motion was rejected, occaſioned by the caſting vote of the earl of Argyll, which afterwards lay heavy upon his lordſhip.

On the 26th Mr Cargill, Mr Smith, Mr Boig, W. Thomſon, and William Cuthil, were brought before the juſticiary, and being indicted in common form, their confeſſions were produced as evidences againſt them, and they were all brought in guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh next day, their heads to be ſevered from their bodies, and thoſe of Meſſ. Cargill, Boig and Smith, to be placed on the Nether-bow, and the heads of the other two on the Weſt-port. When Mr Cargill's confeſſion was read before the juſticiary, he declared before them, that the word act explanatory in his confeſſion is thus to be underſtood, 'That the act explaining the king's ſupremacy gives him a right to the authority of Jeſus Chriſt, and that ſupremacy, given him by act of parliament, is againſt right; and farther declared, that thoſe who roſe in arms at Bothwell were not rebels, but raiſed by oppreſſion.' On the 27th Mr Cargill and the other four were all executed according to their ſentence.

Mr Cargill's teſtimony is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, and in my author's appendix, of which the following is an abſtract: 'This is the moſt joyful day that ever I ſaw. —My joy is now begun, which I ſee ſhall never be interrupted. I ſee both my intereſt and his truth, the ſureneſs of the one and the preciouſneſs of the other. It is near thirty years ſince he made it ſure, and ſince that time (though there has fallen out much ſin,) yet I was never out of an aſſurance of mine intereſt, nor long out of ſight of his preſence.—It is long ſince I could have ventured on eternity through God's mercy and Chriſt's merit; but death remained ſomewhat terrible; but that is taken away, and now death is no more to me but to caſt myſelf into my huſband's arms, and to ly down with him.—I have been moſt in the main things, not that I thought the things concerning our times little, but that I thought none could do any thing to purpoſe in God's great and public matters, till they were right in their conditions. And O that all had taken this method, for then there had been fewer apoſtaſies!—My ſoul trembles to think how little of regeneration there is among the miniſters and profeſſors of Scotland! O the miniſters of Scotland, how have they betrayed Chriſt's intereſt and beguiled ſouls! —— They have ſold things of Chriſt, and liberties of his church, for a ſhort and curſed quiet to themſelves, which is now near an end.—As to our profeſſors, my counſel to them is, that they would ſee well to their own regeneration; for the moſt part of them has that yet to do.—As to the cauſe of my ſuffering, the main is not acknowleging the preſent authority, as it is eſtabliſhed in the ſupremacy and explanatory act. This is the magiſtracy that I have rejected, that was inveſted with Chriſt's power. And ſeeing that power taken from Chriſt, which is his glory, is made the eſſential of the crown, I thought this was as if I had ſeen one wearing my huſband's garments after he had killed him.'—

After he got to the ſcaffold, he ſtood with his back to the ladder, and deſired the attention of the numerous ſpectators; and after ſinging Pſal. cxviii. from ver. 16. he began to ſpeak to three ſorts of perſons; but, being interrupted by the drums, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, Ye ſee we have not liberty to ſpeak, or to ſpeak what we would, but God knoweth our hearts. As he proceeded he was again interrupted as before. Then after a little ſilence, he began to exhort the people, and to ſhew his own comfort in laying down his life, and in the aſſurance of a bleſſed eternity. Thus he ſpoke, 'Now I am as ſure of my intereſt in Chriſt, and peace with God, as all within this Bible and the ſpirit of God can make me, —and I am fully perſuaded that this is his way for which I ſuffer, and that he will return glorioufly to Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I intreat you be not diſcouraged at the way of Chriſt, and the cauſe for which I am to lay down my life and ſtep into eternity, where my ſoul ſhall be as full of him as it can deſire to be. And now this is the ſweeteſt and moſt glorious day that ever my eyes did ſee.—Enemies are now enraged againſt the way and people of God, but ere long they ſhall be enraged one againſt another to their own confuſion.' At this the drums beat a third time. When he ſet his foot on the ladder, he ſaid, 'The Lord knows I go up this ladder with leſs fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach.' And when he was up he ſat down and ſaid, 'Now I am near to the getting of my crown, which ſhall be ſure; for I bleſs the Lord, and deſire all of you to bleſs him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils, men and ſin, they ſhall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, and pray the Lord may forgive all the wrongs that any of the elect have done againſt him. I pray that the ſufferers may be kept from ſin, and helped to know their duty.' Then having prayed a little within himſelf, he lifted up the napkin and ſaid, Farewel all relations and friends in Chriſt; farewel acquaintances and all earthly enjoyments; farewel reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproaches and ſufferings. Welcome joy unſpeakable and full of glory. Welcome Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt. Into thy hands I commit my ſpirit.' Then he prayed a little and the executioner turned him over praying. Thus the Rev. and faithful Mr Donald Cargill finiſhed his courſe, and the miniſtry he received of the Lord.

Mr Walter Smith ſuffered with him. His teſtimony is alſo in the Cloud of Witneſſes, to which I muſt refer the reader. He adhered to the very ſame cauſe with Mr Cargill, and declared againſt the ſame uſurpation of Chriſt's crown and dignity, and died with aſſurance of his intereſt in Chriſt, declaring his abhorrence of Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, and all the other ſteps of defection. He went up the ladder with all the ſigns of chearfulneſs; and, when the executioner was to unty his cravat, he would not ſuffer him, but untyed it himſelf, and, calling for his brother, threw it down, ſaying, This is the laſt token you ſhall get from me. After the napkin was drawn over his face he uncovered it again, and ſaid, 'I have one word more to ſay, and that is to all who have any love to God and his righteous cauſe, that they would ſet time apart, and ſing a ſong of praiſe to the Lord for what he has done to my ſoul; and my ſoul ſays, To him be praiſe.' Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying. Mr Smith ſtudied under the famous Leuſden, who had a ſingular value for him. He drew up a paper containing twenty two ſteps of defection; and, if theſe be conſidered, it will appear, that few or none of the ſufferers exceeded him in their teſtimonies againſt the encroachments, made at that day, upon the royal prerogatives of Chriſt as the head of his church.

Mr Boig was next diſpatched, and adhered to the ſame teſtimony, and died in the full aſſurance of faith. He concludes his letter to his brother in theſe words. 'Let this ſuffice, that I am once fairly on the way and within the view of Immanuel's land, and in hopes to be received an inhabitant there within the ſpace of 26 hours at moſt. Farewel all earthly comforts; farewel all worldly vanities; farewel all carnal deſires. Welcome croſs, welcome gallows, welcome Chriſt, welcome heaven and everlaſting happineſs, &c. I have no more ſpare time. Grace, mercy and peace be with you. Amen.

I do not find any thing recorded of the other two, viz. William Thomſon and William Cuthil, when at the place of execution; but it appears from their teſtimonies, which are in the Cloud of Witneſſes, that they continued to the laſt, zealous againſt the tyranny and defections of the

times They had not the education of their three fellow ſufferers, and therefore, though they did not expreſs themſelves ſo accurately, that is to be excuſed.

Executions are uſually attended with a vaſt croud of ſpectators. Among others, who beheld this execution was Mr James Renwick, who was the laſt that fell a ſacrifice, in this period, to prelacy, and the bloody houſe of Stuart. Mr Renwick was an early convert; for, having finiſhed his academical ſtudies, he was ſo tender in conſcience, that he refuſed to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy; and therefore, with two others he took his degrees privately at Edinburgh, where he remained, proſecuting his ſtudies, attending on the then private and perſecuted meetings, and continuing in unity with the miniſters there, until he diſcovered their defections from many degrees of the covenanted reformation, in accepting of indulgences, eſpecially the banded indulgence after Bothwell. This brought him into great perplexity, neither knowing how to countenance them or to withdraw from them. But Mr Cargill's execution made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he was determined to embark with theſe faithful martyrs, to tread in their ſteps, and in his ſtation to defend their cauſe. Among other things he was grounded in this reſolution, 'When he obſerved, ſays the writer of his life, how the council and courts of inquiſition, by putting the queſtion of owning the authority of Charles the II. ſo generally and peremptorily to all priſoners, were purſuing a ſtrange and ſingular piece of policy, to involve all whom they were perſecuting in the guilt of their perſecution, by owning that authority which promoted it: therefore he and others examined the point, and ſoon found that Charles had forfeited all authority, by his perfidious breach of truſt, and overturning all the fundamental conſtitution of the government, both in church and ſtate, &c. And as the perſecuted people kept ſocieties for prayer and conference, Mr Renwick joined one of theſe for a time, but found it neceſſary to withdraw, becauſe they complied with the ceſs, and fought for a ſociety that was free of all theſe compliances. We ſhall hear more of him afterwards, I go on now to

CHAP. VI.

Of the Duke of York's parliament; the teſt: the trial, condemnation and eſcape of the earl of Argyll: the execution at the Gallow lee, and other things to the end of the year.

THE execution of Mr Cargill and his fellow ſufferers, the day before the ſitting of the parliament gave but a melancholy proſpect. Neither could any good be expected, when the duke of York, a profeſſed papiſt was commiſſioner.

The parliament ſat down on the 28th of July, when, after reading of the king's letter, the commiſſioner delivered a ſpeech, from which it appears that the chief deſigns of this parliament were to bear down ſeparation, *i. e.* thoſe who could not conform to the times, and ſecure the ſucceſſion, that is popery and tyranny. The firſt was tacitly recommended in the king's letter, and the other in the commiſſioner's ſpeech, though that, doubtleſs, might have come with a better grace from another.

The firſt act was for ſecuring the proteſtant religion. This came of courſe; for moſt parliaments ſince the reformation began with what they thought had a reference to the ſecurity of religion. Biſhop Burnet ſays, The duke thought it would give a good grace to all that ſhould be done afterwards, to begin with ſuch a general and cold confirmation of all former laws.

By the ſecond act, being act aſſerting the right of ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of Scotland, 'The eſtates of parliament, conſidering that the kings of this realm derive their royal power from God Almighty alone, do ſucceed lineally thereto, according to the known degrees of proximity of blood, which cannot be interrupted, ſuſpended, or diverted by any act or ſtatute whatſoever; [this act then ſeems quite unneceſſary] and that none can attempt to alter or divert it, without involving the ſubjects of this kingdom in perjury, and rebellion, and without expoſing them to all the fatal and dreadful conſequences of a civil war, do therefore, &c. I ſhall make no remarks here further, but obſerve, that, in about ſeven years thereafter, the whole iſland came to have no good will to this lineal ſucceſſion, and went into the meaſures attempted by ſome brave patriots in England, and put in practice the principles of liberty for which the ſufferers in Scotland took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, and laid down their very lives.

Having thus ſettled their lineal ſucceſſor, by their 3d act they offered a new ſupply to the king, becauſe of the danger the kingdom was in by ſeditious and rebellious field-conventicles, and to ſupport the army in beating them down. I ſhall not trouble the reader with their act for ſecuring the peace of the country; for, as it was prelacy that ever diſturbed the quiet of the kingdom, ſo it was impracticable to reſtore peace while that remained. Prelacy in Scotland, and the peace of the nation, have been always found inconſiſtent. By this act the fines for field conventicles were all doubled, and burgeſſes, beſides their former fines, were to loſe their burgeſſhip or freedom, and be baniſhed the town. But the act which made moſt noiſe was that which impoſed the oath called the *teſt*, of which I ſhall ſpeak a little more particularly, when I have mentioned ſome things that previouſly happened.

The day before this parliament ſat down, the duke of Rothes died. When he felt the pangs of death he called for ſome of his lady's miniſters; for it ſeems his own miniſters were good to live with, but not to die with. Accordingly he had the aſſiſtance of the Rev. Mr John Carſtairs and Mr George Johnſtoun, who dealt with great freedom and faithfulneſs, rehearſing many wicked acts of his life. He ſaid to Mr Carſtairs, we all thought little of what that man did in excommunicating us, but I find that ſentence binding upon me now, and will bind to eternity. When Mr Johnſtoun was praying, ſeveral noblemen and biſhops overhearing him in the next room, ſome of the former ſaid to the biſhops, He is a preſbyterian miniſter that is praying; the de'il ane of you can pray as they do, though your prayers would keep a ſoul out of hell. In ſhort, the noblemen were much affected, and duke Hamilton ſaid, We baniſh theſe men from us, and yet when dying we call for them; this is melancholy work!

Lauderdale being out of the ſecretary's office, and the duke of Rothes's death making great changes among the managers, the duke of York's party came in, many of whom complimented him with their religion, and turned papiſts. And no doubt the hopes of ſucceeding Rothes excited ſeveral to court the duke's favour; and by this means his royal highneſs got every thing carried in the parliament to his mind.

On the 3d of Auguſt a proceſs of error was commenced againſt ſeveral of the jury who had acquitted ſome of the heritors in the ſhire of Lanerk laſt March. All the jury got off except Alex. Gray and Ja. Bailie merchant in Edinburgh, and J. Gray of Wariſtoun, who were ſentenced to have forfeited all their chattels and other moveables to his majeſty's uſe, and to ly in priſon for a year.

While public buſineſs was going on in the parliament, one ſtood up and accuſed lord Halton, duke Lauderdale's brother, of perjury, on account of Mr Mitchel's affair. He had in his hands the two letters which that lord had written to the earl of Kincairdin, mentioning the promiſe of life that was made him; and as was told formerly, lord Halton ſwore, at his trial, that no ſuch promiſe was made. The lord Kincairdin was dead a year before this, but his lady had delivered up theſe letters to be made uſe of againſt lord Halton. Upon reading them the matter appeared plain. The duke was not ill pleaſed to have Lauderdale and his brother thus at mercy, yet he would not ſuffer the matter to be determined in a parliamentary way; ſo he moved that the whole affair might be referred to the king; which was immediately agreed to. Thus, ſays the hiſtorian, that infamous buſineſs was made public, and yet ſtifled at the ſame time; and no cenſure was ever put on that baſe action.

Another vile diſcovery was made. Lord Bargeny nephew to duke Hamilton, had been impriſoned on account of the riſing at Bothwell; the whole affair was laid before the parliament, and his lordſhip had full proof of every

very thing ready to produce; but the duke prevailed to have this likeways refesred to the king, and it was never more heard of. 'This says Burnet, shewed what Lauderdale's party were capable of. It likewise gave an ill character of the duke's zeal for justice and false swearing, though that had been the chief topic of discourse with him for above three years. He was angry at a supposed practice with witnesses when it fell on his own party; but now, that there were evident proofs of perjury and subornation, he stopt proceedings under pretence of referring it to the king, who was never made acquainted with it, or at least, never inquired after the proof of these allegations, nor ordered any proceedings against them.'

The main business of this parliament was the act concerning the new test. The bill was brought in and voted in one day, viz. on the 31st of August, though the matters contained in it were of such importance as required the most mature deliberation. It had been promised, at the begining of the session, that, upon passing an act for maintaining the succession, all the security they could desire for the protestant religion should be given. Accordingly, when the first act relating to religion was read and passed, it appeared so general, that many thought it an insufficient security, and therefore, a test was proposed for all that should be capable of any office in church or state, or of electing or being elected members of parliament, that they should adhere firmly to the protestant religion; but then the court thought proper to burden this with a declaration against all resistance, a renouncing the covenants, and an obligation to defend the king's rights and prerogatives, and never to meet nor treat of any matters, civil or ecclesiastical, but by permission from the throne, and never to attempt any alteration of the government either in church or state.' This became matter of great debate, and with difficulty a clause was got in ratifying the Confession of Faith established by the first parliament of James VI. 1567. But then the king's lawful sons and brothers were expresly excepted from this test. In short the act passed by a majority only of seven votes.

The earl of Argyll, in reasoning upon the oath enjoined by the act, said, 'He was of opinion, that as few public oaths should be required as might be, and these as short and clear as possible; he thought a very small addition to the oaths in force these 20 years might suffice, since it is evident the oath of allegiance and declaration had effectually debarred all fanatics from places of trust all this time. It is true, some papists have swallowed them, but a word or two of addition might likeways hold them out.' He likeways opposed the concluding clause excepting the lawful sons and brothers, and said, 'It is our happiness that the king and people were of one religion by law; he hoped the parliament would do nothing to loose what was fast, or open a gap for the royal family to differ in religion; and therefore wished, if any exception was made, it might be made particular for his royal highness.' But the commissioner rising up opposed this openly; whereupon the earl concluded with his tears, 'That, if this exception did pass, it would do more prejudice to the protestant religion than all the rest of the act, yea, many acts would do good.'

I cannot here omit one thing taken notice of by bishop Burnet, who says, that 'some proposed that there should be two tests; one for papists with higher incapacities, and another for presbyterians with milder censures. But that was rejected with much scorn, some making their court, by saying they were more in danger from the presbyterians than from the papists; and it was reported that Paterson, then bishop of Edinburgh, said to the duke, that he thought the two religions, popish and protestant, were so equally stated in his mind, that a few grains of loyalty, in which the protestants had the better of the papists, turned the balance with him.' Well the act passed, by which all in places of trust in church and state (the king's lawful brother and sons only excepted) were obliged to take the following oath by the first of January next, viz.

'I *N. N.* solemnly swear in presence of the eternal God, whom I invocate as judge and witness of my sincere intention in this my sincere oath, that I own and sincerely profess the true protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith, recorded in the first parliament of king James VI. and that I believe the same to be founded on, and agreeable to the written word of God: and I promise and swear, that I shall adhere thereto during all the days of my lifetime, and shall endeavour to educate my children therein, and shall never consent to any change or alteration contrary thereunto; and that I disown and renounce all such principles, doctrines, or practices, whether popish or fanatical, which are contrary unto, and inconsistent with the said protestant religion and Confession of Faith. And, for testification of my obedience to my most gracious sovereign Charles II. I do affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that the king's majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm, over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and that no foreign prince, person, pope, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre eminency, or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, power, superiorities and authorities; and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors; and to my power, shall assist and defend all rights, jurisdictions, prerogatives, privileges, pre eminencies and authorities belonging to the king's majesty, his heirs, and lawful successors. And I farther affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that I judge it unlawful for subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or any pretence whatsomever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convocate, convene, or assemble in any councils, conventions, or assemblies, to treat, consult, or determine, in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastic, without his majesty's special command, or expres licence, had thereunto, or to take up arms against the king, or those commissionate by him; and that I shall never so rise in arms, or enter into such covenants or assemblies: and that there lies no obligation upon me from the National Covenant, or the solemn League and Covenant, (so commonly called) or any other manner of way whatsomever, to endeavour any change or alteration in the government, either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom. And I promise and swear, that I shall, with my utmost power, defend, assist, and maintain his majesty's jurisdiction foresaid against all deadly; and I shall never decline his majesty's power and jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God. And, finally, I affirm and swear, that this my solemn oath is given in the plain gennine sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or any manner of evasion whatsomever; and that I shall not accept or use any dispensation from any creature whatsoever. So help me God.'

If nothing could have been said against this abominable oath, but that the one part of it contradicted the other, that was sufficient to have deterred all from taking it. Thus the Confession of Faith, which here sworn to, asserts Christ to be the Head of the church; and says, 'in which honours and offices, if men or angels presume to intrude themselves we utterly detest and abhor them;' and yet it is sworn, that the king is the only supreme in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil. In the said confession it is reckoned among good works, 'to honour princes and rulers, to obey their charges, not repugnant to the commandment of God, to save the lives of innocents, to repress tyranny, to defend the oppressed,' &c. But here they not only swear to unlimited subjection, but declare it unlawful to take up arms against the king, or those having his commission, upon any pretence whatsoever. Mr Wodrow justly observes, that this oath is a medley of popery, prelacy, erastianism and self-contradiction; the National Covenant, the great bulwark against popery, is thereby renounced, and prelacy, and the utmost extent of the supremacy sworn to. Nay, they swear to maintain the protestant religion, and yet to bring in a popish successor. Though this oath was at first only designed for those in places of trust, yet it afterwards became an universal test of loyalty, and the foundation of great persecution, as shall be related. And though it may be thought surprising that so many fell in with this self contradictory and wicked imposition, yet the multitude of wicked oaths, bonds, and obligations imposed since the unhappy restoration, took off the impression on men's minds as to the solemnity

of

of an oath; and ſince the wicked generation hath trampled upon the ſacred covenants of the nation, it is not at all ſurpriſing though God gave them up to ſtrong deluſions and the belief of lies.

It will not be improper to inſert here what biſhop Burnet ſays on this ſubject, when relating the ſenſe of the beſt of the epiſcopal clergy: 'They were, ſays he, highly offended at the great extent of the prerogative in the point of ſupremacy, by which the king turned out biſhops at pleaſure by a letter. It was hard enough to bear this; but it ſeemed intolerable to oblige men by oath to maintain it. The king might by a proclamation put down even epiſcopacy itſelf, as the law then ſtood, and by this oath they would be bound to maintain even that. All meetings in ſynods, or for ordinations, were hereafter to be held only by permiſſion, ſo that all the viſible ways of preſerving religion depended now wholly on the king's good pleaſure; and they ſaw that this would be a very feeble tenure under a popiſh king. The king tied to all this by oath ſeemed very hard; and, when a church was yet in ſo imperfect a ſtate, without liturgy or diſcipline, (the former argued no great imperfection, though the latter did) it was a ſtrange impoſition to make people ſwear never to endeavour any alteration either in church or ſtate.'

When the teſt was thus impoſed, and all were to ſwear it by the firſt of January, under the penalties of being for ever declared incapable of any public truſt, and of the loſs of their moveable and liferent eſcheats, there were not many in public offices made any ſcruple, except the earl of Argyll, of whom we ſhall hear in its proper place. The earl of Queenſberry, being a friend, was permitted to take the teſt with an explication: the laird of Hopeton, ſcrupling the oath, was diveſted of his office of ſheriff of Linlithgow: the ducheſs of Rothes was urged to take it, but ſhe refuſed: the duke of Monmouth alſo refuſed: the duke of Hamilton had his ſcruples concerning it, and was willing the council ſhould name deputies in any juriſdictions belonging to him: there were likewiſe a few others whom I ſhall not here mention. The privy counſellors took it on the 22d of September, repeating the words of the oath on their knees.

But the oppoſition made by ſome of the conformable clergy made great noiſe. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'Some, or all of theſe exceptions, mentioned by him above, did run ſo generally through the whole body of the clergy, that they were all ſhaking in their reſolutions. To prevent this an explanation was drawn by biſhop Paterſon, (one, ſays my author, of the moſt violent defenders of it) and paſſed in council. It was by it declared, that it was not meant that thoſe who took the teſt ſhould be bound to every article in the Confeſſion of Faith, but only in ſo far as it contained the doctrine upon which the Proteſtant churches had ſettled the reformation; and that the teſt did not cut off thoſe rights which were acknowleged to have been in the primitive church for the firſt 300 years after Chriſt; and an aſſurance was given that the king never intended to change the government of the church: by this it was pretended that the greateſt difficulties were now removed. But to this it was anſwered, that they were to ſwear they took the oath in the literal ſenſe of the words; ſo that, if this explanation was not conform to the literal ſenſe, they would be perjured who took it upon this explanation. The impoſers of an oath could only declare the ſenſe of it; but that could not be done by any other, much leſs by a lower authority, ſuch as the privy-council was confeſſed to be; yet, when men are to be undone, if they do not ſubmit to a hard law, they willingly catch at any thing that ſeems to reſolve their doubts. About 80, continues the biſhop, of the moſt learned and pious of the clergy left all, rather than comply with the terms of this law; and theſe were noted to be the beſt preachers, and the moſt zealous enemies to popery, that belonged to that church. The biſhops, who thought their refuſing the teſt was a reproach to thoſe who took it, treated them with much contempt, and put them to many hardſhips.'

It is certain, though the moſt of the prelatical clergy ſwallowed this oath, which ſhews what ſort of men they were, yet ſeveral made the beſt ſtand they ever made before; particularly, the miniſters of Aberdeen drew up ſome queries againſt the teſt, as, 1. How can I ſwear that the Confeſſion of Faith is the true ſtandard of the proteſtant religion, &c. which forbids the reſiſting of the magiſtrate only conditionally, while they paſs not over the bounds of their office, and ſays it is a good work to bear down tyranny? 2. How can I ſwear, that the king is the only ſupreme governor over all perſons, and in all cauſes, when the ſaid Confeſſion obliges me to believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the only Head of the church? &c. 3. If I believe the preſent eſtabliſhed church to be of divine and apoſtolic authority, how can I ſwear that is in the king's power to alter or change the ſame? and, if it be in its own nature indifferent, how can I ſwear to that which the king can alter at his pleaſure? 4. How can I ſwear to defend the king's privileges and prerogatives, till I know and conſider whether they be conſiſtent with the principles of religion, &c? 5. How can I ſwear that I judge it unlawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to enter into leagues and covenants without the king's conſent, when it was lawful, in the firſt days of Chriſtianity, to enter into a covenant with Chriſt, and a league with one another, though not to caſt off the yoke of ſecular princes, yet to caſt off the yoke of judaiſm, paganiſm, and idolatry, even contrary to the expreſs command of earthly ſovereigns? And, ſhould popery prevail, would it be unlawful for ſubjects to enter into covenant for ſhaking off the Roman yoke? Does not that clauſe in the teſt condemn our reformation in Scotland? 6. Can I ſwear, ſincerely, that I judge it unlawful for ſubjects to meet in order to conſult or determine in any matter of ſtate, civil or eccleſiaſtical, when I have no ſecurity, from the teſt, or laws of the land, but that clauſe may comprehend the aſſemblies and meetings for the worſhip of God, and the ordinary exercife of diſcipline, eſpecially when all the eccleſiaſtical meetings are put in the king's hand, by the act Nov. 16. 1669, &c.? And, ſhould our meetings for worſhip and diſcipline be, in proceſs of time, forbid, would it be unlawful to meet with one another for theſe purpoſes? 7. Can I ſwear that I am under no obligations to endeavour any alteration of the government in church or ſtate, as now eſtabliſhed? It muſt be a perfect conſtitution that needs no change in any circumſtances, and yet an alteration in circumſtances is a change; yea, the confeſſion preſcribed in the teſt ſays, that no policy or order of ceremonies in the church can be appointed for all ages, places, and times, becauſe what is now convenient may prove burdenſome at another time, or in other circumſtances. May I not pray to God almighty to put it into the hearts of men to reform what is amiſs? and yet to pray is ſome ſort of endeavour. What if the king's power in national ſynods, by act of parliament, be deſtructive of true church power? What if there be ſome thing in the act of reſtitution of biſhops to be amended? 8. Is there no more in this teſt than in the acts of parliament, or former oaths upon which it is founded? In the acts againſt aſſembling the king's lieges this clauſe is added, (except in ordinary judgments) but there is no ſuch clauſe in the teſt, by which I ſwear, that I judge it unlawful to convene or aſſemble upon any pretence whatſoever, even though to worſhip God with others. In the declaration it is ſaid, there lyeth no obligation upon me from the covenants to endeavour reformation; but the teſt adds, or upon any other manner of way. May I not be under ſome obligations, though from neither of the covenants? And, though I be under no obligation for the preſent, may I not be under ſome afterwards? If there be no more in this teſt than in former oaths, why it is impoſed on thoſe who took the declaration, &c.? To all this might be added the evil of impoſing and multiplying oaths.

There were ſeveral other things publiſhed at this time by ſome of the conform clergy, againſt the teſt. The biſhop and ſynod of Aberdeen, the biſhop of Dunkeld and ſynod of Perth, publiſhed their reſpective explications of this oath, declaring the ſenſe in which they took it. This unexpected ſtir among the clergy made the managers look about them, ſo that, as we have heard, biſhop Paterſon and the council made a ſort of explication of it, which was approved of by the king: however, the generality went into it; ſo that thoſe who refuſed it were expoſed to perſecution,

ſecution, and ſeveral quitted their charges; for the council made an act requiring the patrons to provide fit and qualified perſons in the room of thoſe who ſhould unduifully refuſe to take the teſt betwixt and the firſt of January, certifying, that, if the patrons did not comply with this, they ſhould be eſteemed perſons diſſaffected to his majeſty's perſon and government. I ſhall only remark, that, if ſome of the conformable clergy, who for once became recuſants, began to feel a little of the wholeſome ſeverities of the managers, the reader cannot be ſurprited at the ſufferings of the preſbyterians.

During theſe proceedings about the teſt ſeveral occurrences happened, which it will not be improper to relate. Accordingly, on the firſt of October, Mr Gabriel Semple, who had been priſoner for ſome time, was, in conſequence of a petition he preſented, ordered to be releaſed upon bond to appear when called under the penalty of 10,000 merks. This worthy miniſter was ſon of Sir Bryce Semple of Cathcart, and was ordained miniſter of Kirkpatrick Durham, from which he was ejected by the Glaſgow act. He then repaired to the houſe of Corſack, where he preached to all that came to hear him; but the numbers were ſo great, that he was obliged to take to the fields and preach there; and theſe were the firſt field-meetings in Scotland. When he found himſelf obliged to leave that houſe, Mr John Welſh continued and kept up thoſe meetings in the open fields from mere neceſſity. Soon after Mr Semple returned to Galloway, joined Mr Welſh, and continued preaching along with him till Pentland. About a year after that, being intercommuned he went to Ireland, and from thence to the borders of England. After abſconding ſome time he preached at Haſelridge and diſpenſed the Lord's ſupper, having Dr Rule and another miniſter from Berwick aſſiſting him. As the incumbent of Foord was a poor melancholy perſon, Mr Semple, through the good nature of ſeveral gentlemen in the neighbourhood, had poſſeſſion of that church for ſome years, and diſpenſed the word and ſacraments with great ſucceſs among the rude borderers. He continued there till the death of his conſort, the daughter of Sir Walter Riddel of Riddel, ſo that a little before Bothwell he returned to Scotland, but the diviſions in the weſt country ſtill prevented his joining in that enterpriſe. He was apprehended by a party of the guards, being then ill of an ague. Nevertheleſs he was carried to the Canongate priſon, where he continued till the parliament this year was up. Soon after he was releaſed he was called before a committee of the council, on pretence that his petition was forged. The clerk, in reading it, added ſome words of his own. Mr Semple, being aſked if he owned that petition, deſired to ſee it; and, obſerving that it was the ſame he had given in, but that the clerk had read it otherways than it was, declared that that was the paper he had given in, thanked them for his liberty, and prayed for the ſpirit of grace and government to his majeſty; then he was diſmiſſed, without being obliged to renew his bond for his appearance. But how unjuſtly people were entreated at this time muſt be left with the reader. In a few weeks he was again ſummoned before them; but by the advice of his friends, he went to England, and continued there till the king's death. After the revolution he was fixed at Jedburgh, where he finiſhed his courſe with joy 1706. But to return,

On the 7th of October Robert Garnock hammerman in Stirling, Patrick Forman in the pariſh of Allon, David Pairie, James Stuart, George Lapſley and Alexander Ruſſel were before the juſticiary. They had all diſclaimed the king's authority, and now adhered to their confeſſions, and were ſentenced to be hanged at the Gallow lee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh on the tenth, George Lapſley got off, by means of ſome, who, being impriſoned for debt, and could not endure the godly exerciſes of the ſufferers, broke priſon for them, whereby ſeverals made their eſcape. Robert Garnock had been two years in priſon. James Stuart was but a youth; he happened to come from the weſt to ſee a relation who was in priſon at Edinburgh; his friend got out, and he, being found in the room, was brought before a committee of the council, and ſoon enſnared by their queſtions. When he was ſilent as to ſome things, Sir George MacKenzie threatened to pull his tongue out with a pair of pincers. How hard it was to take up perſons againſt whom no matter of fact could be proved, and to condemn them to death upon the anſwers they gave to their enſnaring queſtions, muſt be left with the reader. Before the jury withdrew, the priſoners gave them a ſigned proteſtation, adviſing them to conſider what they were doing, and declaring that they were no rebels, nor diſowned any authority which was according to the word of God, and covenants which the land was bound by. They charged them to conſider how deep a guilt covenant-breaking was, and put them in mind that they were to anſwer before the Great Judge of all for what they did in this matter. And, after mentioning ſeveral acts of their injuſtice and cruelty, they aſſured them that their blood would one day lie heavy upon them. However, the jury brought them in guilty, and, except George Lapſley, they were all executed at the Gallowlee, according to their ſentence. Their teſtimonies are in the Cloud of Witneſſes. The reaſon why the place of execution was changed, was becauſe the multitude of executions at the croſs and Grain-market drew ſuch a number of ſpectators, who were ſo much moved at the conduct of the ſufferers, that it was thought expedient to put them to death where the moſt notorious malefactors uſed to be executed. Their bodies were buried under the gallows, and their heads and hands ſet up on the Pleaſants port.

Mr James Renwick was a ſpectator of this execution, and, being now much eſteemed by the ſuffering wanderers, to whom he had joined himſelf, he aſſembled ſome friends, and removed the bodies of theſe five martyrs in the night-time, and interred them in the Weſt-churchyard of Edinburgh. They likewiſe took down their heads and hands, but, not being able to bury them with their bodies, they interred them in the garden of one A. Tweedie, who was with them, where they lay till the 7th of October 1726, when they were taken up and buried on the 19th. P. Walker, who was preſent, gives a particular account of this interment, which I do not think material to inſert here.

On the 8th of October, the council, being informed that many heritors, who had been forfeited in abſence for Bothwell, reſided at or near their own dwelling-houſes, iſſued a proclamation for apprehending and bringing to juſtice all mentioned p. 761, together with Gilbert Macllwraith of Dumchory, Thomas MacJarrow of Bar, John MacJarrow of Benjarrow, Henry MacJarrow of Athalbany, Geo. MacChir of Benham, Henry Macllwraith of Auchinflour, John Alexander of Dumachry, MacUnken in Kilkertoun, Allan Bowy of Drumley, James Wood in Ayr, Pat. MacDougal of Freugh, Meſſ. William and Alex. Gordons of Earlſtoun, Mr Will. Ferguſon of Kaitloch, Dumbar younger of Machriemoir, John Bell of Whiteſide, John Gibſon of Auchinebero, Gibſon younger of Inglistoun, Gordon of Dundeuch, Grier of Dalgonar, Smith of Kilroch, MacClellan of Balmagahen, Gordon of Craigie, Lenox of Irelantoun, Gordon of Barharran, John Fowbertoun of Auchinrie, David MacCulloch ſon to Ardwell, Will. Whitehead of Millnhouſe, John Welſh of Cornley, Neilſon of Corſack, Rob MacClelland of Barſcob, his brother Samuel, Fullertoun of Nethermill, Geo. MacCartney of Blaiket, Gordon of Garrery, Gordon of Knockgray, Herron of Littlepark, Gordon of Holm, Gordon of Overbar, John MacNaught of Culgnad, Murdoch, alias laird Murdoch, Andrew Sword in Galloway, and John Malcolm in Dalry in Galloway.

On the 11th of October, John Dryſdale, James Pollock, James Wharrey, and John Anderſon were baniſhed for conventicles. Nothing could be proved againſt them, only they would not ſwear againſt themſelves.

The encouragement given to informers procured great trouble to the non-conformiſts. There was particularly an idle wicked fellow, one Greenſhiels a weaver, who offered his ſervice to ſome of the counſellors; accordingly orders were given to the commanding officers at Glaſgow to furniſh this new tool with what men he pleaſed. Having got a party of about 20 ſoldiers he came about midnight to the houſe of Douchal in the pariſh of Kilmacolm. The gentleman aſking the reaſon of their diſturbing him at that time of night, Greenſhiels told him he had orders

to ſearch his houſe for field-preachers, &c. The doors were opened, but none could be found; however, the gentleman was obliged to ſuffer them to quarter upon him for ſeveral days, till they had conſumed moſt of the family proviſions. At laſt they rifled the houſe, took away the ſilver ſpoons and knives, and then retired. It is true Greenſhiels was taken, and, the ſpoons being found about him, was ordered to be whipt. This was one piece of juſtice. The reader may judge what the encouragers and employers of ſuch a villain muſt deſerve.

Some time in this month of October the duke of York made another progreſs to the weſt, and declared himſelf much pleaſed with the reſpect that was paid him, and the entertainment he met with; but it ſeems he ſoon forgot all this, when he afterwards declared that it would never be well till all the ſouth-ſide of Forth were made a hunting-field. His mirth was interrupted by a proteſt that was put into his hands by one of the ſocieties, as he was going along the ſtreet in Glaſgow. In this paper, 'They proteſted againſt the king in all his tyranny, heading, hanging, &c. the people of God; againſt the teſt, and welcoming a papiſt to Scotland with a draught of the blood of the ſaints at two different times, &c. whereas ſay they, he ought to be puniſhed with ſuch loading puniſhments as the word of God allows to be inflicted on profeſt idolaters,' &c. The duke, upon reading the paper, did not think it proper to take much notice of it for the preſent. However, it made him ſullen and penſive; ſo that he haſted from Glaſgow as ſoon as he could, and it is remarkable, that none concerned in it were ever diſcovered.

On the 3d of November Sir Pat. Hepburn of Blackcaſtle was fined in 2001. ſterling for harbouring and converſing with Mr Semple. The ſame day Mr Veitch at Mauchlin, and Mr Robert Miller at Ochiltree, were charged for breaking their inſtructions, and excommunicating, or debarring from the Lord's table, thoſe who had taken the declaration and bond of peace, and renounced the covenants, and not appearing, were ordered to be denounced and put to the horn. On the 24th Mr Veitch appeared before the council, and petitioned againſt the ſaid ſentence; but the advocate brought a new charge againſt him, for taking parents engaged, when he baptized their children, to bring them up according to the covenants and for breaking his confinement. Mr Veitch pleaded not guilty; and, no proof being ready, was acquitted. Mr Hutchiſon got not ſo well off; for when he appeared, ſome months after, and refuſing to anſwer upon oath to his charge, was deprived of his indulgence. The ſame day Tho. Crawford was releaſed from a long impriſonment; but Mr Tho. Archer was ſtill kept in hold until they ſhould get witneſſes againſt him. We ſhall hear more of him afterwards.

Matters were now come to a very low paſs: for, on the one hand, the generality of the preſbyterian miniſters had ſo far complied with the indulgence, that they who ſtrictly adhered to the principles maintained by Mr Cameron and Mr Cargill had no freedom to ſubmit to them; and having none now to officiate among them as miniſters, ſince the martyrdom of Mr Cargill, they judged it expedient, in their preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances, to form themſelves into ſocieties; and the better to maintain the common cauſe of religion and liberty, they united in a general correſpondence, to be kept up through the ſhires ſeverally, and all the ſhires conjunctly, where ſuch as owned their teſtimony againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm and tyranny, reſided. By this means, though they were ſtill the more open to the reſentment of their perſecutors, yet they attained to a better underſtanding of one another, and were in a capacity to contribute more to their mutual advantage. They had their firſt general meeting, on the 15th of December this year, at the Logan-houſe in the pariſh of Leſmahago in the ſhire of Lanerk, where they agreed upon their teſtimony againſt the laſt parliament, the duke of York, a papiſt, as being commiſſioner, and appointed it to be publiſhed at the market-croſs of Lanerk, on the 12th of January next year. They held their general meetings once a quarter, or oftener, as they could moſt conveniently.

But the moſt remarkable thing about this time was the proſecution of Archibald earl of Argyll for his explication of the teſt, which he had before oppoſed in parliament. This noble peer was the repreſentative of one of the moſt ancient and powerful families in Scotland; and, by reaſon of the offices he held, was comprehended under the teſt act. When the earl was at Edinburgh he was ordered by one of the clerks of the council to attend next council-day, being the 3d of November, and take teſt. The earl upon this, went to the duke of York, and complained of this treatment, ſince the time appointed by the parliament was not yet expired; but all was to no purpoſe. The duke wanted to get rid of this noble peer, who ſtood in the way of his deſigns However, matters were ſo managed, that the earl, with the approbation both of the duke and council, was permitted to take the oath with an explanation, which indeed was no more than the council themſelves had done, as has been related, which makes their treatment of him the more baſe and unaccountable. Accordingly, on the third of November, his lordſhip came to the council, and, with a loud voice, made the following explanatory declaration, 'I have conſidered the teſt, and am deſirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident the parliament never intended to impoſe contradictory oaths, therefore I think no man can explain it but for himſelf. Accordingly I take it in as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf and the proteſtant religion; and I do declare I mean not to bind up myſelf, in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, to wiſh and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the church or ſtate, not repugnant to the proteſtant religion and my loyalty; and this I underſtand as part of my oath.' Then the oath was adminiſtered to him, and immediately he took his place as a privy counſellor. Next day he waited on his royal highneſs, by whom he was told that his explication did not pleaſe him; that he thought it was to be a ſhort one, like Queenſberry's, and added, Well, it paſſed with you, but it ſhall paſs ſo with no other. The earl underſtood this as an acceptance, and that, if he had committed any fault the duke had paſſed it over, and would puſh the matter no farther. But his lordſhip was miſtaken; for a deſign was formed to proſecute him for high treaſon on account of his explanation; and the ſame day Argyll was called before the council, as commiſſioner of the treaſury, again to take the teſt. Whether this was not requiring a vain repetition of the oath muſt be left to the reader. The earl offered to take the teſt as before; whereupon a member of the council deſired the words might be repeated. His lordſhip, obſerving a deſign upon him, declined repeating, till being urged by the duke, he told that he had committed to writing what he had delivered, to prevent miſtakes, which was produced and read. Argyll would have ſigned it, but, perceiving their intentions, he waved that: upon which he was removed; and, after they had concerted their meaſures among themſelves, was called in again, and told, that he had not given the ſatisfaction required by the act of parliament, and ſo could not ſit in council, nor act as a commiſſioner of the treaſury. His lordſhip made a proper reply, and removed. Next morning he waited on the duke, and expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that what he had ſaid in his explication ſhould be thought a crime. The duke ſaid, That the words were unneceſſary and groundleſs, and that he was not tied up by the oath as he imagined; and, after a pauſe, added, As I have already told you, you have cheated yourſelf, you have taken the teſt. Then the earl anſwered, that he hoped his highneſs was ſatisfied. The duke then complained that the earl had not voted the council's explication. Argyll anſwered, that he was not preſent at the debates. The duke inſiſted, that he could not but underſtand the affair, and added, with a frown, you, with ſome others, have deſigned to bring trouble upon a handful of poor Catholics, that would live peaceably however they were uſed; but it ſhould light upon others. This was plain dealing, and ſhewed what was to be expected when he ſhould have the whole management in his own hands. They parted, after the duke had laid his commands on him not to go out of town till he ſaw him again, which his lordſhip complied with.

The deſign againſt the earl being now formed, he was ordered that ſame night to continue at Edinburgh till next council-day, which was November 8th, when the council ſat

ſent one of their clerks to command him to enter himſelf priſoner in the caſtle of Edinburgh before 12 o'clock next day, which he alſo complied with, and ordered the advocate to purſue him for treaſon, or ſuch other crimes as ſhall be thought convenient, as the act of council more fully bears; and at the ſame time they wrote an account of their proceedings to the king; but it is remarkable, that they ordered this noble peer to be perſecuted, as above, before they had any permiſſion from the king. On the 22d of November the king's letter, dated November 15th, was read in council, in which he ſignified his approbation of their proceedings againſt the earl; only required them to acquaint him before they came to any ſentence. But, before the council had this return, Argyll was ſummoned to anſwer a charge of leaſing making, and depraving the king's laws. And ſuch was the baſeneſs of his lordſhip's perſecutors, that they pretended, nay, one of them told him, that nothing was intended againſt him but to take his heritable offices from him. And when the duke of York was told that it was hard meaſure, upon ſuch grounds, to threaten ſuch a perſon with the forfeiture of life and fortune, he anſwered, Life and fortune! God forbid; and, if he was privy to the deſigns then formed, he acted only ſuitable to his religion. When the king's letter was received, the advocate was appointed to form an indictment for treaſon and perjury, as leaſing-making and depraving the king's laws, to which he was to anſwer, before the lords of juſticiary, on the 12th of December next.

On the 12th of December his lordſhip was brought before the juſticiary, conſiſting of the earl of Queenſberry juſtice-general, lords Nairn, Collingtoun, Forret, Newtoun and Kirkhouſe. The indictment was read, in which he was charged with declaring againſt and defaming the act enjoining the teſt, by inſinuating that the parliament had impoſed a contradictory oath, and that the ſaid oath was inconſiſtent with itſelf, and with the proteſtant religion, and conſequently that the king and parliament had acted inconſiſtent with the proteſtant religion; and for treaſonably invading the royal legiſlative power, &c. as the indictment itſelf more fully bears. An unbiaſſed reader, by comparing this nobleman's explication with his indictment, will ſee that the crimes charged upon him were without any ſolid foundation. Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Dalrymple pleaded with great accuracy and judgment for the earl, ſo that the debates continued till nine o'clock at night. There were but four of the lords with the juſtice general at the debates. The lord Nairn, who was then old and infirm, could not continue all the time of the trial, and ſo went home to bed. The lords Collingtoun and Kirkhouſe inſiſted that the earl was not guilty of leaſing making and treaſon, and the other two viz. Newton and Forret, inſiſted that he was. Queenſberry not chuſing to give the caſting vote againſt the earl. Nairn was brought from his bed to the court, that numbers might ſupply the want of law and reaſon, and gave his vote againſt the earl. It was two in the morning before theſe things were over, and then they adjourned till next day, when the lords pronounced their interlocutor, wherein they declared the earl's defences, with reſpect to perjury, to be ſufficient, but not with reſpect to treaſon and leaſing making.

The paper delivered by the earl, containing his explication of the teſt, was then produced as evidence againſt him; whereupon the jury withdrew, and in a little brought in their verdict that the earl was guilty of treaſon, leaſing-making and leaſing telling, but not guilty of perjury. The council, upon this met, and wrote an account of what had paſſed to the king; from all which it is evident that a deſign was formed againſt the earl's life. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'No ſentence, in our age, was more univerſally cried out on than this. All people ſpoke of it, and of the duke who drove it on, with horror. All that was ſaid to leſſen that was, that duke Lauderdale had reſtored the family with ſuch an extended juriſdiction, that he was really the maſter of all the Highlands; ſo that it was fit to attaint him, that, by a new reſtoring them, theſe grants might be better limited.

However, all his friends were of opinion that he ought to provide for his ſafety. A gentleman was diſpatched to court by the earl, who, as ſoon as the king's mind, in anſwer to the council's letter, was known, came off, and outrode the bearer of it. By him Argyll found that the ſentence of death was to be paſſed upon him, and that the king would be prevailed with to yield to the execution; nay, before the gentleman's arrival, his lordſhip had notice, that on the 21ſt he was to be ſent to the common jail, to which peers uſed to be removed a few days before their execution: and therefore, on Tueſday the 20th, about eight in the evening, he came out in diſguiſe, and very narrowly eſcaped.

When the earl got out, he rode, without ſtopping, to a country ale-houſe near the houſe of Mr George Pringle of Torwoodlee, who, by concert, was to meet him there, and conduct him to Mr William Veitch's houſe in Northumberland. The earl went by the name of Mr Hope.

Mr Hope and Mr Pringle came ſafe to Mr Veitch's, while he was at Berwick viſiting his friends, and continued there till Saturday ſe'ennight when Mr Veitch came home. The beginning of the following week Mr Hope, Mr Veitch and two ſervants ſet out for London; but they were obliged to part with the two ſervants on the road, to prevent ſuſpicion, for the alarm of the earl's eſcape was now general, and a reward of 500 l. was offered to any who ſhould apprehend him. However, he and Mr Veitch got ſafe to Batterſea near London, where they were conducted to the houſe of one Mr Smith a ſugar-baker, whoſe lady was a gentlewoman of great piety, prudence and generoſity. He continued concealed in and about London till he got over to Holland. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'One that ſaw him knew him, and went and told the king of it; but he would have no ſearch made for him, and retained ſtill very good thoughts of him.' But to return to Edinburgh.

The day after Argyll's eſcape the council iſſued a proclamation for apprehending him; a copy of which they ſent to the king, and next day had a return to their former letter, wherein his majeſty, as an evidence of the good thoughts he had of the earl, allowed ſentence of death to be paſſed upon him. Accordingly, on the 23d, the lords of juſticiary, by virtue of an order of council, whoſe tools they were, paſſed ſentence accordingly, ordering the earl to be executed, when apprehended, in what manner the king ſhould appoint. The parliament, after the revolution, was ſo ſenſible of the injuſtice of this ſentence, that they not only repealed his attainder, but alſo allowed his ſon to bring action of damages for a conſiderable ſum againſt the heirs of thoſe judges who condemned his father. I ſhall only add here, that it was upon this ſentence that Argyll was executed 1685, as ſhall be related in its proper place.

When the managers were diſappointed by the earl's eſcape, they went on to proſecute the preſbyterians, eſpecially their miniſters, many of whom had not accepted the indulgence; and though they did not chuſe to preach in the fields, becauſe of the ſeverity of the times, yet they preached as frequently in houſes as they could with conveniency. The duke of York mightily careſſed the biſhops, and ſupported them in all their meaſures againſt their non-conform brethren; for it is the pleaſure of papiſts to ſee proteſtants devouring one another, ſo that there was ſcarcely a preſbyterian came before the council that met with any favour. This appeared very evident in the caſe of the Rev. Mr Fraſer of Brae.

This miniſter had been informed againſt for a field-conventicle, whereupon he and his bail were ſummoned before the council in November laſt; but, ſome of the members being aſſured that it was only a houſe-conventicle, the citation was dropt. Mean while, when Mr Fraſer went north, he was ſeized with an ague. His bail, Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, propoſed writing to the advocate, or biſhop Paterſon. Mr Fraſer was againſt this, becauſe, as he told Sir Hugh, did the prelates hear of his indiſpoſition, they would puſh his citation the harder, that, in caſe of non-appearance, his bond of 5000 merks might be forfeited, &c. Nevertheleſs the gentleman wrote to the biſhop, acquainting him that Mr Fraſer had not preached in the fields, and was now dangerouſly ill.

The biſhop, upon receiving this letter, ordered matters ſo, that next day Mr Fraſer was ſummoned to appear before

before the council on the 22d of December. Sir Hugh was a gentleman of a good eſtate, and had been bail for preſbyterian miniſters for upwards of 1700 l. ſterling; and therefore they expected that Mr Fraſer would not be able to attend, and Sir Hugh's bond for 5000 merks would be forfeited; but Mr Fraſer, rather than his bail ſhould ſuffer on his account, notwithſtanding his own indiſpoſition, the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the danger his life was in, conſidering what ſtretches had been made in the caſe of Argyll, undertook the journey, and came to Edinburgh the day before the time appointed for his appearance.

The biſhops and council were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee him at the bar. After ſome ſilence his indictment was read, wherein he was charged with preaching in the fields, and without authority, and venting pernicious and rebellious principles, &c. and for proof, the matter was put to his oath. He deſired a delay a few days, but that was refuſed. However, he obtained liberty to ſpeak, and in his ſpeech told them that he had not preached in the fields ſince he came from the Baſs, nor yet without authority; that he had never preached ſeditious principles, nor doctrines inconſiſtent with the Scripture and the Confeſſion of Faith compoſed in James VI's time, which he conceived the laſt parliament had ratified; that he acknowleged magiſtracy as an ordinance of God, and owned the king's authority, even in eccleſiaſtical matters, as the nurſing-father of the church; but that it remained undeniable that this power of the magiſtrate was not privative of an intrinſic power in the church, granted her by Chriſt, for preſerving and edifying herſelf; that he could not comply with the government of the church by archbiſhops and biſhops, &c. and that, as to his practice, he endeavoured to keep a good conſcience both before God and man, &c.

Some of the counſellors were for releaſing him; but the biſhops were againſt it, and repreſented him as a dangerous man that ought to be made an example of for the terror of others. They were intruſted with the drawing up of his ſentence, by which he was ordered to pay 5000 merks for conventicles, and to be ſent to Blackneſs till he paid it. While he was impriſoned at Edinburgh, he preached to the priſoners on the Lord's day. All his petitions for liberty were for ſome time rejected; ſo that, after he had been ſix weeks in priſon at Edinburgh, he was ſent to Blackneſs caſtle, where he continued about ſeven weeks more. When the duke of York returned to England his friends embraced that opportunity to interceed for his releaſe, upon giving bond that he ſhould leave the kingdom. Accordingly he was releaſed and went to London, where we ſhall meet with him again.

CHAP. VII.

Of the declaration at Lanerk: ſome farther proceedings about the teſt: the actings of the council againſt conventicles: the public executions: and other branches of perſecution during the year 1682.

BY the act of parliament laſt year perſons in public offices had till the firſt of January this year to take the teſt; and though ſome few papiſts refuſed it, yet care was taken of them by the duke of York and his creatures, ſo that they were no great loſers, which was not the caſe with proteſtant recuſants.

On the 5th of January the laird of Meldrum, being appointed ſheriff depute of Eaſt Lothian, was empowered to uſe all methods poſſible for ſuppreſſing conventicles there. On the 7th the council ſent a liſt to the king of thoſe offices and juriſdictions which were become vacant by the refuſal of the teſt, and of thoſe whom they thought were fit to ſucceed in them, which his majeſty approved of. On the 9th the ſentence of forfeiture was pronounced by the juſticiary againſt Geo. Arthur of Bunnahill, James Ure of Shirgartoun, Donald Connel in Bucklyvie, heritors in Stirling-ſhire, Thomas Ruſſel of Middleridge, Ed. Marſhal of Kaemuir, John Taylor elder in Holehouſe, John Shaw ſon to John Shaw of Eaſter Greenhill, Geo. Mochrie ſenar of Stonrig, and Tho. Ferguſon of Finnarts, in the ſhire of Ayr. Theſe gentlemen were ſingled out among many others, who, in November laſt, were appointed to be proſecuted before the juſtices for being accеſſory to Bothwell.

The laſt of thoſe gentlemen was not acceſſory to Bothwell; he had an eſtate, and was a preſbyterian. The only proof of any ſuch thing was, that two men ſware, that, a little before Bothwell, a boy came from a houſe in Ballantrae, where Mr Ferguſon was, and warned all the neighbourhood, who had a mind to join the party in arms, to repair to the ſaid houſe to receive money and arms: but, had this been true, the reader is to judge for himſelf, whether it was a ſufficient ground for a forfeiture of life and fortune. Many were the hardſhips he and his family were put to after this.

The ſufferings of the family of James Ure of Shirgartoun were likeways very conſiderable during this period. His houſe was frequently pillaged by parties of ſoldiers. When he was forfeited after Bothwell, where he behaved with courage, his rents and moveables were all ſeized, and many times parties were in ſearch for him, but he happily eſcaped. His mother, a gentlewoman about 70 years of age, was put in priſon at Glaſgow, where ſhe died, notwithſtanding all the intereſt that was made for her. Mean while 100 l. Scots was offered to any who ſhould apprehend Shirgartoun dead or alive; but he eſcaped to Ireland where he continued half a year. Then he ventured home, but was obliged to conceal himſelf in the fields; ſo that, during the winter 1684, he lay in the wood of Balquhan for ſeveral weeks. His lady was apprehended for converſing with her own huſband, and carried priſoner to Stirling, with a ſucking child on her breaſt, and from thence to Edinburgh, and put into the Canongate jail. At laſt the managers, being aſhamed of this piece of conduct, thought fit to releaſe her. Shirgartoun ſurvived his troubles, and lived till after the unnatural rebellion 1715, when he ſaw vengeance overtake ſome of his perſecutors.

On the 12th the council ordered letters to be wrote to the patrons of 21 pariſhes, now vacant by the miniſters refuſing the teſt, to plant them with proper perſons with all convenient ſpeed; ſo that here were 21 of the preſbyterian clergy who ſcrupled the teſt. However, ſome of them got their ſcruples removed, particularly Mr Alex. Wood miniſter of Cockpen, who, upon taking this oath, was ordered to get a new preſentation to his pariſh. The ſame orders had been given to the magiſtrates of Aberdeen to the reſt of the miniſters there. On the 12th of January the declaration appointed by the ſociety of general correſpondence was publiſhed at Lanerk according to their order; of which the following is a ſhort abſtract. 'Although we ought to take in good part whatever God in his infinite wiſdom hath—carved out unto us,—and acknowlege government and governors as ordained by him, in ſo far as they rule and govern according to the rules ſet down by him in his word, and conſtitutive laws of the nation;——yet when all theſe laws—are caſſed and annulled by pretended laws, and the higheſt uſurpation, and an explicable prerogative in matters eccleſiaſtic, and arbitrary government in matters civil, is arrogate, when a banner of impiety, &c. is diſplayed,—when the parliaments—are ſo prelimited by law, as that no true ſon of the ſtate or church hath liberty to ſit and vote there,—what ſhall the people do in ſuch extremity? Should they give their reaſon as men, their conſciences as Chriſtians, and reſign their liberties, fortunes, religion, and their all, to the inexorable obſtinacy, incurable wilfulneſs and malice of thoſe who, in ſpight of God and man—are reſolved to make their own will the abſolute and ſovereign rule of their actions? ſhall the end of government be loſt through the weakneſs, wickedneſs and tyranny of governors?——Have not the people in ſuch an extremity, good ground to make uſe of that natural and radical power they have to ſhake off that yoke?—Which accordingly the Lord honoured us (in a general and unprelimited meeting of the eſtates and ſhires in Scotland) to do; a convention of unprelimited members, a convention of men who had only the glory of God, and the good of the commonwealth before their eyes. At which convention he was moſt legally, and by general conſent, caſt off by the declaration at Sanquhar. But that we may not ſeem to have done that, or yet to do the like,

like, upon no grounds,—we ſhall hint at ſome of the many thouſands of miſdemeanors of the new caſt off tyrant.—And 1. at his very entry, at one blow, in his firſt parliament, he cut off the neck of that noble conſtitution of church and ſtate which our noble worthy anceſtors had made. 2. Did he not take to himſelf a licentious privilege, the exalting himſelf into a ſphere exceeding all meaſures divine and human, both in matters civil and eccleſiaſtic, making us a laughing ſtock to the nations,—who ſay, we have only the law of letters inſtead of the letter of the law? 3. Hath he not adjourned and diſſolved parliaments at his pleaſure? 4. Hath he not ſeated himſelf as ſupreme head over all perſons civil and eccleſiaſtic,—and oppreſſed the godly for conſcience ſake? 5. Time will fail us to narrate what exorbitant taxes, ceſſings, &c. dilapidating the rights and revenues of the crown, for no other end but to employ them for keeping up a brothel rather than a court,—6. He hath in a late parliament, ſecured the ſucceſſion to ſuch a one, if not worſe than himſelf, formed the teſt, &c.' In the concluſion, they offer to prove that they have done nothing contrary to the ancient laws of the kingdom; but only endeavoured to extricate themſelves from a yoke of tyranny, and to reduce church and ſtate to what they were in 1648.

1649

In the informatory vindication ſome expreſſions are acknowledged to be very exceptionable. Such as the attributing to the publiſhers of the Sanquhar declaration the title of a convention of eſtates; and, in other expreſſions ſeeming to appropriate authority to its own author; and, as to the matter of the declaration relating to their renouncing the authority that then was, enough has been ſaid already. There were ſeveral preſent at the publication of this in arms, when a copy of it was fixed to the market croſs. Mr James Renwick was employed in proclaiming this, but had no hand in drawing it up; otherways, ſays the Revd. Mr Shields, in ſome things it had been more conſiderately worded; for though he approved of the matter of it, and the reaſons given for diſowning the authority of the tyrant, yet he always confeſſed there were ſome expreſſions in it very unadviſed. It was here they burnt the teſt and the act of ſucceſſion.

When the news of this came to Edinburgh, the council on the 14th of January, wrote to the king an account of the declaration that had been publiſhed, and made an act for burning the Solemn League and Covenant, the declarations publiſhed at Rutherglen and Sanquhar, and this at Lanerk. This was done with great pomp. A large theatre was erected at the croſs, and ſome of the magiſtrates attended in their robes until theſe papers were burnt by the hangman; but it was taken particular notice of, that the baille of Edinburgh, who attended on this ſervice, and who gave the covenant into the hands of the executioner, had all his houſes in the parliament-cloſe, which were reckoned the moſt ſtately in Europe, ſoon after reduced to aſhes. Though all pains were taken to ſuppreſs the flames, yet they baffled every attempt, until thoſe houſes were laid in ruins.

The town of Lanerk was fined in 6000 merks for not hindering the declaration to be publiſhed there, though it was not in their power to prevent it, and the ſhire ſuffered exceedingly on this account; for major White was ordered to march thither with ſome forces, and, by the inſtructions he received, was impowered to get a liſt of all forfeited perſons, to inform himſelf of the haunts and lurking places of the rebels, as they were called, of all that received or harboured them, and particularly of thoſe concerned in the above declaration; to ſeize and apprehend them, to diſſipate conventicles, &c. Many other commiſſions of this kind were afterwards given.

On the 27th Claverhouſe was ſent into Galloway to execute military orders there; and, on the 30th, received a commiſſion, as ſheriff of Wigtown, to puniſh all diſorders, diſturbers of the peace, and church irregularities in Kirkudbright, Annandale, Wigtoun and Dumfries. There was likeways a proclamation iſſued for furniſhing the ſoldiers with corn, hay and ſtraw for ready money; but, as this was neither obſerved, nor the delinquents called to an account, the country was expoſed to no ſmall oppreſſion. The ſame powers were in a few days granted to major White and Meldrum in the ſhire of Lanerk, together with a juſticiary power againſt all below heritors, who had been in what they called rebellion. However, duke Hamilton had ſo much intereſt as to get theſe a little ſoftened. On the 31ſt the council wrote to the king, and moved that the juriſdictions of the late earl of Argyll might be for ever annexed to the crown.

The parliament which was to ſit in March, was adjourned to the 17th of April, and from that to November; and though in one of theſe proclamations the king was made to ſay, that he will not ſoon part with ſo loyal and dutiful a parliament, yet no parliament ſat any more during this reign. The miniſtry could carry on their deſigns without them.

In this month James Gray of Chryſtoun, venturing home to ſee his family, was, on a Sabbath evening, ſeized by a party of dragoons, and carried in priſoner to Glaſgow, and, after three or four weeks, to Edinburgh, where he lay a long time in jail, without being called before any court. After a year's impriſonment he was brought before the council, who attacked him with their enſnaring queſtions; but, becauſe he owned that the matter of the covenant was lawful, and its obligations binding, and adhered to the principle of ſelf defence upon juſt ground, and refuſed to ſubject himſelf to the preſent church eſtabliſhment, he was ſent back to priſon, where he lay more than two years. In the ear 1684, a ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced againſt him; and in Auguſt 1685, he was, without the leaſt previous notice, hurried from priſon, with about 140 more, and put aboard captain Love's ſhip, and was tranſported to Jamaica. They endured great hardſhips in their paſſage, by being crouded under the hatches, without having proviſion ſufficient for their ſupport, nor any refreſhment during the ſickneſs wherewith not a few of them were ſeized. Many died of thirſt. Some offered a crown for a draught of water, of which there was plenty, but were refuſed. After a three month's paſſage they were ſold at Jamaica. Mr Gray was old, being then near 60 years; and they who had the diſpoſal of him refuſing to part with him but for a large ſum, he was impriſoned and fell ſick. Being then apprehenſive of his death, rather than loſe all they thought proper to releaſe him, upon his paying 15 l. ſterling. He ſurvived his troubles, and died in his native country.

On the 20th William Harvey, weaver in Lanerk, was before the juſticiary, and indicted for being at the late rebellion, and at the publiſhing of the declaration. He was brought in guilty, and ordered to be hanged at Lanerk on the 3d of next month.

On the 22d the Revd. Mr Patrick Warner (after the revolution miniſter of Irvine) was apprehended in Edinburgh at he houſe of his mother-in-law Mrs Guthrie, by a party of the guards commanded by captain Maitland, joined with ſome of the town-company commanded by major Johnſtoun. They violently broke open the doors, ranſacked the houſe, pulled him out of his bed, and took with them upwards of 20 copies of Calderwood's hiſtory, lately printed, and moſtly at his own charges, with ſome hundreds of the Second Book of Diſcipline, and ſeveral other valuable books and manuſcripts; nay, they ſearched his pockets, and took what money they could find, together with his watch; but captain Maitland was ſo kind as to oblige them to reſtore the watch to Mrs Warner. Johnſtoun and his men carried off her wearing apparel and linen. The books and manuſcripts were taken to the council houſe, but were never returned. He was immediately carried to the Abby guard, where he continued till next morning.

The ſame night Mr William Livingſton, ſon to the Rev. Mr John Livingſton at Ancrum, was apprehended with all his papers; but after a month's impriſonment, was releaſed upon finding bail to appear when called. But;

Mr Warner met with ſeverer treatment. He had been licenſed 1669, and was ordained at London, with a view to be ſettled in the Eaſt-Indies. Accordingly he arrived there, and was about three years miniſter at Fort St. George upon the coaſt of Coromandel. He returned to Scotland about the year 1677, and preached in houſes and in the fields, as he had opportunity till Bothwell. Then he retired to Holland, where he continued till laſt year, when he

he came and married a daughter of the Rev. Mr William Guthrie. The day after he was apprehended he was carried up the ſtreet to the Parliament-cloſe, under a guard of a whole company of muſqueteers, as if he had been ſome notable malefactor, and brought before a committee of the council, where he was examined as to his preaching in the fields, the primate's death, the papers found about him, the Second Book of Diſcipline. They had nothing to lay to his charge but non-conformity. He was ſeveral times before them, and though they were at great pains to find a ſufficient accuſation, yet they laboured in vain. He continued in priſon, without receiving aliment, not for want of inclination, but matter.

During his impriſonment he lectured and preached twice every Lord's day to the priſoners, and ſome others, who, by the intereſt of friends or money could be admitted. After ſundry applications of his friends it was propoſed that he ſhould give bond not to preach any more unleſs he conformed, or remain perpetually in priſon, or leave the kingdom, and give bail not to return without permiſſion, under the penalty of 5000 merks. He choſe the laſt, and the council, on the 6th of June 1672, ordered him to be releaſed and depart the kingdom in 15 days. When that time was expired he went to Berwick, and continued for a little on the Engliſh ſide of the Tweed, till he could get his family removed; then he hired a ſmall houſe near the village called Spittle, where he preached ſometimes in his own and ſometimes in a neighbouring houſe. But his enemies in Scotland being vexed that he went no farther, procured an order from the king and Engliſh council for apprehending him, ſo that here began a new period of his ſufferings. Mr Warner being apprehenſive of danger, found it neceſſary to retire farther into England, and at laſt took a houſe in Newcaſtle, whither he brought his family.

By this time colonel Struthers had repeated orders to ſeize him; and accordingly he was apprehended at a friend's houſe and carried that night to a private houſe five or ſix miles diſtant, and kept priſoner there. Mean while ſome of them, pretending to inform his wife and bring him linen, &c. went and rifled his houſe, and took with them what papers they could find. Next day he and his papers were brought to col. Struthers, who was a juſtice of peace. Mr Warner ſhewed him the act by which he was releaſed and baniſhed from Scotland, and civily aſked him what he had to lay to his charge ſince he came to England, and at the ſame time aſſured him he had never returned into Scotland ſince that time.

The colonel being ſurpriſed, called for him next day, and aſked him if he was willing to take the oath of allegiance. Mr Warner deſired time to conſider of it. Upon this he was committed to Newcaſtle jail, his mittimus only bearing that he had refuſed to take the oath of allegiance. He continued here ſeven or eight weeks, till the ſitting of the aſſizes. Being informed that the ſaid oath would be put to him, he reſolved to take it if he found that there was nothing of the ſupremacy in it.

When called before the court, he humbly deſired to be ſatisfied in a few things, which the judge permitting, he aſked, 1. 'Whether this oath did bind him to allegiance to the king's ſucceſſor *de facto*, as well as *de jure*?' The judge anſwered, It did not. 2. Whereas the oath binds him to be obedient to the king and laws, he deſired to be ſatisfied, 'Whether in caſe of any of the laws ſhould be ſuch as he could not in conſcience give active obedience to, he was bound by this oath, any farther than either to obey or ſuffer according to law?' The judge declared he was bound no farther. 3. Since he was a ſtranger in England, and perhaps might in a little time remove elſe where, he deſired to know, 'Whether he was, by the oath offered juſt now, bound to give the obedience formerly mentioned any longer than he was in England, ſeeing, when he comes to live in another nation or kingdom, it may be ſuppoſed he muſt be obedient to the laws thereof, and yet thoſe, in ſeveral things may be different from thoſe in England?' The judge told him his obedience was no longer due than while he continued in England. He took the oath upon theſe terms, and was releaſed.

The reader cannot but obſerve, that though matters were very bad in England at this time, yet tyranny and oppreſſion were not arrived at that height as they were by our prelatical managers in Scotland; for here Mr Warner was allowed to propoſe his ſcruples in open court concerning the oath of allegiance; but in Scotland a noble peer was condemned to die only for offering an explanation of the ſelf contradictory teſt. Mr Warner's charges by his jail fees, the loſs of his books and papers, &c. were upwards of 100 l. ſterl. He retired ſoon after to Roterdam, where he continued till 1687, when he returned to his native country, and was very uſeful in the church of Scotland for many years after the revolution.

From what Mr Warner ſuffered, one may form a judgment of the ſufferings of many others in this period, of whom my author could give no account, ſuch as profeſſor George Campbell of Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Hog at Kiltearn in the ſhire of Roſs, Mr James Veitch at Mauchlin, Mr Alex. Pitcairn at Dron, Mr James Kirktoun after the revolution miniſter at Edinburgh, Mr A. Haſty at Glaſgow, Mr Robert Langlands, firſt at the Barony church in Glaſgow, and then at Elgin in Murry, Mr William Archibald, Mr Jo. Harroway, Mr Pat. Cooper and others, who were refugees in Holand. This was alſo the caſe of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, as the earl of Loudon, lord Strathnaver, afterwards earl of Sutherland, and lord Stair.

On the 23d of February, the council conſidering that ſeveral of the clergy in the dioceſe of Aberdeen had taken the teſt, paſſed an act allowing them to return to their charges, and enjoy the profits and emoluments of the ſame, as Mr John Menzies profeſſor of divinity in the Mariſchal college, Mr Pat. Simpſon, and Mr. Will. Blair miniſters of the ſaid burgh, Mr Ja. Garden profeſſor of divinity in Old Aberdeen, Mr Geo. Anderſon in Mortlich, Mr Jo. Barclay in Cruden, Mr Jo. Corkbrien at Old-Deer, and Mr Pat. Innes at Bamff, Mr Robert Irvine at Towie, and ſeveral others of the recuſant clergy, getting the better of their ſcruples were admitted to take the teſt.

On the 3d of March William Harvey was executed at Lanerk. He had liberty to deliver his laſt words, though the drums were ready to beat. He declared himſelf a Preſbyterian, and that, in his judgment, people ſhould obey the king in his lawful authority. He likewiſe declared that he believed the Scripture, the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms, adhered to the Covenants and all the faithful teſtimonies ſince 1660, and that he was for kingly government according to God's word. He died with much compoſure. And though he was made a ſacrifice to the Lanerk declaration, yet it does not appear that he had any concern in that, but only in proclaiming the weſt country declaration before Bothwell.

A few days after this the council, being informed of ſome conventicles, gave proper orders for puniſhing the perſons guilty with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law.

Mean while the duke of York, having ſignified his intention of going to England to meet the king at Newmarket, required Queenſberry to follow him, in order to lay before his majeſty the ſtate of the treaſury; and ſays biſhop Burnet, 'at parting he recommended to the council to preſerve the public peace, to ſupport the church, and oblige all men to live regularly in obedience to the laws.'

The biſhops made their court to him with ſo much zeal, that they wrote a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterburry, to be communicated to the reſt of the Engliſh biſhops, ſetting forth in a very high ſtrain his affection to the church and his care of it; and leaſt this piece of merit had been ſlifled by Standcroft, they ſent a copy of it to the preſs, which was a greater reproach to them than ſervice to the duke, who could not but deſpiſe ſuch abject and indecent flattery. My author, ſays biſhop Peterſon, went up with the duke, and probably carried the letter, which was as follows.

March 9th 1682.

May it pleaſe your grace.

HIS royal highneſs having paſſed from hence on Monday laſt, being called by the king to attend his majeſty at New market, we ſhould prove very defective in duty and gratitude, if upon this occaſion, we ſhould

ſhould forget to acknowlege to your grace, how much this poor church and our order do owe to his princely care and goodneſs, that his majeſty and the worthy biſhops of England may from you receive the juſt account thereof. Since his royal highneſs's coming to this kingdom, we find our caſe much changed to the better, and our church and order, which through the cunning and power of their adverſaries, were expoſed to extreme hazard and contempt, ſenſibly relieved and reſcued; which, next to the watchful providence of God, that mercifully ſuperintends his church, we can aſcribe to nothing ſo much as to his royal highneſs's gracious owning and vigilant protection of us. Upon all occaſions, he gives freſh inſtances of his eminent zeal againſt the moſt unreaſonable ſchiſm, which, by rending, threatens the ſubverſion of our church and religion, and concerns himſelf, as a patron to us, in all our public and even perſonal intereſts; ſo that all men take notice of his ſignal kindneſs to us and obſerve, that he looks on the enemies of the church, as adverſaries to the monarchy itſelf; nor did we ever propoſe or offer to his royal highneſs any rational expedient, which might conduce for relief or ſecurity of the church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate. The peace and tranquillity of this kingdom is the effect of his prudent and ſteady conduct of affairs, and the humours of our wicked fanatics are much reſtrained from dangerous eruptions, upon their apprehenſions of his vigilance and juſtice; for they dread nothing ſo much as to ſee him upon the head of his majeſty's councils and forces againſt them. We hope your grace will make our dutiful acknowlegments to his royal highneſs, for all his princely favours to us, and give him the moſt fervent aſſurance of our ſincere endeavours to ſerve him, and of our moſt fervent prayers for his temporal and eternal happineſs, as the bound duty of us. May it pleaſe your grace, your grace's moſt humble, &c.' This famous letter was ſubſcribed by the archbiſhops of St Andrews and Glaſgow, the biſhops of Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechin and Dumblain, and was publiſhed at London on the 28th of April. When the duke was gone, the counſellors were ordered to ſtay at Edinburgh till his return. On the 21ſt lord Livingſtone and the marquis of Athol were impowered to act againſt conventicles, and had ſoldiers to aſſiſt them, as was likewiſe the earl of Linlithgow on the 30th. On the 27th, Chriſtian Fife, a poor illiterate woman, was proſecuted before the juſticiary for high-treaſon, for beating one Mr Ramſay in the Old kirk of Edinburgh, and declaring that ſhe thought the king no lawful king, &c. She was ſentenced to be hanged on the 7th of April, which was done accordingly.

On the 4th of April Thomas Greg merchant in Carrick, travelling with his pack, was ſeized by Claver-houſe, and, after his money and goods were taken from him, was carried firſt to Newtoun in Galloway, and next to Dumfries, where he was impriſoned, and had been ſtarved to death had it not been for the charitable ſupplies of good people. After eleven days impriſonment, without any trial or ſentence, he and ſundry others were put aboard a ſhip at Leith bound for Holland, and gifted as recruits there.

On the 7th Robert Fleming of Auchinlin, Hugh Macllwraith of Auchinfloor, major Joſeph Learmont and Robert MacClelland of Barſcob, who, with ſeveral others, had been forfeited in life and fortune, having been apprehended, were brought before the juſticiary, and without any farther trial, ordered to be executed at the Graſs-market of Edinburgh on Wedneſday the 12; but it ſeems all of them got off through intereſt. Barſcob made ſome compliances, and was of uſe to the managers afterwards.

On the 23d the Rev. Mr Henry Erſkine was apprehended, when at family-worſhip, by Meldrum with a party of ſoldiers, and ſent priſoner to Melroſs. Next day his nephew James Erſkine of Sheilfield became bail for his appearance, when called, in the ſum of 5000 merks. He was ordained miniſter at Cornhill in the north of England about 1649, and was ejected by the act of uniformity. He afterwards returned to Scotland, where he preached, ſometimes in the fields, and frequently in his own houſe, till September laſt year, when he was rendered incapable of preaching or praying by a violent indiſpoſition of body. Meldrum, on the 8th of May, called for him and his bail, and having given up the bond, carried him priſoner to Jedburgh, where he was a ſecond time releaſed, upon bail to appear at Edinburgh on the 12th.

Mean while the duke of York arrived on the 8th, and immediately told the council, That it was his majeſty's pleaſure the lord preſident, afterwards earl of Aberdeen, be chancellor, Queenſberry treaſurer, and the earl of Perth juſtice general. This laſt, who ſoon after turned papiſt, being now at the head of the criminal court, the ſufferers could expect no favour, and their reaſons for continuing to diſown the then authority could not but be ſtrengthened.

The duke was ſhipwrecked on his return. He and ſeveral more were ſaved in the boat; but the earl of Roxburgh, the laird of Hopeton, Sir Joſeph Douglas, the lord Obrian, with the duke's brother-in-law Mr Hyde, and ſeveral others, were loſt. Biſhop Burnet tells us, 'That, as he was going back to bring the duchеſs, the Gloceſter frigate that carried him ſtruck on a bank of ſand. The duke got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and ſome unknown perſons, who were ſuppoſed, from that earneſt care of his, to be prieſts. The long-boat went off with very few in her, though ſhe might have carried conſiderably more than ſhe did. 150 perſons periſhed, ſome of them men of great quality. But the duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was chiefly laid to Leg's charge.

On the 12th Mr Henry Erſkine, notwithſtanding of his being ſeized with an ague, came to Edinburgh, and was brought before a committee of the council, where, after ſome previous examination, the advocate aſked him if he would bind himſelf to preach no more at conventicles. 'He anſwered, my lord, I have my commiſſion from Chriſt, and, though I were within an hour of my death, I durſt not lay it down at any mortal man's foot.' His affair was delayed till the ſixth of June.

Mean while on the 15th of May, the duke and duchеſs of York ſet out for England, whither he could now repair with eaſe, when the patrons of liberty, were ſuppreſſed, and the vileſt men were exalted.

On the 17th one Robert Gray an Engliſhman, and conſequently none of their ſubjects, having been apprehended about ten months before, upon what pretence is not known, was before the juſticiary. They had nothing to lay to his charge when he was ſeized. But ſome time laſt month he wrote a letter from priſon, in anſwer to one he had received from John Anderſon, wherein he approved of what had been done in caſting off the tyranny; and called the oath, appointed by the laſt parliament, the *black teſt*. He owned the letter, and the expreſſion in it to be his opinion, and for this was condemned to be hanged in the Graſs-market of Edinburgh on the 19th, which was executed accordingly. His teſtimony is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, wherein he juſtly obſerves, that they were unjuſtly taking away his life merely for adhering to his principles, and had no matter of fact to prove againſt him, &c.

When he was brought to the council-houſe, and deſired to purge the city of blood, he told them that judgment would overtake the city for the innocent blood that had been ſhed there. At the place of execution he ſung Pſal. lxxxiv. and read John xv. and, after he had prayed, went up the ladder, and, looking about to the multitude, ſaid, 'Sirs, you are feeding your eyes upon me, but what ſee ye upon me? Surely you ſee not the wrath of God upon me: but, if ye would look up to the heavens, you might ſee the wrath of an angry God againſt yourſelves. —I am brought out of another nation to own that covenant which ye have broken.—Glory, glory, glory be to his name, that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him, in witneſſing againſt his enemies, and the wrongs done to my Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt.—As for you who are the remnant of the Lord's people,—keep your ground, and beware of turning aſide to one hand or another; and I will aſſure you the Lord will prepare a Zoar for you. Cleave to truth and to one another, and, as ſure as God lives, ye ſhall ſee yet glorious days in Scotland; for I die in the faith of it, that he is on his way returning to the

land; but wo! wo! wo! will be to thoſe who are enemies and ſtrangers to him.' After he had prayed a little within himſelf, he was turned over.

The day after this execution the council, in conſequence of what the duke of York recommended to them at his departure, gave inſtructions to general Dalziel to march with ſome ſoldiers to the ſhires of Lanerk and Ayr, and to ſend the laird of Meldrum, and what officers he ſhould judge proper, to the ſhires of Roxburgh, Selkirk and Berwick.

The general's inſtructions were very extenſive. He was, among other things, to hear and conſider what propoſals duke Hamilton and the other commiſſioners of the ſhire would make for ſecuring the peace of it for the future,—to call for a liſt of ſuch rebels as had not yet ſubmitted, to hear what ſubmiſſion any of them would make, to think upon proper methods for apprehending any of them, or of any vagrant preachers, and for making perſons, both innocent and guilty, keep their pariſh churches, &c. The general and thoſe commiſſioned by him obeyed theſe inſtructions.

On the 29th the council, having information of a riot in the pariſh of Dron upon Mr Drummond, ordered a company of foot under captain Maitland to quarter on the pariſh, and to receive orders from the marquis of Athol, and apprehend thoſe concerned in it, eſpecially Mr Alexander Pitcairn and his beadle, who were reputed to have promoted it. Some priſoners were upon this afterwards ſent in to Edinburgh, and the marquis of Athol had thanks for his diligence.

On the 6th of June Mr Henry Erſkine was indicted before the council for preaching at conventicles, diſorderly marriages and baptiſms. He denied the whole, and pleaded his indiſpoſition ſince 1681. But, becauſe he would not ſwear againſt himſelf, he was ſentenced to pay 5000 merks fine, to go that night to the priſon at Edinburgh, and next day to the Baſs till the fine was paid. Mr John Linlithgow of Redpath was proſecuted with him, and received the ſame ſentence. But what was the conſequence with reſpect to him my author does not know. Mr Erſkine, through the intereſt of ſome friends, eſcaped going to the Baſs, and was allowed to depart out of the kingdom. He retired to the north of England, where he lived ſomewhat at eaſe for two years and a half. Then he was apprehended, and was for ſome time a priſoner. After he was releaſed he continued preaching every Lord's day at Monnilaus till 1687, when he returned to Scotland, and kept a meeting houſe till the revolution, when he was called to be a miniſter at Churnſide, where he died 1696.

On the 8th of June the council gave a commiſſion to Andrew Atchiſon writer in Edinburgh, under the direction of the lord Montgomery, Sir Archibald Stuart of Blackhall, &c. to proceed againſt perſons guilty of church diſorders in the ſhire of Renfrew, and for apprehending rebels, vagrant preachers, or the harbourers of them, &c. The officers of the army were commanded to aſſiſt in proſecuting the ends of this commiſſion.

Next day the following miniſters were outlawed, viz. Meſſ. James Rymer, Robert Gilleſpie, Thomas Arnot, John Harroway, John Ferguſon, John Gilleſpie and John Moncrief.

The ſame day Mr Thomas Archer, who had ſince July laſt year been in priſon for non-conformity, was releaſed. While in the Canongate jail he is ſaid to have made himſelf maſter of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and ſome other oriental languages. He went over to Holland, and improved himſelf in all the valuable branches of literature, and was there ordained by Mr Fleming and other Scots preſbyterian miniſters then at Roterdam. We ſhall hear more of him afterwards, when he came over with Argyll.

The council, on this 9th of June, authoriſed duke Hamilton, and others, to grant ſafe conduct to ſuch of the reputed rebels as petitioned for it under a becoming ſenſe of their rebellion, and upon ſignifying their reſolution to live regularly for the future. This commiſſion was to continue only to the 3d of Auguſt. It was afterwards lengthened out to the 15th, and then to the 6th of September. Some petitions were preſented, and the petitioners allowed to come in before the council. But few who were concerned in Bothwell took the benefit of this becauſe the teſt was impoſed on all who came before the council.

On the 15th the ſocieties united for correſpondence had their general quarterly meeting at Tala lin in the pariſh of Tweedſmuir in the ſhire of Peebles, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours againſt the errors of James Ruſſel and others, who had run into the extravagancies of John Gib. The curate of the pariſh acquainted the council with this meeting, which gave riſe to a moſt virulent proclamation. Some of them it ſeems were in arms, but their number was ſmall, not near to what they were repreſented in the proclamation I ſhall juſt now give an abſtract.

Mean while, on the 7th of July, one Robert Nairn, in the pariſh of Bonhill, was brought under a ſeries of troubles. The fine which was laid upon him ſome time laſt year was now exacted. He was forced to quit his employment, leave his houſe and family, and diſmiſs his ſervants. His houſe was frequently rifled.

About this time John Bredin in the ſame pariſh, John Flockhart in the Hole of Kippen, and Thomas Thomſon in Eaſter Couchland, were, for mere non conformity, harraſſed by the oppreſſions of fines, quarterings, and the like.

The council, on the 8th of July, publiſhed a moſt ſevere proclamation in the king's name, ſetting forth, That of late, ſome traitors, runnagadoes and fugitives had aſſembled, about the number of 80, with forbidden weapons, and in an unlawful manner, near to Tala lin in the ſhire of Peebles; and that the people of that country had been ſo deficient in their duty as not to give timely notice of ſuch meetings either to the council or ſheriff of the ſhire; and therefore they commanded all the ſubjects in town and country throughout the kingdom, upon knowlege or information that any number of men meet unlawfully in arms, or appear in company in any place, or where any one or two of ſuch as are declared traitors or fugitives ſhall repair, that they preſently give intimation of it to the chancellor, or ſuch of the council as ſhall be at Edinburgh for the time, or to any commander of the forces that ſhall be neareſt, and to the ſheriff of the ſhire, ſtewart of the ſtewartry, &c. where the ſaid meeting or perſons appear, or are informed to be, and that within the ſpace of one hour at moſt for every three miles diſtance they are at the time from Edinburgh, or from the neareſt commander of the forces, ſheriff or other magiſtrates. Upon this information all ſheriffs, magiſtrates, &c. were required to aſſemble a ſufficient number of the ſubjects, with whom they were to ſearch for and apprehend ſuch perſons, and purſue them till they are apprehended or expelled out of their juriſdictions, and, upon their flight, to acquaint the magiſtrates of the next ſhire, who are required to do the ſame, and ſo from ſhire to ſhire till they were expelled the kingdom. And whoever were refractory, were required, to be treated as being art and part with them.

The proclamation, of which this is but a ſhort abſtract, ſpeaks for itſelf, and ſufficiently ſhews the ſpirit of the managers. The ſociety meetings were held with the utmoſt ſecrecy. The occaſion and deſign of them we have already ſhewn; but now the proclamation for the *Hue and Cry*, as it was called, was publiſhed, which, could not but expoſe the poor wanderers to the greateſt oppreſſion and calamities. When the adminiſtration was in ſuch hands we need not wonder though things ſtill grew worſe and worſe; for they next granted not only a council-power, but alſo a juſticiary-power to ſome officers of the army, and others of deſperate fortunes and ill morals.

Accordingly, on the third of Auguſt, the council, conſidering how remiſs magiſtrates were in puniſhing thoſe that kept conventicles, withdrew from ordinances, &c. and in ſuffering thoſe in the late rebellion to live in quiet, &c. ordered a commiſſion to be given to major White, and the laird of Meldrum, to meet and confer with ſheriffs, bailies of regalities, and other magiſtrates, and call before them, when and where they ſhall think proper, all perſons, whether in town or country, whether heritors, tenants, or others, guilty or ſuſpected to be guilty of withdrawing from ordinances, &c. ſince the indemnity 1679, to hold courts, to pronounce ſentence, and order the ſame

to be executed upon the guilty. And, if the magiſtrates ſhould refuſe to concur, the ſaid commiſſioners had power to act by themſelves, and to call the magiſtrates in the ſhires under their juriſdictions to account for their diligence againſt the perſons guilty of the ſaid diſorders. The commiſſioners were alſo impowered to inform themſelves of thoſe who were in the late rebellion, and yet lived in their bounds, and enjoyed their rents and moveables, that they might take an inventary of them, to ſequeſter them for his majeſty's uſe, and purſue and apprehend the rebels themſelves, and the harbourers of them, in order to their being brought to juſtice. They likewiſe ordered a juſticiary power to the ſaid major White and the laird of Meldrum, with authority to call before them any of the late rebels, not being heritors, to bring them to a trial, and paſs ſentence upon them, as they ſhall be brought in innocent or guilty.

By this act it is very plain, that the executive power was taken out of the hands of inferior magiſtrates, and put into thoſe of their own creatures; and the officers of the army had now the power of life and death. In conſequence of this act, divers kinds of commiſſions were granted, which I ſhall not here inſert. White and Meldrum received their commiſſions in the terms of the act. Commiſſions of the ſame nature were, about the end of the year, granted to Crawford of Ardmillan, the earl of Linlithgow, John Skene of Hallyards and Kenneth MacKenzie of Siddie, which laſt was for the northern ſhires of Roſs and Cromarty.

The ſame day Thomas Lauchlan, who was one of thoſe forfeited, and ordered for execution when apprehended, was before the juſticiary; and on the 13th, was ordered to be hanged at the Graſs-market of Edinburgh on the 16th.

On the 29th of September the advocate was ordered to proſecute one Mr Robert Kennedy for being in the rebellion 1679, and for field conventicles ſince the indemnity; but the iſſue is not known.

On the 20th of October the earl of Middelton was made conjunct ſecretary with the earl of Moray; ſo that by the alterations which were made, many of the duke's creatures had the management of affairs put into their hands.

Some time this month James Robertſon in Stonehouſe in the ſhire of Lanerk, who uſually travelled with a pack coming to Kilmarnock, went to ſee an acquaintance who was in priſon there. While with him, without the leaſt offence or provocation, his pack and goods were taken from him, and himſelf carried to the guard houſe, where he was kept cloſe priſoner for 10 or 12 days. During which time he was brought before major White, and refuſing to give his oath *ſuper inquirendis*, was moſt barbarouſly treated. The major pulled him by the noſe, and wrung it till the blood guſhed out. A fit perſon this to be veſted with juſticiary power! Then he was ſent to priſon; and, when he and his fellow priſoner offered to worſhip God, the captain of the guard came with fury pulled the Bible out of his hand, and ſwore he would burn it if they offered to be thus engaged. After a few weeks he was carried to Edinburgh. At Linlithgow he was preſſed to drink the king's health, and, upon refuſing, the ſoldiers treated him with the utmoſt rudeneſs, by tying his head and feet together, and leaving him all night in that poſture. Next day he was carried to Edinburgh with his feet tyed under the horſe's belly, and in December next was put to a violent death, as ſhall be related in its proper place.

On the 15th of November Alexander Hume portioner of Hume was indicted before the lords of juſticiary for riſing in rebellion againſt the king, marching up and down in arms, rendezvouſing with the rebels in Bewlyedge, &c. But, as there was no proof againſt him, the lords dropt the proceſs. Nevertheleſs, becauſe he could not take the teſt, he was kept in priſon till the 20th of December when he was again indicted by the advocate.

Mean while, on the 16th, dame Katharine Rig lady Cavers appeared before the council for being preſent at conventicles ſince 1679, and for having heard Meſſ. Cargill, Arnot and Semple, declared traitors, and Thomas Douglas, Archibald Riddel and James Oſburn. They had no proof; but, becauſe ſhe would not ſwear againſt herſelf, they fined her in 500 l. ſterling, and ſent her to priſon till ſhe paid it, and found bail to be preſent at no conventicles. She continued a priſoner in Stirling-caſtle till the end of the year 1684.

On the 11th of December James Robertſon before mentioned, with William Cochran in Carnduff, and John Finlay in the pariſh of Kilmarnock were indicted before the juſticiary for high-treaſon. Their indictment was founded on the anſwers they gave at their previous examination, for no matters of fact were laid to their charge.

The examination of James Robertſon before a committee of the council, was as follows: *Q.* Is the king your lawful prince, yea, or not? *A.* Since ye make your queſtions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to deliberate upon them; but ſeeing I am put to it, I anſwer, 'As he is a terror to evil doers, and a praiſe to them that do well,' he is, or he is not. *Q.* Were Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory? *A.* They being in their own defence, and the defence of the goſpel, they were not acts of traitory and rebellion, ſelf-defence being always lawful, which I prove from the Confeſſion of Faith, whereon you ground yourſelves in that article, which is, That ſubjects may reſiſt unjuſt violence and tyranny. *Q.* Wherein lies his tyranny? *A.* If robbing the privileges of the church be not an act of tyranny, I refer to be judged. *Q.* Is the king a tyrant? *A.* I refer to his obligation in the coronation oath, and his preſent actings and practices, in robbing the privileges of the goſpel, with the uſurpation of the church's liberties and the prerogatives royal of Jeſus Chriſt the Anointed of the Father, in making himſelf ſupreme; and I refer it to perſons at home, and nations abroad. *Q.* Was you at Bothwellbridge? *A.* Ye count it an act of traitory, and alſo rebellion; bear witneſs of it, and ſo make it evident. *Q.* Purge yourſelf by oath, ſo we offer to ſet you at liberty. *A.* I will ſay no more of it, for when I told the truth to ſome of you, it was not believed. One of them ſaid, *Q.* Now, I will try if you are a man of parts: there was an act of parliament, when the Confeſſion of Faith was made, declaring that the king was ſupreme, and it was owned by the preſbyterians at that time. *A.* How could that be owned, ſeeing the Confeſſion itſelf was owned? Shew me the act. But it was not produced. *Q.* Was the biſhop's death murder? *A.* When I am a judge, ſet on the bench, I ſhall paſs ſentence thereupon. *Q.* Own you the Lanerk and Sanquhar declarations? *A.* I cannot own any thing till I ſee and conſider it. *Q.* Do you keep your pariſh kirk? *A.* If the miniſter has ought to challenge me with, let him do it. *Q.* Now, as a teſt of your loyalty, will you ſay, God ſave the king? *A.* Prayer ought to be gone about with compoſure and deliberation, and I am not in a compoſure for it. *Q.* Would you ſeek a bleſſing if at meat? *A.* If you were preſent you would ſee. Then one of them ſaid, Theſe principles will condemn you. He anſwered, If I be abſolved of God, it is the leſs matter though men condemn me. The examination of William Cochran and John Finlay, and their anſwers, were much to the ſame purpoſe. All the three owned their anſwers before the criminal court: and, though no other proof was againſt them, they were condemned to be hanged at the Graſs-market on Friday the 15th of December.

When James Robertſon offered to ſpeak on the ſcaffold, he was interrupted by the drums; and, complaining of this, Johnſtoun the town-major beat him with his cane. This unprecedented cruelty to a dying man, together with the patience and cheerfulneſs of the martyr, convinced ſome of the ſpectators of the vileneſs of prelacy and perſecution. And ſeveral told my author, that they dated their firſt ſerious impreſſions at the execution of theſe martyrs of Jeſus. In his laſt teſtimony he ſpeaks thus concerning his declining to ſay God ſave the king. 'The refuſing to ſay God ſave the king, which we find was the order that was uſed in and among the children of Iſrael at the king's anointing to that office, and uſed in our own nation at the coronation. Now this, being only due to a lawful king, ought not to be given but to a lawful king, and ſo not to him being a degenerate tyrant; for if I ſhould, I thereby had ſaid amen to all that he hath done againſt the church and liberties thereof, and to all his oppreſſion,

preſſion, by unlawful exactions and raiſing of armies for no other effect but to deprive us of hearing the goſpel, and troubling and moleſting the ſubjects both in their conſciences and external liberties, and alſo to the bloodſhed and murders upon the people of God, and free ſubjects of the kingdom, and to bid him God ſpeed, contrary to 2d epiſtle of John, ver. 10. And ſeeing it cannot be given to any that have thus uſed their power to a wrong end, and ſo much leſs when they have ſet him up as an idol in the room of God incarnate. And ſhall I pray to bleſs that man in his perſon and government, which God hath curſed; for it cannot be expected but that he ſhall be curſed that thus ventureth on the boſſes of the buckler of God almighty.'

William Cochran, in his laſt teſtimony upon the ſame point, has theſe words: 'Now, the main article of my indictment, upon which I have received my ſentence of death from men, was, that I would not ſay God ſave the king, which (as they have now ſtated him an idol in the Mediator's room) I could not do, without being guilty of ſaying amen to all that he hath done againſt the church and people of God, and true ſubjects of the kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof; and have done contrary to 2d epiſt. John, ver. 10.—And alſo, ye know, that the taking the name of God in our mouths is a part of worſhip, and ſo a worſhipping of their idol; for, before our faces they ſay, That he was king over all perſons, and over all cauſes, which is a putting him in God's room.'

Now, the prelatical pamphleteers mightily extol the clemency of this period, in being willing to pardon criminals, if they would only ſay God ſave the king, and exclaim againſt the obſtinacy of thoſe who would not comply with ſuch eaſy terms; but I have laid before the reader their own reaſons, in their own words, and he is to judge, whether it was not conſcience, rather than obſtinacy, that kept them from yielding to this. If they complied, they muſt either be ſerious in ſpeaking the words or not. If they were not, they knew it was a taking God's name in vain; and if they were ſerious, then they judged that thereby they approved of all that was done. But, not to detain the reader farther on this point, theſe three godly men were executed according to their ſentence.

On the 11th of December, — Hay of Arrioland, Al. Hunter of Colquhaſſen, And. Martin of Little Ellies, Jam. Welſh of Little Cloudon, MacCulloch of Barholm, Gordon ſecond ſon of the deceaſed laird of Holm, Meſſ. Samuel Arnot and Thomas Warner miniſters, Haliday of Mayfield, Will. Thomſon younger of Moncraig, Kennedy younger of Knockhallonie, Alex. MacNaught younger of Overtoun, Thomas Crichton of Hole of Balwhaſſie, John Brown ſmith and heritor of Newton, were, in abſence, declared rebels, and outlawed, and their goods and chattles forfeited. But this ſentence was thought too mild, for the managers wanted to finger their eſtates; and therefore, on the 18th, all the above mentioned gentlemen, except Moncraig and Knockhallonie, together with William Grierſon of Kolchquher were ordered, upon their being apprehended, to be executed as traitors, when and where the lords ſhould appoint. However, it does not appear that any of them were executed. Alex. MacKie of Drumboy and Ant. Mackie of Glencard, being then priſoners, were ſentenced to be executed at the croſs of Edinburgh, the firſt Wedneſday of July next, but it ſeems providence interpoſed in their behalf.

Mean time Alex. Hume of Hume became a ſacrifice to prelatical rage; for though nothing worthy of death or bond was found againſt him, yet he was a ſecond time indicted before the lords of juſticiary on the 20th of December; but, though the witneſſes did not agree, and the whole of the evidence was lame, yet he was brought in guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh on Friday the 29th. The day was haſtened to prevent any application to be made to the king in his behalf. And though his friends, fearing what would come, made intereſt, ſo that a pardon came down ſome days before the execution, yet the earl of Perth kept it up. Mrs Hume begged the lady Perth, the morning of her huſband's execution, to intercede for his life on account of her five ſmall children; but her ladyſhip, throwing off all the tenderneſs of her ſex, anſwered her in language which my author did not chuſe to inſert. I ſhall only obſerve, that the reader may here ſee, that not only thoſe who renounced the king's authority, but even thoſe that had not as yet clearneſs to take that ſtep, became a prey to the perſecutors, when they had a mind to vent their rage. Mr Hume's laſt words on the ſcaffold expreſſed the ſpirit of Chriſtianity as much as any of the martyrs; and, among other things, he ſaid,—'I am come here to lay down my life, and I bleſs the Lord I am not to lay it down as an evil doer; for though I be a ſinful man, as others are by nature, yet, through his grace, I hope I am planted in Chriſt Jeſus.—The world repreſents me as ſeditious and diſloyal, but God is my witneſs, and my own conſcience, of my innocency in this matter. I am loyal, and did ever judge obedience unto lawful authority my duty, and the duty of all Chriſtians.—But all a Chriſtian doth muſt be with faith; for what claſheth with the command of God cannot be our duty; and I pray the Lord may help the king to do his duty to the people, and people to do their duty to the king.' He declared his adherence to the covenants and works of reformation, his fears of judgments coming on the land, his own aſſurance of his future happineſs, forgave all his enemies, and all who had a hand in his death, took his farewel of all creature enjoyments, committing his wife and children to the care and protection of heaven, and his own ſpirit into the hands of Jeſus; and, juſt before he was turned off, concluded his life by ſinging Pſalm xvii. laſt verſe. His wife and children endured many hardſhips after this, but God ſupported them under, and brought them out of their troubles at the revolution.

The various commiſſions, of which we have ſpoken, and other things, together with the malicious activity of the curates, were the occaſion of the moſt unaccountable oppreſſions in almoſt all parts of the country; inſomuch, that, were all the particular inſtances to be mentioned, they would fill a volume by themſelves. Soldiers were ſent to the different ſhires where the commiſſioners were to act, and committed unheard of cruelties with impunity. Several had commiſſions, as the laird of Lagg and others, beſides thoſe mentioned above, and all were executed with rigour. I cannot, however, but give the reader a few inſtances:

In the pariſh of Twinham ſeveral country women, with ſucking children at their breaſts, were impriſoned by David Graham, becauſe they would not oblige themſelves to keep their pariſh-church and hear the incumbent. In the pariſh of Tunnergarth huſbands were forced, either to oblige themſelves to bring their wives to church, or not to harbour them; and ſuch was the piety of the curate of that pariſh, that, if any preſumed to meet together for prayer, he threatened to inform againſt them as a conventicle; and having notice of ſome of the perſons concerned in this dreadful irregularity, he ſent ſoldiers to their houſes. In the pariſh of St Mungo in Annandale, becauſe a boy of 16 years of age did not appear at one of their military courts. Cornet Graham ſent a party of ſoldiers to quarter on his father who kept the church regularly; for the curate ſaid, in that infamous court, that it was but fit the father ſhould be puniſhed for the child, whom he ought to have made regular by a bridle. And many parents were thus ſerved, while the papiſts were wholly overlooked, though maſs was openly ſaid; but theſe were the good friends of the royal brother and his creatures!

The ſame courſe was taken in Galloway, where multitudes of non-conformiſts were attacked by Claverhouſe, though none of them were concerned in any riſing. In the pariſh of New Glenluce he ſeized John Archbald, Ant. MacBridge, John MacCleanochan and John Wallace, for not hearing the incumbent. They were not only kept above 12 weeks in priſon, but alſo ſoldiers were ſent to their houſes to quarter in their families and eat up all their living. Then Claverhouſe ordered them to be tied two and two, and ſet on bare backed horſes, and be carried to Edinburgh; but, when they were gone a day's journey, he ſent a ſervant after them, and obliged them to purchaſe their liberty, by giving each a bond for 1000 merks. This ſame year James Harris of Ardmenoch and

and his ſon John were impriſoned at Dumfries, by capt. Strachan, for not hearing the incumbent, and kept there till they paid 186 l. Scots, beſides 30 s. ſterl. to the jailors.

Major White and Ardmillan dreadfully haraſſed the ſhire of Ayr. John Boyd ſchoolmaſter in Cowend, for not hearing the incumbent, was forced to pay 40 l. Scots to Ardmillan, had his houſe pillaged, and himſelf ſent to priſon at Edinburgh. The major went through almoſt all the pariſhes in this ſhire, held courts, fined the non-conformiſts, and impriſoned not a few. The incumbents were the principal informers. He generally forced all, where ever he came, to oblige themſelves, wives, children, and ſervants, to keep the church, to abandon conventicles, &c. under the penalty of 100 merks; ſo that great ſums of money were, by this means, extorted from the poor country. In the pariſh of Dalmellingtoun the following perſons were fined at one of his courts, Roger Dun 100 merks, and 30 l. to Drumſuy, becauſe the fine was ſo ſmall. John Edgar 50 merks, Robert Dun 100 merks, and to Drumſuy as above, Peter MacWhiter 100 merks, and afterwards 100 l. for his wife's irregularity, David MacGill and John Wright 50 merks each, John Dun 100 merks, Ronald Rob and John Bizzard 25 merks each, and four days impriſonment; John Cuningham not appearing, his family was diſperſed, Ant. Bizzard 100 l. And, if ſo much was exacted in ſuch a ſmall pariſh, for hearing one ſermon out of it, what muſt have been levied in other places? In the pariſhes of Auchinleck and Cumnock the earl of Dumfries charged all perſons to appear before him, and fined all in 50 l. Scots who had not their children baptized by the incumbent. One Andrew Pathen was forced to pay the fine, becauſe he kept his child ſix weeks, though afterwards he carried it to the incumbent; but I omit the other inſtances of this kind.

In Renfrew ſhire matters were conducted much after the ſame manner, for, beſides the hoſtilities committed by lord Roſſe and others, the eſtate of Caldwell being now given to Claverhouſe, he kept a number of his bloody hounds there, who haraſſed the whole country round. One James Stevenſon in Braikoch, though he was neither at Pentland nor Bothwell, yet becauſe he was a tenant of Caldwell's, and would not countenance the epiſcopal incumbent, and had his children baptized by the wandering miniſters, was ſpulied of his all; the dragoon horſes were let looſe upon his victual, his family forced to ſkulk from place to place, and an old ruinous caſtle in the neighbourhood, and other deſert places was his reſort: but that was the fate of many.

The oppreſſions of the ſhire of Lanerk were inferior to none. The provoſt of Rutherglen was exceeding ſevere. For inſtance, he ſent his officers to a widow's in order to apprehend her ſon for not hearing the curate. The youth got out of their hands, and his ſiſter was fined in 30 l. on pretence of being acceſſory to his eſcape, and impriſoned. The mother fell ſick, but was not permitted to have her daughter to wait on her, though bail was offered. After a few days the provoſt came in the night-time, ſearched her houſe for her ſon, and, not finding him, obliged the poor woman to pay him 20 merks. I have often obſerved, that the clergy were the great inſtigators of theſe and ſuch like cruelties. In their viſiting families they generally took a note of thoſe who kept not the church, and from the rolls of the incumbents were formed the rolls of delinquents at theſe courts. My author gives a well-atteſted account of Mr Blair the profligate incumbent at Rutherglen. This wretch, viſiting his families, challenged a poor woman for not keeping the church. She began to give her reaſon; and, among others, mentioned the obligation of the covenants; upon which the ghoſtly father decently called her a covenanted whore, though at that time he was himſelf living in whoredom with one of his own ſervants, as was afterwards diſcovered. In the pariſh of Kilbride capt. Inglis haraſſed many families, and particularly ſeized Andrew Mack, John CarnDuff, and Thomas Miller; and, upon refuſing to give their oath *ſuper inquirendis*, ordered fiery matches to be put between their fingers, which put them to exquiſite torment. The power of torture was now aſſumed by the commander of a party! That ſame captain went to a widow's houſe to apprehend her ſon, and not finding him he called the neighbours, and made them all ſwear with the family in this form: 'By the Eternal God, and as I am content to loſe my part in heaven, I know not where John Mick is.' Thus the ſoldiers took upon them the power of impoſing oaths, as well as inflicting torture! John Skene laird of Hallyards made terrible havoc in the pariſh of Eaſt-monkland, to the utter ruin of many families for mere non-conformity. Meldrum ſucceeded him, and Inglis came after Meldrum; and in one houſe his party found a boy not 15 years of age, and becauſe he would not ſwear where his maſter was, they wounded him with their ſwords, dragged him by the hair to the fire, held his face before it till his eyes were ready to ſtart out of his head; and, when they thought they had left him for dead, they went off. However, he recovered, though he was diſtracted for ſome time.

It would be endleſs to account for all the particulars. John Archer in Strathmiglo in Fife, having been forced to leave his houſe, two of his children were ſeized with a fever, but were obliged to be removed to a retired houſe, where the other three fell ſick, and where this worthy perſon endured farther perſecution, as ſhall be obſerved in the next chapter. In the town of Inverkeithing, And. Adamſon ſurgeon endured peculiar hardſhips through the inſtigation of Mr Irwine the incumbent, as did likewiſe Thomas Thomſon a ſhip-maſter and his ſon, William Brown baker, Rob. Stuart ſhip maſter, who was long in jail at Edinburgh, with Mr Forreſt of Threeacres near Stirling. Theſe, with many others, were obliged to remove, with their families, becauſe of their non-conformity.

Though there were but few preſbyterians in the north, yet theſe did not eſcape. Mr Pitcairn miniſter at Dron was forced to leave his charge, and retire to Holland; and one Laurence Gibſon, in the neighbouring pariſh of Arngaſk, was put in priſon at Perth, and from thence carried to Edinburgh, and then ſent as a recruit to one of the Scots regiments in the ſervice of the States, where he continued till his father-in-law bought his diſcharge. David Peter, James Proctor, and Tho. Clephan, were apprehended by the ſheriff of Forfar, fined and impriſoned for their non conformity; as was Mrs Minniman a preſbyterian miniſter's widow, by the magiſtrates of Perth, while her only ſon was dangerouſly ill. The child died crying after his mother, and the mother died of grief for her child. Thus the reader may judge what a caſe the poor country was in, and how pleaſed the papiſts muſt have been to behold proteſtants in this manner perſecuting their brethren. I ſhall conclude this chapter by obſerving,

That ſome time laſt ſummer duke Lauderdale died. biſhop Burnet ſays, 'His heart ſeemed quite ſpent. There was not left the bigneſs of a walnut of firm ſubſtance. The reſt was ſpungy liker the lungs than the heart.' And elſewhere he tells us, 'That he was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a maſter, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almoſt all the hiſtorians, antient and modern; he had an extraordinary memory, a copious but unpoliſhed expreſſion;' but I ſhall leave the reader to form the reſt of his character from the former part of this hiſtory, and go on to

CHAP. VIII.

Of the commiſſions, the proſecutions before the juſticiary; the Rye houſe plot; the circuit-court; the public executions, and other branches of the perſecution during the year 1683.

THIS and the two following years, open a more diſmal ſcene than any that has gone before; for, as the great deſign of the church of Rome has always been to root out the northern hereſy, ſo our prelatical managers exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to root out the preſbyterians.

The commiſſions granted laſt year, were now enlarged; for, on the 4th of January, John Skene of Hallyards was appointed to receive the rents of the forfeited heritors in the ſhires of Lanerk, Stirling, and Linlithgow, and impowered to call before him, and examine upon oath, whom he

he thought could inform him of thoſe in or acceſſory to the rebellion 1679, and, upon finding any ſufficient evidence to ſecure their goods and chatels till a merchant could be found to purchaſe them; and if any whom he called before him did refuſe to ſwear, he was to confine them in the next priſon. Who could be ſafe when ſuch powers as theſe were given to wicked men, who would ſtick at nothing.

The ſame day the Rev. Mr M. Potter was before the council, and upon his owning to have kept houſe conventicles, and refuſing to engage not to preach the goſpel, was committed to the Baſs, where he continued two years. Then he was permitted to leave the country. However. Argyll landing about that time, he kept himſelf concealed till 1687. Mr Potter was privately licenſed and ordained 1673. After which, by the inſtigation of the biſhop of Dumblain, he was hunted as a patridge on the mountains, preaching where he could till 1677, when he went to Holland for ſome months. Upon his return he was forced to keep out of the way, but was apprehended about the end of the laſt year, and now was ſent to the Baſs.

The ſame day John Row, chamberlain to Sir William Primroſe of Carring, beng informed againſt for conventicles, was outlawed. and the general was ordered to ſend parties in queſt of him, and if they could not find him, to ſecure his goods for the king's uſe.

The proſecutions before the juſticiary were now very numerous; and the better to anſwer the deſigns of the perſecutors, a letter was procured from the king, and read before the lords on the 8th of January, ordering them to examine witneſſes upon oath previous to the trial. But how well it became judges to take the oaths of witneſſes before trial I muſt leave to be determined by others. As it requires one ſkilled in the laws of Scotland to make proper remarks on this, I ſhall therefore leave it.

The ſame day Tho. Cuningham of Montgrenan was indicted before them for treaſon and rebellion, His confeſſion, that he and others joined the rebels at Bothwell, was the proof. However, he begged the lords might intercede for his pardon, and declared that he was willing to take the teſt. He was brought in guilty, but the ſentence was not pronounced till the 15th, when he was ſentenced to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh on the firſt Wedneſday of April; but it ſeems he was pardoned.

On the ſaid 8th of January William Martin of Dullurg junior was indicted for treaſon and rebellion, but upon renouncing the heritage, the proceſs was dropt, and he was made to oblige himſelf to appear when ſummoned. W. MacClelland of Auchinguil, H. Maxwell of Cail, and W. MacCulloch of Gilchred, came off the ſame way. The laſt took the bond of peace and the teſt, and was releaſed.

There was ſcarce any thing, under this adminiſtration more unaccountable, though it was very common, than to proſecute huſbands for the non conformity of their wives, and fathers for converſing with their own children. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, having their caſe frequently before them, propoſed ſome queries concerning it to the council. A committee was appointed on the 11th of January, who gave it as their opinion. 1. That wives ought to be fined in the half of their huſbands fines, and that the huſbands were to have defalcations off the wife's jointure. 2. That regular huſbands, on producing their wives to the magiſtrates, were no farther anſwerable. 3. That widows were to be fined in the half of their late huſbands fines. 4. That unmarried women were to be fined according to the condition of their deceaſt parents, and their own condition as to their fortunes. 5. That parents were anſwerable for their children's keeping the church when they were ſeven years of age, and fit to be catechiſed. In ſhort, all the regular huſbands had to do, was to produce their irregular wives to the judge ordinary, who, if they ſhould prove contomacious, was to lay the matter before the council.

The ſame day the caſe of Andrew Herron of Kerochtree was before the council, for converſing with his own ſon, and his ſon in law, who had been at Bothwell, and, being aſhamed to take his life, they procured a letter from the king to impower them to fine him as they ſaw proper. Accordingly, though he was pardoned as to his life and eſtate, yet he was afterwards fined in 5000 merks, which he actually paid.

On the 27th Sir John Harper, ſheriff depute of Lanerk, was impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh on ſuſpicion of treaſon, *that is*, correſponding with ſome of the perſecuted party. This gentleman was abundantly *regular*, as they called it; but he was not ſo violent in proſecuting the ſufferers as ſome would have had him; he lay ſome months in priſon, and at laſt was releaſed upon giving a bond of 10,000 l. ſterling to appear when called.

On the 31ſt the ſureties of Sir T. Stuart of Gultneh, Hamilton of Monkland, of both afterwards, Mr J Oſborn and Mr Hugh Crawford, were ſummoned to preſent their perſons according to their bond. Mr Oſborn, a few days after this, appeared before the council, and, owned he preached in houſes, had it in his choice, either to depart the kingdom, or oblige himſelf not to keep conventicles, under the pain of 5000 merks. He choſe the laſt.

About this time the Revd Mr John MacGilligen appeared before the council, and, being charged with conventicles, irregular marriages and baptiſms, and refuſing to ſwear againſt himſelf, was fined in 5000 merks, and ſent to the Baſs till he ſhould pay it, or oblige himſelf to depart the kingdom, never to return without his majeſty's licence. However ſevere this ſentence was, yet ſome who were abſent at that time thought it too mild and attempted to have a ſentence of another nature paſſed againſt him; but all their attempts proved fruitleſs. He continued in the Baſs till the year 1686, and, as appears from his diary, had much of the divine preſence with him, and a believing proſpect of the nations, deliverance from the hands of its preſent oppreſſors. Though to ſcoffers it may appear ridiculous, yet to the pious reader, what he ſays on the 23d of September 1684, will, I am perſuaded, be agreeable. 'This day I got my heart poured out before the Lord, for the diſtreſs, deſtruction and deſolation of the land, and the ruin and overthrow of his intereſt. The Lord will have mercy and heal, recover his own glory, reform his church, reſtore his ordinances, purge his ſervants, and cauſe ſacrifices to be offered in righteouſneſs to himſelf.—He will ſtrike with his right hand, and with it bring back the ark and the glory, and cauſe the days of joy and gladneſs be according to the days of ſorrow and ſadneſs we have ſeen.'

By the way I cannot but obſerve, that we, in this generation, may look upon all the privileges, both religious and civil, that have flowed from the revolution, to be, in a great meaſure, owing, under God, to the prayers of the diſtreſſed ſufferers in this diſmal period. Happy had it been for the nation had they been better improved, and happy would it be did we but mourn over our great defections, and labour after that reformation which our worthies contended for, and ſealed with their blood!

While Mr MacGilligen was thus employed, ſummons of adjudication was raiſed againſt the ſmall eſtate he had in the ſhire of Roſs. But the lords, by the intereſt of the laird of Tarbet, afterwards earl of Cromarty, put a ſtop to the fire. At laſt he was releaſed, and ventured home, to the inexpreſſible joy of his old hearers. At the revolution, he, with the conſent of his people, went to Inverneſs, where, after preaching a ſhort while, he died in the Lord, June 8. 1689. My author ſays he was the only miniſter in the province of Roſs who at the firſt aſſult oppoſed prelacy. He was of great ſervice to many miniſters, as Mr Hog of Kilteern, Mr Roſs at Kincardin, and Mr Anderſon at Cromarty. It was at his houſe that the worthy Mr Angus Macbean, formerly epiſcopal miniſter at Inverneſs, preached his recantation ſermon, from Job xxxiv. 31, 32. A relation of his caſe and ſufferings had been well worth the inſerting, but I have not the particulars. He died in priſon about the time king William landed in England.

On the ſaid 31ſt of January a proceſs was commenced before the juſticiary againſt Mr William Lawrie of Blackwood. This gentleman was apprehended laſt year, and indicted for treaſon; becauſe as they alledged, he had allowed ſeveral of his tenants, who had been at Bothwell, to return to their farms, and received rent from them; and therefore; ſay they, he hath incurred the pain of treaſon,

ſon, at leaſt was art and part with them in the ſaid crimes. He was farther indicted for commiſſionating, giving order to, or conniving at James Cleland and James Wilſon, known rebels, to come in the month of May or June 1679, to the houſe of Douglas and take away two cannons and ſeveral horſes belonging to the marquis of Douglas. It was pleaded in his behalf, that the perſons named in the indictment were tenants included in the indemnity, and that therefore the lieges might receive them as tenants, though they had not taken the bond of peace, ſince they were not intercommuned. His lawyers urged farther, that he could not be proſecuted for converſe with rebels, unleſs the perſons he is ſaid to have converſed with had been legally convicted of rebellion. It was likewiſe argued, that he was no ways acceſſory to the taking the cannons from Douglas caſtle, nor converſed with the ſaid Cleland and Wilſon till the October following, when they were openly at his father's funeral; that Wilſon was a common and known drover, and therefore he dealt with him as all the country did. However, on the 7th of February the lords, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid in his defence, and though nothing could be proved againſt him, condemned him to loſe his head at the market croſs of Edinburgh on the laſt of February.

Biſhop Burnet, who through miſtake calls this gentleman by the name of Weir of Blackwood, after giving ſome general account of this affair, ſays, 'This was ſuch conſtructive treaſon, that went upon ſo many unreaſonable ſuppoſitions, that it ſhewed the ſhameleſſneſs of a ſort of men who had been for forty years declaiming againſt a parliamentary attainder for a conſtructive treaſon, in the caſe of the earl of Strafford, and did now, in a common court of juſtice, condemn a man upon a train of ſo many inferences, that it was not poſſible to make it look even like a conſtructive treaſon.' He adds, that, though the marquis of Douglas wrote earneſtly to the duke for his pardon, that was denied. However, he was reprieved from time to time, and ſo was not executed. This, continues the hiſtorian, put all the gentry in a great fright. Many knew they were as obnoxious as Blackwood, and none could have the comfort to know that he was ſafe.

There were ſeveral other gentlemen proſecuted before the juſticiary, as John Menzies in Dalquharn, John Gibſon of Auchiochain, Robert Ferguſon of Letterpin, Will. M'Culloch in Cleichred, and James Lawrie writer in Lanerk, but none of them were executed.

While the juſticiary were thus engaged the council was not idle; for on the 8th of February they fined John Hamilton of Gilckreickeugh in 2000 merks, becauſe his lady had been at houſe-conventicles, and on the 12th deprived Sir John Dalrymple of Stair of his bailiary in Glenluce, fined him in 500 l. ſterling, and ordered him to the caſtle of Edinburgh till he made payment. The reaſons of this are not to be found.

The ſufferings of John Archer in Straithmiglo were renewed this month. Before his children recovered, he was ſeized with a violent fit of the gravel. While in this caſe a party of Balcarra's troop came, apprehended and carried him, his wife and five ſmall children, to Kirkaldy priſon. Next day the provoſt releaſed the mother and children, on finding bail to preſent herſelf to the ſheriff when called. After John had continued in jail three weeks, he was carried to Edinburgh, and was firſt before a committee, and then before the council. And though nothing but non conformity could be laid to his charge, he was ſent to the iron-houſe in the priſon of Edinburgh, where he continued in irons 17 days. It was thought this ſevere treatment was much owing to his not giving biſhop Burnet of St. Andrews his titles. He remained in jail above five months, when he was releaſed by the intereſt of a ſouth country gentleman, who had a ſingular regard for his brother Mr Thomas. After ſome reſpite he was again perſecuted; ſo that, for a whole winter, he could not ly two nights in his own houſe, but was obliged to make the beſt ſhift he could. Sometimes in the night time he would come home and work a little at his trade, being a candle maker, and retire out of the way in the day time.

On the 1ſt of March major White's commiſſion was extended to the pariſhes of Egliſholm, Mearns, Carmonnock, and Kilbride, it being alledged that diſorderly perſons not only lived, but were likewiſe ſheltered in theſe places; but, as the bounds of his commiſſion were now very large, he was impowered to ſend a depute to the remote places where he could not conveniently attend. The major was abundantly ſevere, but his deputes exceeded him; and by this means the oppreſſion became very general there being but few pariſhes that had not either the major or his deputes.

At the ſame time Claverhouſe, Meldrum, and major White, had inſtructions to diſcover all in the late rebellion, who were not in the porteous or fugitive rolls, and ſend them priſoners to Edinburgh, in caſe they ſhould have two witneſſes to ſwear againſt them; to ſend the names of thoſe heritors who had harboured or converſed with rebels, that the council might take a proper courſe with them; to fine to the utmoſt petty heritors, who were likewiſe tenants; to ſend an account to the chancellor of thoſe indulged miniſters who had tranſgreſſed their rules; to grant ſafe conduct for fourteen days to thoſe in the late rebellion, who ſhould throw themſelves on the king's mercy; to ſend the names of unlicenſed chaplains, and of thoſe who entertained them, to the chancellor, the archbiſhop of St Andrews, or biſhop of Edinburgh, that the fines impoſed by law might be exacted; and, laſtly, to call for the books and records of ſheriffs, bailies of regalities within their bounds, and examine what fines had been impoſed in caſe of church-diſorders, that they might regulate them as they ſhould ſee cauſe. The like inſtructions were given to others; but the particular effects of them are not known.

On the 8th and 9th of March major White held courts in the church of Carmmonock, where many were called before him. The country people were kept from one court-day to another, to their great detriment in this time of labour. Soldiers were ſent to the houſes of thoſe who did not appear. They who appeared, and would not ſwear they were at church, at leaſt every third Sabbath, were fined as the major thought proper. By the inſtigation of Mr Boyd the curate, his predeceſſor, the Rev. Mr Andrew Mortoun, was ſummoned for alledged baptizing and preaching in that pariſh, but not appearing was fined in 30,000 merks; ſo that he was obliged to conceal himſelf till the liberty 1687. From 8 or 9 poor country people in the pariſh White exacted 277 l. for abſence from the church, or rather becauſe they would not ſwear that they kept it in terms of law. At another court-day 25 were fined for not hearing the curate, ſome in 50, and ſome in 25 l. and 12 women in 6 dollars each.

White likewiſe executed his commiſſion in other parts of his bounds, and particularly held courts at Kilmarnock, and exerciſed more ſeverities than are neceſſary to be related. Jaſper Touch, a young ſurgeon in that place, was fined in 19 l. ſterling, becauſe he would not ſwear he had been at church every third Sabbath; and, refuſing to ſign the bond of regularity, he and ſeveral others were ſent to priſon; at laſt he was releaſed, upon paying 27 rix dollars; but frequently after this he was haraſſed for his non conformity, being forced to abſcond, and leave his ſhop and buſineſs to the care of an apprentice. In his abſence he was ſeverely fined by col. Buchan who held one of theſe courts at Kilmarnock, had his ſervant impriſoned, and an inventary taken of all his houſhold furniture. The colonel being called to Glaſgow, Mr Touch returned; but, when the colonel came back, he was impriſoned, and with great difficulty was releaſed, upon giving ſecurity, under the penalty of 1000 merks to appear before him or the council on ſix days notice. Meldrum was likewiſe very diligent in the execution of his commiſſion. But enough has been ſaid upon this.

On the 12th of March a letter from the king came to the juſticiary, and, much about the ſame time another to the council, requiring them to ſend extracts from the regiſters of the indictments, trials, proclamations, &c. together with copies of the ſeveral treaſonable declarations, proclamations, bonds of combination in Sanquhar, Lanerk, Rutherglen, &c. in order to their being digeſted and methodized by C. Hanſes of Gray's Inn, eſq; London, and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the king's good ſubjects. But it does not appear that this was complied

with. My author juſtly obſerves, that, had ſuch a thing been done with any ſincerity, it would have ſaved him a great deal of trouble; but that was not to be expected.

On the 15th Mr John Philip, late epiſcopal miniſter of Queensferry, having been turned out for refuſing the teſt, was before the council, and charged with ſaying, in the parliament-houſe, that the duke of Albany and York was a bloody man, a tyrant, and diſtaſteful to the ſubjects; that the king's advocate and biſhop of Edinburgh were bloody and cruel men; that the earl of Argyll was unjuſtly forfeited, &c. After witneſſes were brought to prove theſe things, the council fined him in 2000 l. ſterling, and ordered him to be kept priſoner in the Baſs during life; ſignifying, at the ſame time, that, if he did not pay his fine within 15 days, they would order the advocate to purſue him for his life before the juſticiary. The caſh keeper was commanded next council day to ſeize all his books and papers.

On the 22d the council, being informed that the lady Caldwell and her daughter were impriſoned for conventicles, ordered them to be ſent to the caſtle of Blackneſs. This excellent widow lady was Barbara daughter to Sir William Cuningham of Cuninghamhead. She had a dowry out of the lands of Caldwell ſuitable to her rank; but, neglecting to take infeftment before her huſband's forfeiture, ſhe and her four children were cruelly turned out of her right, and obliged to ſupport herſelf by her own and the induſtry of her virtuous children.

About the beginning of this year, while ſhe lived peaceably in her apartment in Glaſgow, one who lived over a gainſt her went to provoſt Burns, a violent perſecutor, and told him, that through the glaſs of her window he ſaw a miniſter preaching. Upon this falſe information ſhe was impriſoned, and without any other proof, ſhe was ſent to Blackneſs caſtle, where ſhe and her eldeſt daughter remained cloſely confined for almoſt a year. When, by this cloſe confinement, Mrs Jean's health was impaired, ſhe was with difficulty releaſed, and, as a mighty favour her mother was allowed now and then the benefit of the air. But they would not allow her to ſee her ſecond daughter Mrs Ann, though ſhe was ſeized with a fever which proved her death. She continued priſoner ſeveral years unconvicted of any crime, and never accuſed but by one witneſs. And though it had been true that a miniſter preached at that time in her apartment, yet the laws then in being required proof that there were more than five preſent beſides the family. The law had not prohibited family-worſhip; and though the lawyers openly connived at popiſh maſſes in families, yet prelatic fury vented itſelf, for the moſt part, only againſt preſbyterians. This lady was not releaſed till king James's liberty of conſcience.

At this time the lady Kaitloch ſuffered conſiderably: for a garriſon, that was ſent to take poſſeſſion of her houſe, moſt cruelly turned her and her ſmall family to the fields; and it was eſteemed a favour that they allowed her to lodge for ſome time in a cold barn. At laſt ſhe and her children were forced to leave the kingdom, and died abroad.

Some of the ſoldiers of this garriſon found a poor man at prayer in the fields, and brought him to the garriſon, who kept him three days in the guard-houſe, where his pious ſoul was vexed at the dreadful profanation of God's name. At laſt, becauſe he refuſed the teſt, he was turned out of his houſe, and forced to wander up and down for ſeveral years.

On the 22d of March John Niſbet younger, (ſo called to diſtinguiſh him from John Niſbet of Hardhill) who lived in the pariſh of Loudon, was tried by major White, aſſiſted by W. Creichton ſheriff-depute of Ayr, who, with others, was veſted with a juſticiary-power. When, upon his examination, he refuſed to inform againſt John Niſbet of Hardhill, the major impiouſly threatened to make him ſit three hours in hell. It is not worth while to inſert their jeering queſtions. As to the archbiſhop's death, he ſaid he was not a judge; that Bothwell was ſelf-defence; that he acknowleged none to be the head of the church but Chriſt. Being aſked if the king was king, or not? he told them he was once a covenanted king; and, as to his being king now, he referred it to his obligations in the coronation oath to be conſidered. Being then aſked if he was his king, he refuſed to anſwer. This was all they had to lay to his charge; and for this he was condemned to be hanged at Kilmarnock on the 14th of April, which was done accordingly. He had a grave courage and ſtayedneſs when he came to the place of execution. After he had prayed, he ſung Pſalm xvi. from ver. 5, to the end, read Rom. viii. and prayed again. He was allowed to ſpeak a conſiderable time to the ſpectators, wherein he recommended religion, and preſſed them to godlineſs from his own experience. He told them that this was the firſt execution in that place, and was likely not to be the laſt; that death was before them all,—but, as for himſelf, the ſting of it was taken away, and he reckoned every ſtep of that ladder to be a ſtep nearer heaven. He was interrupted when beginning to give an account of the cauſe of his ſufferings, upon which he drew the napkin over his face, and was turned over, committing his ſoul into his Father's hands. His laſt ſpeech and teſtimony the reader may find in the Cloud of Witneſſes; in which he ſays, among other things, as for my not praying for the king in his perſon and authority, this I dare not do, it being a perfect owning of him in all he hath done, &c.

On the 2d of April a proceſs of forfeiture was raiſed againſt John Balfour of Kinloch, John Ruſſel portioner of Kettle, for killing the archbiſhop; Robert Hamilton brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preſtoun, for commanding the weſt country army at Bothwell; Mr John Hog miniſter at Rotterdam, Mr Robert Fleming there, —Smith, Mr Robert Langlands, Andrew and John Ruſſels factors, and James Stuart ſon to Sir James Stuart provoſt of Edinburgh, for ſupplying the rebels with money and neceſſaries ever ſince, &c. Robert Hamilton and John Balfour were ſentenced to be executed when apprehended. John Ruſſel, Meſſ. Hog, Langlands, Smith and Stuart were outlawed and forfeited. The diet was deferred as to Mr Fleming and Andrew Ruſſel, the council having ſufficient teſtimonials of their loyalty.

The ſame day Sir William Denholm of Weſtfield, Mr G. Cuningham indulged miniſter at Dunlop, for correſponding with Mr John Cuningham of Bedlane, were outlawed, as was likewiſe Archibald Menzies younger of Culdairs, for ſaying one day in priſon, That fools made the teſt, and knaves take it.

Though the commiſſions given to major White, Cleverhouſe, and others, and the extenſive powers veſted in the commiſſioners, might have been thought ſufficient for ſuppreſſing all whom they called *fanatics*, yet there muſt be more circuit courts clothed with all the power of the council and juſticiary. Accordingly, on the 13th of April, a proclamation was publiſhed, in conſequence of a royal letter which they received on the 10th, ſetting forth, among other things, that though his majeſty had been too often induced to grant indemnities, indulgences and other favours, to that fanatic and diſaffected party, which only emboldens them to abuſe his royal goodneſs; yet it was, and is now more than ever, his firm reſolution to root out theſe ſeditious and rebellious principles, and to maintain the church government as it is eſtabliſhed by law; therefore he required the council, and all judges and magiſtrates, to execute the laws with rigour, againſt all who, ſince the late indemnity, had been, or afterwards ſhould be found guilty of fanatical diſorders, and to proſecute, before the juſtices, all who are, or ſhall be found guilty of receiving, harbouring, or converſing with perſons forfeited, traitors, &c. but, leſt any have inadvertently fallen into that miſtake, he recommends to the council to command the advocate to order ſuch as they ſuſpect to be ſummoned before them, and to judge them, upon evidence or the oath of parties, as they ſhall ſee fit; or, in caſe they ſhall refuſe to ſwear, or appear, to repute them as guilty, and to reſtrict the ordinary pains of treaſon to baniſhment, fining or other arbitrary puniſhment; but to be indemnified if they appear and ſatisfy the council. He likewiſe gave the council authority to commiſſionate whom they thought fit, in the reſpective ſhires, for judging thoſe whom they had not time or conveniency to call before themſelves, and that in the ſame way, and with the ſame powers that themſelves, were poſſeſſed of. And ſince ſeveral of the common people, who were in the late rebellion

rebellion, have loſt the benefit of the indemnity, by not taking the bond in due time, his majeſty declares, that upon their taking the teſt they ſhall be completely indemnified; and, for puniſhing thoſe that refuſe to be reclaimed, he ordered circuit-courts to be holden in the weſtern and ſouthern ſhires, and other places needful, in the months of May, June, July, and Auguſt next, after exact porteous rolls of delinquents are taken and publiſhed. The circuit court was to ſit at Stirling on the 5th of June, at Glaſgow the 12th, at Ayr the 15th, at Dumfries the 26th, &c. Then the common people, in taking the teſt, were to do it on their knees, and to ſign it, by themſelves or a notary, in preſence of the perſons mentioned in the proclamation.

This is the ſubſtance of a long proclamation, in which the king was made to ſignify his repentance for his former lenity, the contrary of which we have had all along inconteſted proofs of, through the former part of this hiſtory, and to declare his reſolution to extirpate all fanatic principles. It would have been very acceptable to his beloved brother, had he undertook to extirpate the northern hereſy; however this was a good preparative. The teſt was to be impoſed upon all ſuſpected perſons, though by act of parliament, none but thoſe in offices of power and truſt were required to take it; but the duke of York had foretold that the teſt ſhould fall upon others than Catholics.

To pave the way for theſe circuit courts, the council, on the 18th of April, made an act, ordering the clerks of the criminal-court not to inſert in the ordinary porteous rolls, any noblemen, or ſheriff-principles or provoſts of burghs where the circuit was to ſit, &c. but that the clerk and his depute ſhall take all information they can have againſt all perſons whatſoever; and, in caſe any noblemen, &c. be informed againſt, that they keep a particular and private roll for ſuch perſons, which the clerks muſt keep ſecret at their peril, and ſend in theſe private rolls to the council. Here ſeems to be deeds of darkneſs. Next day they agreed upon inſtructions to the commiſſioners of juſticiary at the circuit courts, and their clerks, in taking up of dittays, or in procuring informations againſt perſons to be fined at the ſaid courts, which need not be inſerted. But, that the reader may have ſome view of the ſhare the prelatical clergy had in the informations given in at this time, a paper was diſperſed among them, whether by the order of the biſhops or the council is not known.

The title of it was, *Liſt of things to be done by the miniſter in each pariſh*, 1683. 'They were to give in, upon oath, a liſt of their ſeſſioners, their clerks, and bellmen, of withdrawers from the church and non-communicants —to give an account of all diſorders and rebellions, and who were guilty — and a compleat roll of all within the pariſh, and particular liſt of all the heritors. That all women who were delinquents be given up as well as men. That they give account of all perſons who have gone out of their pariſhes, and the reaſons of it,—of fugitives, their wives, or widows,—and all reſetters of them, and of chapmen and travellers. That they declare who are the people in their pariſhes who can give the beſt account of all theſe particulars, that ſuch may be brought in and examined.'

This was fine employment for miniſters of the goſpel! But it is too well confirmed that ſuch work as this was more agreeable to theſe orthodox clergy, than what really belonged to their office. The reader will eaſily obſerve, that the *ſeſſioners*, as they are called, were made uſe of only as informers againſt innocent people. A vile proſtitution of the office of ruling elder! But the clergy were at the bottom of all the perſecution of this period.

During the months of March and April Claverhouſe exerciſed his powers to the utmoſt in the ſouth; and that country was grievouſly harraſſed by ſearching for Mr Cameron's followers, for all who had been at Bothwell, all of the fugitive roll, and who had not appeared at courts; for multitudes were forced to wander in mountains and caves, and many, through other parts of the kingdom, had retired for ſhelter to the mountaneous places in Galloway and Nithſdale. There were likewiſe ſpies and informers who were bribed by the ſoldiers; neither were the papiſts inactive in informing againſt theſe wanderers; for theſe, being of the duke's religion, were not only overlooked, but alſo met with encouragement, while many innocent people were expoſed to the greateſt hardſhips.

At this time Meldrum had ſent in Walter Thomſon, Walter Smith, and—Turnbull priſoners to Edinburgh, becauſe they would not pay the ſame fines over again to him that they had paid to the ſheriff of Roxburgh. The three priſoners repreſented this to the council, and were releaſed; but no notice was taken of Meldrum.

On the 4th of May, David MacMillan, James Brown, John Paterſon, William Miller, James Gemble, George Lapſly and Robert Lawſon, were before the lords of juſticiary at Edinburgh. The firſt was executed, the four next took the teſt and were releaſed. The two laſt refuſed the teſt, and were continued to the 10th of June; but their indictment was found relevant.

David MacMillan, before a committee of the council, acknowleged that he was apprehended in a church for being at Bothwell; but then he ſaid, that Bothwell was not rebellion, being in defence of the truth; that he acknowleged the preſent authority, as far as the king had kept his engagements according to the word of God. When this confeſſion was read before the juſticiary, he ſaid that ſomething was inſerted which he had not ſpoken, particulary concerning the biſhop's death. Upon which the preſident ſaid, Well, what ſay you to that now? He anſwered, that he had no judgment to judge ſuch heads. He refuſed the teſt, which was offered him as the condition of ſaving his life, and was therefore ſentenced to be hanged at the Graſs-market on the 16th of May. He ſuffered with John Wilſon, of whom I am now to ſpeak, and died with a great deal of peace and compoſure. In the paper he left behind him he bleſſed God who had inclined him to 'join with the perſecuted party at Bothwell, —and earneſtly wiſhed that love might continue among the godly, notwithſtanding the differences in religion; and preſſed all to mourn for broken vows and promiſes, ſlighted offers and opportunities, and a broken covenant; and declared that he died in the faith of it, that God would return to Scotland; that he adhered to the Confeſſion of Faith, Catechiſms and covenants; and left his teſtimony againſt hearing of the curates, paying of teſs, and the indulgence.—My ſoul, concludes he, ſhall bleſs him through all the ages of eternity.'

The ſame 4th May John Wilſon writer in Lanerk was brought before the juſticiary, and, having been formerly condemned to die, was now ordered for execution on the 9th. He had been at Bothwell, and owned that he had acted as captain there. When apprehended he reſolved to uſe the utmoſt freedom, and, at the ſame time, as much caution and prudence as was conſiſtent with truth.

On the 17th of April he was examined before a committee of the council, and, among other things, was aſked what he thought of Bothwell. Was it not unlawful to riſe in arms? He ſaid he durſt not ſay it was unlawful; for the confeſſion in the teſt ſays, that it is a good work to defend the life of the harmleſs; and that however God had diſpoſed of theſe people, yet he ſuppoſed the Lord would own thoſe, who, hearing their neighbours had been worſhipping God, and (for defending themſelves againſt thoſe that ſought their life) were in jeopardy of their lives, thought it their duty to riſe for their relief. Then they aſked if Pentland was rebellion. He anſwered, that the oppreſſion of that poor people was ſo great, that the then rulers condemned Sir James Turner for his cruelty. One of them ſaid, that he knew Sir James went not the length of his commiſſion. Then they aſked if the biſhop's death was murder? He deſired to be excuſed; for he would not anſwer that queſtion; and, being preſſed again and again, he told them, it being nothing that concerned his ſalvation, he did not pry into it. Then they ſaid, how did Bothwell concern your ſalvation? He ſaid, there was none who engaged themſelves in ſervice to God, but they behoved to be at his call: and it being for ſaving the life of the harmleſs, he durſt not ſit God's bidding. He was alſo examined concerning authority, but got not time to anſwer; and, in the remarks he made on this examination, he regreted that he did not improve this opportunity in teſtifying againſt the eccleſiaſtical headſhip. He was alſo examined the ſame day before the council, where he owned

ed his being at Bothwell, and declared that he did not think it rebellion, vindicated the lawfulneſs of ſelf defence. And, when they aſked if he owned authority, he ſaid, 'Government might be taken ſeveral ways. 1. 'For the ſimple command of the prince. 2. For the more public command of the prince and people. 3. For the power a prince may be clothed with by a people. 4. For a prince's right to govern a people. As many of the prince's edicts and acts of parliament were againſt preſbyterians and preſbyterian government, he could not own it in the two firſt ſenſes, unleſs he denied himſelf to be a preſbyterian. He added, he could not own it in the third ſenſe, ſince the people had clothed the king with the headſhip of the church. As to the laſt ſenſe, his right to govern, he had not ſeen through the denial of it.' He alſo makes remarks on this examination, which the reader will find in the Cloud of Witneſſes. In his papers he gave an account of what had paſſed between the advocate and him. The advocate told him there was room for mercy, if he did not obſtinately perſiſt in his opinion. He anſwered, that he had delivered no opinion but what he had juſtified from the Confeſſion of Faith, which he had lately ſworn, &c. He was aſked if he would bond before ſentence, there being no room for mercy afterwards. He anſwered he would not, and, at another day all ſentences would be canvaſſed before the great Judge of heaven and earth. His friends adviſed him to ſupplicate for a reprieve, till he ſhould be better adviſed as to his anſwers to the council, or becauſe of his confuſions ſince he came to priſon, or that he might have longer time to prepare for eternity; but he refuſed to petition on any of theſe grounds. He ſaid, had his petition gone on the firſt ground, it would be a declaring to the world that he called his principles in queſtion. The ſecond would be a ſlandering Chriſt's croſs, wherein every ſtep had been to him mercy and truth. And, as to the third, he could not do it in faith. However on the 7th of May, he gave in a petition for a reprieve, on account of his wife's caſe, who was then big with child; and he afterwards declared, that he had ſolid peace in ſo doing. During theſe things he had a conference with Sir William Paterſon, biſhop Paterſon's brother, concerning the grounds upon which he ſtated his ſufferings, in which he vindicated the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms; but the conference had no influence to alter any of the ſides. Mr Wilſon was reprieved till the 16th, when he ſuffered with David MacMillan according to his ſentence. His laſt teſtimony is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, in which, among other things he ſays, 'I am really of that opinion, that God ſhall root this race of kings, root and branch, away, and make them like Zeba and Zalmunna, for taking God's houſe in poſſeſſion, and reſolving to root out the ſeed of the godly under the name of *fanatics*.' He moſt chearfully left his wife, children and ſiſters, upon God, and died in the Lord.

There were, at this time, but few in the northern parts of the kingdom that were firm to the principles of the reformation. However there were ſome, as we have formerly obſerved, and among others the family of Fowlis. My author obſerves, that, on the 8th of May, Sir John Munro of Fowlis elder was by the council confined to his own houſe in the ſhire of Roſs, and a mile round it, for his alledged withdrawing from his pariſh church. This gentleman, on account of his corpulent ſtructure, was nicknamed the *mortar-piece of preſbytery*: His eminent piety and zeal expoſed him to no ſmall ſufferings at times; for, beſides a long confinement, his eſtate, which before was conſiderable, was haraſſed by ſeveral fines and confiſcations, from which it has not been fully recovered to this day. I am ſorry I cannot give a more particular account of the ſufferings of this gentleman, whoſe family greatly ſupported the intereſt of the reformation in the north of Scotland, and who had three grandſons who loſt their lives in the laſt unnatural rebellion, ſtanding up in defence of the religion and liberties of their country, in oppoſition to a pretended branch of a family that has been the conſtant plagues of Great Britain, viz. Sir Rob. Munro of Fowlis, captain George Munro of Culcairn, and Dr Duncan Munro: but, as the Rev. Dr Doddridge of Northampton has favoured the world with ſome account of this family, in his appendix to his remarkable paſſages in the life of colonel Gairdner, who was killed in the battle of Preſton 1745, thither I refer the reader.

On the 10th of May Mr James Renwick was ordained at Groningen. The ſocieties for general correſpondence, conſidering the diſmal ſituation things were in at this time, and that they had no miniſters they could join with, agreed to ſend Mr Renwick to the univerſity of Groningen, in the united provinces, to proſecute his ſtudies; which he did with much approbation for the ſpace of ſix months, and was ordained, indefinitely, to the work of the miniſtry, by the impoſition of hands. The Rev. Mr Shields ſays, 'Such was the caſe of that poor people that made application, that they could neither get faithful miniſters free of defections, whom, with freedom of conſcience, they might call,—nor would they anſwer their reiterated requeſts whom they did call; neither would any miniſters, at that time, oppoſite to their teſtimony, ordain any of their way; nor could they ſeek it without condemning their teſtimony, &c. therefore they ſent Mr Renwick to the provinces.' In the Informatory Vindication it is ſaid, 'Though the claſſis of Groningen, by whom he was ordained, differ from the reformation of Scotland, in her beſt times, in ſome things, yet, conſidering, 1. That in theſe differences they were never reformed, and ſo cannot be charged therein with defection. 2. That they agree with the true preſbyterial church of Scotland in all principles againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm, and all heretical and ſectarian errors. 3. That they did then object nothing againſt our preſent teſtimony. 4. That they came under a general and far other conſideration, being of a foreign church, than miniſters of the ſame original church, and under the ſame head of covenant with ourſelves.—5. That in the act of ordination they did obtrude none of theſe differences, but took him engaged to teach according to the word of God, the Confeſſion of Faith of the church of Scotland, and the diſcipline thereof; upon all which conſiderations it was thought lawful to accept of ordination from the ſaid claſſis.'——Accordingly Mr Renwick, inſtead of the Belgic forms, was allowed to ſign the Weſtminſter Confeſſion and Catechiſms.

On the laſt of May, or firſt of June, Mr Alexander Gordon laird of Earlſtoun was taken at Newcaſtle, going to Holland. This worthy gentleman, having been much abroad ſince Bothwell, returned and joined the ſocieties. He was pitched upon, at one of their general meetings, and, ſays Mr Wodrow, joined in a commiſſion with his brother-in law Robert Hamilton, to repair to Holland, to repreſent the circumſtances and principles of thoſe people to the reformed churches there: but it would ſeem my author is miſtaken in the circumſtances of Earlſtoun's commiſſion from the ſocieties; for Mr Shields ſays, that after the publiſhing of the Lanerk declaration, the next general meeting, finding themſelves much condemned, reproached and informed againſt in foreign churches, as if they had fallen from the principles of the church of Scotland, into wild errors, thought it expedient to ſend the laird of Earlſtoun to the united provinces, to vindicate themſelves from theſe reproaches. This was in the year 1682. And I find that Earlſtoun's commiſſion was dated at Edinburgh 2d of April 1682, and ſubſcribed by John Renwick, and ſent to him at Newcaſtle; but the above Robert Hamilton is not ſo much as mentioned it. Whether he got another commiſſion laſt ſpring is more than I know. However, when Earlſtoun and his ſervant Edward Atkins were apprehended, he was aboard of a ſhip bound from Newcaſtle to Holland; and, leſt his papers ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies, he threw them into the ſea, but they were obſerved and taken up, and both of them were ſent to Newgate.

This affair made the more noiſe at this time, as it happened when a pretended plot was ſaid to be diſcovered againſt the king's life; and the council and biſhops were big with expectations of mighty diſcoveries from Earlſtoun's papers; but, upon the ſtricteſt examination of them, nothing was found but a letter ſigned I. H. commiſſions and inſtructions from the ſocieties, with letters to ſome Dutch miniſters and Scotſmen in Holland, and papers on civil buſineſs.

The

The conſpiracy pretended now to be carried on was that commonly called The Rye-houſe plot, becauſe, as was alledged, the conſpirators had formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate the king and duke at the houſe of the Rye, within two miles of Hodſdon in Hertfordſhire, which was then inhabited by Richard Rumbold. An ingenious writer, ſpeaking of this and other ſham plots, ſays, 'The ſhattered remains of Engliſh liberty were then attacked on every ſide; and ſome of the nobleſt blood of the nation was offered up a ſacrifice to the manes of popiſh martyrs, and made to atone for the bill of excluſion. Swearing came once more into faſhion, for which a new evidence office was erected at Whitehall. But whereas the witneſſes of the popiſh plot were brow beaten and diſcouraged; thoſe of the proteſtant plot were highly encouraged; and, inſtead of judges and juries that might perhaps boggle at half-evidence, as it fell out in proſecution of the former, care was taken in this to pick out ſuch as would ſtick at nothing that would ſerve a turn. It was by ſuch judges and juries that the lord Ruſſel and Mr Sidney fell; and the cutting off thoſe two noble lives may be reckoned among the firſt triumphs of the duke's party in England.'

This matter might have been entirely omitted, but that ſeveral valuable perſons were perſecuted and ſuffered in Scotland for this pretended conſpiracy. It is certain that ſeveral patriots for religion and liberty in both nations had frequent meetings among themſelves, in order to conſult upon proper meaſures for ſecuring theſe invaluable privileges which were then at the ſtake. But that ever lord Ruſſel, col. Algernon Sidney, the earl of Argyll, the laird of Jerviſwood, the Rev. Mr William Carſtairs, and others ſuſpected, were concerned in any aſſaſſinating deſign, was never proved againſt them, nor could be. They were perſons of quite different principles, as will afterwards appear. When this conſpiracy was pretended to be diſcovered, a letter came from the king, requiring that none might be ſuffered to depart the kingdom without leave; and the council ſoon after iſſued a proclamation in the terms of the king's letter, and another againſt the duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth. In the Engliſh declaration for a thankſgiving, it is ſaid, that a general inſurrection was intended, and that a correſpondence was eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and that the earl of Argyll, lord Melvil, Sir John Cochran, Mr Will. Carſtairs and others, were concerned in it. It is not worth while to mention the Scots proclamation for a thankſgiving, only that it is entitled, 'Proclamation inviting a thankſgiving for the deliverance from the fanatical conſpiracy;' and that fanatical, the term of reproach given to Preſbyterians, is in the body of the proclamation, joined with atheiſtical and republican principles, and named firſt, as if, in the ſenſe of the compilers, it was the worſt of the three. The executions in England on this account, as that of lord Ruſſel, col. Algernon Sidney, &c. are out of my way. Only I cannot but obſerve, that all the violent meaſures then purſued were the effects of the malicious jealouſy of the duke of York, againſt his rival the duke of Monmouth and his friends, ſo that for ſome time the latter was forced to keep out of the way. But paſſing theſe things, I return to what more immediately concerns this hiſtory.

On the 4th of June the council iſſued a proclamation forbidding all to exerciſe the offices of teachers, pedagogues, or chaplains, unleſs they take the teſt. If noblemen did encourage them, they were to be fined in 3000 merks, gentlemen in 1200 merks, burgeſſes and others in 600 merks. The ſame day they appointed the laird of Claverhouſe, Meldrum, &c. to attend the juſtices at the circuits, to anſwer what queſtions ſhall be aſked, and give all the informations they can againſt the rebels, &c.

Next day the circuit ſat down at Stirling, when, among others, one William Johnſtoun, a Stirlingſhire man, appeared before them. The wounds he had received at Bothwell had for a long time deprived him of his reaſon, ſo that he had been overlooked till now. He and the reſt ſwore the teſt on their knees, but he knew not what he did; for when he was told that he had renounced what he had owned at Bothwell, he relapſed into his former diſtemper, and died in a few days.

About the beginning of this month, as a party of ſoldiers was carrying one Alexander Smith to Edinburgh, they were attacked by ſome of his friends near Inch-belly-bridge. The ſoldiers were beat, one of them was killed, and the priſoner releaſed. The country men retired in good order with their friend; but within a little the ſoldiers rallied, and ſearching the adjacent places, happened to ſeize John Wharry or MacWharry, and James Smith, while ſitting together in a wood near the place, without arms but their ſtaves. The poor men were immediately carried to Glaſgow. Some ſay two of the ſoldiers were ſuborned to ſwear that they ſaw them kill the ſoldier; but it appears that no witneſſes were examined, the court ſuſtaining it as relevant that they were taken near the place; whereas, had they been any ways concerned, they doubtleſs would have retired with the reſt. They were condemned to have their right hands cut off, then to be hanged, and their bodies to hang in chains at Inchbelly bridge. And accordingly, on the 13th of June, they were both executed at Glaſgow. The Cloud of Witneſſes ſays they ſuffered on the 11th. They were moſt pious and religious perſons; and the letters they wrote to their friends on this occaſion breathe an uncommon ſpirit of piety. They rejoiced in their bonds, and joyed in their tribulations. When John Wharry's hand was cut off, inſtead of ſhrinking, he held up the ſtump and ſaid, This, and other bloodſhed through Scotland, will yet raiſe the burnt covenants.

The day they were executed the circuit ſat down at Glaſgow, and there appeared at the bar John Ruſſel portioner in Eaſtfield, Gavin Paterſon feuar in Bothwellſhiels, Robert Ruſſel in Windyedge, Mr Thomas Hamilton of Raith, and James Hamilton of Parkhead. The moſt that was proved againſt them was, that they were ſeen in company with the rebels; but there were not two witneſſes that agreed in the ſame thing, except as to Raith and Parkhead, and both ſwore that they were without arms; and yet they were all condemned to be executed when the council and juſticiary ſhould think fit. We ſhall meet with ſeveral of them next year.

On the 15th the circuit proceeded againſt James Maxwell of Williamwood, and John Maxwell younger of Bogtoun, both in the pariſh of Cathcart in the ſhire of Renfrew. They were in abſence both forfeited in life and fortune, though there was no proof of their being at Bothwell.

Mr Maxwell of Williamwood was an uncommon ſufferer by the Highland hoſt 1678. And, in the following ſummer, a party, commanded by one Scot of Bonnitoun, came, and without producing any orders, carried off 50 bolls of meal, 4 horſes, with the whole houſhold furniture left by the Highlanders, cut the beds with their ſwords, and damaged what they could not carry off. All this was occaſioned by an information given by Mr Finnick the curate of Cathcart. However, Williamwood, conſcious of his integrity and loyalty, furniſhed his houſe anew, and dwelt in it, till in May or June 1680, a falſe information was given againſt him as having been at Bothwell; whereupon he was ſeized, and carried firſt to Glaſgow, and then to Edinburgh, where he was ſeveral times before the council; and no proof appearing of his being at Bothwell, he was releaſed upon bond to appear on the firſt of September. In ſhort, he got up this bond, and obtained his liberty: but, notwithſtanding this, about the end of 1681, he was again attacked, and had his houſe pillaged by ſoldiers; ſo that, finding, there was no ſafety for him from the malice of the ſaid Finnick, he let out his land to tenants, and lived privately for ſome time, and at laſt retired to Ireland. While there, a ſummons was left at his houſe in Scotland, to appear before the juſticiary. Montgomery the ſheriff depute, dealt with ſeveral perſons who were in the porteous roll to ſwear that they ſaw Williamwood at Bothwell, promiſing that he would get them acquitted, and their names ſcratched out of the roll; but they would not purchaſe their liberty at ſuch a price. However, one Hart a profligate wretch, and

another like him, were prevailed with; and ſo William wood was ſentenced, as above, before ever he knew there was an indictment formed againſt him, and his eſtate given to provoſt Johnſtoun of Glaſgow, and his wife and ſix ſmall children put to ſhift for bread till the happy revolution. In the year 1684, his wife was haraſſed from place to place, till, through toil and grief, ſhe died in November. Theſe well atteſted facts will doubtleſs furniſh the reader with proper reflections.

Many other gentlemen received indictments before this court at Glaſgow, particularly James Muirhead of Bradiſholm. He was a great favourer of the preſbyterians; but though his houſe was within two miles of Bothwell, yet during that riſing, he retired from home ſeveral weeks. In the year 1681, he was proſecuted before the circuits; but no proof appearing, all proſecution was diſcharged. When he was, as he thought ſecure, he was again put into the porteous roll, and received a new indictment before this circuit court at Glaſgow; but nothing appearing againſt him, he was referred to the juſticiary at Edinburgh, and by their order was releaſed. Notwithſtanding this, he was, the very next year, put into the porteous-roll, and indicted before the circuit for the ſame pretended acceſſion to Bothwell; and becauſe he would not clear himſelf by taking the teſt, he was charged before the council for reſet and converſe, keeping conventicles, and was fined in 4000 merks, and kept 14 months in priſon at Edinburgh.

In ſhort, the country was put to great trouble and vaſt expences at theſe circuits. It coſt John Ayton, Thomas Leiper, James Martinholm, Alexander Small, John Steil in Brekenridge, John Mack in Caldergreen, with ſeveral more who attended this court, above 200 merks each before they got home. Great ſums were likewiſe extorted from honeſt people to get free from ſitting on the juries. John Luke of Claythorn paid, at different times, near 50 l. ſterling. This was likewiſe the caſe of Andrew Gibſon, George Bogle, and others. Many conſiderable merchants in Glaſgow loſt a great deal of money to be freed from ſitting in theſe juries.

The circuit court ſat down at Ayr on the 22d of June. The curates in that ſhire, eſpecially Mr Abercrombie in Carrick, and Mr Joſeph Clelland in Dalſerf, ſignalized themſelves in procuring informations. Vaſt numbers were ſummoned out of every pariſh in the ſhire to give informations. The perſons informed againſt were charged to clear themſelves by taking the teſt. The recuſants were impriſoned, and they who did not appear were declared rebels, &c. The ſame day Mr Matthew Campbell of Waterſhaugh, Robert Lockhart of Bankhead, James Brown ſon to James Brown in Newmills, John Paterſon in Dandillan, Adam Reid in Mauchlin, John Wilſon in Lindſayhill, John Crawford of Torſhaw, Andrew Brown of Duncamzeaner, Mr John Halbert, col. John Burns, and Jam. MacNeilly of Auchnairn, were indicted for being in arms at Bothwell. They were all abſent except Bankhead and Andrew Brown, who confeſſed their guilt, offered to take the teſt, and threw themſelves on the king's mercy. Sentence was not pronounced againſt theſe two till the 2d of Auguſt, when they were condemned to be beheaded at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 9th; but it ſeems before that they were pardoned. All the reſt were, in abſence, ſentenced to be executed as traitors when apprehended.

John Cochran of Waterſide was, in abſence, forfeited for converſing with rebels. There were ſtrong ſuſpicions that the two witneſſes who depoſed againſt them were ſuborned.

William Boſwell, a young gentleman in the pariſh of Auchinleck, was obliged to take the teſt, and pay 1000 merks fine to preſerve his eſtate from forfeiture. All his crime was, that, when he happened to fall in with a company of men going to join the weſt-country army, he ſtopt his horſe to ſee them draw up.

William Torbran, late provoſt of Stranraer, was ſummoned before this circuit. This gentleman endured great hardſhips in the year 1679, ſo that he was obliged to retire to Ireland, where he was when ſummoned to appear. His lawyers, with difficulty, got 60 days allowed to cite him as one out of the kingdom. When theſe were expired ſentence of death was paſt upon him, though no crime was proved againſt him but his abſence and non-appearance; ſo that he was obliged to ſtay abroad till 1687, when he found his loſſes exceeding great.

The circuit next ſat down at Dumfries. In this diſtrict very few but papiſts, perſecutors, and their friends, eſcaped. They who had formerly ſigned the bond were here made uſe of as witneſſes, and were grievouſly haraſſed if they did not turn informers too. The taking of the teſt, which was preſſed with rigour, ſaved the lives of many. They who did not appear were declared traitors, and all who after that converſed with them, whether father, mother, brother, ſiſter, huſband or wife, became in law as guilty as they; and thus the very ties of nature were broken.

In conſequence of what paſſed at the circuit at Jedburgh many were made priſoners. All who refuſed the teſt were bound over to appear at Edinburgh the 2d of Auguſt. Mr Gladſtanes, one of the priſoners, ſays, in a letter to the laird of Cavers, 'That Stevenſon, Ormiſtoun, Mindſley, Pollock, Maxwell, Greenock, and Blackcaſtle, were ſent to the caſtle of Edinburgh, Sir John Riddel, and another to the priſon of Haddington and Bonjedburgh, William Ker uncle to Greenhead, Gideon Scot, and himſelf, to that of Edinburgh, where, with about 60 other gentlemen, they remained about ten days, till the priſon—became dangerous for their health.' Some of theſe priſoners were releaſed upon bail to appear when called, others continued in priſon for a conſiderable time. Thus much for the circuits this year. After they were over, droves of priſoners were carried from priſon to priſon; and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, the jail at Edinburgh was the common reſervoir. The papiſts, all this while, were not only overlooked, but encouraged.

It has been related, that others were impowered to hold courts and tender the teſt, and they generally exceeded their inſtructions. Hallyards, and one Duncan Grant a ſoldier, with powers from him, held courts in the pariſh of Kilbride, and neighbouring pariſhes, in the ſhire of Lanerk. Grant was a terror to that part of the country: all ſuſpected perſons were fined as he thought fit. John Wilſon in Highſleet had his houſe rifled, and loſt 67 l. 6 s. 8 d. Grant ſent his ſoldiers upon free quarter in the pariſh, ſometimes to one houſe, and ſometimes to another. It was dreadful for the country to be oppreſſed, not only by the commiſſioners, but alſo by their wretched deputes, who acted without controul. The fines impoſed by Hallyards in the pariſh of Kilbride came to a great ſum, not to ſpeak of the damages done by the ſoldiers. John Watt in that pariſh loſt above 500 merks, and John Granger 1100. Creichton, and others of the orthodox clergy, conſtantly attended at theſe courts. In the pariſh of Evandale, the laird of Netherfield, Alexander Muir in Ploughland, Alexander Hamilton in Halls, and three or four more, were impriſoned for alledged reſet and converſe, and fined in 953 l. 13 s. 4 d. The ſheriffs and their deputes took care to have their ſhare of the fines.

Cornet Graham held his courts in Balmaghie, and the laird of Lagg acted with the utmoſt violence, as likewiſe did Thomas Lidderdale of St Mary iſle. The like courts were held at Kirkcudbright and Dumfries, where all whom they were pleaſed to ſuſpect were required to take the teſt, and the recuſants ſent to jail. It would be endleſs to mention particulars: however, I cannot omit one ſingular outrage committed at Moffat, which was within the commiſſion of the laird of Weſteraw. This wretch ordered intimation to be made in the church, on the Lord's day, that the teſt was to be offered to morrow in the pariſh, and ſummoned all the heads of families to appear. After this he openly ſaid, The devil damn his ſoul in hell, but before to-morrow's night they ſhould be all damned as well as he.

I might here likewiſe mention, that another branch of oppreſſion, at this time, was owing to thoſe who had gifts of the fines made to them; for many were forced to leave their houſes, and were reduced to great ſtraits, by the mercileſs exaction of theſe fines: but I paſs all theſe over, and go on to other things in the order of time.

On the 12th of July, Andrew Guillan, a weaver near Magus-muir (but after Sharp's death was obliged to abſcond,

ſcond, and ſerve at ſome diſtance from where he lived formerly) was before the lords of juſticiary for the death of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews; and he was the only perſon that may be ſaid to have ſuffered preciſely on that ſcore. On the 11th of June laſt the curate of the pariſh came by, while he was at work with a country man, and aſked him whether he kept the church. Andrew told him he did not own him, nor would give him any account; whereupon the curate called the neighbours and ſeized him. Then he was carried to Cockpen, and preſſed to drink the king's health; and, upon refuſing, was committed to priſon at Dalkeith, and from thence to Edinburgh, where he was put in the iron houſe. At one of his examinations, (for there was no proof of his being any ways concerned in the affair of Sharp) while the advocate was expatiating on the aggravating circumſtances of that affair, and, among other things, was repreſenting, that when the biſhop was upon his knees praying, they killed him; Andrew being touched at this, lifted up his hands, and cried out, O! dreadful! he would not pray one word, for all that could be ſaid to him. This was enough. His own confeſſion was brought as proof of his being concerned in the biſhop's death, and accordingly he was ſentenced to be taken to the croſs of Edinburgh on Friday, July the 20th, to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then to be hanged, his head to be cut off, and fixed at Coupar, and his body to be hung in chains at Magus-muir. He endured his ſufferings with great courage. The hangman, being drunk, or affecting to be ſo, gave him nine ſtrokes in the cutting off his hands, which he endured with invincible patience. When his right hand was cut off, he held up the ſtump before the ſpectators, and ſaid, My bleſſed Lord ſealed my ſalvation with his blood, and I am honoured this day, to ſeal his truths with my blood. After his body had hung for ſome time in chains, ſome people came and took it down, which expoſed that part of the country to no ſmall trouble. In his laſt teſtimony, where are many excellent advices, among other things, he ſays, 'I declare I die not as a murderer, or as an evil doer, although this covenant breaking, perjured, murdering generation lay it to my charge, as though I was a murderer, on account of the juſtice that was executed on that Judas, who ſold the kirk of Scotland for 50,000 merks a year.'——

Edward Aitkin was condemned and executed at the ſame time with Andrew Guillan. His crime was converſing with the earl of Earlſtoun, which he acknowleged, and bleſſed God for the converſe he had with him. Hard meaſure with a witneſs!

On the 18th of July, Sir Thomas Hope of Graighall, Sheene of Hallyards elder, Holburn of Menſtrie, and other gentlemen, were indicted before the juſticiary for reſet and converſe, but were diſmiſſed upon taking the teſt.

On the 23d the Rev. Mr William Carſtairs was apprehended in England, at Kenterden in Kent on ſuſpicion that he was Mr Ferguſon, one of the ſuppoſed conſpirators. He was admitted to bail for ſome days, after which he was committed to the common jail of the place. All he was accuſed of was his refuſing the oaths, one of which had been expired by law, viz. the Oxford oath. After he had been there a fortnight, he was ſent to London and committed for two days into a meſſenger's hands. During which time Sir Andrew Forreſter came to him in the king's name, and offered him a pardon, and all kindneſs, if he would diſcover what he knew of that matter, which, ſays Mr Carſtairs, ſhews the falſhood of what was poſitively aſſerted, in an account given in the name of the king and duke of York, that never any hopes of favour were offered to any to induce them to confeſs. He was afterwards called before a committee of the council, and not giving them that ſatisfaction they deſired, was committed to the gate-houſe. He had for his fellow priſoner major Holmes, who had been a friend and correſpondent of the earl of Argyll, and to whom he was deſired to give a cypher of names to correſpond with, and to which he added ſeveral with his own hand, which was well known to the earl of Melford. This proved afterwards prejudicial to him, for it was found among his papers when he was ſeized. Beſides, the major told the lords of council that there had been ſome conſultations about lending money to Argyll. He continued in the gate-houſe eleven weeks cloſe priſoner; and, thinking himſelf ſecure againſt being ſent to Scotland, under the protection of the *habeas corpus* act, in the firſt of Michaelmas-term he petitioned the court of King's-bench for either being brought to his trial or admitted to bail; but, the day after that, he was ordered to prepare for Scotland in 24 hours, to be tried there for crimes committed in that kingdom, though for ſeveral years he had not been in that country but *en paſſant*. Accordingly he was ſent to Scotland in the king's kitchen yacht, with ſeveral other Scots gentlemen, and was with them committed to the jail of Edinburgh, where he was cloſe priſoner for ſeveral months, and where I muſt leave him in order to relate what happened in the mean time.

On the 24th Robert Hamilton laird of Monkland was proſecuted before the juſticiary, and indicted 'for being 'with four ſervants at Schaw-muir in June 1679. keeping a council of war with the murderers of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, converſing with them, entertaining them at his houſe, and that he entertained and received rent from tenants after they had been at Bothwell.' This gentleman was what was then called regular, and had never given the leaſt evidence of what was accounted diſloyalty. While the weſt country army was near his houſe, and he was told that one of his children had ſtrayed towards them, he went out to bring back his child, which he thought was no crime; but, though nothing elſe appeared againſt him, he was ſentenced to be beheaded at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 10th of Auguſt next. And though the ſentence was not executed, yet the cruel treatment he met with bore ſo hard on his ſpirits, that he fell ſick and died, his ſon, at the revolution, was obliged to ſell the half of his eſtate.

On the 24th, 25th and 30th of this month the following perſons were impriſoned for alledged rebellion, reſet of rebels, and other treaſonable crimes, viz. John Porterfield of Douchal, James Hamilton of Aikenhead *, Mr Andrew Hay of Craignethan, William Brodie of Whelpſhill, John Gilkers heritor in Biggar, James Paterſon in Shields, J. Dunlop of Houſhill *, G. Muirhead of Stevenſon, Mr John Bannantyne of Corehouſe, after the revolution miniſter at Lanerk, G. Houſtoun of Johnſtoun *, J Pirrie in Nuik, G Hamilton of Weſtburn *, Allan Watt in Kirktoun, A. Mack and D. Richmond in Hareſtocks, J. Bruce in Nethertoun of Hamilton, Thomas Alſton of Mynes, James Strang, Arch. Roxburgh, John Muir, Jo. Robertſon, Rob. Wilſon. And. Roſs, John Allan, Will. Paterſon, John Alexander, Tho. Bowis, Tho. Dinning, William Smelly, James Brown, all in Hamilton; James Muirhead of Braidiſholm, Jam. and John Murrays in Auchinreach, Pat. Park writer in Glaſgow, Mark Marſhall merchant there, Mr And. Kennedy. *alias* Weir of Clowburn.

July 25th. John Young in Linbank, Eliezer Allan and his ſon John, Tho. Allan younger of Coldſtream, James Young chamberlain of Evandale. James Stuart of Hartwood *, John Fiſher in Covenanton-mill. James Crichton in Biggar, James Gilkerſon in Side, Matthew Hamilton ſon to Gavin in Haws, Alex. Cuningham of Craigends, Will. Muir of Glanderſtoun *, John Anderſon of Dovehill, Alex. Muir in Pentland, Tho. Young in Cothil, Jo. Meikle in Nuikfoot, Ga. Semple in Overtoun. John Steil elder in Brakenridge, John Cochran in Cairnduff, Will. Thomſon in Waterhead, Alex Hamilton in Haws, Sir John Maxwell of Nether pollock *, Sir John Schaw of Greenock, John Chiſly of Carſwell *, Gavin Muirhead of Lachop *, Sir Al. Hamilton of Haggs *, James Chancellor of Shielhill, Mr John Hamilton of Halcraig. Will. Forreſt of Maſchoch mill. Matthew Thomſon in Bothwell, J. Naſmith in Allartoun, Rob, Hamilton of Burnbae, J. Loudon in Hamilton, John Muirhead, And. Little, John Wright, Rob. Alſtoun, James Mack, W. Matthie there; Will. Cook, John Loudon in Carphin bridgend, Mr W. Ruſſel chamberlain to Sir Daniel Carmichael, Sir Rob. Sinclair of Stevenſon *, Will. Baily of Lammingtoun *, A. Durham of Dunvertie. Mr Will. Douglas of Bads, Dav. Oſwald of Eaſtburn, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Blackcaſtle, Ad. Cockburn of Ormiſton *, Mr James Mitchell ſon to Owletſon, John Flint in Breich-mill, John Wallace in

Clough

Cleugh-head, Andrew Rob in Walsey, Mr Patrick Inglis portioner in Eastbarnes.

July 30. John Peltin in Whitehill of Lesmahago, Archibald Crawford of Auchinmains, John Cannon of Headmark, James Galloway of Shields, Mr Will. Rankin late schoolmaster at Ayr, Tho' Mackenilly in Ochiltree, Jo Speir there, John Forrest in Langhouse in Carlouk, And. Prentice, David Dykes, And. Hutchison of Sorn, Dunlop of that ilk, Fergus MacRubben of Knockdallen, Fullertoun of that ilk, David Boswell of Auchinleck, Geo. Fullertoun of Dreghorn, And. Ramsay baker in Ayr, Dav. Blail of Adamtoun *, Jo Smith of Rodaindykes, Jo. Ramsay, Sir David Carmichael of Mauldsley *, and Walter Lockhart of Kirktoun.

These with [*] at their names, and a good many others, were released before the 22d of August, against whom nothing could be proved. Others gave bond to appear when called. Vast numbers escaped imprisonment by taking the test; but then there were not a few that were declared fugitives and outlaws by the justiciary on the said 25th of July, as W. Thomson procurator in Lanerk, Gideon Crawford merchant in Biggar, Ja. Muirhead younger in Lanerk, Jo. Clelland portioner in Stane, Ja. Thomson of Harestacks, Jo. Browning there, David Gilkerson, Hum. Stevenson, James Forrest, Alex. Smith, John Scot, John Nasmith in Clelands, John Nasmith in Hamilton, Will. Bell, Jo. Simpson, Arch. Scot, Jo. Marshall of Chapel, Rob. Murray, Tho. Allan and Jo. Marshall in Kilsyth. How happy were the days when such numbers tasted the sweets of imprisonment, and the pleasures of outlawry!

The circuit courts being over for this time, so many things were referred to the council that they gave a new commission, on the 28th of July, to John Boyle of Kelburn, Ardmillan, colonel Buchan, &c. to hold courts for inquiring after those who were suspected as guilty of rebellion, or reset of rebels, or who maliciously slandered such as testified their loyalty by taking the test.

The same day Mess. MacGilligen, Philip and Spreul were ordered to be sent from the prison of Edinburgh to the Bass; and the governor of the Bass was enjoined to suffer no man servant to wait on the prisoners, to inspect all letters and papers sent to or from the prisoners, to suffer only two at a time to have the benefit of walking above the prison walls, between the rising and setting of the sun, and only two to come at a time from the shore to the prisoners, and always some to be present to hear their discourse.

The Rev. Mr James Fraser of Brae was seized at London, in this month of July, upon the breaking out of the plot, and soon after was brought before the king and the duke of York. After he had satisfied them as to his knowing nothing of the plot, the king asked him what he thought of the archbishop of St. Andrew's murder. He answered he had no hand in it, nor was accessory to it, yea, he was grieved when he heard of it; and, as he would not justify or have had a hand in it for the world, so for him to condemn it, or declare it murder, was what he could not do; that so he was a doer of the law, and not a judge; and as to his inward sentiments, he desired to be excused, not being free to give an account of his thoughts before any human judicatory, who were only judges of mens words and actions. The king next asked him concerning the obligation of the covenants; to which Mr Fraser replied, That though he had never taken the covenants, yet he looked upon himself as bound to all in them of a moral import. Though the king seemed to be satisfied with his having no concern in the plot, yet he was remitted to the lord mayor, who asked him if he would take the oaths. He declared he was willing to take the oath of allegiance, but demurred on that of the supremacy, and absolutely refused the Oxford oath; whereupon he was sent to Newgate, where he continued six months, and had such good entertainment, company and conversation, that he says he could scarce call it suffering. And indeed there was a great difference between the sufferers in England and those in Scotland, where the managers were acted from a real spirit of cruelty.

On the 2d of August, Mess. Anthony Schaw, John Veitch, Rob. Millar, John Campbell, Rob. Boyd, Will. Baily, and James Veitch, indulged ministers, were charged with treasonable crimes. The two first were ordered to be imprisoned in Edinburgh. The process against the rest was delayed. We shall meet with most of them next year. On the 8th William Muir laird of Glanderstoun, who had been with others imprisoned on the 25th of July last, was released by an act of the justiciary. His case was singular. When he was in a fever he was bled by Mr Spreul, an apothecary, who was a non conformist. This was constructed converse with rebels; and for this Glanderstoun was imprisoned. He was obliged first to petition the council, for the justiciary at this time, was entirely under their direction. On the 16th the council ordered the king's advocate to raise a process of treason against the earl of Loudon, lord Melvil, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree and his son John, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessock elder,—Cambell of Cessock younger, the lairds of Roullan elder and younger,—Montgomery of Langshaw,—Fairly of Bruntsfield,—bailie of Jerviswood,—Crawford younger of Crawfordland,—Stuart of Culmess, and—Denholm of West-shiels. This process was raised on account of the plot; but it was some time before it was brought to any thing. And on the same 16th of August, the council had a letter from his majesty, thanking them for their care of the orthodox clergy, and declaring that it was his pleasure they should pursue the same wholesome methods. This was no doubt acceptable; for on the 21st they wrote to the king desiring that they might be impowered to nominate the justices of peace, in any of the shires, as they shall see needful, and that as several had lost the opportunity of taking the test before the first of August, they might have a farther opportunity, and that the king would approve of what they had done, in impowering proper persons to examine witnesses in the country; in regard to persons suspected of the rebellion, or guilty of reset and converse with rebels. In short, the king granted all their desires, and they issued a proclamation, ordering the common people to take the test by the first of March next, in order to indemnify them for ever, as to their receiving, or conversing with such as were in the rebellion 1679, except those who have received, or conversed with the murderers of the late archbishop, or seditious field-preachers, or who were any ways accessory to the late conspiracy. This they reckoned a great instance of clemency. But when perjury was the condition of their clemency, one would be ready to apply to them that saying, 'The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.' Besides the taking of the test, according to the proclamation, secured the lives, but not the estates of such gentlemen as they could have an accusation against.

By this time Mr Alex. Gordon of Earlstoun was come to Scotland, and had been several times examined by the council, and by committees of their number. His answers were open and sincere; but, after all their endeavours, they could find nothing relative to the plot. But, having been formerly forfeited in life and fortune, the justiciary, on the 21st of August, condemned him to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh on the 28th of next month. But, still hoping to make great discoveries, they were resolved to examine him by torture; but here lay their difficulty: they wanted some point of law for torturing one under sentence of death. Accordingly the same day they wrote to the secretary to advise with the king's advocate, then at London, 'whether, by the laws of the kingdom, and the circumstances he is in, being under sentence of death, he may be put to the question by torture, upon such pertinent questions as your lordship and he shall think fit to draw up, &c.

Mean while, this same day, the lady Morisoun, a pious gentlewoman, was ordered to leave the kingdom, without having any thing to lay to her charge.

On the 29th of August, Mr J. Dick son to D. Dick writer in Edinburgh, having been apprehended upon the information of a poor woman whom they had bribed, was examined by the committee for public affairs, and in his answers exceeded the bishop in point of argument. On the last of August he was brought before the council, and subscribed what he had confessed upon his examination, viz. 'That he owned the work of reformation, as—contained in the confession of faith and catechisms conform

form to the covenant againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm, &c.—As to epiſcopacy, he cannot underſtand it to be lawful,—that epiſcopacy and eraſtianiſm, eſtabliſhed in that and ſubſequent parliaments, were contrary to the word of God, and that the ſupremacy therein eſtabliſhed was moſt horrid blaſphemy.' Then, directing himſelf to the chancellor, he ſaid, he hoped his lordſhip would not take that ill, ſeeing he had ſworn the ſame in the teſt, and deſired that this might be added to his confeſſion, but that was refuſed. 'He did not own the Sanquhar declaration, but owned the Hamilton, the lawfulneſs of ſelf defence, field-meetings, and that the invaſion made againſt them at Pentland and Bothwell, they being in the exerciſe of religion, was ſervice done to the devil, and that the reſiſtance they made in their own defence was ſervice done to God.—He confeſſed his being at Bothwell, but not at Drumclog, that the king was lawful born king, and came lawfully to the crown, and owned his authority conform to the word of God,—that the covenants were binding on the nations, and ſhould be ſo to the end of time, and that that oath called the teſt, was a moſt horrid and unlawful oath, and that he was not obliged to take the ſame. As to the killing of the archbiſhop, that he could not give his judgment about it, it not being an act of his own; but that ſome of thoſe who were called the actors, whom he knew, were holy and juſt men.' The council, when he ſigned the confeſſion failed not to improve it; and accordingly ordered George Bannerman advocate to proſecute him and George Lapſley before the lords of juſticiary.

Thus on the 4th of September they were brought before the criminal court, and indicted for treaſon. Mr Dick's confeſſion was produced as evidence againſt him; he owned it in the face of the court; and, being aſked if he had any thing to add to it, he anſwered, 'he had on ly one clauſe, viz. that he was of opinion, that all the blood of the preſbyterians ſhed thoſe years bygone, merely for their principles, was murder.' The lords would not hear what he had to ſay in his own defence; the jury brought him in guilty; and he was ſentenced to be hanged at the Graſs market on September 18th. When the ſentence was pronounced he told them, 'That to paſs ſuch a ſentence upon him, without hearing him in his own defence, was a practice never paralelled among the heathens.' And going on he was interupted and carried off. But an incident happened which prevented his execution at this time, which I ſhall preſently relate.

George Lapſley was for ſome time a miller in Linlithgow mill, and was one of thoſe multitudes who was converted by the goſpel preached in the fields. At Bothwell he was wounded in the leg, and made priſoner. When before a committee of the council, he diſcovered, by his anſwers, that he was a man of undaunted courage and reſolution. As he was called before them he was reading his Bible, and carried it with him under his arm. Biſhop Paterſon was the firſt that attacked him, and aſked if he thought Bothwell bridge rebellion; he anſwered, Sir, you are a perjured prelate, I will anſwer you no queſtions. The other lords examined him in the manner following:

Queſtion. Wherefore are you in priſon? *Anſwer.* For hearing the goſpel. *Q.* Do you go to church? *A.* No. *Q.* Wherefore? *A.* Becauſe they are not the ſent miniſters of Chriſt, and becauſe of their perjury. *Q.* Will you own the king's authority? *A.* According to the word of God and covenants, and no otherwiſe, which you have broken and burnt, and for which the Lord will be avenged. *Q.* Did you write to Mr Dick? *A.* Yes. *Q.* Who wrote the letter? *A.* I will give no account. *Q.* Was the biſhop's death murder? *A.* I am not concerned with his life or death either. *Q.* Was Hackſtoun's death a murder? *A.* Yes; and all thoſe whoſe lives you have taken theſe two and twenty years. *Q.* Was you at Bothwell bridge? *A.* I will not accuſe myſelf. *Q.* What thought you of it? *A.* I thought it duty and not rebellion, and all that were on the contrary party were in rebellion againſt God, and that you will find. *Q.* Did you converſe with Mr Welſh? *A.* Yes; and I bleſs God for it. *Q.* What book is that under your arm? *A.* It is the acts of the parliament of heaven, and I charge you, as ye ſhall anſwer at the great day, when ye and I ſhall ſtand on equal terms, that ye judge according to what is contained in it. *Q.* Is it lawful to reſiſt the king's forces at the field meetings? *A.* Yes; the law of nature allows ſelf defence, and the word of God, and our covenants, to ſtand to the defence of one another.

Notwithſtanding theſe bold anſwers, they were reſtrained from paſſing ſentence of death, and he eſcaped before they had another opportunity, and lived a merchant in Edinburgh for many years after the revolution.

On the 12th of September garriſons were appointed in Dumfries, Kaitloch, Earlſtoun, &c. which effectually carried on the perſecution againſt all non conformiſts.

Four days after this Mr John Dick, George Lapſley, and 24 more, made their eſcape out of the priſon at Edinburgh; for which the magiſtrates were called to an account, reprimanded, and enjoined to be more careful for the future. Mr Dick was afterwards taken and executed.

On the 19th the council had a letter from the king, ordering the fugitive rolls to be printed; and the next day a letter came from Middleton the ſecretary, to the chancellor, relating to the torture of the laird of Earlſtoun, in which it was declared, that though a man cannot be tortured on queſtions relating to the crimes for which he is condemned, yet he may be tortured for what relates to plots, conſpiracies, and combinations, that have happened afterwards; and ſince Mr Gordon had a commiſſion from the rebels, and it doth appear from a letter to him, from I. N. dated at London, March the 20th laſt, that he was privy to the late conſpiracy, &c. therefore his majeſty reſolved that he be put to the torture and interrogated concerning thoſe from whom he had the ſaid commiſſion, and concerning the ſaid conſpiracy. In conſequence of this, the council, the ſame day, appointed a committee to meet next Tueſday, and examine Earlſtoun by torture.

Accordingly, on the 25th of September, Earlſtoun was before them; but though the inſtrument of torture was ſtanding by, yet it was not uſed, becauſe he declared he would be as ingenious, and more full than he could be in torture. There were two things upon which he was chiefly examined, viz. the commiſſion from the ſocieties, called in the interrogatories the Pretended Convention, and the letter ſigned I. N. As to the firſt, he declared, 'That the firſt time he met with that pretended convention was near the Inner kirk of Kyle in the fields, about two years ago, and that there were about 80 perſons, or thereby; and that he was brought there, from his own houſe, by one John Niſbet, whom the declarant knows no farther than that he is a weſt country man about Glaſgow, and that John Niſbet is another John Niſbet that wrote a letter to him to Holland, under the notion of trade, relating to the riſing and rebellion in England. And farther, that, about a year and half ago, he met with another convention, conſiſting of fourſcore perſons, or thereby, in the fields, within five miles of the former place near Innerkirk, and that very few of them had ſwords; to which meeting he was advertiſed to come by a letter ſent to his houſe, ſubſcribed by Mr James Renwick, who is clerk to the convention, and heard of no miniſters being among them at either of theſe times; and ſays there were people there from all the diſtricts in ſeveral ſhires of the kingdom; which diſtricts he was informed were fourſcore, and that in them all there would have been ſix or ſeven thouſand men; and he knew none of the perſons in either of their meetings, except Mr James Renwick the clerk, the ſaid John Niſbet, who came from a diſtrict beſide Galloway, and William and James Stuarts, who came out of Galloway, Robert Spier, who came from the Lothians, and one Forreſt, who came from the upper-ward of Clyde; and that, at theſe general meetings, they produced their commiſſions from the ſeveral diſtricts to the clerk, that it might appear that they were commiſſionate to get relief for the diſtreſs in their bounds; that the buſineſs of the convention was to provide for thoſe among them that were in want, and for their own ſecurity againſt the dangers they were in, being denounced fugitives from the laws, and in hazard to be catched by the governors; and that he heard nothing treated of, or ſpoke amongſt them, as to riſing in arms, nor knows of any correſpondence

ence these of the convention had with any in Ireland; and as to England, he supposed there was a correspondence there, but knows not those that managed it, except the said John Nisbet, he having shewn the declarant a letter he had from Michael Shiells, one of the clerks of the convention, which he saw in the end of March, or beginning of April last,—that he accepted the commission, to see if there could be a way found for the distrest brethren to go abroad, or to have something from abroad to maintain them there,—that the commission was sent him to Newcastle by a common receiver, whom he knows not, directed to him at his lodging, at the sign of the vine in the Gateside in Newcastle, his landlord's name being George Marshall a public inn-keeper, and addressed to him under the name of *la Graveil*, &c.'

As to the letter from I. N. he explained all the parts of it as they required, as the reader may see in the copies of informations by Sprat, and no farther could appear from his declaration than that there had been conferences among those who wished well to their country, about the most proper methods for rescuing it from approaching slavery, and consultations about rising in arms; but nothing of assassinating either the king or the duke. To use the words of a modern historian, 'There was nothing more in it, than the rash and imprudent discourse of some warm Whigs, which, in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture, was very hazardous; but no scheme of a plot was agreed upon, no preparations were made, no arms nor horses bought, nor persons appointed to execute any design against the king or government.'

Notwithstanding Earlstoun had been most open and full in his declarations, yet, in less than two months after this, he was, in consequence of a new letter from the king, ordered to be put to the torture; but, as I am assured by his son, when they were going to put him in the boots, he turned furious, and frighted the whole court; and that this, and the interest of the duke of Gordon, who was his firm friend, were the occasions of his life being preserved. The physicians advised that he might be sent to the castle for the benefit of the air. He perfectly recovered in eight or ten days. In short, this worthy gentleman was reprieved from time to time, and was at last sent to the Bass, where he had sometimes more, and sometimes less liberty, with his excellent lady, till he was released by the revolution.

Some time in September Mr James Renwick returned to Scotland. After his ordination he went with all expedition to Rotterdam to take the first opportunity of a ship. It was some time before he found a conveniency; at last he got a-board a vessel for Ireland. While at sea they were overtaken by a storm, and forced to put in at Rye harbour in England, which happened during the noise of the plot; but getting off he arrived at Dublin, and from thence sailed to Scotland, where he joined the societies, who chuse him for their minister. His first public meeting was in a moss at Darmead, where, for his own vindication, and the satisfaction of the people, he declared all his sentiments about the then puzzling questions, particularly concerning the defections of ministers, and shewed what ministers he would and what he would not join with; and, as he named the latter, he gave his reasons why he could not join with them. Some present were offended at his naming some ministers, which when he came to understand, he wished he had not been so particular in mentioning names, since it had given offence; but he declared his end was harmless, and that it flowed from no prejudice at their persons, nor disrespect to their names. After this he was exposed to many slanders and reproaches, too numerous here to mention. And many sought to defame his principles, as not only unsound, but also pernicious; and I am sorry to have it to say, that none reproached him more than the indulged of his own communion.

In the mean time, by the noise that went to him through the country, the council soon got intelligence, and were galled at the thoughts of his preaching in the fields; which practice had been laid aside since Mr Cargill's execution; but was now revived by Mr Renwick notwithstanding the inevitable danger to which it exposed both him and his followers. But, considering the necessities of the people, who had been long without ordinances, and could not submit to the indulged, he engaged in the difficult work, and was heartily received by the poor persecuted people, who, for the sake of the gospel, were determined to venture their lives. The council soon began to shew their resentment; for, on the 8th of October, they fined the laird of Dundass and the trades of Glasgow in 50 l. sterl. each, because of a field meeting which Mr Renwick had preached to, and baptized several children at Brownridge belonging to Dundass's estate, and in the parish of New-Monkland belonging to the trades of Glasgow.

The same day Mr Tho. Hog and Mr Tho. Wilkie were fined for conventicles, the first in 5000, and the second in 10,000 merks. The former soon after went to Holland, and the latter seems to have been minister of the Canongate after the revolution.

Some time in this same month James Forrest in the parish of Cambuslethan, his son and his nephew Rob. Gourlay, were banished to West Flanders. But returning, he, his son, and daughter Margaret Forrest, were seized and banished, she to Jersey, and they to Jamaica, after a long imprisonment. The prisons, especially at Edinburgh, were crouded, and many of the prisoners were transported to the plantations for their non conformity, and alledged reset and converse. One William Inglis a mason was taken out of his bed, upon a bare information of his being a non conformist, and, after a long imprisonment, was sent to Carolina, where he died.

But the treatment of George Jackson, in the parish of Eastwood, shews the inhuman and bloody spirit of the prelates as much as any. While at Glasgow he was overheard at prayer, and immediately suspected for a presbyterian, and so was seized some time in this month of October. There was nothing they could lay to his charge. He was soon brought before the bishop of Glasgow who examined him as follows. *Question.* What now, Mr Jackson? *Answer.* I was never a scholar. Q. Can you read the Bible? A. Yes. Q. Was you at Bothwellbridge? A. Yes. Q. What arms had ye? A. An halbert staff? Q. Was ye an officer? A. No; I was but sixteen years of age. Q. Who was your captain? A. A young man. Q. How called they him? A. I am not bound to give an account to you. Q. Was you at Bothwell-rebellion? A. I allow myself in no rebellion against God. Q. Was it rebellion against the king, or not? A. I have answered that question already. Q. Would you go to it again? A. The question is like yourself. I know not. Q. Will you say, God save the king? A. It is not in my power to save or condemn. Q. Will ye pray for him? A. I will pray for all within the election of free grace. Q. Whether is the king within the election or not? A. If you were the man you profess to be, you would not ask such a question; it belongs only to God. Q. Do you own the authority as it is now established? A. No; but I own all authority so far as it is according to the written word of God. Q. Do you own the king and inferior magistrates? A. In so far as they are 'a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well.' Q. Are they not that? A. When the Lord Jesus Christ shall sit judge, they and ye, and the like of you, will count for it, whether they be so or not. Q. Is the bishop's death murder, or not? A. If your questions be upon these matters I am not concerned with, I will keep silence.' He was then examined concerning some papers found about him, but declining to answer, the right reverend prelate mildly said, Sir, the boots shall make you free. He refused to subscribe what he had said, because he looked upon that as an acknowlegement of their unjust laws. In short, he was kept in irons all winter till the month of May, when we shall meet with him again.

In the beginning of November a party apprehended about 12 persons in the parish of New Monkland, and carried them to Hamilton, where they were increased to 30, and from thence carried them to Lanerk in the night-time, and cast them into a dungeon, where they were forced to stand the rest of the night, without meat, drink, fire or candle. Next day they were tied to one another, two and two, set on bare horses, with their legs tied under the horse's belly, to the effusion of their blood. In that posture they were

were obliged to ride at the gallop for ſundry miles, without being allowed a refreſhment, though Bonſhaw and his ſoldiers ſtopt at moſt of the public houſes on the road. One of the poor priſoners begged leave to light and eaſe nature, but the cruel commander would not ſuffer it. When they got to Edinburgh, they were for ſome days neither able to walk, ſit, nor ſtand.

During theſe proceedings things were preparing for the trial of ſeveral in Scotland who were ſaid to be concerned in the plot. Accordingly, on the 22d of October, the Scots council at London ordered the laird of Caſnock and his ſon, Rowallan elder and younger, Crawfordland, Bruntſfield, Alex. Monro of Beaucrofts, Jerviſwood, Mr Will. Carſtairs, Hepburn ſon to major Hepburn, Spence ſervant to the earl of Ayrgil, priſoners at London, to be ſent to take their trial in Scotland; and, by a letter from the king, the advocate was ordered to proſecute them for treaſon. They were ſent down accordingly.

Mean while cruelty and injuſtice were riding in triumph in Scotland: for, on the 15th of November, Sir William Scot of Harden, a gentleman near 70 years of age, was fined in 1500 l. ſterling for his lady's withdrawing from the church. And, becauſe his confinement in priſon at Edinburgh, for near ſix months, was like to deſtroy his health, the council, out of their great clemency, ordered him to the caſtle. He was afterwards ſent to the jail of Jedburgh, and from thence to that of Edinburgh. He was releaſed it ſeems in Auguſt next year, upon Sir Patrick Scot of Ancrum's bail for 1500 l ſterling to preſent him the Tueſday following; and none of them appearing that day, the bond was declared forfeited

On the 28th John Whitelaw in New-Monkland in the ſhire of Lanerk, Arthur Bruce in Dalſerf and John Cochran ſhoemaker in Leſmahago, were indicted before the lords of juſticiary at Edinburgh for treaſon. They had nothing to lay to their charge, but the anſwers they gave to their enſnaring queſtions as in many former caſes, and yet they were condemned to be executed on the 30th. They were perſons from whom the government had nothing to fear; and nothing can be ſaid but that the managers thirſted after blood. The laſt mentioned had a wife and ſix ſmall children, whom he left to the protection of the Almighty, as he declared in his laſt teſtimony. They all died with a holy chearfulneſs, adhering to their covenanted principles, and bearing witneſs againſt popery, prelacy, and the teſt and every thing elſe contrary to the written word of God.

The ſame day theſe three were condemned, the general meeting of the united ſocieties drew up a proteſtation againſt the Scots congregation, miniſters and church ſeſſion at Roterdam, and ſent it to Mr Hamilton their agent. This action was very much condemned, and in their Informatory Vindication, they do not juſtify ſome expreſſions in it, though they own they had matter for a proteſtation. Thus they conclude, 'Conſidering that the cauſes inſerted, materially conſidered and rightly applied, are both true and ſufficient for a proteſtation, we deſire that it may be looked upon as a ſtanding teſtimony, (together with what contendings have formerly been by ſome faithful Scotiſh ſufferers in that land) for the vindication of truth, and againſt the ſad wrongs and abuſes in that congregation, ay and while the cauſes inſerted are maintained, and the offence and ſcandal given not removed. Yea, in very deed, a deep ſenſe, in the mean time, of the ſins witneſſed againſt by the foreſaid proteſtation, would make all therein involved more favourably and charitably to conſtruct of the action.'

On the 29th commiſſions were given to ſundry gentlemen, in ſeveral ſhires in the ſouth and eaſt, to attack heritors who had not given ſatisfaction with reſpect to their converſe with rebels.

During the months of October and November ſearches were common and ſevere, eſpecially in Glaſgow. All ſtrangers who did not anſwer their enſnaring queſtions were carried either to the guard or priſon. Multitudes were thus apprehended, and ſent to Edinburgh. One night they catched John Richmond as he was walking in the ſtreets, John Dick and John Williamſon. The firſt was carried to the guard, where he was moſt cruelly tied neck and heel, and left in that poſture bleeding of the wounds which he had received in making ſome reſiſtance when taken. He was executed, as we ſhall relate. The ſecond was baniſhed to Carolina, and the third made ſome compliances, of which he afterwards repented One John Main was alſo ſeized at this time in arms, and was likewiſe executed

On the 6th of December one Margaret Garnock, after about a year's impriſonment for pretended converſe with rebels, was releaſed.

Next day lord Livingſtone was, by the council, appointed proveſt of Linlitgow, in regard the former magiſtrates did not exerciſe their authority againſt church-diſorders; ſo that this town was deprived of its privileges, and were obliged, not only now, but alſo in the following infamous reign, to ſubmit to the nomination of magiſtrates made by the council.

As the proceſs againſt ſeveral gentlemen and others, at this time, before the juſticiary came to nothing, I purpoſely wave them. About 20 were ſummoned to appear on the 10th, and not appearing were declared fugitives, and put to the horn.

On the 18th a number of gentlemen were impriſoned for the ſame cauſe with thoſe in July; ſome of them it ſeems were papiſts, who were ſo honeſt as to refuſe the teſt; but, as I cannot diſtinguiſh the one from the other, I omit their names. However, the papiſts had little to fear under the preſent adminiſtration, ſince the reins of government were in the hands of their friend the duke of York. Theſe were ordered to the priſon of Edinburgh, with Sir John Riddel, John Maxwell of Gribtoun, Rob. Carliſle, James Lindſay, James Hume brother to Baffinden, Hugh Dumbar of Knockſhinnoch, and Rob Nisbet of Greenholm.

The ſame day about 30 perſons, moſtly tradeſmen and country people, were declared fugitives and ſeveral others denounced, and the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to ſhew their zeal for prelacy, made an act againſt conventicles, by which they offered 60 l. Scots to the diſcoverer of any conventicle, unlawful baptiſm or marriage, or the entertainer of any intercommuned or vagrant perſon, and 12 l. Scots to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any perſon that kept not the church

Some time this month another general ſearch was made at Glaſgow when John Buchanan, a young ſtudent, was taken, and, after ſome time's impriſonment, was tranſported to Carolina.

James Dun in Beauwhat, in the pariſh of Dalmellingtoun, a pious man, ſuffered much in his family at this time. He had four ſons; one was killed, and another was baniſhed, and his youngeſt ſon Quintin, not quite 14 years of age, was apprehended and impriſoned at Ayr. Nothing could be laid to his charge. His father was forced to pay 240 l. Scots before he could get him releaſed. This was more than they could have got for him had they ſold him for a ſlave, as they afterwards did.

CHAP. IX.

Of the perſecution this year in general: the proceedings of the council and juſticiary: the ſufferings of particular noblemen, gentlemen and others; together with the public executions till the end of Auguſt 1684.

THE longer perſecution laſts the worſe it grows, one kind of oppreſſion making way for another, as appears from the preceding part of this work; but, this year and the following open a more bloody ſcene than any before, being, what the oppreſſed people juſtly called, *Killing time.*

The courts held by commiſſion in the former years increaſed their illegal ſeverities in this time; for, when they had nothing to accuſe perſons of ſince Bothwell, they went as far back as Pentland. The fines were exorbitant, and the curates egged on the oppreſſors. At one of theſe courts, held at Kirkcudbright, Mr Colin Dalgleiſh the curate cauſed almoſt the whole pariſh to be ſummoned, and excuſed or accuſed whom he pleaſed. Particularly, through his inſtigation, James Martin of Dularg was fined in 1000 l. Scots for his wife's not keeping the church, and caſt into priſon till he paid it; but, through bad uſage

ſage and want of accommodation, he was ſeized with a cholic of which he died in priſon.

The teſt was impoſed with rigour at theſe courts upon all whom they ſuſpected, and the recuſants impriſoned. This made ſeveral take it contrary to their conſciences which afterwards filled them with dreadful remorſe. One William Spaldie, a taylor in Glaſgow, died in deſpair on this very account; for, when they ſpoke to him of the extenſiveneſs of the divine mercy, his anſwer was, Speak not of mercy to me, I have appealed unto God, and atteſted him to judge me, and he will do it. I have ſealed and ſigned my condemnation with my own hand. But I purpoſely omit other inſtances, which the reader will find in my author.

The quartering of ſoldiers for not paying the ceſs was another occaſion of great oppreſſion. The reaſons why many refuſed to pay this have been mentioned, ſoldiers were ſent to the recuſants, and quartered upon them till ten times the value of the ceſs was deſtroyed; and, after all, a compoſition was forced to be made with the collectors. Seven cows were taken from one Gavin MacLymont in the pariſh of Carſphairn, upon his refuſal, after the loſs he ſuſtained by quartering, though he was not charged above the value of 15 ſhillings ſterling.

Multitudes were baniſhed, many of whom never returned. I ſhall have occaſion to mention ſeveral of theſe afterwards in their proper place. Only here I would obſerve, that one John Gate was committed to priſon at Glaſgow, for modeſtly declining to drink the king's health; his wife was impriſoned in a different room in the ſame jail, where ſhe fell ſick; and though ſhe was with child, could not get out till a ſurgeon gave a certificate that her life was in danger; but, when ſhe was releaſed, ſhe was not ſuffered to go with her eight children to her own houſe; and the people being terrified at the dreadful proſecutions for reſet and converſe, would not take her in; ſo that ſhe was obliged to ly in the ſtreets, till the lady Ardry, notwithſtanding the hazard ſhe ran, gave her the conveniency of her brew-houſe, where three of her children died. Her huſband continued ſeveral months in irons, and was at laſt tranſported to America, where he died. She ſurvived her troubles, and was alive when my author wrote his hiſtory. George Ruſſel, in the pariſh of Cambuſnethan, was firſt impriſoned, and then ſent abroad to the army, where he died for the great crime of having a child baptized at a conventicle ſome years before.

This year the moſt unhuman practice of killing innocent people in cold blood, in the fields, began to be uſed, and public authority was given for it, as we ſhall relate in its proper place; but before that could be pretended it was put in practice. Accordingly, as one John Smith was returning from ſome meeting, he was taken ill, and ſat down in the fields. A party of ſoldiers coming that way, without any proceſs or ceremony, ſhot him where they found him.

The priſons were crouded, and many died there, particularly George Shiells, Thomas Scot in Bonnchester, John Falla in Kelſo, and Thomas Turnbull in Ancrum. But I ſhall now relate the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this year, as near as I can, in the order of time.

As fines were one of the ſore oppreſſions the country groaned under, ſo the moſt of theſe were ſquandered by the exactors, and a ſmall part of them was accounted for. But, on the 3d of January, a letter from the king was read in the council, and recorded, wherein his majeſty required them to call judges and magiſtrates to an account for what fines they received, and to purſue thoſe heritors who were fined and had not yet paid them, as they ſhould ſee proper. A committee was appointed to take this matter under conſideration, and agreed, that the heritors, who had not paid their fines, ſhould be charged to do it in 15 days; and that ſuch of them as applied for mitigation ſhould be heard before the council. Whether the council examined the magiſtrates, &c. as to the way the fines were diſpoſed of, is not recorded, farther than that it appeared, that the magiſtrates of Edinburgh had received 8349 l. 12 s. Scots, and were allowed 200 l. ſterl. for their charges, which was a tolerable good allowance, and would be very encouraging to other magiſtrates in their ſevere exactions.

The ſame day Mr John Campbell, indulged miniſter at Sorn, and Mr James Veitch at Maunchlin, were deprived of their licence, and ordered to find ſurety to leave the kingdom by the firſt of March, or to exerciſe no part of their miniſtry, becauſe they had preached in private families, and had not read the proclamation for the thankſgiving. Mr Veitch went to Holland where he continued till the toleration. The ſame day one John Millar of Waterſhaugh was releaſed, upon giving bond, under the penalty of 500 l. ſterl. to appear when called. He had been nine months in priſon, upon mere ſuſpicion of correſpondence with *rebels* as they were called. And,

At the ſame time, a new commiſſion was granted to the provoſt of Glaſgow, and others, for the ſhires of Lanerk and Dumbarton, and to the ſheriff-depute of Dumfries, and others, for Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtoun and Annandale, for judging thoſe who were or ſhould be apprehended for being in the late rebellion, or for juſtifying the ſame, or diſowning the king's authority. The like commiſſion was afterwards granted for Renfrew and Ayrſhire. If priſoners were ſilent, as to the queſtions propoſed to them, the commiſſioners were directed to delay proceeding againſt them to adminiſter the teſt to ſuch of them as deſired it, and to acquaint the council with their caſe, but to execute juſtice upon the guilty. The ſame orders were repeated to the juſtices of Dumfries, with this alteration, that when ſuch priſoners, againſt whom there is no proof, refuſed to anſwer, they were to be ſent to Edinburgh. In ſhort, the commiſſioners were afterwards impowered to act againſt thoſe who were without the bounds of their commiſſion. I ſhall only add here, that the laird of Meldrum got likewiſe a commiſſion for trying rebels in Lanerkſhire. We ſhall hear of ſeveral condemned at Glaſgow in conſequence of theſe commiſſions.

Mean while, on the 7th of January, Mr Anthony Schaw, indulged miniſter at Newmills, was indicted before the juſticiary at Edinburgh, for preaching at a field conventicle. The caſe was this: when aſſiſting the indulged miniſter at Colmonel, at the Lord's ſupper, the number of people was greater than the church could contain, ſo that Mr Schaw preached in a tent in the church yard, a thing very common in Scotland; for which crime this good man was tried for his life. However, the proceſs was dropt, on condition of his appearing before the council on the tenth. He appeared, his indulgence was taken from him and his church declared vacant, and he was not releaſed till bail was found that he ſhould no more exerciſe any part of his miniſtry. And indeed ſuch attacks as theſe were made on all the indulged. What then muſt have been the caſe of others?

I have had occaſion to relate the caſe of huſbands being fined for their wives non-conformity, and of the exorbitant fine impoſed on Sir William Scot of Harden, who, on the 22d preſented a petition to the council, deſiring ſome enlargement in priſon, where he was confined for the extravagant ſum impoſed upon him. The council, on the 23d, wrote to the king for his approbation of what they had done, in fining huſbands for their wives, and deſiring his majeſty would impower them to diſpenſe with the fines of loyal huſbands, who were no ways to be ſuſpected of connivance with their obſtinate wives, but were content to deliver them up to be puniſhed. The king granted their requeſt, and approved of what they had done.

There had, for ſome time, been a breach between the earls of Aberdeen and Queenſberry, who were of different ſentiments with reſpect to fining the huſbands liable to a fine, if their wives went to conventicles, for they had it in their power to reſtrain them: and, ſince the law provided in the one caſe, that the huſband ſhould ſuffer for his wife's fault, but had made no proviſion in the other caſe, as to their going to church, he thought, the fining them on that account could not be legally done. Lord Queenſberry was for every thing that would bring money into the treaſury: ſo, ſince in thoſe parts the ladies had for many years withdrawn from the churches, he reckoned the ſetting fines on their huſbands, to the rigour, would make all the eſtates of the country be at mercy.—The earl of Perth ſtruck in with this, and ſet it up for a maxim,

him, that the presbyterians could not be governed but with the extremity of rigour, and that they were irrecon cilable enemies to the king and duke and therefore ought to be extirpated. The ministry being thus divided, they referred the decision to the king. And lord Perth went up to have his resolution. The king determined against the ladies, which was thought very indecent; for, in dubious cases, the nobleness of a prince's temper, should always turn him to the merciful side. This was the less expected from him, who had all his life time expressed as great a neglect of womens consciences, as esteem for their persons.'

But he was determined to it by the duke, who, since the breaking out of the plot, had got the whole management of affairs—into his hands. Scotland was so entirely in his dependence, that the king would seldom ask what the papers imported which the duke brought to be signed by him.—The breach grew so wide between Aberdeen and Queensbery, that both were called up to give an account of it. It ended in dismissing lord Aberdeen, and making lord Perth chancellor; to which, says Burnet, he had been long aspiring in a most indecent manner. He saw the duke's temper, that his spirit was turned to an unrelenting severity, as he shewed very indecently in Scotland. For, 'when any are to be struck in the boots, it is done in the presence of the council; and upon that occasion almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful, that, without any order restraining such a number to stay, the board would be forsaken. But, when the duke was in Scotland, he was so far from withdrawing, that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention, as if he had been to look on some curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him. Lord Perth observing this, resolved to let him see how well qualified he was to be an inquisitor general; for as, in the court of inquisition, they do, upon suspicion, or, if a man refuses to answer upon oath, give him the torture, and repeat it and vary it as often as they think fit, and do not give over till they get out of their mangled prisoners what they have a mind to know, so lord Perth resolved to make this his pattern.'

While lord Perth was at London, bishop Leighton died at the Bell inn in Warwick-lane, after he had lived ten years in Sussex in great privacy, dividing his time wholly between study and retirement. He was certainly the best of all the Scots bishops, and no person can have a better character than what bishop Burnet gives him, who among other things, says, that he was, in his last years, turned to a greater severity against popery than he imagined a man of his temper, and of his largeness in point of opinion was capable of. While I am speaking of Leighton's death, I shall add, that Burnet archbishop of St. Andrews died sometime this year, of whom see vol. I. and was succeeded by Mr Arthur Ross archbishop of Glasgow. The bishop of Sarum says, that he was a poor, ignorant, worthless man, but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent, that these supplied all other defects. But to return,

On the 30th of January Mr William Eccles, indulged minister at Paisley, and Mr Robert Elliot at Lintoun, were deprived of their licences, and ordered to find bail, either not to preach, or leave the kingdom. They had broke their confinement, *i. e.* preached in other places besides their own parishes, and had not preached every 29th of May, Mr Thomas Black, indulged minister at Newtyle, being summoned, and not appearing, was declared rebel.

On the 12th of February Mr Ezekiel Montgomery, sheriff-depute of Renfrew, was ordered to be imprisoned for some pieces of misconduct in his office. The same day the council ordered the advocate to prosecute Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock for treason, and least Sir Hugh should have the benefit of Sir George Lockhart, they appointed that able lawyer to assist the king's advocate in the prosecution. However, Sir Hugh was permitted to have what other lawyers he pleased.

On the 18th George Martin, some time notary and leader in Dallay in the shire of Ayr, John Ker in Howmum, and James Muir at Cessford boat, were indicted before the justiciary at Edinburgh for treason and their confession, or answers to the usual questions, were produced as evidence against them. They confessed they did not own the king's authority as then established, nor account Bothwell rebellion, nor Sharp's death murder, &c. They were condemned to be hanged at the Grass market of Edinburgh on the 22d. The Cloud of witnesses speaks only of George Martin, and of one John Gilrey in the parish of Hownan in Teviotdale, who, my author thinks was the same with John Ker mentioned in the registers, and says he had two letters signed John Gilry, from the iron house, the 27th of December 1683, which breathe a spirit of humility, self diffidence and meekness. They all died with much composure and joy in the Lord. And it cannot but be a constant reproach to the managers at this time, that so many pious persons, whom God owned so signally at their death, were butchered and led to the slaughter for their principles, and because they could not, over the belly of conscience, express their loyalty and approbation of wicked rulers who had overturned the foundation of all legal government, and deprived the subjects of their religion and liberty.

George Martin had endured a long train of sufferings with great patience. He was apprehended about the end of the year 1679, so that he had been confined for near four years and four months, and for a considerable part of that time being in irons night and day, without fire and other necessaries. In his last testimony he gives the reasons of his conduct; and concerning praying God save the king, says among other things, 'Another reason why I cannot pray after such a manner is, I find, when prayers are rightly discharged, and seriously gone about, in the manner, time and place, as is warranted by the word of God, God is thereby worshipped and honoured; but if irreverently gone about he is dishonoured, and his name profaned and taken in vain, which is an abomination to him, and which he says his enemies do, and for which he will not hold them guiltless.—I dare not pray it, because all the profane and prosligate persons have it always in their mouth, especially when they are drunk.' He concludes his testimony with many serious and pertinent advices, which I cannot here insert.

On the 21st the council wrote to the secretary in favour of Mr Thomas Hamilton of Raith, who had in June last been forfeited in his life and fortune for alleged accession to Bothwell. In their letter, though they owned his loyalty, and that there were many favourable circumstances in his case, yet they asked for a pardon only with respect to his life, which was granted; but his estate, goods and chattles continued under forfeiture, though they could have nothing against him as acting contrary to their laws. I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections.

On the 4th of March James Forrest younger, John Colin, Joseph Gourly, Dennis Gilcreof, Thomas and George Jacksons, were banished, by the committee for public affairs, to West Flanders never to return on pain of death. In their testimony they vindicated themselves from the imputation of disloyalty and rebellion, and left their testimony for the Scriptures, confession and covenants, against popery, prelacy, &c. And particularly John Colin gives the reason why he could not say God save the king, because when he desired the committee to explain the meaning of the words, he was told that they imported an owning of his person and government, and the laws and present acting, which, said he, satisfied me much, and I think, no serious christian would approve those.

About the beginning of March Mr John Dick was again apprehended, and brought before the council, and upon his refusing to give an account of the manner of his escape, was referred to the justiciary, who, on the 4th, ordered him to be executed next day, which was done accordingly.

He wrote several pious letters to his friends before his execution. In that to his father he gives a most pointed account of the Lord's first effectual dealing with his soul, and concludes with these words, 'I hope ere long the copstone shall be put on, the result of which shall be

praises and shouting to Him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb, throughout all the ages of eternity, of long lasting eternity. This, with my earnest prayers while in the body, that the Lord would help you to mind his glory, and your own soul's eternal welfare, is all the legacy you can expect from him who is both your affectionate son and Christ's prisoner.

'*P. S.* I hope, ere I get home, to get another sight of you. Let none see this till I be in my grave. The Lord gave me to you freely, so I intreat you be frank in giving me to him again; and the more free this be, the less cause you shall have to repent.'

His last words on the scaffold were these, 'I am come here this day, and would not change my lot with the greatest in the world. I lay down my life willingly and cheerfully for Christ and his cause, and I heartily forgive all mine enemies. I forgive all them who gave me my sentence, and them who were the chief cause of my taking; and I forgive him who is behind me (the executioner) I advise you who are the Lord's people to be sincere in the way of godliness, and you who know little or nothing of the power thereof, to come to him, and trust God, he will not disappoint you; I say, trust in the Lord, and he will support and strengthen whatever trouble or affliction you may meet with. I remember when Abraham was about to sacrifice his son, Isaac said, "Here is the wood and the fire, but where is the sacrifice?" Now, blessed be the Lord, here is the sacrifice and free-will offering. Adieu, farewel all friends.'

On the same 5th of March Henry Hall of Haughhead deceased, Mr John Menzies of Winterclench or hangingshaw,——of Calderhead,——younger of Windy-edge, Henry Boswell portioner of Dunsystoun, Robert Steil portioner of Stein, and John Mack portioner of Hinselwood, were indicted before the justiciary in absence, and found guilty and forfeited, and were all, except Henry Hall, ordered to be executed when apprehended. Perhaps it was peculiar to this period to try persons who had been dead for several years.

On the 13th the case of several gentlemen in Renfrewshire, who had been fined most unjustly by the sheriff depute for church-irregularities, came to be considered. This was the case of James Pollock of Balgray, James Hamilton of Langtoun, Matthew Stewart portioner of Newton and John Pollock of Fawside. The council reduced the fines of the two first, and acknowleged the injustice done to the two last. I must refer the reader for the particulars to my author.

On the 19th five excellent and serious Christians were executed at the cross of Glasgow, viz. John Richmond in the parish of Galston, James Winning taylor in Glasgow, Archibald Stuart in Lesmahago, James Johnstoun in the parish of Calder, and John Main in that of Old Monkland. John Richmond was apprehended last year. James Winning being informed against last February, was called out of his bed to appear before one of the magistrates of Glasgow, and not giving satisfying answers concerning Bothwell and the bishop's death, was committed to prison and prosecuted with the rest.

These five persons were tried at Glasgow, on the 17th, before the military justiciary, as I may call them. Their judges were lieutenant colonel Windram, Sir W. Fleming, Sir T. Turner, lieutenant-colonel Buchan, J. Sommervell of Spittle, sheriff depute of Lanerk, W. Stirling and John Johns. The prisoners were indicted for being at Bothwell, reset and converse. Many witnesses appeared, but none swore any thing that could touch their life, even according to the laws then in force. One witness swore that he saw John Richmond in arms at Airsmoss. The preses asked him how far distant he was from the prisoner; he answered about half a mile, and yet this was sustained as good evidence! In short, though there was no proof against any of them, they were all condemned to be executed on the 19th. The main thing for which this unjust sentence was past, was because they were silent as to the king's authority, king Charles I's. death, and that of the archbishop. They all died with the utmost chearfulness and comfort, adhering to the covenants and work of reformation, and testifying against all encroachments made upon the crown and dignity of the Lord Jesus.

The last testimonies of John Main and John Richmond are in the Cloud of Witnesses. The former says, that none of these articles of his indictment could be made criminal, such as his escaping out of prison, his being at Bothwell only as a spectator, his conversing with Gavin Wotherspoon, his refusing to call Bothwell rebellion, his owning the covenants, his not answering the questions about the king's authority, his not asserting that the death of the late king, or of the archbishop, was murder; and therefore he concludes, that he and his fellow-sufferers were murdered, only for the satisfaction of men who were worse than heathens.

Among the moving expressions Archibald Stewart had at his execution, he said, 'I die not by constraint; I am more willing to die, for my lovely Lord Jesus Christ and his truths, than ever I was to live; and my soul bleseth the Lord that ever he did accept of a testimony from the like of me. Scar not at the way of Christ because of sufferings. If you knew what of his love I have got since I was honoured with imprisonment for him, and what sweet ingredients, he hath put into my cup, ye would not be afraid of suffering. He hath paved the cross all over with love, &c.' The letter that Archibald Stewart wrote to an acquaintance shews the disposition of his mind, in which he says, 'Now, my loving friends, I am going to my father's house, to reap the fruits of all these waiting nights that you and I had together, when none knew of it but ourselves and our heavenly Father; and I die in the hope of it we shall come to your Father, and my Father, to your God and my God, to your Redeemer and my Redeemer.—Now all is sure and well with me; I am brought near unto God through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ; and I have no more to do but to lay down this life of mine that he hath given me, and take up house and habitation with my lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ, &c. He concludes with many excellent advices which I have not room to insert. He was but a youth of 19 years of age. James Winning and James Johnstoun spoke much to the same purpose. The pious reader will form a judgment, from these short hints of the spirit and temper of these suffering martyrs, who all died with a most forgiving spirit, praying for forgiveness to their persecutors, though at the same time, assuring them that if they did not repent, their blood would be required at their hand. At the execution of these men Gavin Black of Monkland was seized by the soldiers and imprisoned, because he discovered some tokens of grief; and not satisfying their inquiries, was with others banished to Carolina: and at their burial, a relation of theirs, James Nisbet, was apprehended, and afterwards executed, as we shall relate in its proper place.

On the 24th of March the trial of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock came on before the justiciary at Edinburgh his indictment was read, setting forth, 'That Sir Hugh having in June 1679, met with Daniel Crawford in Galstoun, Thomas Ingram in Borelands, John Ferguson in Catharingall, and several other of the rebels, at or near the bridge end of Galstoun, asked them where they had been; and, when they told him they had been with the Westland army, he said, that he had seen more going to them than coming from them; and having asked them if they were to return, they told him they knew not, whereupon he treasonably said, that he liked not runaways, and they should get help if they would bide by it; and bade them take courage, or some such like words to that purpose; where through the said Sir Hugh Campbell is guilty of intercommuning with notour rebels, and of giving a council and advice to go back and return to the rebellious army, and thereby was guilty of the said rebellion; which being found by an assize, he ought to be punished, &c.' As this was the only part of the indictment, the advocate insisted upon, there is no occasion to insert the rest. He was not tried on the plot.

The debates upon the relevancy of this indictment, to infer the pains of treason, took up till the 26th. Cessnock's advocates offered to prove, that on the day these persons past the bridge of Galstoun, he was at his own house at Cessnock; that the indictment bears that the defendant

defendant only met with him by the way, and that the ſimple meeting of perſons on the high way, which was only accidental, and the aſking from whence they came, and whither they were going, cannot infer intercommuning. They farther inſiſted, that the words alledged to be ſpoken do not import council and advice to go back to the rebels, and that words and expreſſions can never infer a crime, far leſs the crime of treaſon, unleſs they clearly, directly and poſitively inferred the crime; eſpecially certain ſentences and ſpeeches which have been gathered five years after the ſame were pretended to have been ſpoken in a tranſient way. In ſhort, though the expreſſions ſhould be conſtructed as treaſonable, yet, as they are prior to the king's act of indemnity, the defendant cannot now be called in queſtion for them. Theſe and many other things were pleaded in behalf of the priſoner; and yet, on the 26th, the lords by a plurality of voices, found the indictment relevant.

On the 27th the jury was called and ſworn, and the advocate produced Thomas Ingram and David Crawford as evidences for the crown. Several things were objected againſt theſe witneſſes, which occaſioned a long debate. Among others, that they bore malice to the priſoner, and ſo could not be admitted, particularly Ingram, againſt whom they undertook to prove, that he ſaid ſeveral times, that if there was a way out of hell how to be avenged of this priſoner, for delating him as a murderer, he would be revenged; that he was forced to be an evidence in this cauſe, he had received money, particularly from Hugh Wallace factor to the deceaſſed lord Craigie. And witneſſes were produced, who depoſed, That Thomas Ingram had ſworn in their hearing and preſence, a great oath, that he would be avenged on Ceſnock if there was a way out of hell to do it. Ingram's father and mother ſwore, that they ſaw the above mentioned Wallace give him ſeveral pieces of money, though they could not tell how much; nay, Ingram himſelf acknowleged that he gave Wallace half-a crown at one time, and ten ſhillings at another, though he knew not upon what deſign. But notwithſtanding all this, the lords ordered the witneſſes to be received.

When Ingram was brought in, and holding up his hand to ſwear, Sir Hugh directed himſelf to him, and ſaid, 'Take heed now what you are about to do, and damn not your own ſoul by perjury; for, as I ſhall anſwer to God, and upon the peril of my own ſoul, I am here ready to declare I never ſaw you in the face before this proceſs, nor ſpake to you.' Then he was ſolemnly ſworn, and depoſed, that, being in the houſe of—Crawford, Ceſnock came to the door, and, having called upon the ſaid Crawford, he aſked what men thoſe were who was in his houſe? Crawford anſwered, they were men lately come from the Weſtland army. Then Ceſnock aſked who commanded there? Crawford anſwered, one Robert Hamilton. As Ingram was going on, one of Ceſnock's lawyers aſked him whether he had communicated this to any other, and told him that his ſoul was at ſtake, as he was under a deep oath. Ingram anſwered, I believe I have ſpoke of it to ſeverals. The juſtice-general aſked, if Ceſnock ſpoke any other words to Crawford. Ingram anſwered, My lord, I am now upon my great oath, and I declare, I do not remember he ſpoke any more at all. Upon this there was a great ſhout and clapping of hands in court, which ſo irritated the advocate, that he ſaid, that he believed Ceſnock had hired his friends to make this acclamation, in order to confound the king's evidence; and that he never heard of ſuch a proteſtant roar except in the trial of Shaftſbury; that he had always a kindneſs for that perſuaſion till now; that he was convinced in his conſcience it hugs the moſt damnable trinkets in nature.

After ſilence the juſtice-general interrogated Ingram again, who declared he had ſaid as much as he could ſay upon oath; and offering a third time to queſtion him, Alex. Niſbet of Craigentinny, one of the jury interpoſed, declaring that he only would take notice of Ingram's firſt depoſition, though he ſhould be examined twenty times. The juſtice-general anſwered him with warmth, Sir, you are not judges in this caſe. The laird of Drum, another of the jury preſently replied, Yes, my lord, we are the only competent judges as to the probation, though not of its relevancy. Whereupon the whole jury roſe, and adhered to what they had ſaid. Silence being commanded, Crawford, the other witneſs, was called, and ſwore that he did not ſee Ceſnock for a conſiderable time either before or after Bothwell-bridge; and that he does not remember that he ſpoke any thing to him, either about the Weſtland army, or who commanded them. Upon this there was another ſhout and clapping of hands, which put the juſtice general and the advocates to a terrible rage. The jury brought in their verdict *Not guilty*. Nevertheleſs Ceſnock was remanded to priſon, and, after ſome months, was ſent along with Mr John Rae to the Baſs. He was afterwards forfeited, and his eſtate given to Melford. Ingram and Crawford were a long time detained priſoners, and were ordered to be examined by the committee for public affairs. Several who were concerned in the noiſe during Ceſnock's trial, were obliged to beg pardon.

We have related how the advocate was ordered to proſecute the earl of Loudon, &c. Accordingly the earl on the firſt, and the lord Melvil on the eighth of April petitioned the council for the competent time to appear before the juſticiary. The lords poſtponed the proceſs againſt them till November when they were called, and declared rebels and fugitives, on account of their not appearing. They were charged with contriving the death of the king and the duke, in order to ſubvert the government; but there was no proof of theſe things. The proceſs againſt Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree was delayed till July; but the iſſue of it I know not.

On the 8th of April Mr William Erſkine, having been a cloſe priſoner for ſeven years in Blackneis caſtle, and other places, was by the council's order allowed to walk round the caſtle and take the air in the company of a keeper. He had been ordered to be ſet at liberty 1679, but why he was not is more than I can tell.

On the 9th John Cochran of Waterſide, ſon to Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, was in abſence tried before the juſticiary; and, becauſe two witneſſes ſwore that they thought they ſaw him with the rebels, the jury brought him in guilty, and the lords condemned him to be executed when apprehended.

Next day James Howiſon, maltman in Lanerk, was indicted for being at Bothwell. The witneſſes declared that he was in company with ſome of the Weſtland army, but without arms. He could not avoid this, for he lived on the place; he was brought in guilty, and ſentenced to be hanged at the Graſs market on the 12th of November next. Whether the ſentence was executed I cannot tell.

On the 11th the council, conſidering that the priſons were full, wrote to the king for authority to ſend ſuch of the priſoners to the plantations who appeared penitent, though they took not the teſt. This was complied with.

The ſame day they agreed to a propoſal of the biſhop of Edinburgh for two faſts to be obſerved, the one in the ſpring, and the other in the harveſt. Had never worſe things come through the prelates hands than this, there had not been ſo much cauſe of complaint.

We have had ſome inſtances of the council's infringing on the freedom of electing magiſtrates in burghs; accordingly, on this 11th of April, they, finding that ſome of the magiſtrates of Ayr had encouraged the preſbyterian party, and other irregularities, and that there had been differences between provoſt Briſbane and Rob. Hunter and others, in order to ſtop all heats in that town, did declare, that at Michaelmas next, they would make choice of magiſtrates and counſellors for the enſuing year, and diſcharged the preſent magiſtrates from making any election at that time.

On the 16th John Paton of Meadow head, in the pariſh of Finwick, commonly called *Captain Paton*, was indicted for being with the rebels at Pentland and Bothwell. He confeſſed the fact; and being aſked if he owned authority, anſwered that he owned all authority allowed by the word of God. He was condemned to be hanged in the Graſs market on Wedneſday the 23d of April; but, being prevailed with to petition the council, he was reſpited

reſpited to the 30th, and from that to Friday the 9th of May, when he ſuffered according to his ſentence. Several were inclined to favour him; but he remarks in his laſt ſpeech, which is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, that the prelates put an effectual ſtop to that. He ſays, 'I deſire to mourn for my giving ear to the counſel of fleſh and blood,——though it lays my blood the cloſſer to their door, and I think the blood of my wife and bairns. I think their ſupreme magiſtrate is not ignorant of many of their actings; but theſe prelates will not be free when our God makes an inquiſition for blood.' He lamented the differences among God's people, and forgave all his enemies, in theſe words, Now as to my perſecutors, I forgive all of them; inſtigators, reproachers, ſoldiers, privy council, juſticiaries, apprehenders, in what they have done to me; but what they have done in deſpite againſt the image of God's name in me, who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them; but I wiſh, they may ſeek forgiveneſs of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedneſs.' Then he left his wife and ſix ſmall children on God, and took his farewel of all created enjoyments.

On the 17th the council took under their conſideration the caſe of ſome of the gentlemen ordered to be proſecuted in Auguſt laſt, againſt whom they could find no ſufficient evidence; and accordingly Rowallan elder and younger were releaſed upon a bond of 2000 l. ſterling to appear when called. Ceſnock elder and younger, Burnsfield and Crawfordland, had the benefit of free priſon; but Mr Carſtairs, Mr Spence of Jerviſwood, met with peculiar hardſhips, as ſhall be related in its proper place.

Thus the 22d, Mr William Spence, who had been ſecreteary to the earl of Argyll, was allowed to be taken out of the irons, but kept cloſs priſoner. It would ſeem he had been in irons ſince he was ſent down from England; and no doubt he fared the worſe for the ſake of his maſter.

The ſame day the miniſters of the then eſtabliſhment were empowered by proclamation to chuſe whom they pleaſed to ſerve as elders, and aſſiſt them in diſcipline, and to give in a liſt of them to their ordinary for his approbation; and whoever ſhall refuſe to ſerve were to be put to the horn. How far this was agreeable to Scripture directory, that none ſhould ſerve by conſtraint, but willingly, was not thought of. It was ſufficient that it flowed from the ſupremacy of a gracious king, 'whoſe predeceſſors and he had always been careful that the diſcipline of the church be obſerved.'

On the 5th of May Mr William Wiſhart ſtudent in divinity, afterwards principal of the college of Edinburgh, preſented a petition to the council, bearing, 'That, having left his ſtudies at Utrecht, to come home and viſit his aged and dying parents, upon ſome miſtake he was put in priſon, as being one of thoſe who deny his majeſty's authority; whereas he diſowns theſe principles, and, as nothing is laid to his charge, craving that he may be liberate.' The council ordered him to be releaſed, when once the advocate was ſatisfied as to his principles, upon bail to appear when called; but the advocate for ſome time, neglected to make report, and therefore he continued a conſiderable time in the iron houſe in no ſmall trouble.

The ſame day the council ordered the fugitive rolls to be printed, in order to prevent any from harbouring thoſe who were declared fugitives for being in the rebellion, or for reſet and converſe; but very few of them could be charged with the firſt. My author has printed the liſts of theſe fugitives in his appendix, No. 94. It contains no leſs than 1863, among whom are theſe following preachers, viz. Meſſ William Gilchriſt, James Welſh, John Hepburn, James Guthrie, John Forreſter,—Lennox, Tho. Wilkie, Thomas Vernor, George Barclay, John Rae, Thomas Douglas, ——— Forreſter——— Lamb, David Hume, and John Rae, and a conſiderable number of women. It is eaſy to obſerve what a ſtate the country was in when ſo many were by name marked out for deſtruction.

The ſame day on pretence that the earl of Argyll was concerting meaſures for raiſing an inſurrection, a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering the heads of the clans to have their quotas of men in readineſs to attend the new lieutenants which were ſet over Argyll-ſhire and Tarbet, whenever they ſhould call for their aſſiſtance. This was the project of the duke of York, in order to weaken the intereſt of the family of Argyll, which was ſtill great in theſe ſhires, and to encourage thoſe clans, who were generally popiſh, and ſo the more fit for accompliſhing the deep intentions of his royal highneſs.

George Jackſon having been kept in irons all laſt winter, was brought to Edinburgh on the 13th of May. Being called before a committee of the council he happened to come with his Bible in his hand; upon which the advocate ſcoffingly ſaid, There's him and his Bible. Come away, let us ſee where the text is. George replied, I was never a ſeeker out of texts, that is the work of a miniſter. Then ſaid the advocate, Put up your Bible, for we are not for preaching now. He anſwered, I am not come to preach; but, Sir, that is the word of God—and I charge you, and not only you, but all of you, that, as you ſhall anſwer one day before our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when he ſhall judge between the juſt and the unjuſt, that you judge me by what is written in this Holy Bible, otherways, remember ye and the reſt of you ſhall account for it in that day, when our Lord ſhall ſit as judge, and ye ſtand naked and bare before him; and if ye do it not I ſhall be a witneſs againſt you. They told him he was come to be judged, and not to judge. After ſome ſilence he was examined upon the ordinary queſtions, for they had nothing elſe to lay to his charge but what they got from his own anſwers. He was returned to priſon, and kept in irons till December, when he was executed.

Mean while, the council, on the 17th, having conſidered the report of their committee concerning the priſoners referred to them, the ſaid George Jackſon and George Hutchiſon of Harlaw were remitted to the juſticiary, and they delayed the caſe of Mr William Wiſhart and others, to farther conſideration; and ordered eight or ten poor country people to be releaſed, upon promiſing to keep their pariſh church. The ſame day they ordered for tranſportation to America, William Laing in Hawick, James White in Douglaſs, John Harper in Fenwick, Gavin Muirhead in Camnethan, John Gairdner in Monkland, David Jamiſon a ſweet-ſinger, and James Balfour in Fife. Their pretended crimes were rebellion and harbouring of rebels. After the managers had agreed with Walter Gibſon merchant in Glaſgow, for the tranſportation of theſe and other priſoners, there was a ſtrange act of grace made on the 27th, by which ſuch of the rebels as were penitent were ordered to be tranſported. 'The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!'

While theſe ſeverities were uſed to the priſoners, the country was oppreſſed by the ſoldiers. As two of them were levying the ceſs in the pariſh of Damellington, and were endeavouring to apprehend two of the wanderers, they were ſlightly wounded. Whereupon Dundas with his men came upon that village, and particularly ſeized on the goods of one Andrew Mitchel, who was noways concerned in the ſcuffle. The lieutenant called before him a great many, who he pretended, had converſed with the outlawed wanderers; 15 of whom were ſent priſoners to Edinburgh, becauſe they refuſed to ſwear they had not converſed with theſe people, and after 17 days confinement, were fined in 15,000 merks, beſides 500 to the wounded ſoldiers. James Gibſon of Enis was forced to pay the whole ſum.

On the 5th of June James Niſbet was executed at the Howgate head near Glaſgow. He, having been intimate with John Richmond and ſome of his fellow-ſufferers came to Glaſgow to pay his laſt reſpects at their burial, and, being known, was apprehended by his own couſin lieutenant Niſbet, [a perſecuting ſpirit diſſolves all the bonds of natural affection] and carried directly to the guard, where he was ſoon enſnared by their perſecuting catechiſm, if I may uſe the expreſſion. It would ſeem he was tried by the military commiſſioners for juſticiary there. He was ſo cloſely watched, that he could ſcarcely get any thing wrote.

His laſt teſtimony is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, and begins with theſe words, 'Now I am brought hither this day to lay down my life for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt

Chriſt, and for aſſerting him to be Head and King in his own houſe, and for no manner of fact they have againſt me. ——— Although the moſt part of the men of this generation is counting it death to call him ſo, yet I, as a dying man, live and die in the faith of it, that he ſhall appear to their confuſion, and for his own glory now trampled upon and lying ſo low.'———It is eaſy to ſee in what ſpirit and with what frame he and others changed worlds, which will be an undeniable reproach on the cruel perſecutors of that time.

The managers were after this informed of a field-meeting at Blackloch, where 100 were aſſembled in arms, and had been purſued, without effect, by colonel Windram and his party, and therefore the committee, on the 12th of June, ordered general Dalziel to examine Gavin Lawrie in Redmire, James Stuart of Hartwood, and James Walker of Roſehall, for not purſuing and giving timely notice of theſe men. On the 13th the advocate was enjoined to proſecute the heritors upon whoſe lands the rebels were ſeen. Sir William Paterſon was likeways ſent to aſſiſt at theſe examinations, and to acquaint the commiſſioner at Glaſgow, that their remiſſneſs in proceeding againſt the rebels, and other diſorderly perſons there, gave offence, and to enjoin them to be more diligent, and forthwith to puniſh theſe according to law, againſt whom the proof was clear, or who confeſſed their being in the rebellion, and continued obſtinate in their rebellious principles; and to tranſport to the plantations thoſe againſt whom there was no ſufficient evidence, and who would not confeſs their being acceſſory to the rebellion, unleſs they formally renounced the covenant, and took the oath of allegiance, &c.

Sir William returned; and, on the 19th, the council finding from his report, that moſt of the heritors in the pariſhes of Shotts, Camnethan, and Monkland had been guilty in not informing againſt thoſe who were ſeen in arms, ordered them to be ſummoned to appear before them on the firſt of July next, together with the ſheriffs of Stirling, Linlithgow and Lanerk, William Stuart of Allantoun, James Stuart of Hartwood, William Cochran of Ochiltree younger, Walker of Hacketburn, and Mr Violant indulged miniſter at Camnethan, becauſe theſe rebels had paſſed by his own houſe in arms, and he did not inform any magiſtrate or officer of it.

This looked as all the country had been up, though it is well known that thoſe people were drove to the neceſſity of meeting in arms, if they met at all, in order to defend themſelves againſt their perſecutors; otherwiſe they never injured any, but met peaceably for the worſhip of God, and diſmiſſed to their lurking places to conceal themſelves the beſt way they could: but why ſo many gentlemen ſhould be brought to all this trouble, for what was not in their power to help, muſt be left with the reader.

But, to leave this for a little. I find, on the 13th of this month, James Haſty of Harlaw, in the pariſh of Carſtairs was obliged to give Meldrum a bond of 200 merks for the great crime of non-conformity. Many were the loſſes this perſon ſuſtained, by the quartering of ſoldiers, fines, impriſonments, &c. which I have not room here to mention.

On the 19th Sir William Paterſon reported, that 22 were ordered for tranſportation from Glaſgow, and to be ſent along with Gibſon; and the ſame day the council paſſed ſentence of tranſportation againſt James MacGachin in Dalry, John Crichton in Kirkpatrick, John Mathiſon in Cloſburn, and John MacChiſholm in Spittle; and, in Auguſt, 15 more were ordered the ſame way. All this was for reſet and converſe. One John Dick, was in this month of June, baniſhed to Carolina. At his examination he owned the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms when people are oppreſſed for adhering to their principles; and being cloſely interrogated as to praying for the king, he ſaid, 'I can, as he hath a ſoul, and hath not ſinned the 'unpardonable ſin; but to pray for him as he is king, and 'for the proſperity of his courſes, I cannot do it.'

There was a joint teſtimony againſt Popery, Prelacy, &c. and for the Covenants and Works of Reformation, ſigned by the following perſons before they were ſhipped off, viz. James MacLintock, John Buchanan, William Inglis, Gabriel Black, Adam Allan, John Galt, Thomas Marſhal, William Smith, Ro. Urie, Thomas Bryce, John Syme, Hugh Syme, W. Syme, Jo. Alexander, Jo. Marſhal, Matthew Machan, John Paton, John Gibſon, John Young, Arthur Cunningham, George Smith and John Duart.

About 32 of theſe tranſports were put aboard Gibſon's ſhip about the beginning of July, and ſuffered great hardſhips, during their paſſage, through the cruelty of the captain and ſailors. What money was given them by their friends was taken from them. They were diſturbed when at worſhip under deck; and, whenever they began to ſing pſalms, they were threatened, and the hatches cloſed upon them. They had their bread by weight, and their water by meaſure; and no difference was made between the ſick and the healthy.

When they landed at Carolina they were put into houſes under a guard. What things their friends gave them to be ſold to the beſt advantage, to be diſtributed among them, where otherwiſe diſpoſed of. John Dick formerly mentioned, though he paid all his freights, except 30 ſhillings, for which he offered ſecurity, was, contrary to agreement, forced up the country as the captain's ſervant, where he died. John Smith and John Paton, being diſcovered attempting to eſcape, were beat eight times every day, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery

When they were lying ready to ſail from Clyde, Eliſabeth Linning came to viſit ſome of them who were her acquaintance, and was, by the captain's order, carried along with them, though nothing could be laid to her charge. When they got to Carolina, perceiving the captain intended to ſell her for a ſlave, ſhe took a proper opportunity, and eſcaped, and made her caſe known to the governor, who treated her civilly, and ordered the captain to be ſummoned before him the next court-day, when the captain's villany was diſcovered, and the innocent girl releaſed, and declared a free woman. Scarce ſix of thoſe priſoners ever returned to Scotland, the moſt of them dying in Carolina. But to return to the tranſactions at home.

On the firſt of July the council fined Hacketburn, Allantoun and Hartwood, according to the proclamation, and next day ordered the two laſt to be releaſed, upon engaging to ſatisfy the caſh keeper as to their fines. What Woodburn's fine was I know not, but Stuart of Hartwood was fined in 1500. Nothing could be laid to their charge, but becauſe ſome came to the above meeting in arms, through the pariſh where they lived, in their way home. Allantoun was looking out at the window by accident, and ſaw them; and Hartwood ſaw them as he was coming from church to Camnethan. It was not ſo much as pretended that they converſed with any of them, or gave them any ſupply; but, becauſe they did not raiſe the country to ſeize them on the Lord's day, this was the way they were ſerved.

On the 5th of July the earl of Perth was made chancellor in the room of lord Aberdeen, and Linlithgow made juſtice general; and the better to ſuppreſs nonconformity, a new commiſſion came down from the king to the council. None of the former members was left out, only ſome new ones were put in. His majeſty expreſſed his hopes that they would go on firmly and faithfully in his ſervice, by doing juſtice to his people, by putting the laws vigorouſly in execution againſt the fanatics, thoſe enemies not only of his perſon and government, but likewiſe of all religion and ſociety. There is no occaſion to make any remarks upon this, nor to inſert the council's fulſom letter. It is eaſy to gueſs at the ſtrain of it.

The council in order to proſecute the king's deſigns, appointed the ſame day a new committee for public affairs, conſiſting of the archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, the earls of Linlithgow, Balcarras and Tweeddale, the lords Drumlanerk and Livingſtone, the lairds of Drumelzier and Claverhouſe, or any three of them. This new appointed council went on in perſecuting heritors, and others, for not raiſing the hue and cry, and in thir-

thirſting after the blood of thoſe who could not proſtitute their conſcience to a compliance with their wicked impoſitions.

On the 16th this new committee wrote to Sir William Murray of Stanhope, and others, on account of ſome conventicles they were informed of, complaining that the gentlemen had not given notice of them according to the proclamation, which they now ordered to be reprinted; and therefore enjoined them to ſearch for and apprehend the preachers and hearers. And next day the council impowered the ſheriff-depute of Ayr, and captain Inglis, to call before them, and examine upon oath, thoſe who could give him the beſt information of the heritors through whoſe lands they who came to or went from theſe conventicles were ſeen, and ſend an account to the council. The perſons thus the butt of their malice were the followers of Mr Renwick, of whom we have heard.

On the ſame 17th of July the council had before them the laird of Dundaſs, becauſe the people as they came from the meeting at Blackloch, had gone through the bounds of his eſtate, and he had not raiſed the Hue and Cry. Dundaſs urged he was not at home for ſeveral days after that, and knew nothing of the matter for ſome time. But this defence was over-ruled, though, the ſame very day, the earl of Tweddale was accuſed of the ſame crime, and made the ſame defence, which they ſuſtained as good; for, ſays my author, it was now, Shew me the man, and I will ſhew you the law.

The ſame day Mr Violant, indulgent miniſter at Cambethan, becauſe he did not raiſe the Hue and Cry, on the Lord's day, when the people paſſed his houſe from the ſaid meeting at Blackloch, had his indulgence taken from him, and was ordered to find bail to depart the kingdom, or, in caſe he did not chuſe that, to give ſecurity not to exerciſe any part of his miniſtry under the penalty of 5000 merks. Some days after this, when he appeared before them, he told them, that he did not think a miniſter was obliged to be an informer, and owned that he had preached without his pariſh-Church, and baptized children belonging to other pariſhes, and was obliged to anſwer to his maſter Chriſt, from whom he had his inſtructions. He was ordered to priſon till he ſhould find bail, as above related.

On the 22d, according to my author, one Patrick Walker, a boy about 18 years of age, was before the council, and confeſſed that he was preſent at the murder of Francis Garden, one of the earl of Airly's troop, and refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, and was ordered to be examined by torture next day, when he was appointed to be baniſhed. But Patrick Walker's own account which he has publiſhed at the end of ſome remarkable paſſages of Meſſ. Semple, Welwood and Cameron obſerves, that it was ſeldom the clerks wrote as the priſoners ſpoke. And as Mr Wodrow takes his authority from the council's records, I ſhall therefore give the ſubſtance of Mr Walker's own relation.

He was taken out of his bed, with other four, on the 29th of June, and brought out of Linlithgow thieves-hole on the firſt of July, next day examined before the council; and that night, he, James Edward and John Gardner received their indictment for owning the covenants, defenſive arms, &c. On the third they received ſentence of tranſportation, which was pronounced by the archbiſhop of St. Andrews preſident, who, ſays he, within a month after got his ſentence elſewhere. He was again examined on the 22d; and on the 23d there was a ſtrong debate among the counſellors, whether they ſhould proſecute him for his life, or examine him by torture; but none of them took place; for ſome urged, that ſince nothing new was either confeſſed or proved, and as he was under ſentence, they could proceed no farther. However, they renewed their foreſaid ſentence. He lay in irons from that to the firſt of Auguſt, when he was put aboard a veſſel; but with 13 other priſoners he was brought back on the 6th with a deſign on his life; which was prevented. However, he continued in priſon till the 18th of May 1685, when with many others he was ſent to Dunnoter, and brought back to Leith on the 18th of Auguſt, and made his eſcape out of priſon. He ſays, that, during the 14 months he was among their hands, he was 18 times examined, and only thrice about the man's death, which happened as follows:

On March 1681, Francis Gordon (for ſo he calls him) happened to purſue and overtake James Wilſon, Thomas Young and Patrick Walker, about four miles from Lanerk. Thomas Young aſked him why he purſued them. Gordon replied, he was come to ſend them to hell. James Wilſon told him they would defend themſelves. Upon which Gordon run his ſword through Wilſon's coat, who immediately fired upon him, but miſſed him; then another of them ſhot him with a pocket piſtol. By this time William Caigow and Robert Muir, two of the wanderers, came up with them. They ſearched him for papers, and found a ſcroll of names, which were deſigned either to be killed or taken. P. Walker tore it in pieces. Every thing elſe about him they put into his pockets and left him; ſo that what they acted was in their own defence, and none of them was ever queſtioned for this, but Patrick Walker. Thomas Young afterwards ſuffered at Manchlin, but was never challenged for this. Robert Muir was baniſhed. James Walker ſurvived the perſecution. William Caigow died in the Canongate priſon, in the beginning of 1685, ſo that, ſays P. Walker, Mr Wodrow was miſinformed in ſaying that he ſuffered unto death.

On the ſaid 22d of July the council emitted another proclamation for apprehending the rebels, ſignifying, that whoever did not exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in apprehending them, other effectual courſes would be taken for preventing rebellions, and ſecuring the public peace. Though one might think that many methods had already been uſed to prevent the poor wanderers from meeting for the exerciſe of divine worſhip, yet we ſhall find that other inventions of cruelty were ſtill deſigned, and very ſoon put in execution.

Accordingly the very next day, the following act of council was made: 'Whereas the boots were the ordinary way to expiſcate matters relating to the government, and that there is now a new invention and engine called *The Thumbkins*, which will be very effectual to the purpoſe and intent foretaid, the lords of his majeſty's privy council do therefore ordain, that when any perſon ſhall by their order, be put to the torture, the ſaid boots and thumbkins both be applied to them, as it ſhall be found fit and convenient.' Thus they fell ſoon upon another method; but before the end of the year we ſhall find ſomething ſtill more dreadful.

The ſame day they fined John Briſbane of Freeland in the ſum of 500 l. ſterling for conventicles and non-conformity, and ordered him to ly in priſon till he paid the two thirds of it, and out of their great goodneſs ſuperſeded the other third till they ſhould ſee his future conduct.

On the 24th the act about thumbkins was firſt executed on Arthur Tacket a taylor in Hamilton, who had been apprehended as he came from hearing Mr Renwick, in order to force him to tell who preached. The advocate told him, that if he would be ingenuous and free in anſwering the queſtions, nothing he ſaid ſhould militate againſt him or any other. He anſwered, That he could not believe them, ſince they had broken their oaths, ſubſcriptions and promiſes to God and man, and that he could not think they would preſs him ſo much to declare who preached, if they did not intend to make uſe of what he ſaid, the boots were deſigned for him, but a ſurgeon telling them, that his leg being ſmall, they would cruſh it to pieces, he was therefore tortured by the thumbkins. As he had been ordered for execution the 21ſt of March 1681, ſo the lords of juſticiary condemned him to be hanged at the Graſs-market on the 31ſt of this July, which was done accordingly. In the Cloud of Witneſſes he is ſaid to have ſuffered on the firſt of Auguſt. He died with great cheerfulneſs, forgiving his perſecutors and adhering to the covenants and work of reformation, and owning all magiſtrates ſuperior and inferior, as they are agreeable to the word of God and the covenants, and as they are a terror to evil doers, and a praiſe to them that do well. My author juſtly queſtions whether ever ſuch numbers were executed for ſuch a riſing as Bothwell, eſpecially ſo many years afterwards.

On

On the ſaid 24th of July Mr William Spence was, according to an act of council, put to the torture of the boots, which he endured with a great deal of patience, diſcovering nothing which could give ſatisfaction to his inquiſitors. But, though it be allowed that torture is the laſt trial that ought to be made in the moſt extraordinary caſes, and ſo ought not to be repeated, far leſs ſucceeded by any thing more inhuman and barbarous, yet ſuch was the injuſtice and cruelty of the councellors, that, on the 26th, they made an act, ordering general Dalziel to receive Mr William Spence from the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and to appoint a ſufficient number of officers and ſoldiers to watch him by turns, and not ſuffer him to ſleep night nor day, but uſe every method neceſſary for keeping him awake, and in the mean time, to take down in writing every thing he ſhall ſay in relation to the plot. Biſhop Burnet ſays he was kept from ſleep eight or nine nights. This was a method of cruelty, that, I believe, was never invented before. To keep a man from ſleep, night and day, was enough to deprive him of his ſenſes. But I leave the reader to make his own reflecti ons.

Some time in July, as Lewis Lawder, a ſubaltern-officer belonging to the gariſon of Sorn was with a party ſearching the country for the wanderers, they met with William Shirinlaw, a youth of about 18 years of age, at the Woodhead of Tarbolton in the ſhire of Ayr, and, after a few ordinary queſtions, Lawder commanded him to be ſhot directly. Then the party went to the ſtairhead, a place where William had been ſervant and ſeized Paul Lawmont, Matthew Bell and — Boſwel, carried them to the adjacent fields, and ordered them to kneel and cover their faces, in order to be ſhot likewiſe; but providence interpoſed, Lawder's men poſitively refuſing to obey the orders, ſaying, one in a day was ſufficient.

About this time as a guard of 28 ſoldiers were carrying nine priſoners towards Edinburgh, ſome of their wandering friends took up a reſolution to reſcue them, and for this end poſted themſelves in the narrow path of Enterkin, between Dumfries and Edinburgh. When the priſoners came up two and two tied together on horſeback, the countrymen demanded them to be releaſed, but were anſwered by a volley of ſhot, which they returned, put the guard to flight, killed one, wounded ſeveral more, releaſed ſeven of the priſoners and took them along with them. Though the laird of Lochear, a gentleman of a ſmall eſtate, who had been both at Pentland and Bothwell, was among thoſe who were releaſed, yet ſome way or another, he fell in amongſt the ſoldiers, and was greatly wounded, and cruelly uſed; but the reſcuers coming up the ſoldiers retired, and he was ſent to a country houſe in the neighbourhood, where friends took care of him as private as poſſible.

The ſoldiers carried John MacKechney, a pious good man, one of the priſoners with them to Edinburgh, where he died, after enduring 13 weeks great pain from a wound he received in his arm. When they got there, and gave an account of what happened, a ſtrick ſearch was ordered to be made through Nithdale for the reſcuers. All perſons above 15 years of age, in ten or twelve pariſhes round Enterkin, were ordered to be examined upon oath. This was intimated from the pulpits about the ſpace of ſix weeks running. Many were impriſoned, and more were oppreſſed, who knew nothing of the matter. The laird of Lochear was again apprehended, and notwithſtanding his wounds, was ſent priſoner, firſt to Dumfries, and then to Edinburgh, where he lay till his patience tired out his perſecutors; ſo that he was releaſed without any ſinful compliances.

Courts were alſo held by ſome of the forementioned commiſſioners. The laird of Lag was ſingularly diligent, and held a court in the church of Carſphairn, aſſiſted by Mr Peter Perſon the curate. The ſoldiers grew ſtill more and more inſolent. Though one George Lorimer, a youth, was ſent priſoner to Dumfries, becauſe he would not drink the king's health, yet he happily made his eſcape. But I muſt paſs theſe things.

About the end of this month and beginning of Auguſt at ſeveral meetings of the juſticiary, near 200, moſtly country people, had their proceſſes dropt.

On the firſt of Auguſt lord Neil Campbell was ordered to be confined to the town of Edinburgh, and ſix miles round it, under the penalty of 5000 l. ſterl. and to appear before the council in the ſpace of ſix hours after ſummons. Nothing worthy of death, or of bonds, could be alledged againſt him, unleſs it was a crime to be the brother of the earl of Argyll.

According to what was threatened in the proclamation, other methods of oppreſſion were appointed; for, on this day, the council, 'conſidering that ſeveral deſperate rebels do daily break out in arms, in multitudes, at their ſeditious field-conventicles, and lay ambuſcades for his majeſty's forces, and kill ſome of them,' [this refers to the reſcue at Enterkin path] ordered the forces to be ſo diſpoſed of as to be the better able to apprehend them; and accordingly more of them were cantoned through the ſhire of Ayr than in all the country beſides. They likewiſe impowered Claverhouſe, and colonel Buchan, or any deputed by them, 'to call for, and examine upon oath, all ſuch perſons as can give any information in the premiſes;' ſo that the officers in the army, or their very ſubſtitutes, were put in the place of the magiſtrates, and had power to examine the country at their pleaſure.

The ſame day they made a moſt barbarous act, ordering the priſons of Edinburgh and the Canongate to be viſited, and recommending to the juſtices to proſecute and pronounce ſentence of death on thoſe who ſhall be found to have been in the late rebellion, or were guilty of reſet of rebels, and to order the ſentence to be executed in ſix hours after paſſing of it; and the commiſſioners at Glaſgow and Dumfries to act in the ſame manner with the guilty priſoners there, only they were to execute the ſentence in three hours after it was pronounced. Thus they fell upon methods with a witneſs! I queſtion whether ſuch an act is to be met with any where but from the council of Scotland at this time, by which people were in a manner hurried into eternity.

On the fifth of Auguſt ſeveral who were unjuſtly impriſoned were releaſed. Had they ſet all at liberty who were truly ſo, the blood of many innocents would not have been in their ſkirts.

While Claverhouſe, with a party, was ſearching the pariſhes after the affairs of Enterkin, they ſurpriſed Thomas Harkneſs in Lochrbune, Andrew Clark in Leadhills in Crawford, Samuel MacEwen in Glencairn, and Thomas Wood in Kirkmichael, while aſleep in the fields, in the pariſh of Cloſburn of Daigerno. When the men were awake, and ſaw them, they endeavoured to make their eſcape; but the ſoldiers purſued, fired, and wounded them. All the houſes about the place where they were taken were plundered; and ſuch was the cruelty uſed to the priſoners; that they would not ſuffer their wounds to be dreſſed, but carried a poor woman priſoner along with them ſome part of the way for offering her aſſiſtance. When they came to a narrow paſs, Claverhouſe ordered his men to kill the priſoners, if any ſhould attempt to reſcue them, though they had nothing to lay to their charge. When they were brought before the council three of the ſoldiers falſely ſwore that theſe men were at Enterkin path, and were wounded there which they abſolutely refuſed. Thomas Wood was referred till afterwards; but the other three were referred to the juſticiary on this fifth of Auguſt, condemned and executed the ſame day. They drew up a ſhort joint teſtimony, which is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, and in inſerted in my author; in which they ſay, among other things, 'We were queſtioned for not owning the king's authority. We anſwered, That we owned all authority that is allowed by the written word of God and ſealed by Chriſt's blood.—We bleſs the Lord we are not a whit diſcouraged, but content to lay down our lives with cheerfulneſs, and boldneſs, and courage; and, if we had an hundred lives, we would willingly quit with them all for the truth of Chriſt. Good news! Chriſt is no worſe than he promiſed.—'Him that overcometh will he make a pillar in his temple.' Our time is ſhort, and we have little to ſpare, having got our ſentence at one o'clock in the afternoon, and are to die at five this day. And ſo we will ſay no more, but Farewell all friends and relations, and welcome heaven, and Chriſt

Chriſt, and the croſs for Chriſt's ſake.' Samuel MacEwen wrote a ſhort letter to a friend on this occaſion, ſhewing with what gladneſs he laid down his life, and the aſſurance he had of a glorious eternity.——Theſe were the perſons marked out for deſtruction by the bloody judges of this period, who not only thirſted for blood, but made haſte to ſhed it.

James Nicol merchant in Peebles, being preſent at this execution, was conſtrained in the bitterneſs of his ſpirit, to ſay in the hearing of many, Theſe kine of Baſhan have puſhed theſe three good men to death at one puſh, contrary to their own baſe laws, in a moſt inhuman manner. Whereupon he was immediately ſeized, and carried to priſon, to fill up the next ſcene of blood.

Mean while on the ſixth of Auguſt, Kobert Goodwin maltſter in Glaſgow was ſentenced to be baniſhed, becauſe he would not own the king's ſupremacy, nor promiſe to attend on ordinances under the biſhops, &c. The reader may think he was well off, as things went. However, he was with others ſent to Dunnoter, and afterwards made his eſcape.

The fines impoſed at this time were moſt exhorbitant; for it appears, from an extract dated the 11th of Auguſt, that the fines impoſed on the heritors of the ſhire of Roxburgh, for not keeping the church, amounted to no leſs than 274,737 l. Scots, or 28,894 l. 15s. ſterling. I ſhall not pretend to give particular accounts of the prodigious fines in other places. From this one inſtance we may form a judgment of the great oppreſſion of the country from this branch of perſecution.

On the 17th they made a third act for the torture of Mr. William Spence, in order to force him to petition to be allowed to make a free and open confeſſion, which he did. Biſhop Burnet ſeems to intimate that he was tortured with the thumbkins, and that, in that extremity, he capitulated that no new queſtions ſhould be put to him but thoſe already agreed on; and that he ſhould not be obliged to be a witneſs againſt any perſon; and that he himſelf ſhould be pardoned. And, accordingly, two days after, he declared, upon oath, 'That he believed an inſurrection was intended within theſe two years: as to what is to come, he cannot tell what the people abroad may be a doing; that he often heard of deſigns and aſſociations; but, that they were directly intended to hinder the duke's ſucceſſion to the crown, he cannot ſay; for all that he underſtood was pretended for the ground of any deſigns of arms, was the defence of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the kingdom; and, if againſt the duke's ſucceſſion, it was only in ſo far as that might be prejudicial to theſe; and that he thinks upon the king's death, troubles may ariſe.' The council, two days after this, declared that what he had ſaid ſhould not be prejudicial to any. Mr Spence was likeways prevailed on to decypher the earl of Argyll's letter, in which Mr Carſtair's name was expreſſed; but, ſays biſhop Burnet, none of theſe letters ſpake any thing of any agreement then made. However, this turned out to the prejudice of Mr Carſtairs.

On the 18th Mr Robert Baillie of Jerviſwood, who had been long in priſon, and being now in a declining ſtate of health, his lady was permitted to viſit him with the phyſicians; but ſhe was to ſpeak nothing to him but what they heard.

The ſame day James Nicol, according to the Cloud of Witneſſes, was examined by the council, and was bold and couragious in his anſwers. Concerning praying for the king, he ſaid, 'If he belongs to the election of grace, he has a part of my prayers; and alſo, if he were a king that had kept covenant with God, I would give him a double ſhare, and make mention of his name; but he is an apoſtate.' When they aſked him how he proved from Scripture what he ſaid againſt the Prelates, he told them, By many Scriptures. 'The kings of the Gentiles exerciſe lordſhip over them, and they that exerciſe authority upon them are called benefactors; but it ſhall not be ſo among you, but he that is greateſt among you ſhall be ſervant of all: not like your glutton, epicurean, belly-god prelates, who are riding in coaches in great pomp.' Upon this he was interrupted. He ſays, that concerning the tyrant, for I uſe his own words, he added, 'That he was brought home by Mr Livingſtone, and others; (Vol. I. p. 60.) and put in a nobler ſtate than any king in the whole world, crowned a covenanted king with the eternal God to be for him, to carry on his work and cauſe, he and all the people; which, if he had continued in, he would have been the greateſt king in all the lands and nations in the world, and would have been a terror to all the kings in Europe; but now he hath made himſelf baſe and a reproach to all the nations. And another reaſon why I dare not own him, nor you either, is, becauſe he and you have robbed Chriſt of his crown, although it be not in your power to do it.' Then he was ſent to the iron-houſe and loaded with irons. Next day he was brought again before them, and re-examined upon the ſame points, which I ſhall therefore omit. We ſhall find him in a few days before the juſticiary.

Mean while on the 18th of Auguſt, the council made an act impowering the advocate to proſecute criminally thoſe who owned the king's authority according to the covenant. By this the council did more than ever the parliament had yet ventured to do; and thus the owning of the covenants, the glory of the nation, was made treaſonable; but it was not improper, when a papiſt was near aſcending the throne, that the chief bulwarks of the reformation ſhould be removed.

We have frequently related what exorbitant fines were impoſed for non-conformity. John Forbes of Leſly in Aberdeen-ſhire, had been fined in 2320 l. Scots by the laird of Kinmundie for not keeping the church, and on this 19th of Auguſt, he gave in a petition to the council, ſetting forth that his not attending the church was only becauſe the incumbent, Mr Mowat, was placed without his approbation, he being patron, and that he attended ordinances elſewhere: and indeed Mr Forbes was no Whig; and therefore the council ſuſpended the letters. But though Alex. Nairn of Santford in Fife, and the Lady Abden, had been more exorbitantly fined, yet they had no redreſs. The counſel ſeldom met after this, but they had complaints of exorbitant fines by ſheriffs and ſuch as had council power. It would be endleſs to give particulars.

The ſame day, in conſequence of a report from a committee appointed to examine the ſtate of the priſoners in the priſons of Edinburgh and the Canongate, which were crouded, twenty of them, who were mean country people, were ordered to be releaſed, upon, obliging themſelves to keep the church and live regularly: but Robert Tam and Gabriel Thomſon in Carmonnock, William Campbell at Muirkirk, John Ure maltſter in Glaſgow, John MacLevy ſhoemaker in Kilmarnock, amd William Young taylor in Evandale, were appointed to be proſecuted before the juſticiary according to law; as likewiſe J. Nicol, formerly mentioned, for diſowning the king; and John Campbell tenant in Muirkirk, and John Campbell ſon to William Campbell of Overwellwood, to be purſued before the council in order to baniſhment.

The gentleman laſt mentioned, being ſcarce 18 years of age, and his elder brother William about 20, had an uncommon ſhare of ſufferings at this time. When they were living peaceably at the houſe of their excellent father, about the beginning of this month, they were ſeized by a party commanded by Bonſhaw, when walking in the fields on Welwood-hill, and carried to the houſe of the Welwood, where they were kept till their father's houſe was rifled, and three of his riding horſes taken away. Bonſhaw ſwore at the ſoldiers, becauſe they did not ſhoot them directly; for he was in a rage that two Bibles ſhould be found about them, which was looked upon as a certain mark of diſloyalty.

After ſome removes they were carried on the Sabbath following to the priſon of Glaſgow, and laid in irons till next day, when they were examined on the ordinary queſtions, firſt by the lord Roſs, and then by lieutenant-colonel Windram, who among other things, aſked John Campbell if he would pray for the king. He anſwered, That he both did and would, that the Lord would give him a godly life here, and a life of glory hereafter. Windram ſaid, That is not enough; you muſt pray for king Charles II. as he is ſupreme over all perſons and cauſes eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. The other ſaid, In his opinion

opinion that was praying for him as head of the church, which belongeth only to Christ; and he reckoned it arrogance in any creature whatsoever to claim it.

They were kept in irons, eight days, and were then carried to Edinburgh, with their legs tyed under their horse's belly, and put in the Cannongate prison, from whence they were brought several times before the committees of the council and examined. Once John was asked if he had been at Bothwell. He answered, No; for he was only put to the Grammar-school the Martinmass after it. The clerk wrote. 'As to Bothwell, the 'prisoner answers, I was but young then; but, had I been 'old enough, I would have been there.' When this was read to him, in order to subscribe it, he told them that the clerk was unjust; and wrote a lie, and appealed to the lords present; but the matter was hushed. They used all arts to get him to comply, and, among other things, told him that his brother had complied, and satisfied the council. This was worse than the clerk's conduct; for it was a lie spoken in judgment. Mr. John stood his ground notwithstanding; but was so grieved at his brother's supposed conduct, who had been carried to the prison of Edinburgh, that he wrote an unsubscribed Letter, which he sent by one Margaret Aird, who was seized at the door of the prison, and carried along with Mr William Campbell before the council, and strictly examined concerning the writer of the letter. She was tortured by the thumbkins, and he threatened with the boots; but nothing could prevail. Next they ordered a committee to examine the prisoners in the canongate prison on this point, particularly John Campbell of Overwellwood, and his cousin of the same name, who were removed from the room they were in to the iron-house. They were not long there, for on the 21st of August, they found means with eleven others, to break prison and make their escape. One William Young was re-taken, and suffered, and another was wounded.

The two cousins met, the night after their escape, on the hill of Tintock, and from thence went to Ayr shire, where they were joined by John Campbell's father, and William Campbell of Middle-wood, and spent that winter and part of the following year in the fields, as privately as they could. It is easy to conceive the hardships they underwent, in being exposed to all manner of weathers: but this was the case of many hundreds besides, who were forced to wander about in dens and caves of the earth. William Campbell died of a consumption, contracted by the severities he met with in the prison at Edinburgh. His father and brother survived the persecution, and the latter was made a captain of horse by king William, to whom he did singular service in many parts of the kingdom. But I must return to the history.

The day after the prisoners escape the magistrates of Edinburgh were enjoined to take more care of the prisoners for the future, else they alone should be accountable for any that should afterwards escape. This day James Nicol got his indictment, and was told that he was to be condemned and executed on the 27th.

On the 25th Dr James Welwood, famous for his curious memoirs and other writings, was ordered to be sent to Coupar, to satisfy the sheriff for his non-conformity.

Next day the council had a petition presented by one Robert Aitkin, and about twenty-two men and women who were most unjustly fined by Kennoway, and ordered a stop to be put to the execution of the letters raised against them on that account. Matters must have been wrong when the council interposed.

The same day they ordered a party to bring in Patrick Lang maltster in Greenock, James Holm, William Baird, William Andrew, James Warden, William Scot, Marion Muir, —— Linning, George Muir, and other prisoners, to Edinburgh, for being at a field meeting, held by Mr James Renwick, where a child was baptized.

On the 27th James Nicol and William Young were brought before the justiciary, condemned in the forenoon, and executed in the afternoon. There was no other proof against any of them but their confession, which was extorted by the ordinary questions which they answered.

James Nicol died in much peace and comfort, protesting that he expected salvation, not by any merit, but of free grace, saying, 'I have been beginning to pray and praise these thirty six years, weakly as I could, but yet I am just to begin this night both to praise and pray; for I lay no more stress upon all that I have said and done, believed and suffered, nor on a straw, God is my witness; so that I must have salvation upon Wednesday at three or four o'clock, as free as the thief on the cross. And what can poor silly James Nicol say more?'

William Young had, for some years before he was apprehended, been out of his right mind. He was one of those who escaped out of prison, and would not have been known had he not himself told the soldiers that he had broke the tolbooth. He was most barbarously used when recommitted, but he bore all his sufferings with patience, saying, that extreme pain would be intolerable if eternal, but he was now near the crown, and rejoiced in the full assurance of it.

On the 30th Mr Baillie of Jerviswood was ordered to be prosecuted for entertaining and corresponding with rebels; and on the fourth of September, because he refused to answer upon oath the questions put to him, was fined in the sum of 6000 l. sterling. Bishop Burnet tells us, the 'ministers of state were most earnestly set on Baillie's destruction, though he was now in so languishing a state——that if his death would have satisfied the malice of the court, that seemed to be very near——An accusation was sent him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the king's, in which he charged him, not only for a conspiracy to raise a rebellion, but for being engaged in the Rye plot; of all which he was now required to purge himself by oath, otherwise the council would find him guilty of it, and proceed accordingly. He was not, as they said, now in a criminal court, but before the council, who did only fine and imprison. It was for no purpose for him to say, that by no law, unless it was in a court of inquisition, a man could be required to swear against himself, the temptation of perjury being so strong when self preservation was in the case:——but to answer all this, it was pretended he was not now on his life, and that whatsoever he confessed was not to be made use of against his life, as if the ruin of his family, which consisted of nine children, and perpetual imprisonment, were not more terrible, especially to one so near his end as he was, than death itself; but he had to do with inexorable men; so he was required to take this oath within two days. And by that time, he not being able to appear before the council, a committee was sent to tender him the oath, and take his examination. He told them he was not able to speak by reason of the low state of his health, and in general protested his innocence, and his abhorrence of all designs against the king or the duke's life. He desired they would leave the other interrogatories with him. They persisted to require him to take his oath; but he as firmly refused it. So, upon their report, the council construed this refusal to be a confession, and fined him as above, and ordered him to ly in prison till it was paid.

A few days after this, they ordered his lady and his sister the lady Graden, to be removed from his room in the prison, because they were informed his bodily indisposition was abated, though his recovery was but slender, and he soon after relapsed; wherefore his sister was permitted to be close prisoner with them. She had been fined for nonconformity by the sheriff of Teviotdale in 2000 and odd pounds. The lady Greenhead and John Wilson of Dunikier had likewise been exorbitantly fined. But I go on to

CHAP. X.

Of the torture of the Rev. Mr Carstairs; the proceedings of the council, and circuit courts, together with the societies apologetical declarations.

THE first thing that occurs, in the order of time, is The case of the Rev. Mr William Carstairs, who immediately after the decyphering of Argyll's letter, was ordered to be put in irons, in which he continued for some weeks; during which time the earl of Melford earnestly

neſtly dealt with him to confeſs what he knew as to the plot, and offered him conditions that many in his circumſtances would have thought very encouraging; particularly, that nothing he ſaid ſhould be brought in prejudice to any man, directly or indirectly, upon trial. Melford had the council's authority to offer this. However Mr Carſtairs did not think proper to comply, though lord Perth had told him, ſince he had refuſed ſo many ſingular favours beyond any priſoner, that before God he ſhould be tortured, and never a joint of him left whole.

The council, on the 5th of September, ordered that he ſhould be queſtioned in torture that afternoon, and agreed upon 20 queſtions to be propoſed to him, all relating to the perſons ſuſpected to be engaged in the foreſaid conſpiracy, which the reader may ſee at large in my author, Vol. II. P. 391. In the afternoon he was brought before them, and the declarations of major Holmes and Mr Shepherd were read. He told them he had never been confronted with them, which was an evidence that they had ſaid things they would not have had the confidence to have aſſerted in his preſence. Then he was urged to anſwer, upon oath, the queſtions to be propoſed, and was told that nothing he ſaid ſhould ever militate againſt him, neither ſhould they enquire whether his anſwers were true or falſe; but he refuſed to comply, being unwilling to begin ſo bad a precedent. They aſked him next, what reaſons he had why he ſhould not be tortured. He replied, that he humbly conceived he could not be tried there, becauſe the order by which he was ſent to Scotland was expreſs, that he ſhould be tried for crimes committed againſt the government in that kingdom, and deſired to know if the lord advocate had any thing to lay to his charge of that nature. His lordſhip declared he had not; but that, being now in Scotland, if he had been guilty of contriving againſt his majeſty's government at Conſtantinople, he might be tried for it. Mr Carſtairs told them, though that was true, yet the crimes he was accuſed of were ſaid to be committed in England, where his majeſty's laws were in force for the ſecurity of his kingdom, as well as in Scotland, which at Conſtantinople they were not: but this was over-ruled, though it was a notorious breach of the *habeas corpus* act. After ſome farther commoning the king's ſmith was called in with the thumbkins; and accordingly his thumbs were put in the ſcrews, which were drawn ſo hard, that, ſays biſhop Burnet, as they put him to extreme torture, ſo they could not unſcrew them, till the ſmith by whom they were made was obliged to uſe his tools to take them off. Under this torture he continued an hour and an half. Mean while the torturing by the boot was tried; but the former executioner being in priſon for ſome crime, and he that then officiated being ignorant how to uſe it, it was put off till next day, and in the interim, the lord treaſurer-depute was appointed to confer with him, in order to bring him to an ingenuous confeſſion.

On the 6th the council, being informed that Mr Carſtairs was content to ſwear upon the interrogatories, made an act impowering the lord treaſurer-depute to give his word of honour, that, upon his anſwering, upon oath, what queſtions ſhould be put to him by the firſt of October next, he ſhould have his majeſty's full pardon, never be brought as witneſs againſt any perſon or judicatory, directly or indirectly, for any thing contained in his anſwers, nor ever be queſtioned as to any thing prior to this day, after the ſaid firſt of October.

His examination came upon the 8th. His candour was ſingular in the anſwers he gave to their queſtions. The reader may ſee his depoſitions in the State-trials, and in prat's copies of informations; and that they all amounted to no more than ſome looſe diſcourſes about what was proper to be done at ſuch a criſis, for preſerving their religion and liberties: but the council recorded nothing in their regiſters of what paſſed at his examination, only they ordered his depoſitions to be printed a few hours after they were made, and that in ſo lame and ſo unfair a manner, that probably they were aſhamed to inſert them in their regiſters; and, which was worſe, contrary to the conditions given, they produced and read them at the trial of Jerviſwood, and others, to ſupport their evidence, as we ſhall relate; it was but equivocating to ſay that Mr Carſtairs was not perſonally adduced as a witneſs; for, if his declarations were produced, he reckoned he was made an evidence. This reverend perſon vindicated himſelf and his brethren in England from all aſſaſſinating deſigns, which, he ſays, they abhorred, and, in a letter to my author, expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms; 'Now, as to the whole of this unpleaſing ſubject, I do declare, that this affair is, ſo far as I was concerned in it, as to any conſultations, no farther than diſcourſe as to what might be proper to be done for ſecuring our religion and liberty from dangers they were then in, without any deſign againſt the royal perſons of the king and his brother. —I ſhould be guilty of the moſt horrid injuſtice, If I ſhould accuſe any of the worthy gentlemen of my country that were my fellow-priſoners, or any of the Engliſh diſſenting miniſters, of having the leaſt knowlege or concern in the abominable aſſaſſination of the king or his brother; for I did then, as I do now, abhor ſuch practices; nor can I, to this hour, tell really what was in that matter that makes ſuch a noiſe; for nothing in my maimed depoſitions that are printed hath any regard to any thing of that nature, except as to what Mr Ferguſon and Mr Shepherd did ſay, for which they alone are to be anſwerable; and I muſt alſo ſay, that Mr Shepherd did own his abhorrence of ſuch practices.—I cannot but alſo acquaint you, that I think it was a hardſhip put upon me to print my depoſitions as they ſtood, becauſe they were very lame; ſince ſimple anſwers to queſtions were ſet down, and neither the queſtions that gave riſe to ſuch anſwers, nor the juſt extenuations, as to perſons and things, which I gave in my anſwers; which had they been publiſhed, it would have been found, from what I ſaid, that there could be no reaſon given why that affair ſhould have been proſecuted with ſo much cruelty and violence.'

Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'That Mr Carſtairs had at this time ſome ſecrets of great conſequence truſted to him by Fagel, of which they [the managers in Scotland] had no ſuſpicion; and ſo they aſked him no queſtions about them. Fagel told the doctor, that he ſaw by that how faithful Carſtairs was, ſince he could have ſaved himſelf from torture, and merited highly if he had diſcovered them. And this was the foundation of his favour with the prince of Orange, and of the great confidence he put in him to his death.' I ſhall have occaſion to mention this great man again at the trial of Mr Baillie of Jerviſwood; and now I proceed to other things, as they occur in the order of time.

Circuit-courts having been again reſolved upon at London upon application from the biſhops and managers in Scotland, the king's letter, ordering the council to give a commiſſion for them, was read on the 6th of September. Accordingly commiſſioners were appointed for the ſeveral ſhires, and their commiſſion was to continue in force til the firſt of December, or longer, if the council ſhould think fit. They or any two of them, were to act within the bounds preſcribed as commiſſioners of juſticiary, in all matters of life and death; and by their inſtructions which conſiſted of twenty-eight articles, they were to diſarm all heritors and commons, except the militia, who have not taken the teſt, and fine the refuſants; to ſeize all preachers, chaplains not authoriſed by the biſhop, and ſend them in to the council; to examine the indulged miniſters on their inſtructions, remove ſuch as have tranſgreſſed, and impriſon them till they find ſecurity not to preach, or exerciſe any part of their miniſterial work, or elſe to remove from the three kingdoms; they were farther, by their inſtructions, impowered to turn out all the wives and children of forfeited perſons and fugitives from their habitations, if it ſhall appear that they have converſed with their parents or huſbands, or if they ſhall refuſe to vindicate themſelves by oath. In a word, they had, in a manner an unlimited power, and might do what they pleaſed; their inſtructions carried them even to fire and ſword; ſo that reflections upon this are altogether unneceſſary. But as it was October before theſe terrible circuits ſat down, it will be proper to relate ſome intervening occurences.

On the 9th Mr John Sinclair miniſter at Ormiſtoun having thought proper to retire to Holland, was indicted before the juſticiary, in abſence, for preaching treaſonable

ble doctrine, preſſing the renewing of the covenants, defenſive arms, declaiming againſt the king, calling the duke a rebellious enemy to God, and the councellors rogues, and praying that God would open the king's eyes to ſee the evil of his ways, and turn him from it, (a very good prayer) or elſe take him away from being a ſcourge and a curſe to God's people. But though there was no ſhadow of proof for theſe alledged expreſſions, yet he was forfeited and declared a fugitive and outlaw.

On the 15th, in order to prevent the ſufferers from flying from the perſecution then carried on, a proclamation was publiſhed, requiring all maſters of ſhips, going from or returning to the kingdom, to preſent all their paſſengers upon oath, to the ſeveral perſons to be named by the cuſtomers in the precinct mentioned in the proclamation, under the penalty of impriſonment, confiſcation of their goods, and being rendered incapable of being maſter of a ſhip, bark, or any other veſſel for the time to come.' And,

On the 16th another proclamation was publiſhed, diſcharging all perſons to travel from one ſhire to another, without a paſs from ſome perſon in the government, under the pain of being puniſhed as diſaffected perſons: ſo that, as the former proclamation could not but be prejudicial to trade and commerce, ſo this was ſubverſive of the liberties of the ſubject. It is ſtrange the orthodox clergy were not impowered to give paſſes!

But this was the time when little regard was paid to the liberties of the ſubject; for the ſame day the council nominated a provoſt, bailies, and town council for the town of Ayr; nay, this month and the following, as my author found from the regiſters, they engroſſed the whole power of nominating the magiſtrates in moſt of the royal burghs. They even ordered a committee to be preſent and overſee the election of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh.

The deſign was now formed to turn out all the indulged miniſters, and either to make them promiſe not to preach, or engage to remove from the kingdom, as appears from the inſtructions given to the circuits. They had nothing to object againſt their loyalty; for they rather exceeded in that point, and laid themſelves too much open to the cenſures of many of their ſuffering brethren: but this brings to my mind what the noble proto martyr ſaid to ſome miniſters who were admitted to attend him, (Vol. I. p. 119.) 'Though you go along with theſe men in part, if you do not in all things, you are but where you were, and ſo muſt ſuffer; and if you go not at all with them, you ſhall but ſuffer.' Accordingly,

On the ſaid 16th of September, Mr John Knox, indulged at Weſt-calder, ſon to Mr Knox miniſter in Bowden in Tiviotdale, appeared before the council, and was impriſoned, where he continued till the king's death. It was in vain for this worthy perſon to plead his former ſervices to the king, during his exile, for this was not a time when regard was paid to former favours. He was chaplain to Sir John Brown's regiment of horſe at the battle of Inverkeithing. His elder brother Mr Henry was frequently employed by the king in negotiating his affairs in Scotland. Many of the king's letters to his friends were directed to Mr John: nay, the king wrote a letter to himſelf, dated at St. Germains, Auguſt the 3d 1652, wherein he expreſſes a great value for his intereſt and negotiations, and concludes it thus. 'I could heartily wiſh therefore, that, by your intereſt and negotiation with theſe you dare truſt, and who you know wiſh me well, ſome way may be thought of to aſſiſt me with money, which would be a very ſeaſonable obligation, and could never be forgotten by me. I need ſay no more, but that I ſhall be glad to receive any advice or advertiſement from you that ye think neceſſary for me, and ſhall always remain your very loving friend, &c.' Mr Knox was ordained miniſter of North Leith, from which he was ejected at the reſtoration of his very loving friend, becauſe he could not in conſcience ſubmit to prelacy; and, though he was afterwards indulged at Weſt-calder, yet now he was impriſoned, becauſe, when the managers inſiſted upon his giving bond never to exerciſe his miniſtry in Scotland, he told them that he looked on himſelf as a miniſter of Chriſt, and would never tie up himſelf from preaching his goſpel.

The ſame day the council ordered Hay of Park, Alexander Munro, and Campbel of Ardkinglaſs to be ſent to Blackneſs caſtle. Mr. Hay continued in priſon till Auguſt next year; and Mr Campbel, about the end of next April, was brought to Edinburgh under a ſtrong guard, in order to appear before the parliament. But nothing of moment was evidently proved againſt him. What was the iſſue is not known.

The ſame day they made an act ordering thoſe who would not declare Bothwell to be a rebellion, the primate's death to be murder, or who owned the Covenants, or only heſitated on theſe things, to be proſecuted criminally, or tried for their life. This was the patern of the queſtions propoſed by the ſoldiers to thoſe whom they afterwards met with and murdered in the fields.

During all theſe unprecedented methods of oppreſſion Mr. James Renwick continued to exerciſe his miniſtry, and preach in the fields, notwithſtanding the many hazards he and his followers run, and the inexpreſſible hardſhips they endured, which were ſtill more and more increaſing; for, on the 16th, he was ordered to be intercommuned; and, on the 19th, was indicted, in abſence, before the juſticiary, for being at Bothwell, (which was falſe, for he was then a boy at the college) for preaching at field-conventicles, in arms, &c. Next day letters of intercommuning were iſſued out againſt him, prohibiting all the ſubjects from receiving, ſupplying or furniſhing him with meat, drink, houſe, harbour, &c. or converſing with him, either by word or writing, under the higheſt pains.—

On the 25th John Brown, journeyman-taylor in Edinburgh, having been taken in Libberton's-wynd, was ordered to ly in irons till farther orders, for not owning the king's authority without his own limitations; refuſing to pray for him at their deſire, ſince that ought to be gone about in a devout manner and place for prayer; owning the lawfulneſs of riſing in arms for the Covenant, &c. It is ſurpriſing, he was not ſent directly to the juſticiary and execution; but, poſſibly, ſays my author, there was not a quorum of the juſtices in town.

Some time this month Major Balfour ſeized one Colin Alliſon, a weaver in Glaſgow, in his own houſe, and committed him to priſon, where he lay till the revolution. Non comformity was his only crime.

I am now, according to the order of time, to relate ſome of the proceedings of the circuit-courts. The deſign of judicators is to puniſh the guilty and protect the innocent; but theſe courts, without paying any regard to juſtice, equity, or the liberty of the ſubject, moſt barbarouſly haraſſed all ranks of people, under the pretence of their receiving and converſing with rebels; but, to the honour of this mild adminiſtration be it ſpoken, their oppreſſive powers were very large, and by virtue of a royal letter, dated the 27th of September, the council and their commiſſioners were impowred, when there was no legal proof, to refer the matters of accuſation to the oath of the defendant, and to puniſh him as guilty upon his refuſing to ſwear.

The circuit ſat down at Dumfries on the 2d of October. The judges were Queenſbery, his ſon, and Claverhouſe. Their diſtrict was Dumfries, Galloway and Nithſdale; in which diſtrict the judges continued about a month. All the heritors were called, and required to take the teſt, which was offered as a favour to thoſe who were charged with what they called irregularities; and the recuſants were impriſoned and fined. Moſt of them complied. Mr. Hugh Maxwel of Dalſwinion, one of thoſe who ſtood out, was exorbitantly fined, and endured a long impriſonment. When they had done with the heritors, they fell to work with the common people. All who would not ſwear they did not hear preſbyterian miniſters, or had not converſed with whom they called *rebels*, &c. the men were obliged to take the teſt, and give their oath, never to harbour, or ſhew any kindneſs, &c. to any of the intercommuned wanderers, and to raiſe the Hue and Cry upon their hearing of them, or diſcovering them; the women were to ſwear not to cohabit, or ſhew the leaſt kindneſs to their huſbands or children. The recuſants, men and women, were ſent to priſon, by which means the priſons were crowded.

From

From Dumfries theſe judges went to Kircudbright, and from that to Wigtoun, and acted in the ſame manner; and, in the mean time, particular gentlemen and officers of the army were commiſſioned to hold courts in thoſe pariſhes where the principal judges could not reach. At theſe ſub-courts ſeveral were obliged to ſwear over again, though they had already ſatisfied the principal judges. Many who did not take the teſt were unjuſtly fined and impriſoned. About 28 priſoners were brought to Dumfries to wait the return of the judges, and were moſt cruelly treated by the way, not being allowed the very neceſſaries of life.

While the judges were thus at work, the heritors, &c. of the ſtewarty of Kircudbright were brought to preſent an addreſs, dated the 9th of October, wherein they offered to his majeſty five months ceſs yearly, for the ſpace of four years, for maintaining the ſtanding army, and the better ſecuring the peace and quiet of the kingdom; and bound themſelves, for their tenants and cottars, for the future, to live regularly, or be removed from their lands. I ſhall relate how the heritors of the ſhire of Air were brought to comply with this; and it is not unlikely the ſame methods were uſed by theſe commiſſioned judges where ever they went.

Mr. William MacMillan of Caldow, the Rev. Mr. William MacGeorge miniſter at Heriot, Charles Maxwell, and others, had an uncommon ſhare of ſufferings at this circuit at Dumfries. Mr. MacMillan had his health greatly impaired by his former ſufferings, (Vol. I. p. 350.) He was declared rebel and fugitive after Bothwel, and all his goods confiſcated, which obliged him to conceal himſelf for ſeveral months in the fields. Theſe hardſhips threw him into a violent fever. He was no ſooner recovered, but the ſoldiers dragged him before this court at Dumfries. Becauſe he declined to anſwer their enſnaring queſtions, and refuſed the teſt, he was ordered to Wigtoun to take his trial there. As he walked a-foot he fainted and fell down, whereupon the ſoldiers put him upon a bare colt, to the great hazard of his life. He was confined to the guard-houſe at Wigtoun for eight days, without a bed to ly on, though he was afflicted with a dyſentery and flux; neither would the lords, when they came there, allow him the benefit of the common priſon or to give bond to appear at Edinburgh. He was carried from place to place; and on the 22d of November, he and upwards of 80 men, women, and ſome children, were confined all night to the church at Moffat, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon; and next day, being the Sabbath, they were removed from thence to Edinburgh, where they were diſtributed through the ſeveral priſons of the city and Canongate, and, at laſt, many of them ſent to Dunnoter, of which I ſhall give an account next year. Theſe priſoners, in their way to Edinburgh, endured the rudeneſs of the ſoldiers, and the ſcoffing of the profane. One James Muirhead, late bailie of Dumfries, was taken ill on the road, and not being allowed the benefit of a phyſician, died in priſon at Leith.

Mr MacGeorge and James Muirhead, above mentioned, together with John Irvine, John Scot, John Gibſon, Homer Gilliſon, James Muir, Andrew MacClelland, and others, were all carried to the priſon at Leith. Mr MacGeorge was confined there till the middle of April next year, when he was releaſed upon giving bond to appear when called.

Charles Maxwell in the pariſh of Keir was before this infamous court, for doing ſome acts of kindneſs to his ſiſter in law, who had been ſeveral months in priſon for her non comformity; and, becauſe he refuſed the teſt, was put into the thieves hole, and laid in irons. By the intreaty of his friends, and not having the ſame courage with others under his ſufferings, he at laſt complied, and was releaſed upon paying the fees.

Some women narrowly eſcaped priſon by ſome of theſe circuits, becauſe they aſſiſted a woman in labour whoſe huſband was pretended to be one concerned in the Enterkin-path reſcue. This was conſtrued reſet and converſe.

Many were exorbitantly fined; particularly William Martin ſon to J. Martin of Dullarg, was fined in the ſum of 700 l. Scots. Sometime before this, when he was at Edinburgh, Queenſbury ſent for him, and offered to purchaſe the fortune he had a right to by his marriage with the heireſs of Carſe; but, becauſe Mr Martin would not part with it for what he offered, Queenſberry told him he would make him repent it, and threatened to purſue him for his life. Whereupon Mr Martin ſold his right much under the value. In the beginning of this year his wife was forced to give bond for 100 l. Scots, for having a child baptized by a preſbyterian miniſter. I have not room to mention what he ſuffered by the quartering of ſoldiers, &c. And therefore I proceed.

The circuit of Ayr ſat down in the beginning of October. The judges were the earl of Mar, lord Livingſtone, and lieutenant-general Drummond, afterwards viſcount of Strathallan.

After the rolls were called in the preſence of the heritors each of the lords made a ſpeech, recommending to theſe gentlemen to concert proper meaſures for wiping off the odium of diſloyalty the ſhire of Ayr in general lay under. The deſign of this was to get them to raiſe money, and bring them to comply with the teſt, and the other meaſures of the court. The thing took; and Drummond, who poſſeſſed the forfeited eſtate of Keiſland, was deſired to aſſiſt them with his advice. The lieutenant-general pretending a great regard for their welfare and the happineſs of the country, gave it as his opinion, that the beſt way for ſhewing their loyalty, and procuring an indemnity for paſt crimes, was to make a voluntary offer to take the teſt. He told them, that though the law confined it to thoſe who had places of truſt, yet their loyalty would appear by petitioning the lords commiſſioners to adminiſter it unto them. When this propoſal was made ſeveral withdrew, and they who ſtayed complied with it: upon which a form of a petition was drawn up; three copies were writ for the three diſtricts of the ſhire. Upon this the lords ſeparated, one to the body of the church, another to the iſle, and a third to another place. Then the heritors, according to the reſpective diſtricts, were called. The queſtion put to each was, Will you ſign the petition, or not? They who ſigned it were diſmiſſed, and the recuſants where ordered to continue where they were, without being allowed either meat or drink; for, ſays my author, it would ſeem they intended to ſhave them into loyalty: but the lords, being aſhamed of this indiſcreet treatment of ſo many innocent perſons of rank, allowed them to come out of the church, and confined them to the town. Next the commiſſioners proceeded to adminiſter the teſt to thoſe that had ſigned the petition; but finding that ſome of them, upon ſecond thoughts, had changed their mind, and refuſed, they were ſo enraged that they ſent them to priſon, and ſome of them to that naſty place called the *thieves hole*; as Montgomery of Bordland and others, who had neither room to ſit nor ſtand upright. The equity of this proceeding, after they were told that the law obliged none to take the teſt but thoſe in places of truſt under the government, muſt be left with the reader. After this the recuſants had indictments given them, conſiſting of many crimes, of which many of them were incapable. For ſome young men who had no families, but lived with their parents, were charged with reſet and converſe; and others unmarried, who had no children, were accuſed of irregular marriages and baptiſms. Theſe indicted gentlemen were ranged into ſeveral diviſions; and ſuch as they ſaw proper were ordered to be examined by the officers and ſubalterns of Mar's regiment then lying in Ayr. Some of theſe officers, as lieutenant-colonel Buchan, afterwards turned papiſts. From the report of theſe deputies it appeared that ſeveral were able to purge themſelves by oath of the crimes laid to their charge, though others could not: yet all of them were treated as guilty, and were all called again before the lords, and had a new offer of the teſt, as the only way to clear their innocence. Several complied through the importunity of their friends. They who ſtill kept their ground were brought, one after another, before the commiſſioners, and were ſtill urged to take the teſt, and upon their refuſal, though they had nothing elſe they could prove againſt them, were committed priſoners

to

to that room in the tolbooth or prison of Ayr, called the *Council-house*, where they remained, crouded together, without fire, or any proper accomodations, till at last the lords were pleased to dismiss them upon exorbitant bail above the value of their estates, to appear at Edinburgh when called.

All the indulged presbyterian ministers in this shire were called before this infamous circuit, and, upon their refusing the test, were ordered to oblige themselves not to exercise any part of their ministry until they had allowance from the king and council. One or two complied; but the rest, who absolutely refused, were sent to the Bass, and other prisons, where they endured many hardships: and by this means the orthodox clergy got free of most of the presbyterian ministers in the west.

In order to frighten the country people, and some young gentlemen, into the test, a gibbet was erected at the cross. The lords used to say, Yonder tree will make you take the test. One day the earl of Mar said to a young gentleman recusant, pointing to the gibbet, Will not that shake your resolution? No, my lord, answered the other, if I am to be hanged, I expect so much advantage, by my birth and quality, as to hang at the cross of Edinburgh, and betwixt this and Edinburgh I may think what to do. In short, all recusants were disarmed; none were allowed to get out of their parishes without a certificate from the prelatical incumbent; all were discharged from being at field-conventicles upon pain of death. All who were blamed with reset and converse behoved either to take the test, or go to prison.

Before I leave the circuit at Ayr I must mention two instances of particular severities. A poor country man was charged with being at Bothwell, and sentence was going to be passed: but lord Livingstone, president at that time, told him, That if he would but answer one question, the sentence should not be pronounced. The question was, do you own the king's authority, or not? The man answered distinctly, My lord, I do own the king's authority, so far as he acts by, and is grounded on the word of God. The president said again, I ask thee, man, do you own the authority, of king Charles II. yea, or no? To which he replied, I do own the authority of king Charles II. as he acts conform to the word of God, and grounds his power thereupon. The question was several times repeated, and the honest man, not giving any other answer, was ordered to be hanged at the cross of Ayr in a few hours; but by the intercession of some ladies, he was reprieved and carried in to Edinburgh. Here was a sentence of death passed upon a poor man, because he could not see that the king had authority without any foundation on a divine law!

The other instances is of Quintin Dick, a feuar of Dalmellington, Vol. I. p. 470) who, being required to swear upon the common ensnaring questions, answered, That rising in arms in self defence, and entering into leagues and covenants without consent of the magistrate, were controverted points, and he could not give his oath upon them. Then they urged him to take oath of allegiance. Upon which he declared, that he owned the king's authority in things civil, and was ready to swear it; but supremacy in things ecclesiastical was such an usurpation upon Christ's kingdom, that he was a better friend to the king than to wish him it. Whereupon he was fined in 1000 l. sterling and ordered to be banished to the plantations. His goods were immediately seized, his house converted to a guard house, and himself cast into one of the worst places of the prison, among thieves and murderers. When he was carried to Edinburgh he disowned the societies declaration of war before the council, for he thought these zealous people carried matters too far; however, he remained in prison till he was sent, with others to Dunnoter. The reflections he made on his sufferings the reader will find in Mr Wodrow's history.

The last circuit-court I am to speak of is that of Glasgow, which sat down the 14th October, Alexander Ross *D. D.* professor of divinity there, preached a sermon before them, which breathed forth nothing but slaughter and persecution. His text was, Acts xvi. 28. 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' In discoursing upon it he proposed, 1. to shew the parties of our divided Zion; 2 the malignancy of the national sin of schism; 3. the necessity of episcopacy for supporting the main concerns of Christianity; and lastly, the application. How far a discourse of this nature was founded on this text, or agreeable to the spirit of the gospel, is easy for any to determine.

The loyal heritors of Stirling shire, which was within the bounds of this circuit, presented an humble address to the judges, viz. the duke of Hamilton, lord Lundin and lord Collingtoun; in which they declared their readiness to contribute in the supply of the three months cess yearly, for two years ensuing, to be paid at Martinmas and Whitsunday next, by equal portions, besides the supply granted by the current parliament.

They likewise delivered a bond of regularity, under their hands, in which they obliged themselves, families, tenants, and subtenants, &c. to live regularly and orderly according to act of parliament; to suppress all disorders, by taking and delivering the offenders to justice, if in their power; to give timely notice to the next magistrate or officer of the army, and concur with them in apprehending any fugitives, vagrant preachers, &c, to frequent their own parish churches, unless lawfully hindered, and partake of the Lord's supper, unless they satisfy their minister of their present unfitness; to deliver up to the magistrates such of their tenants or cottars, &c. as shall refuse to partake of that sacrament unless they satisfy the minister for their neglect; to baptize and marry with none but their own parish ministers, without their consent, to pay the cess above mentioned, &c, &c. This was a most extensive bond. The reader will make his own reflexions upon it.

But the heritors of Renfrew and Lanerk were not so pliable; for they generally refused the test, declined the bond of regularity, and so were obliged to endure the hardships of a prison, not a few of them for the space of 16 months. William Dalziel of Redmire died in prison, and, with difficulty, was suffered to be buried, with his ancestors, in the church yard of Camnethan.

The treatment of some heritors in the parish of Lochwinnoch was peculiar. About two Sabbaths before the lords came to Glasgow, the sheriff officer stood at the church door, and ordered all the heritors of the parish to appear before the lords. Robert Orr of Millibank, James Allison portioner of Kerrs, John Orr of Jamperstock, James Ramsay portioner of Auchinhow, James Orr of Hills, Robert Semple of Balgreen, William Orr portioner of Keans, and William Blackburn of Lauristoun, were, for their not complying, obliged to walk on foot through frost and snow, with about 40 other prisoners, to Stirling; where, notwithstanding their fatigue and want of refreshment, they were forced into three low vaults under ground without fire or light, or any thing to ly on, or conveniency for easing nature; and had not some good people taken compassion on them, by sending them straw, coals and victuals, their case had still been more wretched. Being told that they were to be sent to America, their friends gave them money; but the soldiers took it all from them. They continued at Stirling till May next year, when they were taken out, tyed two and two, and sent into the prison of the Canongate, from whence some of them were ordered to Dunnoter, where they endured unaccountable hardships. Thus much for these arbitrary circuits, from which the reader will easily form a judgment of the state of the country. These were the golden days of the mild administration of Charles II!

Bishop Burnet gives but a very general account of these infamous courts, which he concludes by telling us, 'That the severity which the presbyterians formerly had used, forcing all people to take their covenant, was now returned back on them in this test, that they were thus forced to take.' But that the presbyterians forced all people to take the covenant, is not matter of fact; for in the covenant period, there were many debarred from the covenant and communion, and none who were thus debarred were admitted, but only those who, after exact trial, were found to have given sufficient evidence of the sincerity of their repentance. I find a modern author challenging his antagonist to give an instance of any that suffered

ſuffered, either confiſcation of goods, baniſhment, or death, for their refuſing the covenant; ſo that no compariſon can be made here.

I find by the Cloud of Witneſſes, that James Lawſon and Alexander Wood ſuffered at Glaſgow on the 24th of October this year. Whether it was in conſequence of a ſentence of the circuit court there, I know not. Their joint teſtimony is in the above collection, to which I muſt refer the reader.

The council at Edinburgh was not idle during theſe things. On the 9th of October W. Niven and John Hodge were ordered for tranſportation, becauſe they would not take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſubmit to prelacy, and own Bothwell bridge to be rebellion. They allowed phyſicians to viſit James Hamilton of Aikenhead, though one might have been expected, ſince nonconformity was the only crime for which he was confined, they might have ſuffered him to go out upon bail.

The ſtate of the weſt and ſouth of Scotland was now diſmal, and the old followers of Mr Cargil, who had united in ſocieties for general correſpondence, and made choice of Mr Renwick for their miniſter, were in one eſpecial manner expoſed to the vengeance of the government. The ſea ports were ſhut up that they could not get out of the kingdom; they were purſued by the bloody and mercileſs ſoldiers; the whole country was ſworn to diſcover them, and bound up from giving them meat, drink, or lodging: ſecret intelligencers were hired to find out their lurking places, and any who were inclined to do them the leaſt kindneſs. They were put from under the protection of the laws of their country; no terms were allowed them but a renouncing of their principles, and, ſwallowing thoſe oaths by which thouſands were involved in the horrid guilt of perjury.

Under theſe dreadful circumſtances, on the 15th October they met among themſelves, along with Mr James Renwick their miniſter, and propoſed to emit a declaration againſt the wickedneſs and ſeverities uſed by their perſecutors, Mr Renwick was at firſt averſe to the propoſal, fearing the ſad effects it might produce; but conſidering that the neceſſity of the caſe admitted no delay, he was prevailed with to conſent, concur, and aſſiſt in the publication of it. The paper was drawn up by him and agreed on the 28th, and the following is a ſhort abſtract of it.

The apologetic declaration and admonitory vindication of the true Preſbyterians of the Church of Scotland, eſpecially anent intelligencers and informers.

ALBEIT we know that the people of God, in all ages have been cruelly perſecuted,——yet ſuch hard uſage——hath not, at leaſt ought not, to have abated the zeal of tender hearted Chriſtians, in the proſecution of holy and commanded duties; therefore, as hitherto, we have not been driven to lay aſide neceſſary obliging duties, becauſe of the viperous threatnings of men,——ſo we declare our firm reſolution of conſtant adherence to our Covenants and engagements, ——and——to our faithful declarations, wherein we have diſowned the authority of Charles Stuart (not authority of God's inſtitution, either among Heathens or Chriſtians) and all authority depending upon him——and wherein alſo we have declared war againſt him and his accomplices;——therefore,——we do hereby teſtify and declare, That as we utterly deteſt and abhor that helliſh principle of killing all who differ in judgment and perſuaſion from us;——ſo we look upon it as a duty,——to publiſh——unto the world, that, for as much as we are firmly and really purpoſed not to injure or offend any whomſoever, but to purſue the end of our Covenants, in ſtanding to the defence of our glorious Work of Reformation, and of our own lives; yet, (we ſay) we do hereby declare unto all, that whoſoever ſtretcheth forth their hands againſt us,——by ſhedding our blood actually, either by authorative commanding, ſuch as bloody counſellors,——eſpecially that called juſticiary, general of forces, adjutants, captains, lieutenants, and all in civil and military power, who make it their work to embrue their hands in our blood; or by obeying ſuch commands, ſuch as bloody militia-men, malicious troopers, &c. likeways ſuch gentlemen and commons, who——ride and run with the foreſaid perſons, to lay ſearch for us, or who deliver any of us into their hand, to the ſpilling of our blood; by inticing morally, or ſtirring up enemies to the taking away of our lives;——by informing againſt us wickedly, wittingly and willingly, ſuch as viperous and malicious biſhops and curates, and all ſuch ſort of intelligencers, who——raiſe the Hue and Cry after us;——we ſay all, and every one of ſuch, ſhall be reputed by us as enemies to God and the covenanted Work of reformation, and puniſhed as ſuch according to our power and the degree of their offence, chiefly, if they ſhall continue, after the publication of this our declaration, obſtinately and habitually, with malice, to proceed againſt us any of the foreſaid ways.—Finally, we do hereby declare, that we abhor, condemn and diſcharge any perſonal attempts, upon any pretext whatſomever, without previous deliberation, common or competent conſent, without certain probation by ſufficient witneſſes, the guilty perſons confeſſion, or the notoriouſneſs of the deeds themſelves. Inhibiting alſo and diſcharging any of our emiſſaries whatſomever, to ſtretch forth their hands beyond the certainly known degrees of any of the foreſaid perſons their offences.——Therefore let all theſe foreſaid perſons be admoniſhed of their hazard. And particularly all ye intelligencers, who, by your voluntary informations, endeavour to render us up to the enemies hands, that our blood may be ſhed,——we deſire you to take warning;——for the ſinleſs neceſſity of ſelf-preſervation, accompanied with holy zeal for Chriſt's reigning in our land, and ſuppreſſing of profanity, will move us not to let you paſs unpuniſhed;——not becauſe we are acted by a ſinful ſpirit of revenge for private and perſonal injuries, but mainly becauſe, by our fall, reformation ſuffers damage. ——And as——we have here declared our purpoſes anent malicious injurers of us, ſo——we heartily beſeech and obteſt all you, who wiſh well to Sion, to ſhew your good will towards us, by acting with us, ——for this great work of holding up the ſtandard of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Think not that, in any ways, you are called to ly by neutral and indifferent, eſpecially in ſuch a day; for we are a people by holy Covenants dedicated unto the Lord.——And, moreover, we are fully perſuaded, that the Lord, who now hideth himſelf from the houſe of Jacob, will ſuddenly appear, bring light out of darkneſs, perfect ſtrength out of weakneſs, and cauſe judgment return again to righteouſneſs——Given at upon the 28th of October, 1684.

'Let King Jeſus reign, and all his enemies be ſcattered.'

They ordered copies of this declaration to be affixed to a ſufficient number of market croſſes and church doors on the 8th of next month, which was done accordingly.

In the Informatory Vindication, they diſtinguiſh between a declaration of a hoſtile war and martial inſurrection, and declaring a war of contradiction and oppoſition by teſtimonies. As for the former, to uſe their own words, 'they looked upon that only to be declared againſt the tyrant, and ſuch as ſhould riſe with him in arms, muſtering themſelves under his banner, diſplayed againſt the cauſe and people of God, for deſtroying the covenanted Work of Reformation, and extirpating all the owners of it; but as for the latter, it was declared againſt all ſuch as any way ſtrengthen, ſide with, or acknowledge the ſaid tyrant, or any other in the like tyranny and uſurpation, civil or eccleſiaſtic, not that they would martially oppoſe and riſe up againſt all ſuch, but that, by their profeſſion, practice and teſtimony, they would contradict and oppoſe them and their profeſſion and practice as to that thing.' And it appears, from the declaration itſelf, that it was a war in their own defence, againſt thoſe who maliciouſly and wickedly thirſted for their blood. They declared their abhorrence of all private revenge and aſſaſſination. It is alſo plain, that

that, though they disclaimed the tyrannical government of that time, they still owned magistracy and all lawful authority. How far it was prudent in them to publish this threatning declaration in that conjuncture, is not for me to determine. However, this is certain, that though it exasperated the managers to more vigorous measures yet it wanted not its effect; for it struck a terror among malignant informers and intelligencers, and the most virulent and persecuting curates of Nithsdale and Galloway thought proper to retire into other places for a time; and indeed their view in this paper was not so much action, as the threatening of some people they had to do with; and if any look upon it as an unjustifiable piece of extremity, they ought to consider their circumstances, and the illegal and barbarous oppressions they were under in being in a manner 'killed all the day long, and counted as sheep for the slaughter.' I shall relate the consequences of this in their proper order.

Mean while on the 26th of October, William Hanna, in the parish of Tunnergath in Annandale, having been apprehended in England by colonel Dacres, was received by one Sprinkel in his troop. He lay in irons at Dumfries, and at last was confined in a dark pit under the Canongate prison. The soldiers who brought him his small pittance of meat and drink, said, Seek mercy from heaven, for we have none to give you, with other expressions of blasphemy. He continued in this place nine days, and then was brought up to the prison, where he remained till he was sent with others to Dunnoter His only crime was non comformity, for which he had in the preceeding year suffered greatly. His son William, not 16 years of age, was in 1682, taken by a party of soldiers, though he was afflicted with the ague, and forced to walk a-foot for some days along with them. Coming to the grave of one who had been shot, and buried in the fields, they set him down on the grave, and, covering his face, threatened him with immediate death if he would not promise regularity, &c. The boy told them, God sent him to the world, and had appointed his time to go out of it, only he was determined to swear nothing he reckoned sinful. He was now in their power, and they might do as they would. In the year 1683, he was taken to Edinburgh. and after several examinations, was tortured with the thumbkins, and then loaded with irons, which were so strait that his flesh swelled out above them; and after a year and a half's imprisonment, he was transported and sold in Barbadoes. It is said, he returned after the revolution, and was a minister in Scarborough.

The orthodox clergy was amongst the main diligent informers, and their informations were sometimes followed with peculiar cruelties, of which the treatment of one Robert Watson, in the parish of Badernock, near Glasgow, is a glaring instance. While this good man was confined to his bed by a paralytic disorder, Mr Stirling the curate informed against him as a disaffected person; whereupon about eight at night, a party came to his house, put one of his horses in a sledge, took him and the couch whereon he lay, and laid him across the sledge, with his head and feet lying over it, and in that posture carried him to Glasgow that same night, though the rain was exceeding great. But when Robert was examined, he was dismissed, and the soldiers cursed the curate for putting them to so much trouble. About the same time Mr James Gilchrist, chaplain to the laird of Glorat, was made prisoner. But passing these things, I shall now relate other unprecedented branches of tyranny and oppression in

CHAP. XI.

Of the proceedings of the council and justiciary: the murders in the fields: the trial and execution of Mr Robert Bailie of Jervifwood, and others: with several other branches of persecution to the death of king Charles II.

THE persecution of this period is still on the growing hand, as will appear from a relation of matters of fact in the order of time when they happened. Many worthy and excellent gentlemen suffered exceedingly, by exorbitant fines and long imprisonment, during the months of November and December. The most of them, if not all, had been before the circuits upon sham indictments. among others, these following suffered exceedingly, viz. Sir John Maxwell of Nether-pollock, the lairds of Craigends elder and younger, the laird of Douchal, the laird of Pulwood, Z. Maxwell of Blawarthill, brother to Nether Pollock, Mr J. Pollock of Balgray, and J. Caldwell laird of Caldwell, from the shire of Renfrew. The lairds of Allanton and Halcraig, Mr Andrew afterwards Sir Andrew Kennedy of Clowburn, the lairds of Overtoun, Hartwood, Browncastle and Bradisholm, James Young chamberlane of Evandale, Mr John Bannantyne of Corehouse, after the revolution minister at Lanerk, and Bannantyne of Craigmuir from the shire of Renerk, Sir James Montgomery of Skermorly, Sir Adam Whiteford, Cuningham of Athenyards, and others from the shire of Ayr, Mr Hugh Maxwell of Dalswinton, and the laird of Balmagechan, from Dumfries and Galloway. There were other gentlemen exorbitantly fined for the same caute with these now mentioned, as the lairds of Riddel, Greenhead, Wall, and Chatto, lord Cranstoun, Sir William Scot of Harden, senior and junior; but whether at this precise time I cannot say. The managers wanted to finger their estates; and, as they had nothing to lay to their charge but non conformity, false indictments were trumpt up against them, and the test contrary to law was pressed upon them, which they knew they would not take; and therefore they were thus illegally fined, and several of them suffered a tedious imprisonment.

On the 8th of November the apologetical declaration was fixed on several church doors in Nithsdale, Galloway, Ayr, and Lanerk shire.

On the 11th J. Hutchilon, portioner in Newbottle, was in absence, condemned to be executed, when apprehended, for being at Pentland and Bothwell, the time and place to be appointed by the council. The same day copies of the above declaration were brought to the council, by which they were exasperated to the last degree; so that, instead of acting like grave and solid counsellors, they discovered themselves to be under the influence of a spirit of rage and cruelty; for not only they who were taken up on suspicion, but even they who were already in prison, were barbarously used on this very account.

The same day, about six in the evening, W. Niven smith in the parish of Eastwood, and several others, were brought from the iron house before the council or their committee; and being interrogated by the chancellor whether they knew any thing of the treasonable papers that had been affixed to the church-doors, declared they did not. Then they were asked if they owned the matter of them; and answered, They knew nothing about them, and so could neither own nor disown them. The clerk, upon this, read the declaration as fast as he could. Upon which they declared they could make no judgment of it upon hearing of it in such a manner. They were again required to disown it upon the highest pains. They answered they had no share in it, and could not take upon them to judge of what noways concerned them. After they were removed a little, they were called in, and told they were sentenced to die that night at ten o'clock: but something came in the way that prevented the execution of this unaccountable sentence.

On the 13th John Semple of Craigthorn, in the parish of Glasford, was taken and brought before the council, on suspicion of being accessory to the above apologetic declaration, and was ordered immediately to be examined by the thumb screw and the boots, or both, which he endured, and the torture was repeated next day. And the same day Robert Goodwin and other prisoners were brought before them on suspicion. They declared they knew nothing of it. When it was read to them in a hurry, they were ordered solemnly to swear that they neither adhered to it, nor knew the authors of it. Robert declared, in the name of the rest, that they never heard it till now, and knew nothing about the forming of it: but, because they would not swear, they were immediately sent to the iron-house.

On the 14th John Semple, John Watt and Gabriel Thomson

Thomſon were condemned and executed at the Gallow-lee, becauſe they owned, or refuſed to diſown, the above mentioned paper. This was quick work, there being but a few hours between their ſentence and their death. The poor men were ſcarce ſuffered to pray. The ſpectators were ſurrounded by the ſoldiers; and, refuſing to anſwer upon oath the queſtions put to them, ten or twelve were carried from the ſcaffold to priſon: nay, becauſe three coffins were ſeen carrying down the ſtreet to receive their bodies, the council ordered Sir William Paterſon to make inquiry by whom they were made.

Next day Thomas Abercromby, in the pariſh of Bar, was apprehended at midnight in his own houſe, and carried away priſoner without any cauſe aſſigned. His houſe was rifled by the ſoldiers; and it coſt him a great deal of money before he got off. His loſſes before this, and ſufferings afterwards, were not ſmall.

On the 20th the advocate was ordered to proſecute John Porterfield of Douchal for high treaſon, though they had no more to lay to his charge than to that of ſome of the reſt: but this was done to bring him into their meaſures.

The ſame day Thomas Kennoway and one Duncan Stuart were both killed, by perſons unknown, at Swine-abbay in the pariſh of Livingſtone. I cannot relate the circumſtances, as none were preſent but the actors, who were never apprehended. The ſocieties were ſo far from approving this, that they refuſed to admit ſome perſons among them whom they ſuſpected to be concerned in it, all ſuch aſſaſſinations being contrary to their apologetical declaration. It is indeed certain that Kennoway was one of the greateſt oppreſſors, and a terror to the country. I ſhall not trouble the reader with particulars. The widows of theſe two were by the council recommended to the treaſury for charity.

A ſtrict ſearch was ordered to be made through the city of Edinburgh for thoſe concerned in the murder, and the above mentioned declaration. The council then made their bloody act, impowering the ſoldiers to kill in the fields all who would not anſwer their queries. This was ſuch an unprecedented ſtep, that none would believe it, was it not recorded in their own regiſters, to their everlaſting diſgrace. Thus the matter ſtands.

Apud Edinburgh, November 22. 1684.

Sederunt Chancellor, Regiſter, Advocate, &c.

THE query under-written, propoſed by the lords of his majeſty's privy council to the lords of his majeſty's council and ſeſſion, with their anſwer, is ordered to be recorded.

Query. Whether any of his majeſty's ſubjects, being queſtioned by his majeſty's judges, or commiſſioners, if they own a late proclomation, in ſo far as it declares war againſt his ſacred majeſty, and aſſerts that it is lawful to kill all thoſe who are employed by his majeſty, refuſing to anſwer upon oath, are thereby guilty of high-treaſon, and art and part in the ſaid declaration?

Anſwer. 'It is the unanimous opinion of the lords of council and ſeſſion, that a libel, in the terms of the ſaid query, is relevant to infer the crime of treaſon, as art and part of the ſaid treaſonable declaration, againſt the refuſers,' Subſcribed by Perth Chancellor, David Falconer, George MacKenzie, &c.

'It being put to the vote in council, whether or not any perſons who owns, or will not diſown the late traiterous declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, ſhould be immediately killed before two witneſſes, and the perſon or perſons who are to have inſtructions from the council for that effect?' Carried in the affirmative.

'The lords of his majeſty's privy-council do hereby ordain any perſon who owns, or will not diſown the late treaſonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death; this being always done in preſence of two witneſſes, and the perſon or perſons having commiſſion for that effect.'

By the anſwer to the query the refuſers were to be indicted; but, by this act of counſel, they are to be immediately put to death without any indictment. How far then the act is founded on the anſwer muſt be referred to thoſe learned in the law; and how Sir George MacKenzie had the confidence to vindicate this is very ſurpriſing. As for the commiſſioners ſpoke of, this is certain, that majors, captains, and even ſoldiers, pretended to act by virtue of it, and certainly they were much encouraged by it,

The day after this bloody act the council gave a commiſſion to Lord Livingſtone, Lord Roſs, Lord Torpichen, &c. or any five of them, to try, judge and execute in the pariſh where Kennoway and Stuart were murdered; and, together with the commiſſion, inſtructions were given to the forces ſent to the pariſhes of Livingſtone, Bathgate, Torpichen and Calders, of which I give the following abbreviate. 'You ſhall convocate all the inhabitants——above fourteen years of age, in the pariſh of Livingſtone, &c. and examine every perſon; and, after the oath of abjuration, [of which in its place,] ſuch as take the oath you ſhall diſmiſs, unleſs you ſuſpect their guilt. And, if any own the late traiterous declaration or aſſaſſination, you ſhall execute them by military execution on the place. And ſuch as refuſe to anſwer or depone, or will not diſown the ſaid, &c. you ſhall give them a libel inſtantly, call fifteen men as a jury, and let them judge them, and inſtantly execute the ſentence of death on ſuch as do refuſe to diſown, or to anſwer the queſtions before the ſaid jury.——And as to the families of ſuch as you thus condemn and execute, you ſhall make priſoners of all perſons in their families above the age of twelve years in order to tranſportation ——For all which this ſhall be warrant to you, and all officers and ſoldiers employed by you' Subſcribed by Perth chancellor, Douglas, Balcarras, George MacKenzie, &c.—— There were ſeveral other inſtructions. I have only ſingled out theſe, and the reader may ſee, that the murders in the fields, which were committed after this, had now the ſanction of authority; neither ſhall I detain him by any reflections of mine, but leave him to his own.

The above mentioned judges ſat firſt at Livingſtone, where many queſtions were put to ſeveral people, concerning the king's authority, their keeping the church, and other things quite foreign to the deſigned inquiry. The ſoldiers ſat on horſeback, with their ſwords drawn, and ſurrounded the country people in the fields. The old and infirm, who had not been from their houſes for many years, were forced to attend. And they who could not walk, were brought out on horſeback; nay, they who could not ſit, ſays my author, were tyed to one another on horſeback, and none were permitted to go home till they were examined by the judges, or rather inquiſitors. But I paſs theſe things.

On the 25th the council approved of the following draught of the oath of abjuration, to be offered to whom they or their commiſſioners ſhould think fit. 'I *A. B.* do hereby abhor, renounce and diſown, in the preſence of the almighty God, the pretended declaration of war lately affixed at ſeveral pariſh churches, in ſo far as it declares a war againſt his ſacred majeſty, and aſſerts that it is lawful to kill ſuch as ſerve his majeſty, in church, ſtate, army, or country, or ſuch an act againſt the authors of the pretended declaration now ſhewn to me. And I do hereby utterly renounce and diſown the villainous authors thereof, who did as they call it, ſtatute and ordain the ſame, and what is therein mentioned. And I ſwear I ſhall never aſſiſt the authors of the ſaid pretended declaration, or their emiſſaries or adherents, in any point of puniſhing, killing, or making of war any manner of way, as I ſhall anſwer to God.' This was the firſt form of the abjuration. We ſhall find it much curtailed afterwards, and therefore I ſhall make no remarks on it here.

Next day the council made an act ordering new elections to be made for next ſeſſion of parliament, which was to meet in March next, in the room of thoſe who were diſqualified by an act of the laſt ſeſſion (my author thinks it

it was the test act) and by their being under process for treason. As the parliament was to sit, it was but proper that the members should be such as would pursue the measures of the ministry.

At last the design against all the indulged ministers was accomplished; for on the 27th of November the council ordered them all to be ejected because they had not kept their instructions, vol. I. p. 351. and some of them had not observed the fast appointed in September last; and, by the instructions given to the commissioners in different shires, they were obliged, December the 2d, to give bond not to exercise any part of their ministry in Scotland. Some of them had before this been imprisoned because they would not comply with this, as Mr Anthony Murray, and Mr J. Curry. The Rev. Mr John Carstairs, perceiving this storm a-coming wrote to the chancellor for his lordship's pass to leave Scotland. He died soon after, and so got out of the reach of his enemies. Not a few were imprisoned after this, as Mr Ralph Rogers, Mr William Tullidaff, Mr Robert Boyd, Mr Robert Duncanson, Mr Duncan Campbell, Mr John Greg, Mr James Hutchison, Mr Andrew Millar, Mr Peter Kid, Mr John Knox, Mr Walter Mowat, &c. There were but few that complied. Thus the prelates got rid of those who were great eye sores to them.

On the 28th the gentlemen from Renfrew were, except the laird of Douchal, summoned to appear before the council on the 2d of December next.

Next day J. Porterfield of Douchal was indicted before the justiciary for high treason, because he did not reveal Sir John Cochran's proposal for charity to Argyll, and had conversed with his own brother who had been forfeited for the affair of Pentland, and had harboured one George Holmes who had been at Bothwell. He owned that Sir John Cochran had asked 50 l. by way of charity to the earl of Argyll; but that the proposal was made with so much indifference, that he did not think it worth his while to reveal it. As for conversing with his brother, he thought there was no harm in it, because some years after Pentland he had lived peaceably in the shire of Renfrew, and had conversed with his majesty's subjects of all ranks, such as privy councellors, the sheriff of the shire, and the officers of the army; from whence it was generally concluded that he was indemnified, &c. As to George Holmes, he declared, that, whenever he understood that his name was in the portcous-roll of the court of Glasgow 1679, though he was no tenant of his, he obliged his father to put him off his ground; that the said Holmes had afterwards made up his matters, and listed himself a soldier in the king's army. But though this was the plain state of the case, yet he was brought in guilty of treason, and condemned to be executed when and where the king should appoint.

This sentence drew compassion and tears from many of the spectators, to behold such a good old man meet with so much injustice; and it is said that even Sir Geo. MacKenzie threw the blame of this from himself, and called this gentleman *Lord Melford's Martyr*. The truth is, Melford had a previous promise of his estate. Such instances as this, says my author, verified the black character which a person of merit and honour gave him of this period. 'This was a time when stretches of obsolete laws, knights of the post, half or no probation malicious informers, scandalous rogues and miscreants, were the governments tools, to ruin men of estates, honour and principle.' I would farther observe, that, the day before his trial, the lords of council and session gave their judgment of this gentleman's case, *viz.* That the concealing and not revealing, in the case foresaid is treason; so that, how far the same persons could in equity give their judgment over again in the same cause, I must leave to these learned in the law. This gentleman was not executed; however, he was obliged to give security to the earl of Melford for 50,000 merks, and a gratuity of 100 guineas to his lady. The half of the sum was paid to him, though Douchal was his cousin. The revolution prevented the payment of the other half. The principal informer against him was John Maxwell of Overmains, a neighbour and relation, who had no other way of atoning for the crimes of adultery but by turning informer. I shall only add, that this Maxwell came to ruin, while the family of Douchal was not only restored to its own paternal inheritance, but also purchased the estate of the wicked informer.

On the 22d of December the gentlemen of Renfrew were fined in the following sums, viz.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
Sir John Maxwell of Nether-Pollock,	8000	0	0
Alexander and William Cunningham's Of Craigends, elder and younger,	6000	0	0
John Caldwell laird of Caldwell, -	500	0	0
Zacharias Maxwell portioner of Blawarthill, - - - -	1111	2	2 2/3
Alexander Porterfield of Fulwood,	3333	6	8
Mr James Pollock of Balgray, -	833	6	8
These sums being English money, make in all, - - -	19797	15	6

The laird of Caldwell and Zacharias Maxwell were ordered to be prisoners for life, besides the payment of their fine. They were pleased to make some abatement of the fines of the rest. Thus Sir John Maxwell was to pay 5000 *l.* the lairds of Craigends 4000 *l.* the laird of Fulwood 1666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and the laird of Balgray of 500 *l.* sterling. The greatest crimes for which these gentlemen were fined in this exorbitant manner, were their not attending ordinances in their own parish church, their hearing presbyterian ministers, and pretended converse with rebels. It was falsely alledged that they had contributed money to the murderers of the primate. For the like crimes the following gentlemen were fined, *viz.*

Fined by the Council.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
Stuart of Allantoun. - -	666	13	4
W. Hamilton of Overtoun, -	500	0	0
J. Young chamberlain of Evandale,	505	11	1 1/3
J Muirhead of Braidisholm, -	222	4	5 1/3
Mr J. Hamilton of Halcraig, -	666	13	4
Mr A. Kennedy of Clowburn, -	666	13	4
Mr J. Stuart of Hartwood -	133	6	8
J. Bannantyne of Craigmuir, -	111	2	2 2/3
G. Hamiltoun of Browncastle, -	111	2	2 2/3
	3783	6	8

Fined by the Sheriffs.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
Laird of Riddel, - - - -	4333	6	8
——of Greenhead, - -	2006	0	0
——Of Chatto, - - - -	1666	13	4
Lord Cranstoun - -	1500	0	0
Sir W. Scot of Harden, - -	2644	8	10 2/3
Sir W. Scot of Harden, Junr. -	3500	0	0
Laird of Wall. - - -	1111	2	2 2/3
	17055	11	1 2/3

These sheriff fines were all confirmed by the council, and some of the councellors shared largely in the spoils of these constructed criminals. Sir George McKenzie the advocate got 1500 *l.* of Sir William Scot of Harden's fine. The duke of Gordon and the marquis of Athol shared Sir William Scot of Harden junior's fine between them. I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections on these proceedings, when I have only observed, that none of these gentlemen had ever declared against the government that then was, though perhaps few had cause to stand up for it, unless it were the plunderers of those who were more righteous than themselves.

On the said 2d of December, the council sent a letter to the commissioners of the several districts in the south and west shires, signifying, that, as the king had granted an indemnity on the 26th of February last, they thought proper to send instructions relating to it. But why no mention was made of this indemnity till now, is not to be accounted for. But the instructions concerning it

rendered it altogether uſeleſs ſince none were to have the benefit of it but thoſe that would ſwear the oath of abjuration, and that they would never take arms againſt the king, or any commiſſioned by him, upon any pretence whatſoever. Beſides it was only to be of uſe to thoſe under the degree of heritors, liferenters, &c. and vagrant preachers, by which indulged miniſters and preachers, not licenſed according to law, were to be underſtood; ſo that the inſtructions rendered the indemnity of no uſe.

On the 3d the council recommended to the advocate to return their thanks to Judge Jeffreys for his kind concurrence with them, againſt thoſe pernicious rogues and villains who diſturbed the public peace, and to deſire him to order hiding and fugitive Scotchmen to be apprehended and delivered up, on the Scots border, to ſuch as ſhould be appointed to receive them. It cannot ſupriſe the reader to ſee a correſpondence between bloody Jeffreys and theſe bloody Scots inquiſitors; for *birds of a feather flock together*.

The ſame day they ordered the advocate to raiſe a proceſs of forfeiture before the enſuing parliament, upon a charge of ſixty days, againſt the following perſons, *viz.* Denholm of Weſtfields, Stuart of Caltneſs, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, James Stuart ſon to Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, the Lord Melvil, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlie, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Hume of Baſſenden, the heirs of Mr Martin late clerk of the juſtice-court, the heirs of the late Earl of London, Thomas Hay of Park, Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, Walter Lockhart of Kirkton, Montgomery of Langſhaw, John Weir of Newton, Mr Gilbert Eliot writer in Edinburgh, Campbel of Ardkinglaſs, Ceſnock elder and younger, and Jerviſwood. We ſhall meet with them again in their proper place, and find that the laſt mentioned gentleman was hurried off the ſtage before that time; for that inſatiable thirſt of the managers for his blood muſt be ſatisfied.

On the 4th, not thinking the many commiſſions formerly given, ſufficient for ſuppreſſing the poor ſufferers, whom they branded with the odious names of rogues and villains, the council conſtituted Lieutenant general Drummond a juſtice of peace, and impowered him to repair to the ſouth and weſt ſhires, and hold courts of juſticiary, and to take along with him a ſufficient number of the forces, in order to purſue and apprehend the rebels and their abettors, that they may be brought to trial, and to paſs ſentence upon them as he ſhould ſee cauſe. They likeways ordered him to quarter the ſoldiers and ſettle garriſons where he ſhould find it expedient, eſpecially in Lanerk-ſhire. At the ſame time they wrote to the Duke of Hamilton, acquainting him with all this, and deſiring his grace to aſſemble the commiſſioners who were proper to provide the garriſons with all neceſſaries.

Beſides theſe powers to the lieutenant general, other commiſſions were given to ſuch private perſons as would undertake them; particularly, William Hamilton, Laird of Orbiſtoun had a commiſſion, on the 8th of December, 'to levy 200 Highlandmen of the ſhire of Dumbarton, and with them or any part of them, as oft as our ſervice ſhall require, to march into any part of theſe ſhires [Dumbarton and Renfrew] and purſue, take, and apprehend the ſaid rebels, and fugitives, &c. and their reſetters, and commit them to ſome firmance, or ward, till they be legally tried, and in caſe any of the ſaid perſons be in arms, reſiſting and refuſing to be taken, we do hereby impower the ſaid Orbiſtoun, &c. to kill, wound and deſtroy them; and deliver ſuch of theſe as ſhall be taken alive to their next commiſſioned officer, to be brought in priſoner to——Edinburgh.——And——we authorize the ſaid laird of Orbiſtoun, to employ ſpies and intelligencers to go in company with the ſaid rebels and fugitives, as if they were in their party, the better to diſcover where they haunt and are reſett. As alſo with full power to the ſaid Orbiſtoun, to take and apprehend the perſons of all outed miniſters who ſhall be found within, or reſort to the ſaid ſhires, and ſend them in priſoners to Edinburgh, &c.'

The reader may make his own reflections here, and judge what ſtate the ſhires muſt be in, when they were to be expoſed to the diſcipline of highland reformers. Orbiſton was enjoined indeed to ſee that his men ſhould commit no diſorders; but how theſe could be prevented, when ſuch extenſive powers were given, is hard to conceive.

On the ſaid 8th of December, George Jackſon, Thomas Wood, Alexander Heriot, James Graham, and Thomas Robertſon, together with Patrick Cuningham, John Watt, James Kirkwood, Alexander Vakange, and James Glover, were indicted for the apologetic declaration, becauſe they owned, or refuſed to diſown, the ſaid paper upon oath. The laſt five, together with Alexander Heriot, ſolemnly renounced the ſaid declaration at the bar, and the proceſs againſt them was dropt; but the reſt were next day found guilty, and ordered to be taken that very day to the Gallow-lee, betwixt two and five in the afternoon and there to be hanged.

George Jackſon had been a conſiderable time in priſon; and, upon being aſked if he owned the declaration, ſaid that he owned it as far as it was agreeable to the word of God, but allowed of no murder.

Thomas Wood was taken at the reſcue of Enterkinpath; and being aſked if he adhered to the declaration, anſwered, That he did not underſtand it, the clerk read it ſo faſt; but, ſaid they, the covenants are in it, do you adhere to theſe? He anſwered, I do.

James Graham, taylor in Corſmichael in Galloway, was apprehended by Claverhouſe and a party in the highway; they had nothing to lay to his charge, but, finding a bible in his pocket, they looked upon that as a ſure evidence of diſloyalty. They hurried him from place to place. He was put in the irons at Dumfries, becauſe he would not anſwer their queſtions. He was next brought to Edinburgh, where, upon refuſing to declare his opinion concerning the declaration, he was condemned and executed with the reſt. His teſtimony is in the Cloud of Witneſſes.

Thomas Robertſon was impriſoned at Newcaſtle for refuſing the Engliſh oaths. He made his eſcape, and got to Edinburgh, where he was aprehended laſt month, and brought before the council, where he was ſoon enſnared by their queſtions. From his laſt teſtimony, which is in the Cloud of Witneſſes, it appears, that he had formerly been a hearer of the curates; but, upon being brought to hear one of the preſbyterian miniſters, ſuch impreſſions were made upon him that he never followed them any more. He declared his adherence to the covenant of redemption, the ſcriptures of the Old and New teſtament, the work of reformation, ever glorious in the land, &c. and his averſion to all the defections that had been carried on for ſeveral years, and died with great peace and joy; for though he was, for ſome time, under fearful apprehenſions of death, yet he got over all theſe. I need only obſerve, that none of theſe perſons could have been concerned in the apologetical declaration; and yet, upon that very ſcore of refuſing to diſown it, they were put to death.

Two days after this execution the duke of Gordon's patent for being chancellor was read and recorded. Whether he was then a profeſt papiſt, I know not, but ſoon after he certainly was, and that ſet were now getting in as faſt as conveniently could be done.

On the 16th the advocate was ordered to proſecute Walter earl of Tarras for high treaſon. Sometime after he had been brought in priſoner, he confeſſed, 'that, about the time ſir John Cochran and commiſſary Munro got their commiſſion for the Carolina buſineſs, Mr Bailie of Jerviſwood told him he was going to London, however on his own charges; but that the Carolina affair was only a pretence, the true deſign being to preſs the people of England, who could do nothing but talk, to go more effectually about the buſineſs, and do ſomething.' He likeways confeſſed, 'that Jerviſwood ſettled a correſpondence with him, for giving an account of what ſhould paſs between the country party in England and the Scotſmen there; and that Jerviſwood told him, that the only way for ſecuring the Proteſtant religion, was for the king to ſuffer the parliament to ſit, and the bill of excluſion to paſs;

paſs; which the king might be induced to if the parliament took ſharp and briſk meaſures.' He further confeſſed, 'that Mr R. Martin came to Torwoodlee's houſe in May 1683, and brought an unſubſcribed letter to the Lady Tarras, which he knew to be written by Jerviſwood then at London; and that Mr Martin told him that things in England were in great diſorder, and were like to come to a height, and that the country-party were conſidering on methods for ſecuring the Proteſtant religion; and that the late earl of Argyll was to get 10 000 l. ſterling, whereas our Scots people fought 30,000 l. which was to be ſent over to Holland to provide arms; and the ſaid earl was to land with thoſe arms in the Weſt-highlands of Scotland; and that Jerviſwood was to be ſent over with money.' The reſt of his confeſſion related to ſome diſcourſes concerning the methods moſt proper to be taken for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion; but nothing concerning any deſign upon the perſon of either the king or his brother. The earl's trial was put off till January next, that he might not be under ſentence when brought as a witneſs againſt Jerviſwood, whoſe trial was now drawing near.

On the 18th of December Claverhouſe came with a party to the water of Dee in Galloway, and ſurpriſed ſix of the lurking people at Achincloy, and ordered Robert Ferguſon and James MacMichan from Nithſdale, and Robert Stuart and John Grier from Galloway, to be ſhot inſtantly After they were buried, their graves and coffins were uncovered by a party ſent by Claverhouſe, and continued ſo for four days. James MacMichan's body was taken up and hung upon a tree. Claverhouſe carried the other two, viz Robert Smith in the pariſh of Glencairn, and Robert Hunter, to Kirkcudbright, ſummoned a ſort of jury and hanged them there. There were other two in company with theſe ſix; but they happily eſcaped. However, the ſoldiers being informed of a houſe they had gone into, marched thither, took all they found in it priſoners, and burnt the houſe to the ground.

I am now come to the infamous trial and execution of Mr Bailie of Jerviſwood. It might have been thought, that, when he was fined in the ſum of 6000 l. ſterling, he had received his final ſentence; but he was ſtill kept ſhut up, and denied all attendance or aſſiſtance. 'He ſeemed all the while, ſays biſhop Burnet, ſo compoſed, and even ſo cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving of the ſpirit of the nobleſt of the old Greeks or Romans; or rather, of the primitive chriſtians and firſt martyrs in thoſe beſt days of the church; but the duke was not ſatisfied with all this: ſo the miniſtry applied their arts to Tarras and the other priſoners, threatening them with all the extremities of miſery if they would not witneſs treaſonable matter againſt Bailie. They alſo practiſed on their wives, and, frightening them, ſet them on their huſbands.' The reader has ſeen the confeſſion of Tarras, as far as it relates to this worthy gentleman.

Jerviſwood received his indictment on the 22d of December, and next day petitioned for more time; but no regard was paid to it. He was then in a dying condition, and could not have lived many days. However, he was carried to the bar of juſticiary in his night-gown, attended by his ſiſter, who ſeveral times gave him cordials, and, not being able to ſtand, was obliged to ſit on a ſtool. His indictment bore, in general, his carrying on a correſpondence to debar his royal highneſs, the king's only brother, from the right of ſucceſſion. Though his advocates pled that he ought not to paſs to the knowledge of an aſſize, becauſe he had not got a ſummons in 15 days, and ſo had not time to offer an exculpation or vindication, and that he had already been judged for what was contained in the indictment, yet all pleas were rejected, and he was brought to his trial. The earl of Tarras was admitted an evidence, though he was himſelf under proceſs of high treaſon. His depoſition was much the ſame with his confeſſion. The depoſitions of Alexander Munro of Bearcroſs, James Murray of Philiphaugh, Hugh Scot of Gallowſhiels, are at large in the ſtate-trials. They amounted to this, that Jarviſwood being in hazard, as all the nation was, of oppreſſion, after the unaccountable deciſion in Blackwood's caſe, went up to London, and converſed with ſeveral concerning what was proper for inducing the king to exclude a popiſh ſucceſſor, and about ſending money to Argyll, &c. but no deſign againſt the king's life was known to any of them. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'they ſwelled up the matter beyond the truth, yet all did not amount to a full proof. So the miniſtry, being afraid that a jury might not be ſo eaſy as they expected, ordered Carſtair's confeſſion to be read in court, not as an evidence (for that had been promiſed him not to be done) but as that which would fully ſatisfy the jury, and diſpoſe them to believe witneſſes:' but, as he had a promiſe that nothing he ſaid ſhould be brought in prejudice to any, directly or indirectly, on his trial, it muſt be left with the reader, whether the reading his confeſſion, to ſupport the evidence againſt Jerviſwood, was not a breach of the conditions given to Mr Carſtairs. Beſides, the title given to Mr Carſtairs's confeſſion, *viz.* The depoſition of Mr William Carſtairs, when he was examined before the lords of the ſecret committe, given in by him, and renewed upon oath, upon the 22d of December 1684, in preſence of the lords of his majeſty's privy council, ſeems to intimate that he had voluntarily renewed his depoſition the 22d of December, with an eye to Jarviſwood's trial; than which nothing is more injurious to this worthy miniſter. The caſe was this. Mr Carſtairs, being their priſoner, was brought to Edinburgh a few days before Jerviſwood's trial, and was importuned to be a witneſs againſt his friend, which he rejected with abhorrence; and, at the ſame time, put them in mind of the conditions formerly granted him, and of the breach of faith in this propoſal. He was next urged only to appear before the juſticiary at a time when Jerviſwood was not preſent, and judicially own that he had emitted the depoſitions ſigned by his own hand. This he alſo refuſed; but he was never before the council, only, when the chancellor Queensberry, and ſome others, produced the original papers which he had formerly ſigned, he owned them, and, at the ſame time, reminded them of the former conditions. How then it came, that, in the foreſaid title, it ſhould be ſaid, that he renewed his depoſitions in preſence of the lords of his majeſty's privy-council, on the 22d of December, muſt be left with the reader.

The advocate after the witneſſes were examined, and Mr Carſtairs's confeſſion was read, together with the examinations of Mr Shepherd and Mr Zachary Boura, made a moſt virulent ſpeech to the jury (which the reader will find in the ſtate-trials) wherein he aggravated every thing to the higheſt degree, Jerviſwood looking him broad in the face, appeared exceedingly troubled. When Sir George had done he had liberty to ſpeak, and, among other things, ſaid, 'There is one thing which vexes me extremely, and wherein I am injured to the utmoſt degree; and that is, for a plot to cut off the king and his royal highneſs, and that I ſat up nights to form a declaration to palliate or juſtify ſuch a villany. I am, in probability, to appear in ſome hours before the tribunal of the great Judge; and, in preſence of your lordſhips, and all here, I ſolemnly declare, that never was I prompted or privy to any ſuch thing; and that I abhor and deteſt all thoughts and principles for touching the life and blood of his ſacred majeſty or his royal brother. I was ever for monarchial government.' Then looking directly on the advocate, he ſaid, 'My lord, I think it very ſtrange you charge me with ſuch abominable things; you may remember, that, when you came to me in priſon, you told me ſuch things were laid to my charge, but you did not believe them.' How then, my lord, come you to lay ſuch a ſtain upon me with ſo much violence? Are you now convinced in your conſcience that I am more guilty than before? You may remember what paſſed betwixt us in the priſon.' The whole audience fixed their eyes upon the advocate, who was in no ſmall confuſion, and ſaid, 'Jerviſwood, I own what you ſay; my thoughts were then as a private man; but what I ſay here is by ſpecial direction of the privy-council.' And pointing to Sir William Paterſon the clerk, added, 'he knows my orders.' Jerviſwood replied, 'Well, if your lordſhip has one conſcience for yourſelf and another for the council, I pray God forgive you; I do.' Then, turning to the juſtice general, ſaid, My lord, I trouble your lordſhip no farther.'

Next

Next morning, the 24th of December, the jury brought him in guilty; the lords condemned him to be hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh, between two and four that afternoon, his head to be cut off, and fixed on the Nether-bow port, and his body to be quartered; one of his quarters to be put on the tolbooth of Jedburgh, another on that of Lanerk, and a third on that of Ayr, and the fourth on that of Glasgow, &c. When the sentence was passed, he said, My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp; but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as ye are to live.

He was then sent back to his apartment in the prison, and, leaning on the bed, he fell into a rapture of joy at the assured prospect of a blessed eternity. And being asked, after a short silence, how he did, he answered, Never better; and in a few hours I shall be well beyond all conception. They are going to send me, in pieces and quarters, through the country. They may hag and hew my body as they please, but I know assuredly nothing shall be lost; but all these my members shall be wonderfully gathered, and made like Christ's glorious body. He was not able to go up the ladder without support. When on it he began to say, My faint zeal for the protestant religion hath brought me to this; but the drums interrupted him. My author was told that his quarters lay three weeks in the thieves hole before they were disposed of according to the sentence.

He prepared a speech to be delivered at the scaffold, but was hindred; however, he left copies of it with his friends. My author has inserted it. He solemnly declared that he was never conscious to any conspiracy against the life of the king or the duke, or to any plot for subverting the government; and that he never had any other intention, in all his public appearances, but the preservation of the protestant religion, the safety of the king's person, the continuation of the ancient government, the redressing of grievances, the relieving the oppressed, and putting a stop to the shedding of blood. In short, it breathes a spirit of true piety; he declared he died a member of the church of Scotland, in its best and purest times under presbytery, and a hater of popish idolatry and superstition. He expressed his fears that popery would be just ready to break in upon us. 'It seems, says he, the generation is fitted for it, and all the engines of hell have been made use of to debauch the consciences of people.——Men are compelled to take contradictory oaths, that they may believe things that have a contradiction in them.' And, after bewailing the sad case of the church of Scotland at that time, he concluded with these words, 'I go with joy to Him who is the joy and bridegroom of my soul, to Him who is the Saviour and Redeemer of my soul. I go with rejoicing to the God of my life, to my portion and inheritance, to the husband of my soul. Come Lord.'

Thus, says the historian of his own times, 'a learned and worthy gentleman, after twenty months hard usage was brought to such a death, in a way so full, in all the steps of it, of the spirit and practice of the courts of inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised in them. The only excuse that ever was pretended for this infamous prosecution, was, that they were sure he was guilty, and that the whole secret of the negociation between the two kingdoms was trusted to him; and, since he would not discover it, all methods might be taken to destroy him, not considering what a precedent they made on this occasion.' But I must now go on to other things.

The same day that Jerviswood was executed the lady Cavers was ordered to be released upon paying her fine. This excellent lady had now been in prison above two years for non conformity; and, had it not been for her son who came home this year, she had still continued in confinement. The treatment her tenants met with, during her imprisonment, rendered them incapable of paying her any rent; so that she was deprived of the use of any means for her livelihood or subsistence, though she had a small numerous family. She had represented her case in a humble and moving petition to the council; but they paid no regard to it, till her son, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, presented another petition, praying that she might be suffered to come to her friends and relations; and that they would receive him as a bail for her living regularly, or, within three months after the date of her liberation, depart the kingdom, and not return without special allowance. They gave orders for her being set at liberty, but would not part with her extravagant fine. I need make no reflections on this.

The same day Mr George Scot of Pitlochie was let out of the Bass, upon promise to go to the plantations. The occasion of his being imprisoned there I know not. We shall meet with him again next year. Lady Colvil was the same day allowed a better room in the prison, to which she had been confined for refusing to pay an extravagant fine.

At last, on the 30th of December, the council published a proclamation against the apologetical declaration. The tenor of which is as follows: *viz.*

CHARLES, &c.

FOrasmuchas several insolent and desperate rebels, having frequently refused the reiterated offers of our clemency, have of late associated themselves, under a pretended form of government, in societies, fellowships, &c. and have, in their meetings, at last pulled off the mask under which they formerly endeavoured to disguise their bloody and execrable principles, and——declared, in a late treasonable paper,——intitled, *The Apologetical*, &c. that they have disowned us and our authority, and have declared war against us, and from that do infer that it is———a duty to kill and murder all who do any manner of way serve us, or bear charge under us. &c. Therefore we, with the advice, &c. do hereby ordain, that whosoever shall own the said most execrable———declaration, or associations therein mentioned, and the principles therein specified, or whosoever shall refuse to disown the same, in so far as it declares a war against his sacred majesty, and asserts that it is lawful to kill such as serve in church, state, army and country, shall be tried and executed to the death. And farther,———we command all our good subjects ———betouth the river Tay, that they be ready to concur with our magistrates, &c. in seeking, searching, &c. and———do their utmost endeavour to seek——and apprehend any that shall own the said apologetical declaration,———or refuse to disown the same——And since these rebels, after declaring their hellish intentions, for the better performance of their mischievous designs, lurk in secret, and are never discerned but in the acts of their horrid assassinations, and, passing up and down among our loyal subjects, take an opportunity to murder and assassinate.———Therefore, as a remedy for these inconveniences, we declare it to be our royal will and pleasure.——and we hereby command all heritors, &c. and, in their absence, their factors and chamberlains, to convocate all the inhabitants on their lands, and to bring them before any of our privy counsellors, or our commissioners appointed by our council, &c. and the master, and all the inhabitants shall, in solemn manner in presence of the said commissioners, take the following oath, *viz.* I *A. B.* do hereby abhor, renounce, and disown in the presence of Almighty God, the pretended declaration of war lately affixed at several parish-churches, in so far as it declares a war against his sacred majesty, and asserts that it is lawful to kill such as serve his majesty, in church, state, army, or country. And such as can subscribe are to subscribe the same; and, on performance thereof, the said commissioners are hereby ordained to deliver to every such person a testificate;———which testificate——is to serve for a free pass to all who have the same,———and shall preserve them from all molestation;———certifying hereby all such as shall adventure to travel without a testificate, ——that they shall be holden and used as commuers with the said execrable rebels, &c. —— And if any heritor &c. shall fail in doing as aforesaid, they shall be holden as guilty of the foresaid crimes, and pursued and punished accordingly. And we do hereby strictly prohibit and discharge all our leiges, whether in burgh or land, as well as other house-keepers as hostler-houses, inn keepers

inn keepers and other houſes of common reſet, to harbour, lodge, or entertain any perſon whatſoever unleſs they have ſuch certificates,———under the pain of being puniſhed as reſetters of and intercommuners with rebels. And, for farther ſecurity, and prevention of fraud, it is hereby required that the uſers and havers of the foreſaid teſtificates ſhall be holden and obliged to ſwear that theſe certificates are true and unforged teſtificates, and that they are the perſons mentioned and expreſſed in them, if the ſame ſhall be required of them. And, finally, for the encouragement of ſuch as ſhall diſcover any of the ſaid traitors and aſſaſſins, or any who have been any wiſe in acceſſion to the ſaid traiterous and damnable paper, or to the publiſhing or ſpreading of the ſame, as ſaid is, or to have been a member of the ſaid pretended ſocieties or fellowſhips, &c. we hereby declare and aſſure to them, or any of them———a reward of the ſum of five hundred merks Scots for each of them who ſhall be diſcovered, ſo as to be apprehended and found guilty.'

The narrative of this monſtruous proclamation is full of abominable lies and horrid miſrepreſentations: for here, with the utmoſt virulence, they charge theſe people with maintaining the principles of aſſaſſination; whereas, in the very declaration itſelf, they declare their abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch things. They repreſent them as having aſſociated themſelves under a pretended form of government, which was abſolutely falſe; and my author ſays, that he was apt to believe, that ſome of the managers knew other things, though they ſpoke thus. They repreſent them as having refuſed reiterated offers of clemency; whereas it is well known that they never had any offers of clemency made them, but upon the condition of wilful perjury. As for their declaring againſt the king, was there not a cauſe, as has been already obſerved? The war mentioned was, as themſelves explain it, not a declared inſurrection with hoſtile force to break the peace of the nation, (that had been done by the introduction of abjured prelacy, and the perſecution that neceſſarily followed upon it) but an avowed and conſtant oppoſition to the murdering violence, injuſtice and oppreſſion of the faction then in power. Let any of us imagine ourſelves in their circumſtances, hunted as patridges on the mountains, killed all the day long, and ſuppoſe in ſuch a ſituation, we ſhould emit a declaration, warning our bloody perſecutors either to deſiſt from their perſecution, or to expect that, as far as we are able, we will prevent the ſhedding of our own blood, by bringing them to puniſhment, let the reader judge whether he could be condemned; and this was the caſe with theſe people, and the ſtate of all the war they declared, and, when we farther conſider that none could diſown the declaration without approving the cruelties exerciſed on the declarers, it is not to be wondered that many flood out. Beſides they looked upon the oath of abjuration, impoſed by this wicked proclamation, in every reſpect unlawful, becauſe the declaration required to be abjured aſſerts no ſuch things as is repreſented; and therefore to ſwear to abhor, renounce and diſown it, in ſo far as it declares it lawful to kill all who ſerve the king in church, ſtate, army or country, when no ſuch thing is aſſerted, muſt needs be to ſwear a falſhood. They who took this oath thereby incorporated themſelves with the bloody impoſers of it, condemned the ſufferers, and juſtified the cruel perſecution that was carried on againſt them, as if they were murderers and aſſaſſins; whereas, in the declaration, they were ſo far from owning it lawful to kill all employed in the king's ſervice, in church, ſtate, army or country, that they teſtified to the world that they propoſed not to injure or offend any whatſoever, but ſuch as were directly acceſſory to the murder of their brethren; nay, they expreſly diſtinguiſhed from others the notorious villains among them, men of death and blood, who had actually ſhed their blood, and gloried in it; and theſe they farther divided into ſeveral claſſes according to the reſpective aggravations of their wickedneſs. In the firſt they placed the cruel and bloody of thoſe that murdered by command. In the ſecond they threatened ſuch as were actually in arms againſt them and not all theſe either, but ſuch as cruelly performed that ſervice to the effuſion of their blood. Neither did they threaten all equally, nor any of them peremptorily, but only if they perſiſted maliciouſly to proceed againſt them after the publiſhing of their declaration. In a word, they expreſly declared their abhorrence of all perſonal attempts whatſoever, and prohibited the execution of any part of what they threatened, without previous deliberation, common or competent conſent, &c. All which being conſidered, the queſtion will be how far they aſſerted it lawful to kill all who ſerved the king in church, &c. If no ſuch thing is aſſerted, why ſuch a clauſe in the oath? I ſhall only add, that, if theſe people were ſuch aſſaſſins, why would you make their deſign of aſſaſſination public? for, if I miſtake not, aſſaſſins do not give warning of their intentions, but keep their deſigns ſecret till they find an opoprtunity to put them in execution. I ſhall ſay no more upon this point, but refer the reader to the Hind let looſe, from p. 537, to p. 557. Though theſe people in their declaration, abhorred aſſaſſination, as all good men ſhould and certainly will, yet this proclamation made way for many aſſinations and murders, as ſhall be related; for here all muſt not only take the oath of abjuration, but have a certificate of their having done ſo; nay, they muſt ſwear that their certificate is genuine whenever called to it, though by an hoſtler or ſtabler. But to proceed,

The ſame day the above proclamation was publiſhed the council gave a commiſſion to ſeveral noblemen, gentlemen, and others, for holding courts in the ſouthern and weſtern ſhires; and theſe may juſtly be called *courts of inquiſition*, as is evident from the inſtructions given to the commiſſioners who were thereby impowered and required to examine all in every pariſh, upon oath, with reſpect to the queſtions contained in their commiſſion, and ſecure thoſe who refuſed to anſwer, and to give paſſes and certificates to ſuch as diſowned the horrid principles, thoſe *viz.* contained in the declaration. But if any owned their principles, or refuſed to diſown them, they were immediately to be judged, and being found guilty, to be preſently hanged on the place: 'but, ſays the inſtructions, at this time you are not to examine any woman but ſuch as have been active in the ſaid courſes in a ſignal manner, and thoſe are to be drowned.' I ſhall not trouble the reader with the reſt of the inſtructions: from theſe he may eaſily form a judgment concerning them. Upon the whole, it is evident, there was now no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, without conforming to the times, of which the following is a ſufficient inſtance.

On the laſt of December a poor man, in the pariſh of St. Mungo, was taken out of his bed, by captain Daziel, for not hearing the curate; and upon his refuſing the teſt, was impriſoned at Dumfries, and threatened with death. He broke priſon and fled to England. His wife and ſeven ſmall children begged their way after him, but, the perſecution being hot there, ſhe was forced to return. While ſitting peaceably in an ale houſe, Weſtcraw and other perſecutors came in and required her to take the teſt, and, upon her refuſing, committed her to priſon at Dumfries, and though ſhe only begged they would allow her to take her ſucking child along with her, (an infant of a quarter old) yea that was rejected; nay, they deſired her to prepare for death, unleſs ſhe complied by next day, when they threatened to drown her. Next morning being aſked if ſhe would ſwear, ſhe ſaid ſhe would not. Being further aſked if ſhe approved of murder, ſhe anſwered, She did not; it was not their fort who were murderers. However they were reſtrained from putting her to death; but ſhe continued five weeks in priſon at Dumfries. Providence took care both of the ſucking infant and of the ſix other children, though they were baniſhed the town. In ſhort, the mother was at laſt ſent priſoner to Edinburgh, whither her children followed her; and the council, for once, put on ſo much good nature as to releaſe her. I ſhall conclude this year with ſome particulars of which I have not the dates.

This year Mr Adam Blackadder, ſon to Mr John Blackadder, and his wife, a young gentlewoman whom he had married in Sweden, were brought to trouble. Before this, when he was about 17 years of ager he endured a five weeks impriſonment at Stirling, becauſe his ma-

ſter was alledged to have been at conventicles. He was afterwards impriſoned at Blackneſs for waiting on his father.

John Linning dyer in Glaſgow, though blind, was this year impriſoned fourteen weeks, as he had frequently been before, for nothing but non conformity. When a child of his came to be on her death bed, and paſſionately cried out for her father, ſuch was the unrelenting cruelty of the magiſtrates, they would neither ſuffer him to attend her when dying, nor her funeral when dead. John Carſan of Balmaghan was impriſoned, for refuſing the bond of regularity, for nine months, during part of the laſt year and this, and fined in 6000 merks. His lady was impriſoned by colonel Douglas, and for refuſing the abjuration, received an indictment, and it was given out that they intended to ſentence her to be drowned within the ſea-mark at the ferry of Kirkcudbright; but the king's death put a ſtop to this and ſome other proceſſes of the ſame nature.

Several other inſtances of the ſeverity of this year might be mentioned, as the ſcourging a poor old woman of 73 years of age, the great hardſhips of lady Gilleſpie, by the depredations of ſoldiers, and being forced to leave her country and flee to Ireland, &c. and the hardſhips endured by Charles Stuart of Knock; but theſe I paſs over.

The ſcene of cruelty, oppreſſion and blood continued thro' the whole of the year 1685. The powers granted to the ſoldiers, and the abjuration-courts produced dreadful effects. Multitudes were cut off every month without the tedious formality of a proceſs. Hanging, heading, drowning, torturing, and many other pieces of cruelty were uſed. Before I come to relate things in the order of time, I ſhall give ſome inſtances of ſeverity in preſſing the abjuration oath.

In the pariſh of Nithſdale, James Croſbie, for refuſing the abjuration, had his ears cropt, and was ſold for a ſlave to Jamaica. The cropping of ears is a new puniſhment. We ſhall have more inſtances of this by and by. The abjuration was violently preſſed upon all ranks, ſexes and ages, by the commiſſioned courts of Dalry and other parts in Galloway, and through the large ſhire of Ayr.

One William Johnſtoun, of the pariſh of Auchinleck, was ſummoned to one of theſe courts, and, not appearing, a party of ſoldiers was ſent to his houſe, who plundered it; and, as he and his wife had retired, took away with them the maid who was left to take care of the children, leaving the deſtitute infants by themſelves, and, becauſe ſhe refuſed the oath, which ſhe had told them ſhe did not underſtand; they put fiery matches between her fingers, and burnt the fleſh to the bone. Her patience and compoſure ſo aſtoniſhed her tormenters, that they thought proper to diſmiſs her.

The ſhire of Lanerk was grievouſly haraſſed by the ſoldiers and theſe abjuration courts. Women were carried from priſon to priſon, families were diſperſed, ſeveral were baniſhed, as J. Harvey, Walter Ker and Andrew MacKillen in the pariſh of Dalſerf. One John Stuart, in the ſame pariſh, had his wife carried priſoner to Hamilton, with a child not a month old, where ſhe fell ſo ill with travelling ſo far in her condition, that ſhe was left for dead, becauſe ſhe did not appear, and refuſed the oath. Some were killed on the ſpot, as a poor man in the pariſh of Twinham, who was ſhot by order of Captain Douglaſs, becauſe he would not anſwer their queſtions. Some were ſent to the plantations, others to Dunnotter, and not a few continued in priſon till the toleration granted two years after this. The pariſh of Tongland was greatly oppreſſed by lieutenant Livingſtone; for, after the courts had been held there for preſſing the oath, ſearches were made for the recuſants, and one John Hallome, a youth of 18 years of age, was ſeized on the road, carried from place to place, and at laſt to Kirkcudbright, where, upon refuſing the abjuration, a jury of ſoldiers was called, and the young man preſently executed. Every perſon who endeavoured to ſhun theſe parties was looked upon as guilty, and immediately diſpatched. William Auchinleck, in the pariſh of Buttle, happened to fall in with a company of Douglaſs's foot, who ordered him to ſtand. The man complied with every thing; but not caring to loſe his horſe, which he ſuſpected the ſoldiers had a mind for, he rode as faſt as he could from them; and, fetching a compaſs, got to a public houſe called *Carlinwark*, where he took a refreſhment on horſeback, thinking he was out of their reach. Mean while ſome of them came up and ſhot him.

The conformable clergy were not wanting at this time to promote theſe cruelties. Thus one Finnie curate of Cathcart, informed againſt John Watſon, a beggar in that pariſh, as a dangerous perſon, becauſe he would not hear him, nor take the abjuration-oath, and got him apprehended by a party of lord Roſs's troop. When they found him in his cottage, and ſaw he was neither able to flee from them, nor travel with them, being a poor cripple, they curſed Finnie, who had hounded them out after ſuch a prey. They urged him hard to take the abjuration. John told them that it was now long ſince he ſwore the Covenant, and was reſolved to ſwear no more oaths. In ſhort, lord Roſs, getting notice of this affair, bleſſed for the curate, ſent the poor man half a crown, and ordered him to be diſmiſſed.

While the ſoldiers were almoſt every week murdering in the fields, the commiſſioners above mentioned, or any two of them, had the power of life and death in their hands, and even exceeded their inſtructions; and it is remarkable, that all theſe methods of barbarity were ſo far from leſſening the number of the ſufferers, that the more they were perſecuted, the more they increaſed; but I ſhall now relate things more diſtinctly in the order of time when they happened.

On the ſecond of January, Andrew MacGill, ſon to John MacGill in the pariſh of Ballentrae in Ayr-ſhire, having been apprehended on the laſt of December, was executed at Ayr, and ſoon after his father's houſe was plundered by colonel Douglaſs. I ſhall only obſerve that the old man and his other ſon ſuffered greatly.

On the 5th the proceſs againſt the earl of Tarras came on before the juſticiary. It was delayed till now, that he might be an evidence againſt Jerviſwood. He was this day indicted upon the grounds mentioned in his confeſſion. Next day the jury brought him in guilty of treaſon, and the lords condemned him to be executed as a traitor; however he afterwards got his life, and was allowed by the council to go to the country for his health, upon a bond to appear when called.

On the 7th a letter came from the king, ordering thoſe gentlemen mentioned p. 283, except Jerviſwood, who was executed, to be proſecuted before the enſuing parliament, which was appointed to ſit down on the 10th of March next.

Next day the council wrote to the biſhop of Moray, ſignifying that they had granted a commiſſion to the earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Munro of Culrain, to proſecute all perſons guilty of church diſorders, between Spey and Neſs, including Strathſpey and Inverneſs, and recommending to him to enjoin all the miniſters in theſe bounds to attend on the ſaid commiſſioners on the 22d of January next, along with their elders, and liſts of perſons guilty of theſe diſorders, or ſuſpected of being diſaffected to the preſent eſtabliſhed government in church and ſtate. Lord Duffus, with the militia troops, was ordered to attend them; for nothing could be done without military apoſtles. On the 9th of January their commiſſion was extended to Inverneſs, Roſs, Cromarty and Sutherland; for the baniſhed miniſters, and others, after the firſt introduction of prelacy, and thoſe of late who were baniſhed by the high commiſſion, together with the labours of Meſſ. MacGilligen, Hog, and others, were ſo ſucceſsful, that not a few in theſe northern parts, were enemies to prelacy; but theſe muſt now be perſecuted. We ſhall relate ſome of the conſequences of this commiſſion when they give in their report to the council.

On the ſame 9th of January the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, in proſecution of an act of council, iſſued a proclamation, requiring all heritors, liferenters, factors, &c. to give in, upon oath, exact liſts of all the inhabitants of the city; and particularly maſters and miſtreſſes of families were hereby enjoined to give in liſts of all their children above 16 years of age, and of all who had lodged with them ſince the beginning of laſt November. This

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was hard upon the keepers of public houſes, who might perhaps have different lodgers every night; but the deſign of this was to prevent the ſufferers from having any ſhelter; and it is not unlikely that the ſame method was uſed in other conſiderable towns: how far this was an encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject muſt be left with the reader. But what by the garriſons, and what by the ſtrict ſearches that were made, it is but too evident that the managers relied little upon that.

It was at one of theſe ſearches that Thomas Jackſon, in the pariſh of Eaſtwood, who had returned from baniſhment, was taken in Glaſgow by major Balfour and colonel Buchan. Making ſome reſiſtance he was dreadfully wounded in the head, and immediately carried to the green and ordered to be ſhot; but that no ways moving him, and the perſecutors changing their reſolution, he was ſent to priſon, and from that to the thieves-hole at Edinburgh, where he was 32 weeks loaded with irons. He was at laſt baniſhed to New Jerſey, but died in the paſſage.

On the 11th Mr Alexander Shiels was apprehended in London, with ſeveral others, at a private meeting in Gutter-lane, by the city-marſhal, who came upon them unawares, and commanded them to ſurrender in the king's name. Mr Shields being the firſt in his way, replied, What king do ye mean? By whoſe authority do you diſturb the peaceable ordinances of Chriſt? Sir, you diſhonour your king in making him an enemy to the worſhip of God. At which the marſhal ſaid, he had other buſineſs than to ſtand prating with him. Mr Shields made an attempt to eſcape, but was not able to do it; ſo that he and his companions were brought before the lord mayor, who threatened to ſend him to Bridewell for not giving him a diſtinct account who he was. However, bail was offered and admitted for him to anſwer at Guild hall on the 14th. It was with difficulty he was prevailed with to give in bail.

On the 14th he attended with a firm reſolution to anſwer, but while he went out for a refreſhment he was called, and, none anſwering for him, his bail-bond was forfeited. This gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. However, to prevent his bail coming to any harm, he appeared at Guildhall on the 20th, when he was arraigned in common form, and then examined whether he was at Bothwell, or approved of Sharp's death, or thought it was murder. To which he replied, That he was not obliged to give an account of his thoughts; and that he came there to anſwer to his indictment, and not to ſuch queſtions as theſe. Upon which he was taken to Newgate, without any *mittimus*, or any expreſs orders from the court what priſon he ſhould be committed to. He tried in vain to make his eſcape. It was ſome days before his *mittimus* came, by which he was ordered to be kept in cuſtody till the next quarter-ſeſſions, which was to be at Guildhall on the 23d of February next. But to return to Scotland.

On the 17th of January the council ordered the advocate to purſue the pariſhioners of Anworth for affronts done to their miniſter, and the pariſh of Carſphairn for the murder of their miniſter by ſome ſkulking rebels.

Mr Peter Peirſon curate of Carſphairn was a violent inſtigator of the perſecution, and an open favourer of Popery. About the end of the laſt year ſome of the wanderers entered into a combination to concert meaſures to force him to give a declaration, under his hand, obliging himſelf to deſiſt from his violent courſes, and from exciting their enemies againſt them, but without any deſign to injure his perſon. Accordingly James MacMichael, fowler to the laird of Maxweltoun, Rodger Padzen, Robert Mitchel, William Herron, and, according to other accounts, one Watſon, and ſome more, having notice that Peirſon was at home, came to the manſion houſe, and ſent thoſe above mentioned to deſire him to ſpeak with ſome who were to do him no harm. Two of them, it ſeems, got in and delivered the meſſage, which ſo enraged him, that he drew a broad ſword, cocked a gun or piſtol, and got between them and the door; upon which they called out, and MacMichael and Padzen came and knocked at the door. Peirſon opened it, and, going to attack them with arms, MacMichael ſhot him dead on the ſpot. The reſt, at ſome diſtance, hearing a noiſe, ran up and cried, Take no lives; but it was too late. Therefore from a deteſtation of this fact, they ſeparated themſelves from thoſe mentioned. And ſo far were the publiſhers of the apologetical declaration from countenancing any thing that had the appearance of aſſaſſination, that they diſcharged all the above mentioned perſons from their ſocieties, and would never be ſeen in their company; and it was likeways the abhorrence of all the reſt of the Preſbyterians. Mitchel, Herron and MacMichael were all of them killed one way or another this year. Watſon was one of the governments ſpies, and Padzen was admitted after this to ſerve the king in Strachan's troop of dragoons; ſo that ſome were of opinion that the hand of Joab was in this matter; but this I muſt leave with the reader.

On the 19th Robert Millar maſon in Rutherglen, and Robert Pollock, called in the regiſters ſhoe maker in Glaſgow, but, by other accounts, in the pariſh of Kilbryde, were ſentenced by the juſticiary, merely for not diſowning the declaration, to be hanged on the 23d. They both ſuffered accordingly at the Gallow lee, between 8 and 9 in the morning. Their laſt teſtimonies are in the Cloud of Witneſſes; from which it appears that they had ſublime thoughts of Chriſt, counting all things but loſs and dung in compariſon of him; that they were noways afraid of dying for his ſake, and that they were full of that comfort and joy which no ſtranger can intermeddle with.

The ſame day they were executed, James Don, Robert Don, Alexander MacAulay, Thomas Stevenſon, John MacClaud, and John Stevenſon, being at prayer in the Caldunes, in the pariſh of Monigaff in Galloway, were ſurpriſed by colonel James Douglas, lieutenant Livingſtone, and coronet Douglas, with a party of horſe, and, without any proceſs were ſhot to death.

On the 26th Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, and Mr Fletcher of Saltoun were proſecuted before the juſticiary, and, not appearing, were forfeited; and, on the 28th, the council gave orders to ſecure their lands and effects for the king's uſe. The appearances of theſe gentlemen againſt a popiſh ſucceſſor was all their crime. Polwart ſurvived this black period, and was made earl of Marchmont after the revolution, and had the honour of being an active inſtrument in ſecuring the proteſtant religion from the deſigns of the adherents to a popiſh pretender. Mr Fletcher of Saltoun was likeways juſtly eſteemed a brave patriot for the religion and liberties of his country, and a gentleman of a polite taſte and great learning.

Mr Pringle of Torwoodlee, notwithſtanding all his ſervice to the king againſt Cromwell, underwent a ſeries of troubles in this period, eſpecially after the eſcape of Argyll, when he was obliged to keep himſelf as retired as poſſible. Laſt ſummer he was fined in 2000 l. ſterling. When the pretended plot was trumped up, Mr Pringle was ſought for as concerned in it; but, by means of information from Meldrum, he eſcaped. Eight days after his eſcape a party came to his houſe, and ſeized his ſon, a youth of about 16 years of age, and carried him to priſon at Edinburgh, where he was confined for above three months, though no crime was laid to his charge. At length, the priſon being crouded, he was admitted to bail for 500 l. ſterling, tho' ſtill confined to the liberties of Edinburgh. Two months after this he was ordered to attend the ſecret committee, where the duke of Queenſberry, the lord high treaſurer, threatened him with having every bone of his body broken, every joint diſjointed, his fleſh ripped up, and boling oil and lead poured into him, if he did not acquaint them who informed his father of the party's coming, and the executioner was accordingly brought: but upon ſecond thoughts, his puniſhment was turned to a three or four weeks cloſe impriſonment in the caſtle of Edinburgh. When that was expired he was again admitted to bail as above. Mean while his father was forfeited, and his mother denied the liferent that was due to her by her contract of marriage. After the miſcarriage of Argyll's attempt, Torwoodlee eſcaped again to Holland; and his ſon, notwithſtanding his bail, was ſearched after a ſecond time; but he ſurrendered himſelf, and was confined to the caſtle of Blackneſs

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for other three months, and was barbarouſly uſed by Livingſtone of Badlormie the governor. In ſhort, the whole of this family was now involved in trouble by thoſe cruel oppreſſors; but his lady's courage and piety, her ſerenity and evenneſs of temper, under all theſe hardſhips, were very remarkable. This worthy gentleman died in July 1689, and his lady ſurvived him a year and ſome months. He ſerved his country in the convention of eſtates called by the great prince of Orange, and, with his collegue Sir William Scot of Harden younger, voted the offer of the crown to his highneſs and his excellent princeſs. But to return.

On the 30th John Dalziel of Kirkmichael, and lieutenant Straiton, with a party of fifty ſoldiers, ſurpriſed ſome of the hiding people aſleep in the pariſh of Mortoun in Nithſdale. They all eſcaped except Daniel MacMichael, who, being under bodily indiſpoſition, was unable to flee. The ſoldiers wounded him, and carried him that night to the pariſh of Duriſdeer. After many queſtions, which he declined to anſwer, he was told, that, unleſs he owned the government in church and ſtate, and ſwore the oath they were to tender to him, the law made him liable to death. Daniel ſaid to the captain, 'Sir, that is what of all things I cannot do; but very cheerfully I ſubmit to the Lord's diſpoſal as to my life.' The commander ſaid, 'Do you not know your life is in my hand?' Daniel replied, 'No, Sir, I know my life is in the Lord's hand, and, if he ſee good, he can make you the inſtrument to take it away.' Then he was ordered to prepare for death next day; to which he anſwered, 'If my life muſt go for his cauſe, I am willing, my God will prepare me.' His joy and conſolation were ſuch that night, that impreſſions were made on ſome of the ſoldiers, who deſired to die his death. Next day he was brought to the fields at Dalveen, in the pariſh of Duriſdeer. He had liberty to pray, a favour refuſed to many ſufferers in this period. He prayed to the admiration of all that heard him, ſung part of Pſalm xiii. read John xvi. and ſpoke with much gravity and ſolidity to Captain Dalziel. When the napkin was put over his face, he ſaid, 'Lord, thou brought Daniel into many ſtraits, and haſt brought me thy ſervant hither to witneſs for thee and thy cauſe; into thy hands I commit my ſpirit, and hope to praiſe thee through all eternity.' Then, upon his giving them a ſignal, he was ſhot by four who were appointed for the purpoſe. His carriage ſtruck a terror on the ſoldiers who obeyed the bloody orders; but a little money, and ſome more ravages, ſtifled their convictions. He lies buried in Duriſdeer church-yard.

Some time in January Captain Bruce came with a party to the houſe of Thomas MacHaffie, in the pariſh of Straiton in Carrick; and tho' the good man was ill of a fever, yet, becauſe he declined their queſtions, and refuſed the abjuration, they took him out and ſhot him directly.

The month of February, I am now entering upon, was very bloody. We have but a few inſtances of the proceedings of the commiſſioned courts for preſſing the abjuration. On the firſt of this month John Park and James Algie in Eaſtwood were apprehended, and on the third brought before the lord Roſs, the laird of Orbiſtoun, and others, the commiſſioners for the ſhire of Renfrew, by whom they were condemned, and ordered for execution that ſame day. And though they were prevailed with to conſent to take the oath of abjuration, yet Orbiſtoun told them. The abjuration-oath ſhall not ſave you; unleſs you take the teſt you ſhall hang preſently To which the two young men anſwered, If, to ſave our lives, we muſt take the teſt, and the abjuration will not ſave us, we will take no oaths at all. Upon this they were ſentenced to die preſently, and were accordingly executed at Paiſley, where they ly buried. The ſaid Orbiſtoun, after ſentence was paſſed, gloried in his wickedneſs, and ſaid to ſome of his attendants, They thought to have cheated the judges, but, by——, I have tricked them. And ſuch was the madneſs of the ſoldiers, that they endeavoured to force thoſe who were at their burial to declare that they died juſtly, and threatened them with preſent impriſonment if they did not. A piece of barbarity peculiar to this period!

While thoſe two youths were hanging, Robert King miller at Pollock ſhaws, in the ſame pariſh of Eaſtwood was before this commiſſion-court. He declined anſwering their queſtions. At laſt the teſt was put to him which he refuſed. Upon which they bid him look upon theſe two who were hanging before the window, and aſſured him, that, if he took not the teſt, he ſhould be immediately tied up with them. To terrify him into a compliance, he was ſhut up in a corner of the priſon, and aſſured that he had but an hour to live; that they would give him three warnings by ſound of trumpet, and if he ſat the third there was no mercy for him. Robert ſat the two firſt ſounds, but his courage failing him he took the teſt: however, ſays my author, it pleaſed God to give him repentance not to be repented of, and he lived till a good old age His wife Janet Scoular bore all the loſſes her huſband ſuſtained, in this period, with uncommon firmneſs and patience.

On the 5th of February the council releaſed ſome priſoners who had taken the teſt, and others, not under ſentence of baniſhment, who would take the oath of allegiance. They referred the caſe of John Moſman of Caldermuir to the juſticiary, becauſe of a ſeditious letter found with him, and of his not abjuring the late declaration. They likeways ordered Quintin Dick, Robert Sloſe, Duncan Ferguſon, Mr William Wilhart, Mr George Room, and ſeveral others, to be ſent to the plantations; but the king's death, happening at this time, altered their meaſures with reſpect to ſundry of theſe perſons.

For, on the 6th of February King Charles II. died. There were, ſays biſhop Burnet, very many apparent ſuſpicions of his being poiſoned, and ſeveral looked upon his brother as privy to it. But not to enter upon that point, I ſhall only obſerve, that before he died care was taken to adminiſter to him the three popiſh ſacraments of penance, extreme unction, and the euchariſt; which he received by the hands of father Huddleſtone a Benedictine monk. As for the character of this prince, of which a great deal is ſaid by the hiſtorians of his reign, I ſhall only ſay that if he was poſſeſſed of any good qualities, his diſſimulation and hypocriſy, his horrid perjury, his wickedneſs and profaneneſs, threw a gloomy and black vail over them. Some have cried him up for a prince of a merciful diſpoſition; but, if any regard is to be paid to the biſhop of Saliſbury's judgment, we muſt have other thoughts of him. His words are theſe, 'He had the appearance of gentleneſs in his outward deportment; but he ſeemed to have no bowels nor tenderneſs in his nature; and in the end of his life he became cruel.' In ſhort, the beſt way to judge of his character, is to conſider the hiſtory of his reign.

CHAP. XII.

Of the acceſſion of King James VII. the proceedings of the council and juſticiary; the murders in the weſt: the unſucceſsful attempt of the Earl of Argyll: the ſufferings of the priſoners ſent to Dunnotar, the actings of the parliament; the drowning of two women, and other branches of oppreſſion to the end of the ſeſſion.

THE duke of York, a few hours after his brother's death, was proclaimed king in London, by the name of James II. Biſhop Burnet ſays, It was a heavy ſolemnity; few tears were ſhed for the former, nor were there any ſhouts of joy for the preſent king A dead ſilence, though without any diſorder, followed it through the ſtreets.

When the counſellors returned, the new king, in his ſpeech, promiſed to follow his brother's example, eſpecially in that of his great clemency and tenderneſs to his people, and to preſerve the government both in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed; and, as he would never depart from the juſt rights and prerogatives of the crown, ſo he would never invade any man's property. Theſe were fine promiſes; but it was well known they were only made to be broken, though he renewed them to the parliament. As to his going publickly to maſs, his continuing the duties and cuſtoms before they were granted by parliament, his publiſhing that the late king died a Papiſt, &c. I muſt refer to the Engliſh hiſtorians.

Though

Though James was a profeſſed papiſt, yet care was taken in England that he ſhould take the Engliſh coronation-oath, but with what alterations I cannot determine. Unfair dealing was ſuſpected; and my author tells us, that the Lord chief baron Aitkins, upon no leſs occaſion than his adminiſtering the oaths to Sir William Aſhurſt lord mayor of London, 1693, publickly aſſerted, That, as alterations were made by biſhop Laud, in ſtriking out thoſe words, which were a part of the old Engliſh coronation-oath, that the king ſhould conſent to ſuch laws as the people ſhould chuſe, when he crowned king Charles I. ſo at the coronation of the late king James II. there was much more ſtruck out of the coronation-oath, which might be well worthy inquiring how it came about.' Echard ſays, this was an aſperſion caſt upon Sancroft by the lord chief baron; but the reader is to judge whether it is probable the chief baron would have expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, upon ſo public an occaſion, if he had not had ſufficient grounds for what he ſaid.

But the king never took the Scots coronation oath. This, abſtracting from his religion, made many call his right to govern in queſtion, and made his forfeiture quite eaſy to the convention of ſtates in Scotland, April 11th 1689. ſo that they very juſtly declared as follows: Whereas king James VII. being a profeſſed Papiſt, did aſſume the regal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law, whereby every king at his acceſs to the government, is obliged to ſwear to maintain the proteſtant religion, and to rule the people according to the laudable laws, &c. that by all this he hath forfeited the right to the crown, &c.' Here then king James is declared, by the kingdom of Scotland, to have been an uſurper from the beginning; and if he had no right to the crown of that kingdom, whence his pretended abjured race derive theirs muſt be left with the reader. From this I judge it very plain, that, upon the demiſe of the late king, the crown, by the laws of the land, devolved on the next proteſtant heir, and conſequently the happy revolution reſtored the kingdom of Scotland to its own conſtitution, and bleſſed it with its own rightful governors: ſo that nothing but infatuation can make any perſon, much more any proteſtant, to be fond of the pretender. But to proceed to the hiſtory of this deteſtable reign, as far as it concerns my deſign.

On the 10th of February the king was proclaimed at Edinburgh. The proclamation was ſent down from London; and as it is ſomewhat ſingular, I ſhall here inſert the ſubſtance of it, as follows. 'Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed the Almighty God to call Charles II. our late ſovereign lord, of Glorious and ever bleſſed memory, from a temporary crown to inherit an eternal in the heavens, whereby the undoubted right of ſucceſſion to him, in the imperial crown of his realm, was immediately devolved on the ſacred perſon of his royal and deareſt brother, our preſent ſacred ſovereign, (whom God long preſerve.) Therefore we, the lords of his majeſty's privy council——— do, with the concurrence of ſeveral others, lords ſpiritual and temporal, barons, and burgeſſes of this realm, hereby declare and proclaim to all the world, that our ſovereign lord James VII. is, by lawful and undoubted ſucceſſion and deſcent, king of Scotland, England, France, &c defender of the faith, &c.———and whom we ſhall humbly obey, dutifully and faithfully ſerve, maintain, and defend, with our lives and fortunes, againſt all deadly, as our only righteous king and ſovereign, over all perſons and in all cauſes, as holding his imperial crown from God alone. And, for teſtification whereof, we here, in preſence of the Almighty God, and a great number of his majeſty's faithful people,——declare and publiſh, that, our ſaid ſovereign lord, by the goodneſs and providence of Almighty God, is of Scotland, England, France, &c. the moſt potent, mighty and undoubted king. And hereby give our oaths, with uplifted hands, that we ſhall bear true and faithful allegiance unto our ſaid ſacred ſovereign JAMES VII. king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and to his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors; and ſhall perform all duties, ſervice and obedience to him, as becomes his faithful, loyal and dutiful ſubjects. So help us GOD.'

This ſeems to look more like the form of an oath than a proclamation. Here abſolute ſupremacy, indefeaſible and hereditary right are aſſerted in ſtrong terms; but I leave the reader to make his own obſervations on this. It is not worth while to take notice of the fulſom addreſſes on this occaſion, theſe being things of courſe. The new king continued all the civil and military officers for ſome time, and conſequently the ſtate of the ſufferers was ſtill the ſame.

The council proceeded as uſual, many gentlemen, miniſters, and others, were before them; ſome obtained their liberty who had been impriſoned, and fined to the value of their eſtates, for refuſing the teſt. Others were releaſed on condition of returning to their confinement after a limited time, and others upon condition of appearing when called. I ſhall only mention their names, as James Hamilton of Aikenhead, Mr Andrew Kennedy of Clowburn, Andrew Hay of Craignethan, Napier Laird of Kilmahew, William Fairlie of Brunsfield, Sir John Maxwell of Nether-pollock, John Porterfield of Douchal, and Alexander his ſon, Bannantyne of Craigmuir, G. Hamilton of Browncaſtle, Laird of Fairlie, J Crawford of Crawfordland, W. Cuninghame of Aſhenyards, J Whiteford of Balquhan, J. Hamilton younger of Halcraig, the Laird of Craigends younger, J. Caldwell of Caldwell, J. Stuart of Hartwood, William Hamilton of Overtoun, Muirhead of Bradiſholm, Mr John Bannantyne of Corehouſe, Mr William Wiſhart, Mr John Knox, Robert Hamilton of Monkland, John MacGhie of Balpcon, Mr William MacJore, Mr Michael Potter, Mr J. MacGilligen, Hugh Kennedy of Daljarroch, Alexander Hume of Newton, Hugh Montgomery of Boreland, John Mitchel ſon to Tannerhill, Alexander Durham of Duntrieve, Mr George Meldrum of Combrie, Patrick Hay of Naughton, Robert Boyd of Trochridge, C. Alexander in Paiſley, George Douglas of Bonjedburgh, Patrick ſon to Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, Mr James Futhy, and J. Martin of Little-Hairſhaw, likeways James Armour merchant in Glaſgow, William Muir and Hilbert Wales, &c. I might alſo here mention the caſe of ſeveral excellent gentlewomen, as the lady Colvil, the lady St. Ford, the lady Tilen, and her ſon about eleven years of age, who had been impriſoned with her for conventicles, lady Skermorly, lady Abdean, who, after a great deal of trouble, were ſet at liberty; lady Mary Hope was outlawed, or put to the horn, for not appearing. But I chuſe to omit particulars concerning theſe perſons, and to go on to relate things as they happened in order of time.

On the 11th of February the council recommended to a commitie to enquire into and make a report of the caſe of thoſe in the priſons of Edinburgh and Canongate. They made their report on the 16th, by which it appeared that ſeveral who complied to take the teſt, or the oath of allegiance were ſet at liberty. John Smith and James Ruſſel were remitted to the juſtices, and 14 ordered for the plantations.

On the 19th the commiſſion court for Dumbarton fined John Napier of Kilmahew in 2000 l. ſterling for not appearing, John Zuil of Darleith 1000 l. ſterling for refuſing the teſt, John Campbell of Carrick 1500 l. ſterling for himſelf and lady, for hearing ejected miniſters, and Iſabel Buchanan, in 100 l. ſterling, and ordered them to be impriſoned till they paid their fines, or give ſatisfaction to the duke of Queenſberry the lord treaſurer.

Mr Zuil of Darleith was put into the caſtle of Dumbarton. In March his lady died of a fever. Darleith was not ſuffered to ſee her when dying, only, as a mighty favour, he was permitted to go out till four days after her funeral, when his ſon and ſon in law gave a bond for 1000 l. ſterling, that he ſhould return to priſon when that time was expired. He returned, and continued in hold the ſpace of 18 or 20 months; but by his want of accommodation, he contracted a conſumption of which he died in January 1688.

The murdering work went on in the fields. Accordingly, on the ſaid 19th of February, Captain Bruce and a party ſurpriſed ſix of the wanderers in Lochinkit muir, in the pariſh of Kirkpatrick in Galloway, *viz.* William Herron, John Gordon, William Stuart, and John Wallace, whom he ordered to be ſhot without any proceſs. He

carried A. MacRobine or MacUbine, and Edward Gordon, the other two to the bridge of Orr, where Lagg was preſſing the abjuration. The captain would have theſe two tried by a jury; but Lagg ſwore they ſhould not, and, in a bravado, ſaid before the country people, that all who had taken the oath had ſwore theſe mens doom. Accordingly, next day, they were carried to the pariſh of Irongray, and were hanged up on an oak tree by Lagg's orders. When they were come to the tree, an acquaintance aſked Alexander if he had any word to ſend to his wife; he anſwered, I leave her and the two babes on the Lord, and to his promiſe; a father to the fatherleſs, and a huſband to the widow is the Lord, in his holy habitation. When the perſon employed as executioner aſked him forgiveneſs, he ſaid, Poor man, I forgive thee, and all men; thou haſt a miſerable calling upon earth. They both died in much compoſure and cheerfulneſs. On the 21ſt, Bruce, and ſome accounts ſay Col. Douglas with him, killed other five men at Kirkonnel, but their names are not known.

On the 28th, about 11 at night, lieutenant or cornet Douglas ſurrounded the houſe of Dalwin in the pariſh of Bar, with a party, and apprehended one David Martin brother to John Martin of Dalquhairn. There was one Edward Kyan who had concealed himſelf between the end of one houſe and the ſide-wall of another. Perceiving him, they dragged him out, and, without aſking any other queſtions, but where he lived, the lieutenant ſhot him through the head, firſt with one piſtol, and then with another; and one of the ſoldiers, pretending to obſerve ſome motion, ſhot him a third time. He was but a youth, and could not have been concerned in any of the riſings. Dav. Martin was next brought forth, and, when they had ſtript him of his coat, was ſet on his knees beſide the mangled body. One of the ſoldiers begged the lieutenant to ſpare him till next day, alledging they might get ſome diſcoveries from him, and then ſtept in between him and ſix ſoldiers who were preſenting their pieces. But though this prevented his death at this time, yet, through the fright and terror he was put into, he was in a great meaſure deprived of his reaſon, was ſeized with a palſy, of which he died after he had kept his bed four years. T. Abercrombies father and ſon, together with ſome women in the neighbourhood, were barbarouſly beat and wounded. One of the Abercromies and David Martin were carried with them priſoners to Colmonel next morning, being the Lord's day.

Several others were murdered in cold blood this month of February. This William Adam in Middlewelwood, attempting to eſcape a party commanded by Sir John Daziel, on account of their enſnaring queſtions, was diſcovered, and inſtantly diſpatched. Wallace, Edgar, and a third were ſhot in the pariſh of Kirkpatrick by captain Bruce. Colonel Buchan and his men ſhot one John Smith in the pariſh of Leſmahago. In the Cloud of Witneſſes we find that the ſaid coronet Douglas apprehended Edward MacKeen; and, becauſe he had a flint-ſtone about him, ordered him to be ſhot without any farther trial.

Some time this month Sir Robert Grierſon of Lagg, having the command of a part of Claverhouſe's troop and Strachan's dragoons, ſupriſed Mr John Bell of Whiteſide, David Halliday portioner in Mayfield, Andrew MacRobert, James Clement, and Robert Lenox of Irlintoun, and moſt barbarouſly killed them on the ſpot, after quarters given, without ſo much as allowing them to pray before their death, or to be buried after it. Mr Bell was the only ſon of a gentlewoman, heireſs of Whiteſide, who, after his father's death, was married to the viſcount of Kenmure. He was a gentleman of good ſenſe and unaffected piety, and had been grievouſly harraſſed ſince Bothwell. He was very well acquainted with Lagg, and only deſired a quarter of an hour to prepare for death. Lagg refuſed it, curſing and ſwearing, What the d——, have you not had time enough to prepare ſince Bothwell? A little after this the viſcount of Kenmure, Claverhouſe and Lagg happened to be in company at Kirkcudbright. Kenmure challenged Lagg for his cruelty to Mr Bell, a gentleman, and his relation, eſpecially in not permitting him to be buried, Lagg told him, with an oath, 'Take him if you will, and ſalt him in your beef barrel.' Upon this Kenmure drew, and would have run him thro', had it not been for Claverhouſe. The wickedneſs of the ſoldiers at this time was dreadful, and none worſe than this Lagg. They uſed in their cabals to take to themſelves the names of devils, and of perſons they ſuppoſed to be in hell, and, with whips, to laſh one another, as a jeſt on that place of torment. But my author juſtly draws a vail over many of their horrid acts of impiety.

The troubles of Robert Nairn of Bonhill were renewed this month. The bailie depute of the regality of Dumbarton came at midnight with two officers to his houſe. His wife was forced to take to the fields with a ſucking child, leaving three other children with a ſervant maid. When they had ſearched the houſe they took the eldeſt boy, not 15 years of age, and, drawing their ſwords, threatened to kill him if he did not tell where his father was. They took the inventory of the houſhold furniture, and arreſted all in the hands of the landlord, whom they obliged to be accountable for every thing except the cradle. They turned the two infants (the eldeſt not being five years of age) out of their beds, and carried away the bed clothes, and obliged the maid to find bail to appear when called. Next April they again ſearched his houſe, and carried his wife to priſon, where ſhe lay till ſhe found bail to keep the church. Robert ventured home next winter; but, being informed againſt, he was purſued by two men, who both fired at him, ſo that he narrowly eſcaped, and got into a wood near his own houſe, where he contracted ſuch a cold and illneſs that he was obliged to return home. This being known, two officers were ſent to carry him priſoner to Dumbarton, which they would have done, had he not been carried to a friend's houſe, about a mile from his own, where he got to his everlaſting reſt. It was with difficulty he was permitted to be buried in the churchyard of Bonhill, through the malice of the curate. His widow and eldeſt ſon were upon this brought to further trouble, which I muſt paſs over.

On the 2d of March the council received the report of the commiſſioners for the ſhire of Moray. From whence it appears that not a few had been brought under great hardſhips in thoſe northern parts. When the commiſſioners firſt arrived there they ordered all diſorderly perſons they could be informed of, in the ſhires of Banff, Roſs, and Sutherland, to be ſummoned before them at a certain day, and compleat liſt of heritors, wadſetters, &c. to be drawn up, who voluntarily, as they ſaid, offered three months ſupply to his majeſty, took the teſt, and other oaths and bonds. They examined all miniſters and elders in theſe bounds, and others concerning the ſtate of the country, and diſorderly perſons in it, libelled all perſons informed againſt, fined ſome, and baniſhed others. Particularly they ordered the laird of Foulis elder to be impriſoned at Tain, and the laird of Foulis younger at Inverneſs, in caſe he refuſed the bond of peace. They cleared the country of all whom they called outed miniſters and vagrant preachers, and baniſhed the Rev. Meſſ. James Urquhart, John Stuart, Alexander Dunbar, and George Meldrum, together with Alexander and Mark Mavers portioners of Urquhart, Donald and Andrew Monroes of Elgin, Alexander Monro ſometime of Maie, and Jean Taylor a ſervant and married woman. They fined the laird of Grant in 42,500 l. the laird of Brody 24,060 l. Alex. Brody of Lethin 40 000 l. Francis Brody of Miltoun 10,000 l. Francis Brody in Rinlee 333 l. 6 s. 8 d. Mark Maver baniſhed, in 300 l. Mr George Meldrum baniſhed in 6666 l. 13 s. 4 d. They likeways ordered Thomas Dumbar of Grange, the laird of Innes younger, William Brody of Coltfield, William Brody of Whitewray, and Mr Robert Donaldſon in Ayr, to appear when called. They whom they baniſhed were to be ſent priſoners to Edinburgh, and orders were given to apprehend the few delinquents that were abſent, and commit them to priſon till they ſhould ſign the bond of peace and regularity, and engage to keep the kirk for the time to come.

This is but a ſhort abbreviate of the report made by the lords commiſſioners: but it is eaſy to form a judgment of the oppreſſion of the country, for they had nothing to lay to the charge of any of theſe perſons but their non conformity.

This

This court conſiſted of the earls of Errol and Kintore with Sir George Monro, commonly called *major-general* When they came to Elgin they ordered a new gallows to be erected *in terrorem* Abſence from the kirk and being at conventicles, where the dreadful crimes, for none in this part of the country had been at Bothwell.

The laird of Brody had what they called a conventicle in his houſe. He went to London to get, if poſſible, ſome reaſonable compoſition made for his fine, and, after much pains and expence, was forced to give bond for 20,000 merks to one colonel Maxwell a papiſt, to whom that ſum was paid, and the colonel's acknowlegement of it is, for ought I know, ſtill among the papers of the family.

The laird of Grant gave in a petition after this to the council, ſetting forth that he had been fined becauſe his lady had confeſſed two years and a half's withdrawing from the ordinances, the keeping of an unlicenſed chaplain, and the like; and declared, that he thought it hard that a huſband ſhould be liable for his wife's withdrawing from ordinances, eſpecially as the pariſh-church was vacant for a year and a half of the time ſpecified, and the next pariſh church was ſix or ſeven miles diſtant, and that his lady for the moſt part was in a bad ſtate of health, and given over by the phyſicians, and that ſhe had never withdrawn from any principle of diſloyalty. In ſhort, he cleared himſelf from every thing laid to his charge, as the petition more fully bears; but the council found that their commiſſioners had proceeded legally and ordered him to be purſued for the fine.

A great many others were called before this court, and impriſoned at Elgin, as John Montford chamberlain to Park, Jean Brody relict of Alexander Thomſon merchant in Elgin, Chriſtian Leſly daughter, and Beatrix Brody relict of Leſly of Aikinwall, &c. When the king died the court roſe, and theſe were releaſed.

On the ſaid 2d of March the new king's indemnity was publiſhed, out of which the chief movers and inſtrument of the preſent commotions, together with all the heritors renters, wadſetters, burgeſſes, and vagrant preachers, and the murderers of archbiſhop Sharp, and of the miniſter of Carſphairn, were excepted In ſhort, none could have the benefit of it without complying with the oaths at that time impoſed. All others were to partake of this demonſtration of the king's innate clemency, which he ſays, hath ſhined in the whole line of his royal race. The affair of the Palatinate, the Iriſh maſſacre, and the proceedings of the late reign, are no great proofs of this.

The ſame day cornet Bailie met with a young man, Will. Smith, in the fields, and carried him to the garriſon becauſe he refuſed to anſwer their queſtions; and, next day, J. Lawrie of Maxweltoun, pretended to be a commiſſioner, paſſed ſentence of death upon him, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of his father and the remonſtrance of the cornet. He was immediately ſhot at the Racemuir, and died with great compoſure, and in full aſſurance of faith, declaring that he died for no rebellion, nor any crime, but converſe with the perſecuted people, and refuſing to diſcover them. Sometime this month lieutenant Murray met with one John Brown in the fields, and, without any proceſs or ſentence, ordered him to be ſhot near the Blackwood of that pariſh, though he had promiſed him quarters.

On the 6th of March, major Balfour ſeized Robert Logan, George Muir, and John Gilfillan, in the houſe of one Sarah Kirkland at Glaſgow; and, without any order from the council, ſent two of them to the plantations, and the other was ſent to Dunnotter, whither the woman was likewiſe ordered, but ſhe made her eſcape by the way. Mr Will. Boyd, who, at the revolution, was admitted miniſter at Dalry, was ſeized about this time, but ſoon got free.

On the 10th the committee made another report to the council concerning the priſoners, upon which ſome were releaſed, and others continued, and letters were diſpatched to the commiſſioners for Stirling, Glaſgow and Ayr, to offer the indemnity to all the priſoners there, and that they who ſhould be pleaſed might have a paſs, ſubſcribed either by a councellor or one of the commiſſioners.

The ſame day the council gave a warrant to the laird of Pitlochie to go to the priſons of Edinburgh, Glaſgow, and Stirling, and tranſport a hundred of the priſoners who were willing to go to the plantations, excluding all heritors who had above 100 l. rent.

By this time the rumours of Argyll's deſign upon Scotland, and of Monmouth's upon England, began to ſpread, which tended to increaſe the violences and ravages of the army, eſpecially thoſe under the command of Claverhouſe in Clydeſdale, Annandale and Nithſdale. Accordingly, on this 10th of March, all the freeholders, heritors and gentlemen, in the two laſt of theſe ſhires, were ſummoned to attend the king's ſtandard. He parcelled out the ſhire into ſo many diviſions, taking in ſix or eight miles ſquare at a time. In every diviſion, having drove all the inhabitants, without diſtinction, into one place, and aſked them ſeverally, whether they owned the duke of York, that was, for their king, he made them all ſwear to continue in their allegiance, and never do any thing againſt him. Next he demanded, whether they had taken the abjuration, or had ever repented their having done ſo; and when they declared they had not, he then made them promiſe, upon their renouncing their part in heaven, that they would never repent of what they had done. When he diſmiſſed any that complied with all this, he told him, Argyll ſhall have a perjured dog of you, If a man refuſed to ſwear, he was carried ſome few paces from the reſt, a napkin was tied over his face, and the ſoldiers ordered to fire, either blank powder, or over his head. Having thus brought him under the terror of death, he was once more offered his life, upon ſwearing and promiſing to inform againſt all diſloyal perſons; by which means not a few were brought to a compliance. Beſides theſe methods of cruelty, all the children in the diviſion, above ſix, and under ten years of age, were aſſembled, by themſelves, and a party of ſoldiers drawn out before them. Then they were bid pray, for they were going to be ſhot. Some of them would anſwer, Sir, we cannot pray. Then they were required to tell when they ſaw men and guns in their houſe, or if any men, with guns and ſwords, got meat or drink in their houſes; but it would be endleſs to mention all the unaccountable proceedings of Claverhouſe and his men; neither is there any occaſion for making remarks on theſe things.

On the 12th of March the marquis of Athol received orders to raiſe 500 Highlanders for ſecuring the peace of the ſhire of Argyll; from which it would ſeem the miniſtry had early information of Argyll's intended invaſion.

The ſame day the council ordered the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to releaſe Mr Andrew Miller indulged miniſter at Neilſtoun, Mr James Curry at Shotts, Mr A. Murray at Woodend, and Mr Robert Mowat at Heriot who had for ſome time been impriſoned for not obſerving their inſtructions; and, on the 14th, Mr Campbell, and Mr Duncanſon were ordered to be releaſed. Some time after this Mr And. MacLean, Mr P. Campbell, Mr David Simpſon, indulged miniſters in Argyll ſhire, Mr John Oliphant, and other indulged miniſters, were, about this time, ſet at liberty, and returned to their own houſes where they ſometimes preached, but no more in the churches: and in this ſituation matters continued till the liberty 1687. The acts by which they were releaſed, obliged them to engage not to exerciſe any part of their miniſtry within the kingdom; but it does not appear they complied with this.

On the 24th ſome of the hearers of Mr Renwick were obſerved going and coming from his ſermons in arms, and therefore the council impowered colonel Douglaſs, and the commanders of the garriſons, to puniſh the common people who did not inform againſt them, and to oblige the heritors on whoſe grounds they were ſeen, to appear before the council in April next. But we have had ſo many commiſſions of this nature formerly, that there is no occaſion, either to inſert this, or make any remarks upon it. Only, from the council regiſters, it appears, that James Napier, Allan Atkin, and John Peirſon were condemned to die for concealing the rebels who went through the ſhire of Ayr; but were afterwards pardoned.

We left Mr Alex. Shields in Newgate, from thence he and other ſeven, who were apprehended with him, being Scotchmen, were, on the 4th of March put on board the kitchen-yacht for Scotland. They landed at Leith

Leith on the 13th, and next day Mr Shields was examined before a committee of the council, where, being on the reserve, he was remanded to prison till the 23d, when he was brought before the justiciary, and interrogated, whether he would abjure the apologetic declaration, and own the authority of king James VII. and being still on the reserve, he was sent back till the 25th, and from thence continued to the day following, when he was again brought before the justiciary, and examined to the effect foresaid, with renewed threatenings of the most severe usage if he did not satisfy them; whereupon he gave in the following minute in writing, *viz.* Upon as serious and mature deliberation as my disordered mind could be capable of in this hurry and surprise, consulting both the declaration itself, that I am commanded to give my insignificant sentiments of, and consulting his majesty's proclamation, to find out that which is offensive to your lordships in it, advising also with the opinion of the lords of council and session, upon refusing to answer when questioned about it, the result of my thoughts is, in the sincerity of an unfeigned conscience, and in the fear of God, that I do abhor, renounce and disown that and all other declarations, in so far as that or they do declare war against the king, expressly, proposedly or designedly, and asserts that it is lawful to kill all that are employed by his majesty, or any because so employed, in church, state, army or country.' When the court read this, they said it was satisfactory, and required him to hold up his hand. This he refused, till, being allowed to dictate unto the clerk in what words he would swear, he said, 'I do abhor, renounce and disown, in the presence of God, that pretended declaration, in so far as it declares war against the king, and asserts that it is lawful to kill all employed by him, in church, state, army or country.' Then, protesting it might not be constructed in any other sense than the genuine meaning of the words he had delivered in the minute before insert, he did subscribe and swear it. That which, he says, did induce him to it, was, that they gave it in his own meaning; and so far was his mind deceived, that by a quibble and nice distinction, he thought the words might bear, that this was not a disowning of that, nor no declaration which ever he saw, (save one of their pretending) nor that neither, but only in so far as, or if so be, which two different expressions he was taught to confound by schoolastic notions instilled into him by the court, and by some of the indulged ministers who were in prison with him. Having so done, the justiciary dismissed him; but, on pretence of his being the council's prisoner, he was sent back to his now, more than ever, weary lodging; for he had no sooner made the above foolish, unfaithful and dishonourable step of compliance, as he justly calls it, than his conscience smote him, and, continuing to do so, he aggravates his fall in such sort as I have scarce heard of a parallel, and laments over it as what he could not find words to express, nor groans to bemoan it enough. In which condition he continued for some considerable time; and so we leave him till we bring forward concurring transactions.

On the 30th of March Thomas Kennedy of Grange, John Kennedy of Glenure, and Gilbert MacMichan of Kilsaint ninians, were prosecuted before the justiciary, for accession to Bothwell. Next day Kennedy of Grange was condemned to be executed when apprehended, Kennedy of Glenure was acquitted; but what the issue was with respect to Gilbert MacMichan is not known.

As I am now come to relate what happened in the month of April, I might observe, in general, that the soldiers continued to harass the country; that they instructed some to be spies upon the wanderers, by feigning themselves of their principles, and, when they found out their lurking places, by informing against them. A body of Highlanders was brought down to assist the regular troops; but I omit all this, as having had frequent opportunity to lay before the reader many unprecedented instances of oppression committed by the soldiers and officers.

On the 9th of April the duke of Queensberry's commission to be the king's commissioner in the ensuing session of parliament was read in council. 'Upon king Charles's death the marquis of Queensberry, soon after made a duke and the earl of Perth, came to court. The duke of Queensberry told the king, that, if he had any thoughts of changing the established religion, he could not make any one step with him in the matter. The king seemed to receive this very kindly, and assured him he had no such intention, but that he would have a parliament called, to which he should go his commissioner, and give all possible assurances in the matter of religion, and get the revenue to be settled, and such other laws to be passed as might be necessary for the common safety. The duke of Queensberry pressed the earl of Perth to speak in the same strain to the king; but, though he pretended to be still a protestant, yet he could not prevail on him to speak in so positive a style. The duke frequently, since that time, told bishop Burnet, that the king made these promises to him in so frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impossible for him to be acting a part; therefore he always believed that the priests gave him leave to promise every thing, and that he did it very sincerely; but that afterwards they pretended they had a power to dissolve the obligation of all oaths and promises.' The order of time leads me now to speak of Argyll.

The deliberations in Holland, says the historian of his own time, among the English and Scots that fled thither, come to ripen faster than was expected. Lord Argyll had been quiet ever since 1683, and had lived mostly in Friesland, though he came frequently to Amsterdam, and met with several of his countrymen who lay concealed there, the chief of whom were the lord Melvil, Sir Pat. Hume, and Sir John Cochran. With these his lordship communicated all the advices he received. In short, upon the death of the late king he judged he had a favourable opportunity to attempt the rescue of his country, from the popery and slavery wherewith it was threatened by the accession of the duke of York, and therefore resolved to make a descent upon Scotland, where he hoped to be joined by a number sufficient for answering his design; and at the same time prevailed with the duke of Monmouth to make a descent upon England; but Argyll wanted money, which could not but be a great bank to this undertaking: however, that want was supplied by means of a rich widow in Amsterdam, who furnished him with 10 000 l. sterling. With this he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, which was very dexterously managed by one who traded at Venice, as if intended for the service of that republic.

On the 7th of April there was a meeting at Amsterdam at which were present the earl of Argyll, Mr Charles Campbell his son, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, Sir Pat. Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, Will. Denholm of Westshields, Geo. Hume of Bassinden, John Cochran of Waterside, Mr George Wishart, Will. Clelland, James Stuart advocate, and Mr Gilbert Elliot. Sir John Cochran was chosen preses for that time. At this meeting it was unanimously *Resolved*.

'That the above named persons, and other gentlemen, of the kingdom of Scotland joining with them, in a great undertaking intended by them in the defence and for the recovery of the religion, rights and liberties of the kingdom of Scotland, shall assume and take upon them the quality and character of a council, for consulting and determining whatsoever relates to that great undertaking, and management thereof; and that, so soon as they come to Scotland, such of the nation as shall join themselves to them, in the prosecution of the said undertaking, shall likewise have access unto, and be joined in the foresaid council.

The persons aforesaid, in the character and quality, above expressed, do resolve to make war ——— against James duke of Albany and York, and such as shall adhere to him: and for the command and conduct of the army they shall be able to gather together, they unanimously appoint Archibald earl of Argyll to the office of captain general.——Mr William Spence their clerk, and recommend to the said James Stuart to perfect the declaration of war they design to publish, and that against Monday next. It is farther resolved.

That Mr William Veitch, Mr George Barclay and William Clelland be dispatched to Scotland, and instructed for that effect; and that the earl of Argyll, Sir John Cochran

Cochran, Sir Patrick Hume, George Pringle, and William Denholm, met to morrow at the earl's chamber at eight o'clock in the morning, to expede their inſtructions; and adjourn their meeting till Monday at eight o'clock at night to Sir John Cochran's chamber.'

No doubt they met at the time and place appointed, and probably agreed to the draught of their declaration; and thus far they were harmonious; but after this, according to biſhop Burnet, 'they had ſharp debates about the courſe they were to hold. Argyll was for ſailing round Scotland to his own country. Hume was for the ſhorter paſſage, the other being a long navigation, and ſubject to great accidents. Argyll ſaid, the faſtneſſes of his own country made that to be the ſafer place to gather them together. He preſumed ſo far on his own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much upon him; ſo that the reſt were often on the point of breaking with him. The duke of Monmouth came ſecretly to them and made up all their quarrels, and would willingly have gone with them himſelf; but Argyll did not offer him the command: on the contrary he preſſed him to make an impreſſion on England;' and by that means they were both hurried to a precipitate undertaking, before matters were ripe for it. But to return to Scotland.

On the 21ſt of April the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Dumfries, and colonel Douglas, were added to the council; and, on the 25th, lieutenant-general Drummond was ſent weſt to haraſs the country for the old pretended reſet and converſe. We have had ſeveral commiſſions of this nature before now, ſo there is no occaſion to inſert any thing farther as to this.

On the 29th the parliament ſat down, which was juſt a few days before Argyll ſet ſail from Holland, and not after the defeat of that expedition, as biſhop Burnet, thro' miſtake, tells us. The laſt parliament 1681 was under the conduct of a popiſh commiſſioner; and this entirely ſubſerved the deſigns of a popiſh king. Here the finiſhing ſtrong was given to the nation's liberties, and the king's diſpenſing power eſtabliſhed by law. Bloody and deteſtable ſtatutes were here enacted, that are, to the indelible infamy of the projectors, a ſcandal to the proteſtant name, a terror to that age, and a warning, it is hoped, to all poſterity, of the native tendency of abſolute power and indefeaſible right.

The firſt thing the parliament was entertained with, was the king's letter, of which I cannot but give the following abbreviate.

JAMES *R.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE many experiences we have had of the loyalty and examplary forwardneſs of that our ancient kingdom, by their repreſentatives in parliament aſſembled, in the reign of our deareſt——brother,——— made us deſirous to call you,———in the beginning of our reign, to give you an opportunity, not only of ſhewing your duty to us in the ſame manner, but likeways in being exemplary to others, in your———compliance with our deſires, as you have moſt eminently been in times paſt, to a degree never to be forgotten by us.——That which we are at this time to propoſe, is what is as neceſſary for your ſafety as our ſervice, and what has a tendency more to ſecure your own privileges and properties, than the aggrandizing our power and authority (though in it conſiſts the greateſt ſecurity of your rights and intereſts, theſe never having been in danger, except when the royal power was brought too low to protect them) which now we reſolve to maintain in its greateſt luſtre, to the end we may be the more enabled to defend and protect your religion, as eſtabliſhed by law, and your rights and properties—— againſt fanatical contrivances, murders and aſſaſſins, who, having no fear of God, more than honour for us, have brought you into ſuch difficulties, as only the bleſſing of God upon the ſteady reſolutions and actings of our ſaid deareſt royal brother, and thoſe employed by him (in proſecution of the good and wholeſom laws by you hereto fore offered) could have ſaved you from the moſt horrid confuſions and inevitable ruin. Nothing has been left unattempted, by thoſe wild and unhuman traitors, for endeavouring to overturn your peace, and therefore we—— hope that nothing will be wanting in you to ſecure yourſelves and us, from their outrages and violence in time coming, and to take care that ſuch conſpirators meet with their juſt deſervings, ſo as others may thereby be deterred from courſes ſo little agreeable to religion, or their duty and allegiance to us.' The reſt of the letter is made up of encomiums upon the duke of Queenſberry the commiſſioner, and expreſſes his majeſty's hopes that this parliament would readily concur with whatever ſhould be propoſed to them.

There is ſcarce occaſion for any remarks on this letter, king James aſſures them he will defend and protect their religion, though, at the ſame time, he will take care that his authority ſhall ſhine in the greateſt luſtre; and therefore recommends to them to bring thoſe, whom he brands with the odious names of murderers and aſſaſſins, to condign puniſhment; but it is well known that the ſufferers deteſted all principles of aſſaſſination, while the ſoldiers murdered by authority. I ſhall not trouble the reader with the ſpeeches of the commiſſioner and chancellor, which followed the reading of the royal letter, nor with the parliament's anſwer to it, which was the echo of it, farther than to obſerve, that they promiſed to leave nothing undone to extirpate all fanaticiſm, eſpecially fanatical murderers and aſſaſſins.

The firſt thing they did was a ſhort and general act for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, which paſſed without a complaint of any defect, ſince thoſe patriots who oppoſed the teſt were out of the way; but there was little ground, notwithſtanding all laws, nay, and royal aſſurances, to expect the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, under a popiſh prince, whom, to their ſhame, they owned as abſolute, as appears from their offer of duty, and declaration; in which among other things they ſay, 'That they abhor and deteſt not only the authors and actors of all preceeding rebellions againſt the ſovereign, but likewiſe all principles and poſitions which are contrary or derogatory to the king's ſacred, ſupreme ſovereign, abſolute power and authority, which none, whether perſons, or collective bodies, can participate of any manner of way, or upon any pretext, but in dependence on him, and by commiſſion from him. And as their duty formerly did bind them to own and aſſert the juſt and legal ſucceſſion of the ſacred line as unalterable by any human juriſdiction, ſo now, on this occaſion, they, for themſelves, and the whole nation repreſented by them, in moſt humble and dutiful manner, do renew the hearty and ſincere offer of their lives and fortunes, to aſſert ſupport, defend and maintain King James VII. their preſent glorious monarch, and his heirs and lawful ſucceſſors, in the poſſeſſions of their crowns, ſovereignty, prerogatives &c. againſt all mortals.'

The ſame day the council in reſpect of the forewarned invaſion, publiſhed a proclamation for putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence. It is not worth while to take notice of the flattering title given to the late king, our deareſt brother of renowned and eternal memory. By this proclamation the militia in the eaſtern ſhires, and all able to bear arms in the northern ſhires, were commanded to be in readineſs with 14 days proviſions; and particular care was taken of the ſea-coaſt towns. All this preparation was no more than might have been expected.

Next day, April 29th, the Marquis of Athol was made Lord Lieutenant of the ſhires of Argyll and Tarbet, and ordered to march thither with ſome forces; and wherever he marched, the people were obliged to furniſh them with baggage horſes.

The ſame day a moſt bloody murder was committed upon five perſons near Ingliſtoun in the pariſh of Glencairn. One Andrew Watſon, perhaps the ſame concerned in the murder of the curate of Carſphairn, was an artful ſpy among the hiding people, who, after that affair, deſerted them. He got himſelf apprehended, and a ſham ſentence of death paſſed upon him. He eſcaped, and tried to join the wanderers once more; but they would have nothing to do with him, whereupon he threw off the maſk, and liſted himſelf for a ſoldier. Being tolerably well acquainted with their hiding places, he diſcovered a cave, near Ingliſtoun, which had been a place of ſecrecy among them for ſome years. Colonel James Douglaſs and lieutenant

Livingſtone came ſuddenly to this cave, where they ſurpriſed John, brother to James Gibſon, the heritor of the place, James Kennoch in Glencairn pariſh, Robert Edgar, Robert Mitchel and Robert Grierſon. The ſoldiers fired into the cave, by which one of them was wounded. Then they ruſhed in, and, without aſking any queſtions, or making any offers, Douglaſs condemned them to be ſhot directly. John Gibſon was firſt permitted to pray, which he did to the admiration of the ſoldiers. He ſung part of Pſalm xvii. read John xvi. and, after he prayed was ſhot. He had a ſhort interview with his ſiſter, and told her, that this was the moſt joyful day he ever had. His mother alſo got acceſs to him, and he requeſted her not to grieve, but to bleſs the Lord on his account, who had made him both willing and ready to ſuffer for his cauſe and intereſt. The reſt were diſpatched all at once, without being allowed to pray ſeparately. One of them was not killed outright, which one Ferguſon, an apoſtate, obſerving, he thruſt him through the body with his ſword. The laſt words that poor man ſpoke were, Though every hair of my head were a man, I am willing to die all thoſe deaths for Chriſt and his cauſe. They ly buried in the church-yard of Glencairn.

About this time the heritor of Inglinſtoun had his lands given to the laird of Stonehouſe, who not only poſſeſſed the eſtate, but ſeized on 20481. of lady Inglinſtoun's portion, and reduced her and her children to the greateſt ſtraits, merely for pretended converſe with her ſons and friends who could not conform to the iniquity of the times.

Some time this month Dundaſs, the commander of Balquhan garriſon, being informed of one John Semple in the pariſh of Dally in the ſhire of Ayr, detached a party along with Ferguſon the informer, who about midnight ſurrounded the houſe. John hearing a confuſed noiſe of feet, and judging what it was, tried to eſcape out at a back window; but five or ſix of the party obſerving him, diſcharged their pieces, and killed him on the ſpot. It was in this month of April that one Peter Inglis ſhot John Burie in the pariſh of Evandale, though he had his paſs in his hand.

The month of May continues the bloody ſcene. The morning of the firſt day of this month was uſhered in with the barbarous murder of John Brown in Prieſtfield the pariſh of Muirkirk a pious ſolid Chriſtian, and of great uſe to young people. He was a carrier to his employment, and was uſually nicknamed the *Chriſtian Carrier*. This morning between five and ſix o'clock, he went to his work, and was ſurrounded by Claverhouſe, with three troops of horſe, and brought back to his own houſe. After he had diſtinctly anſwered ſome queſtions, Claverhouſe ſaid to him, 'Go to your prayers, for you ſhall immediately die;' and, when praying, he interrupted him three times. After he had done, he ſaid to his wife, who was preſent with her child in her arms, and another child of his firſt wife's, 'Now, Iſabel, the day is come of which I told you when I firſt propoſed marriage to you.' To which ſhe replied, 'Indeed, John, I can willingly part with you.' This, ſaid he, 'is all I deſire; I have no more to do but die; I have been in caſe to meet death for many years:' and then he kiſſed his wife and children, and bleſſed them, wiſhing all purchaſed and promiſed bleſſings to be multiplied upon them. Then Claverhouſe ordered ſix ſoldiers to ſhoot him; which being done, the wretch ſaid to the widow, 'What thinkeſt thou of thy huſband now woman?' She ſaid, I ever thought much good of him, and as much now as ever.' He ſaid, 'It were but juſtice to lay thee there beſide him.' She replied, 'If you were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will you anſwer for this morning's work?' He anſwered, 'To man I can be anſwerable, and as for God, I'll take him in mine own hand.'

He then marched off, and left her with the corpſe. She ſet the child on the ground, gathered his ſcattered brains, tied up his head, covered his body with her plaid, and ſat down and wept over him. He was buried at the end of his own houſe. Claverhouſe is ſaid to have frequently acknowledged, that John Brown's prayer made ſuch impreſſions on his ſpirit, that he could never get them worn off when he gave himſelf liberty to think.

On this firſt of May the parliament made two acts for faciiitating proceſſes for treaſon now depending before the juſticiary. By the one they ratified the cuſtom formerly uſed, in proceeding againſt priſoners in 24 hours: but, for the future, allowed them to be cited in 48 hours: So that by this a parliamentary pardon and protection was given for former violations of the rights and liberties of mankind; and two days were only granted for men to make their defences upon life and death. The other act ordains, that if thoſe who are ſummoned as witneſſes, in caſe of treaſon, houſe or field conventicles, or church-irregularities, refuſe to ſwear, they ſhall be liable to be puniſhed as guilty of thoſe crimes in which they refuſe to be witneſſes. The iniquity of this act cannot but be obvious.

By this time the earl of Argyll, being ready for his expedition, and the duke of Monmouth having engaged that he would not ſtay in Holland ten days after him, embarked, on the firſt of May, with three ſhips, and a conſiderable number of arms, and in three days reached Orkney. They had not above 300 men in all. Mr Blackadder, ſon to Mr John Blackadder, was ſent aſhore to get intelligence, Mr W. Spence went with him to viſit an uncle of his at Kirkwall the chief town; but both, being diſcovered, were apprehended by the old biſhop there. Mr Blackadder was afterwards pardoned. This alarmed the country. Argyll was for ſending a party of fuſileers to recover the two gentlemen; but he was diſſuaded from the attempt, and only a few priſoners were taken. From Orkney they ſteered their courſe by the inſide of the weſtern iſlands; and, had they got in time to Iſlay, would have ſurpriſed Balechan with a party of 4 or 500 men; but they came juſt an hour too late. They next dropt anchor near Tobermore in Mull, where they were detained three days, which, was very much to their diſadvantage. From Mull they ſailed to Kintyre; and here they were diſappointed of many whom they expected would join them. However, his lordſhip, and thoſe with him, publiſhed their declaration, which, as we have related, was drawn up by Mr James Stuart advocate. A ſhort abbreviate of it cannot but be acceptable to the reader, and is as follows.

THEY muſt be altogether ſtrangers——in the chriſtian world, who——are not fully convinced——that the whole reign of Charles II.———was a conſtant and uniform courſe of perjury, apoſtacy, and violence, begun with open rebellion againſt God; the reſcinding not only of particular laws, but——of whole unexceptionable parliaments for the ſpace of 27 years preceding——and the cruel ſhedding of the beſt proteſtant blood, in the moſt unjuſt execution of the Marquis of Argyll, and many other worthies, contrary to all law and reaſon, carried on by the ſmiting and caſting out of more faithful and pious paſtors, and ſcattering—more true flocks and followers of Chriſt, than was done in moſt of the ten primitive perſecutions, and the deluging of theſe lands with all theſe villainous debaucheries and abominable licentiouſneſs,——and thenceforward accompliſhed by a moſt unrelenting perſecution and oppreſſion of the generality of God's people in their conſciences, perſons, and eſtates,—in the following particulars—all too evidently ſeen and heavily felt to need any explicit proof or demonſtration. As, 1ms, Not only in the abovementioned open and avowed revolting from God.——

But next, and more particularly, in the conniving at papiſts, their meetings and idolatrous maſſes, while, in the mean time, all proteſtant nonconformiſts are perſecuted with endleſs ſeverities; the raiſing, keeping up, and increaſing ſtanding forces,——the exalting the king's ſupremacy——about the external government and policy of the church;—the ſtrange perverſion of the high truſt of the militia committed to his majeſty, for the protection of good ſubjects, only to the invading and oppreſſing, by lawleſs hoſts, both of highlanders and lowlanders, the beſt parts of the kingdom;—the forcing of poor people, by—exorbitant finings, impriſonments—for the ſimple cauſe of nonconformity, to take arms in their own defence, as at Pentland, Bothwell-bridge, and then demeaning and executing them, what in fields, and what on ſcaffolds, as the

the moſt deſperate traitors; and, at the ſame time, involving whole countries, upon the moſt ſlender and abſurd pretexts of inevitable intercommunings and reſet, both in their crime and puniſhment; the ſetting up the moſt violent—men to be miniſters of the law, and packing juries to the worſt ends;——the tranſporting of freemen as ſlaves; —— the torturing of ſeveral, —— even five times more of conſcientious nonconformiſts, within theſe twenty years, than of all ſorts of felons and malefactors in Scotland theſe hundred years bypaſt;——the cruel executing to the death of ſeveral hundreds,——ſome of them for their bare opinion about the king's breach of truſt, never before by them vented, but ſimply declared upon examination, and moſt part of them diſpatched with that barbarous inhumanity, as that —— they were, by beating of drums, hindered to ſpeak to the people their laſt and dying words; and ſome of them—tried, ſentenced, and put to death in one day, yea, the time and hour of their death induſtriouſly concealed from them, that they might be cut off by a more mortal ſurpriſe; —— the impoſing and preſſing of oaths without law; —— the eating up of men by free quarters,——the harraſſing the beſt parts of the country by four extraordinary circuits, upon one and the ſame ſubject of Bothwell-bridge, on purpoſe, as it were, to juſtify his highneſs's judgment to his late majeſty, that it would not be well with Scotland——till the ſouth of Forth was turned to a hunting field; —— the induſtrious ſtifling —— the detection of all popiſh plots; —— the ſhamming of mock-plots upon good proteſtants, —— and generally in the ſtudied and conſtant enſnaring —— all eſteemed either fixed to the proteſtant intereſt, or well affected to their country's liberty.

This wicked myſtery, we ſay, and conſpiracy of popery and tyranny,——having made ſo great a progreſs, by the ſteps abovementioned, is now at length evidently diſcloſed —— by the moſt ſuſpicious —— cutting off of the late king;——the aſcending of James duke of York to the throne.——notwithſtanding his being twice excluded by the commons of England; and that he neither hath given, nor can give, without an hypocritical and damning cheat, repugnant to his profeſſion, and contemptible to all ingenuous men, the oath and ſecurity indiſpenſibly required of him before and at his entry to the government, &c. &c.

Which things, being all of them either palpable perverſions, or utterly inconſiſtent with the true and great ends of government, rendering our commonwealth our common calamity, and Him, who pretends to be its protector, its moſt hoſtile enemy,—— we have been, and are obliged and conſtrained, by extreme neceſſity, and for common ſafety, (the ſupreme laws,) to take up juſt and neceſſary arms, in the name and fear of the great God, and the confidence of his mercy and aſſiſtance, for our own and our country's relief from the foreſaid moſt grievous and intolerable tyrannies and oppreſſions, the defence and re-eſtabliſhment of the true and pure chriſtian religion, commonly called *proteſtant*, in oppoſition to that antichriſtian Roman religion, commonly called *papiſtical*, and the recovery and re-eſtabliſhment of all our juſt rights, liberties, and privileges, according as we ſtand indiſpenſibly engaged thereto, both before God and man; and that againſt the ſaid James duke of York, and all other his accomplices, our moſt natural and wicked enemies and oppreſſors; deſiring, in the firſt place, to be deeply humbled, each of us, before God, for our manifold ſins and provocations, eſpecially our falſe heartedneſs and unſtedfaſtneſs in, and revoltings from our great and manifold engagements to him that alone hath brought upon us all theſe ſad miſchiefs; earneſtly and with our whole hearts, ſupplicating that he would ceaſe from his anger, cauſe his face to ſhine upon us, and ſave us for his own name's ſake. And, in the next place, declaring, —— that our ——ends and deſigns, in this our undertaking, are, 1*ſt*, The reſtoring and ſettling the aforeſaid true reformed Proteſtant religion.—— 2*dly*, The ſuppreſſion and perpetual excluſion of antichriſtian popery, with all its idolatrous ſuperſtitions and falſhood; and alſo its moſt bitter root and offspring prelacy, with its new and wicked head the ſupremacy, and all their abuſes.——And, 3*dly*, The reſtoring of all men to their juſt rights and liberties, eſpecially the recompenſing of all ſufferers, whether unto blood, the loſs of liberty and goods, &c.——which things, as we—— hope to accompliſh, only through the preſence of our God with us,——ſo we are moſt willing and reſolved that they be all ſettled and perfected by a free, full, juſt, and ſovereign repreſentative of all the preſent undertakers, and ſuch as ſhall hereafter ſincerely concur and take part with us; and that in ſuch forms and ways as God, by his good providence, can only moſt happily direct and conduct us unto; declaring and proteſting farther, that, ſince ſuch have been——the treachery, perfidy, &c. of our adverſaries,—we will never enter into any terms of capitulation——with them.——

After ſignifying their reſolution to proſecute theſe things, they conclude with a moſt pathetic invitation to all the lovers of truth to concur and join with them; but this declaration had not that influence on the minds of people that might have been expected. The ſocieties thought that it opened a door for a too promiſcuous admiſſion.

When they were at Mull, the earl ſent letters to his friends by his ſon Mr Charles, who went aſhore at the caſtle of Dunſtaffnage, and uſed all his intereſt in that country, which had little ſucceſs, only a few joined him there; for they whom he took for his friends baſely diſcovered all, and others were very backward to join him; and all that Mr Charles got done, was placing a garriſon in the caſtle of Barnaſory, the dwelling of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck.

The earl continued a conſiderable time in Kintyre, in expectation of having his numbers greatly increaſed; but he had only one addition of about 300 foot and 100 horſe. However, he received news that Auchinbreck's men were ready, whom the earl ordered him to march with to the Tarbet, and afterwards joined him there, with his three companies from Iſlay, and three from Kintyre, commanded by colonel Aylief, Robert Elphinſtoun of Lapneſs, and major John Campbell, afterward executed at Inverary, and a troop of horſe commanded by colonel Rumbold. At the Tarbet, on the 27th of May, Argyll printed and diſperſed his declaration to his vaſſals; which the reader will find in my author's appendix, N° 113. Here about 1000 men joined his lordſhip, who new-modelled his little army; but I muſt leave him for a while, till I relate ſome interveening particulars.

On the 6th of May, 'John MacGhie of Larg in Galloway deceaſed, J. Ruſſel of Cateraig, and John Ruſſel of Arnes in Dumbartonſhire, were forfeited, and their blood tainted; and the two laſt ordered to be executed when apprehended, for acceſſion to Bothwell.'

The ſame day Peter Gillies in Muirendſide, John Bryce in Weſtcalder, William Finneſon or Fiddiſon, and Thomas Young, both of the pariſh of Carluke, and John Binning, were hanged upon one gibbet, without being ſuffered ſo much as to pray at their death. Peter Gillies ſuffered conſiderably for his non conformity, during ſome of the preceding years; but the day before the highlanders came to Falkirk, Mr Andrew Ure, the curate of Muirendſide, got a party ſent to his houſe next day. Accordingly he and John Bryce were both apprehended, and Peter was threatened with immediate death, in preſence of his wife, who was brought to bed but a few days before, and was hurried away, without being ſuffered either to ſpeak to her, or change his cloaths. About an hour after a party came back, and told her that he ſignified that ſhe knew were his arms were, and that if ſhe diſcovered them he ſhould not be ſhot. She calmly told them, 'he had no arms that ſhe knew of; and if they got power to take his life, ſhe would endeavour to ſay, *God is the will of the Lord*, and he, who did all things well, could not wrong her nor hers.' This put them into ſuch a paſſion, that they threatened to burn her where ſhe lay, &c. They rifled the houſe, and took whatever they could carry with them, except ſome bibles, which they threw away. The two men were tied together, and driven before them. When they were got about a few miles, they tied a napkin about Peter's face, ſet him on his knees, with a file of muſqueteers before him, and kept him half an hour in this poſture-

ture, and then carried him to the west country. 'As they marched through the parish of Carluke, they apprehended William Finneson and Thomas Young, and carried these four prisoners to Mauchlin, and seized one John Binning keeping some cattle, and took their bibles from them.' The day they were carried to Mauchlin, Peter Gillies wrote a most affectionate pious letter to his wife; and, when there, they were examined by lieutenant-general Drummond, indicted on the 5th of May, and a jury of fifteen soldiers was impannelled, who, on the 6th, condemned them to be hanged at the town's end: which being done, the soldiers and two countrymen made a hole in the earth, and threw them all in together.

On the same 6th of May the parliament passed three acts. The first was against the covenants, by which it was declared, 'That the giving or taking the national covenant, as explained 1638, or of the league and covenant, (so commonly called,) or writing in defence thereof, or owning them as lawful, or obligatory upon themselves, or others, shall infer the crime and pains of treason.' This was a home-thrust; but very agreeable to the first parliament of a popish king, and highly proper for the introduction of popery, the national covenant having, ever since the reformation, been accounted the barrier against the Roman antichrist. Great contempt had been cast on those sacred engagements, by the first parliament after the restoration; but now the giving or taking of them, nay, the writing in defence of them, or the bare owning of them as lawful and obligatory, are declared treasonable. This was certainly iniquity established by a law; and whatever slights are, or have been cast on these covenants, yet they were the glory of the nation; and it has been unanswerably proved, that nothing is contained in those solemn transactions, but what, as my author justly observes, prior to the superadded religion and tie of these oaths, was morally obliging on the consciences of all by the divine law. In short, this was an act that could never have been made but by apostate protestants under a popish prince.

By their next act the conduct of the council and their commissioners, in having fined husbands for their wives withdrawing from ordinances, was approved of and declared legal; and the same conduct was ordained to be observed in all time coming. It is sufficient here to observe, that this parliament declared a practice legal for which there never was any law.

The 3d act confirmed the sentence of forfeiture, and all the proceeding against J. Porterfield of Douchal, declaring the same to be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom; and enacted, that the concealing, and not revealing of supplies given to, or demanded for traitors, is treason, and to be judged accordingly.

On the 8th the parliament passed other three acts. By the first it was ordained, that all who shall afterwards preach at house or field conventicles, or be present as hearers, at field conventicles, shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods. This act discovers the true spirit of antichrist, and nothing can be offered as an excuse for it, but that those at the helm were either papists, or acted from the principles of slavery and oppression. It was reckoned a house-conventicle, if five more than the family were present; so that whoever were guilty of preaching, (not against the government; for, had that limitation been made, there might have been some colourable pretence for this severity) in such cases, were to be punished with death. If there was sermon in any house where any were hearing without doors, that was a field conventicle; and now not the preacher only, but the hearers of it, were by this act condemned to die. If the reader consider vol. 1. p. 322, that there are some limitations there, but here are none, he cannot but be furnished with materials for proper reflections.

I pass over the act for judicial confessions, and only observe, that the last act passed this day, declared all subjects, who refused to accept the offices of magistrates, justices of the peace, constables, officers of the militia, or any other employment laid upon them by his Majesty, or his council, to be finable for their contempt; so that it must be a happiness to be out of Scotland at this time.

On the 11th of May the council issued a proclamation, ordering all capable of bearing arms to be ready. This was no more than might have been expected, considering the news they must have received concerning Argyll; but the blood shed this day may justly fill all, who have any bowels of compassion, with indignation and horror.

It was this 11th of May that Margaret MacLauchlan and Margaret Wilson were cruelly executed at Wigton. The reverend Mr Rowan, minister at Penningham, where Margaret Wilson lived, was at pains to have the circumstances of this affair well vouched by credible witnesses, from whose attestations my author gives this narrative.

Gilbert Wilson, Margaret's father, was episcopalian, and nothing was objected against the regularity of her mother; but their children would by no means conform, and were therefore obliged to flee to the hills, bogs, and caves, to avoid the fury of the persecutors, though they were scarcely of age to be obnoxious to the laws then in force. Mean while their parents were charged, at their highest peril, not to harbour or supply them, not to speak to them, or so much as see them, without informing against them; and their father was fined for their alledged irregularities, and otherwise harassed by the quartering of soldiers, and by the oppressions he endured, was reduced from a considerable affluence, being once worth 5000 merks, to extreme poverty.

His son Thomas, a youth of sixteen years of age, was forced to the mountains last February, and continued a wanderer till the revolution; after which he served in Flanders under king William, and by his industry, procured as much as enabled him to live in the same place where his father had done before him.

His two sisters, Margaret and Agnes, were obliged, in the beginning of this year, to wander through Carrick, Galloway, and Nithsdale; but when there was some abatement of the severities, upon the late king's death, they ventured to Wigtoun to see some of their suffering acquaintances, particularly Margaret MacLauchlan, and were betrayed by one Patrick Stuart, who, under colour of friendship, invited them to drink with him; and, upon their modestly refusing to drink the king's health, went and informed against them, and brought a party and apprehended them. As if they had been the greatest malefactors they were put into the thieves hole, and, after some time, were removed to the same prison where the said Margaret MacLauchlan was confined.

Margaret MacLauchlan was a widow, and about 63 years of age, a woman of more than ordinary piety, prudence, and discretion, and nothing could ever be laid to her charge but non conformity, and refusing the wicked oaths then imposed. She was apprehended on the Lord's day when performing family-worship, and clapped up in prison, where she met with cruel treatment. At last she, together with Margaret and Agnes Wilson, were, about the end of April, brought to their trial before the laird of Lagg, colonel David Graham sheriff, major Windram, captain Strachan, and provost Cultrain, and were indicted, for rebellion, Bothwell-bridge, Ayrsmoss, and being present at twenty field conventicles, though it was impossible any of them could have been accessory to these risings; but the true cause was their refusing the abjuration oath; and it was very odd that it should be offered to Agnes Wilson, who was then scarce thirteen years of age; but persecutors stick at nothing. They were brought in guilty, and condemned, by those monstrous judges, to be tied to two stakes within the flood mark of the water of Bladnoch near Wigtoun, and there to be drowned. They received their sentence with much composure, and surprising cheerfulness in their countenances, accounting it their honour to suffer for Christ and his truths. Agnes the young girl got off, upon her father's giving a bond of 100l. sterling, but the other two suffered according to their sentence.

On the last of April the council had this affair under their consideration, and suspended the execution to an uncertain time, and recommended to the secretaries to procure their remission. The day to which they were reprieved is blank in the registers; but we may very safely suppose it would be for a longer day than the 11th of May, there being scarce time, between the 30th of April and that day,

to

to get a return from the ſecretaries; but, notwithſtanding this, the barbarous ſentence was executed. Windram guarded them to the place of execution, attended by a vaſt number of ſpectators to behold ſuch an unuſual ſight. The old woman's ſtake was fixed a good way beyond the other, and ſo ſhe was firſt diſpatched, the more to terrify the other into a compliance with ſuch oaths and conditions as they required; but in vain; for ſhe adhered to her principles with unſhaken ſteadfaſtneſs. When the water was overflowing her fellow martyr, the perſecutors aſked her what ſhe thought of that ſight. She anſwered, 'What do I ſee but Chriſt and his members wreſtling there. Think you we are the ſufferers? No it is Chriſt in us; for *he ſends none a warfare on their own charges.*' When Margaret Wilſon was at the ſtake, ſhe ſung Pſal. xxv. from verſe 7. read the 8th chapter of the Romans, and then prayed. While at prayer the water covered her; but before ſhe was quite dead they pulled her out; and when able to ſpeak, ſhe was aſked, by Windram's orders, if ſhe would pray for the king. She anſwered, ſhe wiſhed the ſalvation of all men, and the damnation of none. One deeply affected ſaid, 'Dear Margaret, ſay, God ſave the king, ſay, God ſave the king.' She anſwered with the greateſt ſteadineſs and compoſure, 'God ſave him if he will; for it is his ſalvation I deſire.' Upon which, ſome accounts ſay, that Lagg cried, D——d b——ch, we do not want ſuch prayers; tender the oaths to her.' It is certain what ſhe ſaid did not ſatisfy; for Windram charged her inſtantly to take the abjuration, otherwiſe to return to the water. She moſt deliberately refuſed, and ſaid, 'I will not; I am one of Chriſt's children, let me go;' and immediately was thruſt into the water, where ſhe finiſhed her courſe with joy, and died a virgin martyr, aged 18 years. Upon the whole, the reader muſt ſee, that theſe two ſuffered entirely on account of their refuſing the abjuration. Reflections are needleſs.

On the 11th of May a young man, Andrew Hiſlop, in the pariſh of Hutton, was barbarouſly murdered. One of the wanderers happened to die at his mother's houſe, and was buried in the night time in the adjacent fields; but, the grave being diſcovered, Sir James Johnſtoun of Weſter raw came with a party, and barbarouſly dug up the body; and finding that the corpſe came out of widow Hiſlop's houſe, they pillaged and pulled the houſe down, and drove her and her children to the fields. Claverhouſe ſeized this Andrew on the 10th of May, and brought him to Weſter raw, who, to ſignalize his loyalty, would have him diſpatched in the fields, and accordingly paſſed ſentence of death upon him. Claverhouſe was backward at this time, and urged for a delay; perhaps the impreſſions of J. Brown's murder were not yet worn off, but Weſterraw preſſed it, till Claverhouſe at laſt yielded, ſaying, 'The blood of this poor man be upon you, Weſterraw; I am free of it.' Then he commanded a highland captain, who was there, to order the execution; but he, drawing his highlanders to a convenient diſtance, ſware, that her nain ſell would fight Claverhouſe and all his dragoons firſt. Whereupon he ordered three of his own men to do it. When they were ready to fire, they bid Andrew draw his cap or bonnet over his face. Being of an undaunted courage, he refuſed, and told them he could look his death-bringers in the face without fear, for he had done nothing of which he was aſhamed; and, holding up his bible, charged them to anſwer for what they had done, and were to do, at the great day, when they were to be judged by that book. He was buried where he was ſhot in Craighaugh in Eſkdale muir. This Weſter raw was was once a covenanter, and an oppoſer of the teſt, which he at laſt embraced, and became a bloody perſecutor, and died, about the revolution, in great torture of body and horror of conſcience.

On the ſaid 11th of May, major J. Balfour, Captain J. Maitland,——Menzies,——Mackenzie, apprehended three countrymen, T. Cook, J. Ure, and R. Tam, at Polmadie near Glaſgow, and then aſked the priſoners if they would pray for king James VII. They ſaid they would pray for all within the election of grace. Balfour ſaid, Do you queſtion the king's election? They anſwered, that ſometimes they queſtioned their own. In a word, they were all three ſhot within an hour after they were taken. When dead they drew off ſome of their cloaths, ſaying, they might do good to a ſoldier; but, perceiving their dogs licking their blood, they threw them on the corpſes again.

One murder more was committed on this bloody day. Lieutenant-colonel Douglas found a pious man, one Andrew MacQuhan, lying ſick of a fever, and, becauſe he was either unable, or unwilling to anſwer his queſtions, ordered him to be taken out of his bed on the 10th of May, and carried with him to the Newtoun of Galloway, and next day to be ſhot without any trial.

On the 13th of May, James Kirko, in the pariſh of Keir, was betrayed by a pretended friend, and ſeized by captain Bruce and a party of dragoons. When apprehended, the captain offered him the abjuration, and, upon his modeſt refuſal, ordered him to prepare for preſent death. Then he ſung part of the 116th pſalm, read a portion of ſcripture, and prayed. He was next offered his life on condition he would diſcover the haunts of the wanderers. He excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he durſt not redeem his life at ſo dear a rate. Whereupon they carried him to Dumfries water ſands, and upon declining to anſwer ſome more of their queſtions, ordered him immediately to be ſhot. He begged to be ſpared till next day. 'No, no,' ſaid the captain, 'no more time; the devil a peace you now get made up.' James ſaid, 'Sir, you miſtake it, you cannot mar my peace with God.' At this the captain raged, and, ſpeaking to the ſoldiers, ſaid, 'Dogs, make ready; for the devil a peace ſhall he get more.' Thus he was ſhot directly without being allowed to pray.

About this time one Matthew Donald, who had for ſome time been in priſon at Glaſgow for nonconformity, fell ſick; and, though he was in a dying condition, was ordered to be carried to Edinburgh. When they came to Calder, he could walk no further; but the ſoldiers meeting a ſledge on the road, moſt inhumanly tied him to it, and dragged him away, ſo that he died among their hands. But to leave this melancholy ſubject for a while.

On the 13th of May the parliament paſſed the act for ſupply, and ratified the forfeitures againſt Robert Hamilton of Monkland, Mr R. Baily of Jerviſwood, and the earl of Argyll; ſo that the greateſt acts of injuſtice and cruelty were now ratified. The ſame day they paſſed the act for taking the teſt, by which all proteſtant heritors, liferentors, &c. were to ſwear this oath by a certain time fixed in the act, except women. The only remark that needs be made here is, that the teſt ſeems now to be limited to proteſtants. The reader may eaſily gueſs the reaſon of this, when he remembers what the king, when duke of York, had threatened, p. 136. In the afternoon they made an act concerning juſtices of peace, who by this were to be nominated by the council, to have power of proceeding againſt church-irregularities, and a right to the fines of all delinquents except heritors. This was brave encouragement to go on in the work of perſecution.

On the 15th the proceſs againſt the noblemen and gentlemen, mentioned p. 291. came on before the parliament. The late alledged conſpiracy was the pretence; but their oppoſition to prelacy was the real cauſe. There were preſent Sir William Scot, Ceſnock elder and younger, Hay of Park, John Weir of Newtoun. The reſt named in the citation were abſent. The king's letter, the advocate's orders to proſecute, the general indictment, were all read, together with a libel or indictment againſt Harden younger, and two additional libels againſt Hay of Park and Ardkinglaſs; but theſe things, with other preliminaries, I omit.

On the 17th the council wrote to the duke of Gordon, and others in the northern ſhires, ordering them to call forth the heritors, ſince Argyll was now appearing about the weſtern iſlands. The ſame day they commanded Mr Blackadder and Mr William Spence to be brought to Edinburgh; and, on the 19th, all the heritors on the ſouth ſide of Tay were enjoined to attend the king's hoſt, and lord Neil Campbell, William Cochran younger of Ochiltree, the maſter of Melvil, and Pringle younger of Torwoodlee, were ordered to enter into the caſtle of Edinburgh.

It is not to be imagined what ravages the ſoldiers made upon the news of Argyll's landing. Parties continually marched through the ſouth and weſt, and all nonconformiſts were ſure to feel the effects of their fury.

One James Forſyth, in the pariſh of Lochmaben, was ſeized and ſent priſoner to Weſter-raw, who offered to let him go, if, with uplifted hands, he would ſwear, and ſay, 'God bleſs king James VII.' Forſyth aſked him what he meant by bleſſing the king? For his part, he wiſhed him well, and that all ſpiritual bleſſings might be upon him. The other replied, he ſhould own him as his lawful king, and that he ſhould pray long may he live, and well may he proſper in all his actings and proceedings. James told him he could not do that, becauſe he was a papiſt and a perſecutor. He was next examined by Claverhouſe; but they were reſtrained from touching his life; however, they ſent him priſoner to Edinburgh, and from thence to Burntiſland. His wife, having come to ſee him, was ſent priſoner, with him, though ſhe was big with child, and they had nothing to lay to her charge. They were both ſent to Dunnotter, where ſhe was delivered, and died. And this brings me to give a brief account of the peculiar hardſhips the priſoners met with who were ſent thither. My author had this tragical account from the papers of the reverend Mr John Frazer, and the diſtinct narratives of the forementioned Quintin Dick and Mr William Mac Millan, who were among theſe unhappy priſoners.

Mr Fraſer had gone to London, for his ſafety and improvement, about the end of 1678, or beginning of 1679, and continued there till the end of 1684, when he was, with ſeveral other Scotſmen, ſeized at a diſſenting meeting in Gutterlane near Guildhall, as Mr A. Shields was preaching.

The accounts of Argyll's invaſion alarmed the Scots miniſtry ſo, that, in conſequence of a haſty reſolution Mr John Frazer, Mr William MacMillan Quintin Dick, William Niven, William Campbell of Middlewellwood, his brother John, and many others in the priſons of Edinburgh and the Canongate, were, on the 18th of May, to their great ſurprize, taken out of their reſpective priſons, without knowing what was to be done with them, and carried out of town, under a ſtrong guard, and delivered at the Netherbow, to Douglas's regiment, by whom they were conducted to Leith. From thence, being in all above 200, they were put into open boats, and hurried off the ſhore, without being permitted to receive any neceſſaries from their friends or relations, who never expected to ſee them more. Next morning about break of day, they landed at Burntiſland.

About 240 were there crouded into two rooms, in the priſon, where they continued for two days and two nights, were denied liberty ſeparately to eaſe nature, had nothing allowed for their ſubſiſtence, and many of them were not permitted to have bread and water for their money. When thus pent up the laird of Gosford came from the council with orders to bring back to Edinburgh as many as would immediately ſwear the oath of alledgiance and ſupremacy. About 40 complied; the reſt, owning their alledgiance, but refuſing the ſupremacy, were reſerved for further miſeries.

It would be tedious to mention all their particular hardſhips on the road. After two days diſmal confinement at Burntiſland, men and women together, they were committed to the militia of Fife. Moſt of them had their hands tied behind them. They who were ſo humane as to bring any neceſſaries for their ſupport, were beat off by the guard. Lieutenant Beton of Kilrinnie was ſo cruel as to beat ſome of the old women among them, and otherwiſe abuſe them, becauſe they could not walk ſo faſt as they would have them. In their journey, when thruſt into houſes and priſons, they were ſo crouded that they were almoſt ſuffocated, and ſeveral of the women fainted.

Among other miſerable ſufferers, was one Eupham Threpland, the wife of George MacBirnie merchant in Dumfries, who, from her huſband's death 1681, underwent a ſcene of trouble. When the reſt of the priſoners, juſt now mentioned, were delivered to the guard, a corporal came and told her, that ſhe muſt likewiſe go with them. Remonſtrances were in vain; for though ſhe was unable to travel, that was not admitted as any excuſe; they placed her behind one of the dragoons, and hurried her after them, without ſuffering her to take any refreſhment; and thus ſhe joined the reſt of her fellow-ſufferers at Burntiſland.

At laſt on the Lord's day, 24th of May, they were all, except a few that made their eſcape on the road, brought to Dunotter caſtle, and received by George Keith of Whiteridge, ſheriff depute of Mearns. This large company was thruſt into a dark vault, under ground, which had but one ſmall window towards the ſea. It was full of mire ancle deep. In this dreadful place about 100 of them were pent up almoſt the whole of this ſummer, without air, without eaſe, without room either to lie or walk, and without any comfort except what they had from heaven. They were obliged to purchaſe the worſt of proviſions at an extravagant rate. They were ſo ſuffocated with the ſmell of the place, and of their own excrements, that, as ſeverals of them died, ſo it was a wonder of mercy any ſurvived ſuch an unparallelled calamity. When they had all continued together in the great vault, the governor was pleaſed to remove about 40 of the men to another ſmall vault, without any light but what came in through a ſmall crevice. The governor's lady came to ſee the priſoners, and prevailed with her huſband to remove 12 of the men from the 40, and the women from the large vault, into two rooms, which was a great relief.

The intollerable hardſhips theſe poor people endured, put ſome of them to attempt their eſcape; accordingly about 25 of them got out one night by the window towards the ſea, and crept along a dangerous rock, to the utmoſt hazard of their lives; but the alarm being ſoon given 15 of them were retaken, and moſt unhumanly beat and bruiſed; and, when brought back to priſon, were put into the guard houſe, bound and laid on their back on the floors and moſt dreadfully tormented. William Niven, Peter Ruſſel, and Alexander Dalglieſh in Kilbride were laid on their backs on a form, their hands were tied to the foot of it, and a fiery match put between every finger of both hands, and ſix ſoldiers waited by turns to blow the match, and keep it equal with their fingers. This was continued for three hours, without intermiſſion, by the governor's order. W. Niven loſt one of the fingers of his left hand. Alexander Dalglieſh, and one more, died of the torture: and ſeveral others had their fingers burnt, and the very bone turned to aſhes.

Such were their hardſhips, that Grizel Cairns and Aliſon Johnſtoun, in behalf of Mr William MacMillan, and Robert Young wright in Edinburgh, their huſbands, and the reſt of their fellow priſoners, preſented a petition to the council, repreſenting their intolerable grievances, and praying for redreſs. The council on the 8th of June took their petition under conſideration, and ordered the deputy governor to ſuffer meat, drink, and other neceſſaries, to be brought to the priſoners, by their friends or ſervants, at the ordinary eaſy rates, and to allow Mr MacMillan and Robert Young a diſtant room from the reſt, and all the priſoners to have better accomodation. This ſo nettled the governor, that he drew up a declaration in his own favour, obliging the ſubſcribers to teſtify that they had good uſage, and wanted not conveniencies ſince they came to Dunotter; but there were very few that ſigned this, the reſt abſolutely refuſing to atteſt a falſhood. After this in July, the earls of Errol and Kintore, were appointed to examine the Dunotter priſoners, whether they owned the king, and would ſubmit to his authority; whether they would pray for him, and renounce the apologetical declaration. At laſt the priſoners were brought ſouth: the conſequences of which ſhall be related in its proper place. William Campbell of Middlewellwood, with difficulty eſcaped baniſhment, and came home; but next year was apprehended, and put in priſon in the Canongate, from whence he was, after a long impriſonment, releaſed upon paying 1200 merks fine.

On the 22d of May the indictment was read in parliament againſt Sir John Cochran, Polwart, Torwoodlee, and the heirs of Mr Martin. Sir John's Trial came on in the forenoon. All that appeared againſt him was, that he had converſed with others about proper methods for preventing the ruin of the nation. Mr Carſtairs's

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printed declaration, contrary to former promiſes, was read. In ſhort, he was brought in guilty, and condemned, as in the ſentence againſt Jerviſwood. And in the afternoon the ſame ſentence was pronounced againſt the reſt.

The ſame day the parliament paſſed the act for taking the oath of allegiance, whereby they ratified all that the council, the juſticiary, and their commiſſioners had done, in baniſhing, impriſoning, and fining the refuſers of the ſaid oath, &c. The reader has ſeen how much innocent blood was ſhed on this ſcore, and muſt judge whether by this act, the parliament did not bring the guilt of it upon themſelves.

Mr Renwick, who ſtill preached in the fields, having, on the ſaid 22d of May, preached to a conſiderable number of his followers, and received ſeveral into the ſocieties who profeſſed their repentance for taking the abjuration and the teſt, &c. The council, on the 25th, ordered lord Carmichael to call all ſuſpected perſons to an account, and to take care of the country of Carrick, by ſecuring the arms and horſes of all ſuſpected perſons, the better to prevent the deſigns of Argyll.

On the 27th the indictment was read againſt Sir Thomas Stuart of Coltneſs, for ſending meat and drink to the people at Bothwell, his receiving men that came from thence; and, being found guilty, was ſentenced to die. His caſe was much the ſame with Blackwood's, p. 176.

Though the followers of Mr Renwick were not free to join the earl of Argyll, on account, as they ſaid, of the too promiſcuous admiſſion of perſons of truſt in that party; and becauſe they could not eſpouſe his declaration, as the ſtate of their quarrel being, as they apprehended, not concerted according to the conſtant plea of the Scots covenanters, yet againſt the uſurpation of a bloody papiſt, they publiſhed another declaration at Sanquhar, on the 28th of May, of which I cannot but give the following abſtract.

IT hath pleaſed the holy and wiſe God to exerciſe the church of Scotland, now of a long time, with wreſtling and warfaring under the yoke of cruel oppreſſions. ——All this——we have met with, as juſt upon the Lord's part, though unjuſt upon man's, for our manifold ſins and iniquities; and, in a ſpecial manner, for our not purging our judicatories and armies, when the power was in our hands, of men diſaffected to the cauſe and intereſt of Chriſt,——and for inordinate affection to, and luſting after the deceaſed tyrant Charles II. and advancing him to the legal throne, even while known, by many palpable diſcoveries,——to retain his heart-enmity at the covenanted work of reformation. —— And howbeit,—when we were brought to a very ſmall remnant, we did, by open declarations, diſclaim his pretended authority; ——all which we do hereby truly approve.

So now the Lord—having removed the foreſaid Charles by death, and a few wicked and unprincipled men having —proclaimed James duke of york, though a profeſſed papiſt, and excommunicate perſon—to be king of Scotland; &c. we the contending and ſuffering remnant of the true preſbyterians of the church of Scotland—do here delib rately, jointly, and unanimouſly, proteſt againſt the foreſaid proclamation.—in regard that it is chuſing a magiſtrate to be a governor, who hath ſhed the blood of the ſaints;— the height of confederacy with an idolater, which is forbidden by the law of God,—contrary to the declaration of the aſſembly 27th July 1649, and to many wholeſome and laudable acts of parliament,— and inconſiſtent with the ſafety, faith, conſcience, and Chriſtian liberty of a Chriſtian people, to chuſe a ſubject of antichriſt to be their—ſupreme magiſtrate; for it could not but be both highly ſinful and irrational for us to intruſt an enemy to the work and people of God, with the intereſts of both.

Alſo conceiving that this pretended parliament is not a lawful parliament, in regard that the election of commiſſioners is limited,—that the members are convicted of avowed perjury,—are men of blood, the chief being convict of avowed murder.——We do, in like manner, upon theſe and many other imporant grounds and reaſons, proteſt againſt the validity and conſtitution of this preſent parliament,—and their proceeding to any approbation or ratification of the foreſaid proclamation.——

And further, ſeeing bloody papiſts, the ſubjects of antichriſt, are become ſo hopeful, bold and confident, under the perfidy of the ſaid James duke of York, and popery itſelf—like to be intruded again—upon theſe covenanted lands, and an open door being made thereunto by its accurſed and abjured harbinger prelacy, which theſe three kingdoms are equally ſworn againſt; we do, in like manner, proteſt againſt all kinds of popery, in general and particular heads,—abjured moſt explicitely by our national covenant, abrogated, annulled, and reſcinded by our acts of parliament, and againſt its entering again into this land, and againſt every thing that doth or may, directly or indirectly, make way for the ſame, diſclaiming likewiſe all ſectarianiſm, malignancy, and any confederacy therewith.

Moreover taking into our ſerious conſideration the low — ſtate of the churches of England and Ireland,—all bound in one covenant and ſolemn league together, we (in the bowels of Chriſt) do, in like manner, admoniſh you our brethren,—that ye remember how far you have ſadly failed in purſuing the ends of our covenants, &c.

Finally, we being miſrepreſented to many,—as perſons of murdering and aſſaſſinating principles, all which principles and practices we do hereby declare, before God, angels, and men, that we abhor, renounce, and deteſt; as alſo all manner of robbing of any, whether open enemies or others,—and all unwarrantable practices committed by any few perſons reputed to be of us,—as the unwarrantable manner of killing the curate of Carſphairn——.

This then is the ſubſtance of their declaration againſt popery, when open attempts were made for its introduction; and though it was not ſo much condemned, as any of their former declarations, yet they had not the concurrence of any miniſters and profeſſors; and, which is ſurpriſing, it was never a ground of perſecution from the managers, particularly and expreſſly declared. though as Mr Shields obſerves, 'For its matter, it was conſpicuouſly conſonant, not only to the old principles, but even to the common grounds of Argyll's declaration of war againſt this uſurper, then generally eſpouſed by preſbyterians.' But to proceed.

On the 2d of June the parliament, approved and confirmed the opinion of the lords of council and ſeſſion, November 1684, making thoſe guilty of high treaſon who ſhould own, or refuſe to diſown, the ſocieties apologetical declaration, in ſo far as it declares, &c. and all the proceſſes that had been or ſhould be on that ſcore. It would ſeem one chief part of the buſineſs of this parliament was to ratify the former proceedings of the miniſtry; but it does not appear that they approved of the orders given for killing in the fields, that being too large a pill to be ſwallowed, even by ſuch a parliament as this.

Another act paſſed this day was that for regularity; by which it was ordained, that all maſters, whether heritors, liferenters, ſhould inſert, in all tacks to their tenants, an expreſs clauſe, whereby the tenant ſhall oblige himſelf, that he, and his family, cottagers and ſervants, ſhall live peaceably and regularly, free of all fanatical diſorders, under the penalty of loſing the half of their moveables, each for their own fault, ſo that, by this act, all preſbyterians were excluded from having any leaſes.

Their next act this day ratified the act and proclamation of council for raiſing the hue and cry; by another act paſſed this day (for I omit that about adjudications for fines, becauſe I do not underſtand it) was for ſecuring the kingdom, by which every maſter of a ſhip was obliged to bring all his paſſengers, at their arrival, before the next magiſtrate, to give an account of themſelves; and the ſame muſt be done when perſons go out of the kingdom, under the penalty of ſuch fines and corporal puniſhment, on the maſter of the ſhip, as the council ſhall think fit. There were ſome other acts paſſed this day which I omit.

On the 28th of June they made a very ſtrange act for ſecuring the preſent council, the ſecret committee, the judges and officers of the army, and all other commiſſioners

miſſioners, as follows: 'Our ſovereign lord, conſidering the great and acceptable ſervices done to his majeſty by theſe juſt now mentioned, and being deſirous to ſecure them for their actings and omiſſions——doth, with advice and conſent of his eſtates of parliament, indemnity and ſecure all and every one of them—againſt all purſuits or complaints that can be raiſed againſt them, any manner of way, for their actings in his majeſty's ſervice, as likewiſe for their omiſſions—and that as fully as if every particular crime or miſdemeanour were particularly ſpecified in a remiſſion under his majeſty's great ſeal,' &c.

How powerful are the ſtings of an evil conſcience! Had not the managers been conſcious of unprecedented proceedings, it is hardly to be imagined they would have procured ſuch an act as this, which is a ſtanding blot on their memoirs in the records of the nation. Had they acted agreeable to the laws of God and man, or had their conſciouſneſs of guilt excited them to ſeek pardon from the almighty, for the innocent blood in their ſkirts, why a parliamentary indemnity? But it is to be feared, the pardon granted by a wicked parliament will ſtand them in ſmall ſtead, when they ſhall appear before that judge from whoſe ſentence there can be no appeal.

The ſame day Mr Robert Fergu ſon was tried in abſence, found guilty, and condemned, upon the declaration of Weſt and Burn. My author obſerves, that, if there was any formed deſign againſt the king and the duke, he was privy to it; but none of the reſt were any ways acceſſory.

On the 6th Claverhouſe, with a party, apprehended multitudes, and forced many of them to ſwear never to take arms againſt king James VII. on pretence of religion, and carried ſuch as refuſed about with them priſoners, binding them by two's and three's.

On the 10th lord Annandale and his party ſeized David Halliday in Glencyre, and George Short, and gave them quarters till next day; but when Lagg came up, he inſiſted upon having them preſently diſpatched; neither the intreaties of the poor men, nor the declaration of lord Annandale that he had promiſed them life till next day, could prevail: for they were ſhot by Lagg's orders; juſt as they lay fettered on the ground, and their bodies continued in their gore till next day.

The ſame month Gilbert Mac Adam, ſon-in law of James Dun, having been baniſhed for his nonconformity, and purchaſed his freedom, returned home; but meeting with ſome friends for prayer at a houſe near Kirkmichael, a company of militia, under the command of Colzean, ſurrounded the houſe. Gilbert being moſt obnoxious, tried to eſcape; but the ſoldiers perceiving him, diſcharged their pieces and killed him on the ſpot.

About the middle of this month, as James Brown in the pariſh of Coulter was fiſhing, Claverhouſe apprehended him, and, had it not been for the laird Coulterallers, would have ſhot him preſently; but he was carried to the Engliſh border, and from thence to the priſon at Selkirk, out of which he happily made his eſcape.

There were ſeveral other murders in the fields, of which I have not their dates, as that of William Johnſton gardener to the laird of Fintilloch, George Walker ſervant in Kirkauly, and John Milroy chapman, who were apprehended by major Windram, who, after aſking ſome queſtions, ordered them all to be hanged at Wigtoun the day after they were ſeized. A party of ſoldiers overtook Joſeph Wilſon, John and Alexander Jamieſon, and John Humphry at Knocdon hill, as they were coming from hearing Mr Renwick, and ſhot them all except Alexander Jamieſon. The ſame day a party of dragoons took Simon Paterſon and David Dun, and, without any trial, hanged them at Cumnock. Peter Inglis cornet, ſon to Peter Inglis, with ſome ſoldiers, decoyed Thomas Richard of Muir-kirk, an old man of 80 years of age, into a confeſſion that he had entertained ſome of the wanderers, and then delivered the good old man to colonel Douglaſs, who, without any jury or trial, ordered him to be executed at Cumnock next day, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of ſome ladies of the epiſcopal perſuaſion. One William Paterſon, ſon to Robert Paterſon in the pariſh of Cambuſnethen, was ſhot, without any trial, by order of captain Bell. This good man had endured a great deal of trouble during the former years; but now his troubles were brought to a period. The reader cannot but make proper reflections on ſo many murders, and judge who they were that truly deſerved to be called murderers and aſſaſſins.

On the 11th of June the parliament paſſed an act, which they called, An addreſs againſt the arch-traitor Archibald Campbell ſometime earl of Argyll wherein they beg that the earl's family, the heritors, ring-leaders, and preachers that joined him, ſhould be for ever declared incapable of mercy, and of bearing any honours or eſtate in the kingdom, and that all ſubjects be diſcharged from interceeding for them any manner of way. I ſhall not trouble the reader with remarks on this, it being ſo very agreeable to the principle of rooting out of heretics; only I muſt obſerve that the clauſe relating to the interceſſion of the ſubjects was reverſed in the next ſeſſion.

Next day James Napier, Allan Atkin, and John Pierſon who had been condemned by colonel Douglas at Cumnock, for not diſcovering the rebels, were pardoned.

On the 13th lord Melvil, Montgomery of Langſhaw, and the two Ceſnocks, were ſeparately tried, and all found guilty of acceſſion to the plot. Mr Carſtairs's depoſitions, contrary to the public faith, were read againſt them. Sentence was paſſed againſt the firſt two, as in the other caſes; but the time and place of the execution of Ceſnock elder and younger were referred to the king. Though the Ceſnocks were afterwards pardoned and releaſed yet by peremptory orders from the king an expreſs was diſpatched by lieutenant colonel Murray for apprehending them, and conducting them to the Bass. The old gentleman died ſoon after, and probably his death was haſtened by the hardſhips he underwent.

The ſame day they paſſed an act for the clergy by which all the acts, eſpecially thoſe made in the former reign, in their favour, were ratified, and all murderers and aſſaſſins of biſhops and miniſters were ordered to be puniſhed, which was reaſonable, and the pariſhioners, where any attempt ſhould be made, were to pay ſuch ſums to their widows as the council ſhould ſee proper; but this was a puniſhing the innocent with the guilty. In a word, this act made an attempt to break or rob the houſes of the clergy to be death to the invader. My author juſtly obſerves, that a becoming miniſterial carriage is a better hedge than 20 ſuch ſevere laws, and that before the reſtoration, and ſince the revolution, preſbyterian miniſters required no ſuch acts in their favour. He farther obſerves that this act was no bar in the way of the projected deſign of introducing popery, to which in Scotland, prelacy ſtill led the way.

By the 5th act of this parliament, the lands of Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, Thomas Stuart of Coltneſs, Pringle of Torwoodlee, George late earl of Melvil, David Montgomery of Langſhaw, Ceſnock elder and younger, Mr Robert Martin earl of Tarras, Mr Robert Baily of Jerviſwood, Thomas Kennedy of Grange, John Porterfield of Douchal, Mr William and Alexander Gordons of Earlſtoun, James Gordon younger of Craighen, were for ever annexed to the crown; but this, with other unjuſt and oppreſſive acts, was reverſed after the revolution.

On the ſame 13th of June two regiments of ſoldiers came into New-Galloway, and, ſeparating into two different places, quite ravaged the country; nay, about this time the whole army came to the weſt country, and committed innumerable abuſes every where; ſo that the loſſes ſuſtained by many, eſpecially about the ſmall village of Dameliingtoun, are not to be calculated. The lands of lord Stair and Ceſnock were entirely plundered. But I muſt paſs theſe things.

On the 16th the parliament referred the reſt of the priſoners, that were to have been tried by them, to the juſticiary, with power to the lords to proceed againſt them as if they had been ſummoned before them; accordingly their proceſs came on next month. The ſame day the parliament annexed the offices belonging to the earl of Argyll to the crown, and was adjourned to the laſt Tueſday of October, and afterwards to April next year. Mr Rapin juſtly obſerves, when mentioning ſome of the acts of this

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ſeſſion, that, if what paſſed in Scotland in the reign of king Charles I. and during the interregnum, be remembered, this was not the ſenſe of the Scots, but only the opinion of a parliament devoted to the king, and which viſibly abuſed their authority, to eſtabliſh a form of government directly contrary to the old conſtitution; but I ſhall leave the reader to make his own reflections on this ſeſſion of parliament, and conclude this chapter with the farther proceedings of the earl of Argyll, till he fell into the hands of his enemies.

We left his lordſhip at Tarbet, where he publiſhed his declaration to his clan. There he was joined with 1000 men, under Sir Duncan Campbell; and, having modelled his little army into three regiments, each conſiſting of not much above 500 men, he determined to have attacked Ballechan who had not above 600 men with him; but Sir John Cochran, and others with him, would not go in with this propoſal. A council of war was called, where it was reſolved, contrary to the earl's ſentiments, to invade the low-lands.

In conſequence of this the forces were tranſported, the beſt way they could, to Cowal in Argyll-ſhire; and Sir John Cochran, colonel Elphingſtoun and major Fullerton were ſent from thence to the lowlands: but by this time the coaſts were guarded, and ſome Engliſh frigates were come up; ſo that Sir John, not being able to land in the Largs in Ayrſhire, was forced to put in about Greenock, in order to have intelligence and ſubſiſtance for their men. Upon their landing they put to flight ſome of the militia; then Sir John entered the town of Greenock, and endeavoured to prevail with the inhabitants to join in defence of religion and liberty. He ſeized only about 40 bolls of meal, inſtead of 200, which Argyll had ordered him to bring for the uſe of the army, and then, upon a falſe alarm, retired in the night, and ſailed back to Cowal, and there, when it was too late, declared that it was folly to attempt the Lowlands as yet, ſince they were every where well guarded by ſoldiers and the militia.

Upon this Argyll renewed his deſign upon Inverary; and for this end divided his ſmall army, and gave the one half of it to Colonel Rumbold, whom he ſent to guard a paſs againſt the marquis of Athol, and raiſe the country as much as he could. He took the other half with himſelf to Inverary, but the wind being contrary for ſeveral days, and the Engliſh frigates come up, he was obliged to ſhelter his veſſels under the caſtle of Allangreg, which having fortified as well as he could, and left two companies to guard it, he then marched by land to Inverary, reſolving to attack the Marquis of Athol, Col. Rumbold, in the mean time, marched with about 500 men, and ſeized the caſtle of Ardkinglaſs. The Marquis of Athol ſent off a large fiſhing-boat, full of men, to know the Colonel's ſtrength: but, cap. Duncanſon, manning a fiſhing-veſſel, chaſed the other within piſtol-ſhot of the town. However, ſome regiments were ordered from Inverary to retake the caſtle of Ardinglaſs: but Argyll by this time was got up with Rumbold. The enemy made a halt; upon which the earl with five companies of foot, and two troops of horſe, went to attack them, and, after putting the firſt body of them to flight, returned to the caſtle of Ardkinglaſs, reſolved, next day, to attack Inverary, notwithſtanding the marquis of Athole was four times his number: but ſome of the gentlemen who were with his lordſhip, and had all along differed from him, threatened to quit all, and go to the Lowlands; ſo that he was obliged to leave the caſtle of Allangreg, with three companies of foot commanded by the laird of Lapneſs, and to order the reſt, under Rumbold and Sir Duncan Campbell, to met him at the church of Glenderule, which they did.

Two days after this, the garriſon left in Allingreg, being, as they ſaid, deſtitute of proviſions, abandoned that caſtle. The priſoners taken at Orkney, being left behind, acquainted the captains of the Engliſh frigates whenever they came aſhore, ſo that all fell into their hands. This diſaſter obliged Argyll to march into the lowlands, under a thouſand diſadvantages; for when he croſſed the water of Leven, a little above Dumbartoun, he found all the king's army and militia ready to oppoſe him, commanded by the earl of Dumbartoun.

The earl and Alyoffe were for engaging, knowing that, though they were thrice their number, yet they had many friends among them: but his lordſhip was again over-ruled, and a retreat was reſolved on. Accordingly, at night, they marched off, leaving great fires in their former camp: but their leaders miſtaking their way, led them into a moſs, which quite diſordered them; ſo that, though they were a good army at night, there were not 500 of them together in the morning. Rumbold and many brave men loſt their way. They who kept together came to Kilpatrick, and put a company of militia to flight. Sir John Cochran, Sir Patrick Hume, and others, croſſed the Clyde. At length a ſkirmiſh happened at Muirdyke in Lochwinnoch, in which capt. Clelland and ſome others were killed, and ſeveral wounded. On Sir John's ſide a gentleman of the name of Campbell was killed, major Henderſon and Mr Archer were wounded. The laſt of theſe was carried into a ſhepherd's houſe, where the enemy found him, and brought him to Edinburgh. After this they diſperſed, and ſhifted for themſelves the beſt way they could.

The earl, in the mean time, according to his own account, finding it impracticable either to rally his friends, or return to Argyllſhire, attempted to diſguiſe himſelf under the appearance of a countryman: but he fell from one difficulty to another till he was attacked at the water of Inchinan, on the 17th of June, by two of the militia, who laid hold of him, one on each ſide, all on horſe-back. He grappled with both, and one of them with the earl went to the ground. His lordſhip got up and rid himſelf of them both, by preſenting his pocket-piſtols, and would have made his eſcape, had not five more come and knocked him down with their ſwords. When they knew who he was, they ſeemed to be much concerned; but durſt not let him go. He was then brought in priſoner to the earl of Dumbartoun at Glaſgow; and thus this noble peer was once more in the hands of his enemies. Upon the whole, we may ſee the miſchief of diviſions: for, had not his lordſhip, and thoſe gentlemen embarked in the ſame cauſe, differed in their ſentiments, it is probable they would have been more ſucceſsful. Biſhop Burnet lays the chief blame on Argyll, and others on Sir John Cochran, and thoſe that adhered to him: but it is not unlikely there were faults on all ſides. There were ſeveral taken as well as Argyll, the chief of whom were Sir John Cochran, Rumbold, Ayloffe, and the above mentioned Thomas Archer, Gavin Ruſſel, and David Law; all theſe, except Sir John Cochran and Ayloffe, were executed at Edinburgh. Above twenty who were taken in the Highlands, were hanged at Inverary; and great numbers were baniſhed to America. But I muſt now proceed to

CHAP. XIII.

Of the execution of the earl of Argyll, Rumbold, Mr Thomas Archer, and others: the proceedings of the council and juſticiary; the ſufferings of the baniſhed and other branches of the oppreſſion to the end of the year.

WHen the earl of Argyll was apprehended, he was firſt brought to the town of Renfrew, and while refreſhing himſelf there, he ſaid to Thomas Crawford of Crawford's burn, to whom he had given a ſilver ſnuff-box in token of his reſpect, 'Thomas, it hath pleaſed providence to frown on my attempt; but remember, I tell you, ere long, ONE ſhall take up this quarrel, whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to carry, who will not miſcarry in his undertrking.' From Renfrew his lordſhip was taken to Glaſgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, under a ſtrong guard; and, according to the order of council dated June 20, was carried up the ſtreet, with his hands tied behind his back, bare-headed, in the midſt of Captain Graham's guards; the hangman went before him, the horſe guards before and behind: and thus his Lordſhip was conducted, in diſmal proceſſion, to the caſtle and there laid in irons.

There was a great debate at Edinburgh, whether to bring him to a trial for his preſent attempt, or to exe-

cute him on the ſentence pronounced againſt him 1681; but ſuch was the zeal of the preſent managers, that they would not ſeem to call the juſtice of their former ſentence in queſtion, though, by the way, all the world muſt look upon it as the moſt unrighteous ſentence that could be paſſed; and therefore they looked upon him as already condemned. They were at great pains to bring him to ſuch a confeſſion as might involve others, frequently viſited him, brought him ſeveral times before their committees, threatned him with torture, and put many queſtions to him; thus matters ſtood with him, till an expreſs came from court for his execution.

Mean while Col. Rumbold was taken, and, on the 22d of June, was ordered, by the council, to be conducted to the caſtle in a cart, with a rope about his neck, fettered and bare-headed. The hangman's man led the cart. Col. Graham attended with the guard, with drums beating and colours flying, and next day the advocate was ordered to proſecute him before the juſticiary.

On the 24th the council iſſued a proclamation for apprehending thoſe concerned with the earl of Argyll, which I ſhall not here inſert. It is eaſy for the reader to conceive the ſtrain of it. Only I cannot but obſerve, that it was ſomething ſtrange to publiſh to the world, in this proclamation, that col. Ayloff endeavoured to kill himſelf; for what was that to the caſe in hand? My author ſays, that the fact was very much queſtioned by perſons of good ſenſe who lived at that time; but, if it was true, it had no relation to Argyll's attempt; only the managers were willing to improve every circumſtance. Biſhop Burnet tells us, 'That great diſcoveries being expected from him, he was brought to London, where the king examined him in perſon; but could draw nothing from him but one ſevere repartee. Being ſullen, and refuſing to diſcover any thing, the king ſaid to him, Mr Ayloffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it. Ayloffe, it is ſaid, replied, That though it be in your power, yet it is not in your nature to pardon. Mr Ayloffe was nearly related to the king's children, being nephew to the old earl of Clarendon by marriage; for Ayloffe's aunt was his firſt wife; ſo that, had the conſideration of this moved the king to pardon him, that, ſays the hiſtorian, would have been an effectual confutation of his bold rapartee: but he ſuffered as well as others.'

On the 25th the council ordered colonel Rumbold to be executed in the following manner; that, on the morrow, on his being found guilty by the lords of juſticiary, he be taken from their bar to the low council houſe, and from thence to be led down by the hangman, with his hat on, to the ſcaffold, and there to be drawn up the gibbet with a rope about his neck, and immediately to be let down, his heart to be cut out by the hangman, and ſhewn to the people on the point of a bayonet or dagger, ſaying, Here is the heart of a bloody traitor and murderer,' and then to be thrown into a fire prepared on purpoſe on the ſcaffold; after that his head to be cut off, and ſhewn to the people in the ſame manner; and then his body to be quartered, one part of it to be affixed at the port or tolbooth of Glaſgow, another at Jedburgh, a third at Dumfries, the fourth at the Newtoun of Galloway, and his head on a high pole at the Weſt port of Edinburgh. He bore the baſe inſults of the council with much compoſure, owned the crime he appeared for, and expreſſed his joy in his ſufferings; whereupon one of them called him a confounded villain. He replied with the utmoſt ſedateneſs, 'I am at peace with God through Jeſus Chriſt, to men I have done no wrong, what then can confound me?'

On the 26th he was arraigned before the juſticiary, brought in guilty, condemned and executed. He was ſo weak, when brought to the ſcaffold, that, not being able to walk alone, he was ſupported by two officers. When, in his laſt ſpeech, he bleſſed God that it was for no ill account, but for owning and adhering to his diſtreſſed work and intereſt, that ſuch a lot was carved out for him, the drums beat; at which he ſhook his head, and ſaid, 'Will they not ſuffer a dying man to ſpeak his laſt words to the people?' And then went on, declaring his confidence in the righteouſneſs of the cauſe he was engaged in, and, among other things, ſaid, 'I confeſs enemies think they have got their foot on the neck of the proteſtant intereſt now; but I am perſuaded it is as true as I am this day entering into eternity, that Chriſt ſhall be glorious in theſe lands, and even in poor Scotland, and that ſhortly; and it is like many who ſee me die this day may be witneſſes thereof; yea, he ſhall govern theſe nations with a rod of iron, and that to the terror of his enemies.' After this he prayed, and, when praying for the extirpation of popery, prelacy, and other ſuperſtitions, the drums beat again. He forgave the executioner and all men, and, when he had again prayed within himſelf, he gave the ſignal, and was executed according to the ſentence.

Thus fell Richard Rumbold. 'This was the perſon who dwelt in Rye houſe, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and preſent king. He denied the truth of that conſpiracy. He owned he thought the prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the prince; and that, when the king departed from the legal meaſures of government, the people had a right to aſſert their liberties, and to reſtrain him. He did not deny but that he had heard many propoſitions at Weſt's chambers, about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had ſaid, it could have been eaſily executed near his houſe; upon which ſome diſcourſe had followed how it might have been managed; but he ſaid, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or ſo much as reſolved on.' He farther ſaid. 'He did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with ſaddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the reſt.' But to return to Argyll.

His lordſhip's carriage, before his execution, was both pious and edifying. While he was abroad, after his eſcape, he ſhewed himſelf to be a nobleman of ſingular piety, his afflictions being of great ſervice to him. He ſpent the 28th of June, which was the ſabbath before his death, in a moſt becoming way. The manner in which he took his leave of his ſiſter, the lady of Lothian, was very moving. While in the caſtle he had theſe remarkable expreſſions in converſation with a dear friend. 'My groſs compliances are now ſad and grievous to me: for theſe the Lord would not honour me to be inſtrumental in his work; but I deſire to die in the faith of a deliverance to his church and people; and though I will not take upon me to be a prophet, yet, having ſtrong impreſſions thereof upon my ſpirit, I doubt not but her deliverance will come very ſuddenly, and I hope I ſhall be well. It is true, my family is low, and I have nothing to leave them; but if they ſeek God they will be wonderfully ſeen to and provided for: and if they do not, I care not what come of them. I fear ſome have eyed me too much as an inſtrument. Lean not to the arm of fleſh.

On the 29th a letter from the king was read in council, ordering them to bring the earl to condign puniſhment within the ſpace of three days after the receipt of it, and, in the mean time, to bring him to a confeſſion of his aſſociates and correſpondents, &c. In conſequence of this his lordſhip was ordered to be beheaded next day, and his head to be affixed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh on an high pin of iron. Accordingly on Tueſday, June the 30th, Argyll was executed. This day he wrote and ordered others to write ſeveral letters to his friends, particularly to madam Smith, to his excellent lady, and others, which the reader may ſee in my author. He declared, in the morning, to a friend, that he had more joy and comfort this day, than the day after he eſcaped out of the caſtle.

His lordſhip dined with a grave and becoming chearfulneſs in the caſtle. 'Mr Charteris, ſays biſhop Burnet, happened to come in, as he was ending dinner, to whom he ſaid pleaſantly, *Sero venientibus oſſa.*' And being uſed to ſleep a little after meat, he retired to the cloſet, and laid himſelf down on a bed, and, for about a quarter of an hour, ſlept as ſweetly and pleaſantly as ever. Meanwhile an officer of ſtate came in and inquired for him. His friends told him, that his lordſhip, as uſual, was taking a nap after dinner, and deſired that he might not be diſturbed. When he ſaw the earl in that poſture, he

he was ſo impreſſed, that he haſted from the caſtle to a relation's in the Caſtlehill, and throwing himſelf on a bed, diſcovered great diſtreſs of mind; and, when aſked the cauſe of his trouble, ſaid, I have been in at Argyll, and ſaw him ſleeping as pleaſantly as ever a man did within an hour of eternity; but as for me, &c. The time being come when Argyll muſt for ever leave the caſtle, he was, by the council's permiſſion, allowed two epiſcopal miniſters to attend him, *viz.* Mr Annand, dean of Edinburgh, and Mr Laurence Charteris, for they would permit no preſbyterian miniſters to wait on him. Their diſcourſe with him, and prayers on this tragical occaſion, were very pertinent and becoming; and his lordſhip delivered a very judicious and pious diſcourſe to the ſpectators, in which, among other things, he ſaid, 'Job tells us,' 'Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble;' 'and I am a clear inſtance of it. I ſhall not now ſay any thing of my ſentence or eſcape,——nor of the ground of my return;——that which I intend mainly to ſay now, is, to expreſs my humble, and, I thank God, chearful ſubmiſſion to his divine will, and my willingneſs to forgive all men, even my enemies——I know afflictions ſpring not out of the duſt,———are not only foretold, but promiſed to chriſtians, and are not only tolerable, but deſirable;———for God chaſtiſes his own, to refine and not ruin them, whatever the world thinks.——I know many, like Hazael, 2 Kings viii. 13. go to exceſſes they never thought they were capable of. Let rulers and others ſeriouſly read and weigh Prov. i. 20, &c. 2 Chron. xxv. 6.——16. Prov. xxiv. 10, 11, 12. and xxviii. 10. and Iſ lix. eſpecially verſe 15. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good. For me, I hope, by God's ſtrength, to join with Job xiii. 15. and the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. xxiii. 4. and to truſt, as Pſal. cxlviii. 11. and ſhall pray, as Pſal. lxxiv. 19. &c. cxxiii. 6. &c. and Luke i. 74. 75. and ſhall hope, as Pſal. xciv. 15. I do hereby forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cauſe of my being brought to this place,——and pray God may forgive them, &c.' When he had ended, he turned to the ſouth ſide of the ſcaffold, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, I pray you do not miſconſtruct my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done againſt me, as I deſire to be forgiven of God.' Mr Annand repeated the words louder to the people, as he did when his lordſhip ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe from the north ſide, and ſaid, 'This nobleman dies a proteſtant.' The earl ſtept forward again, and ſaid, 'I die not only a proteſtant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all ſuperſtition whatſoever.' Having taken his leave of his friends, he at laſt kneeled down, and, embracing the maiden, ſaid, 'This is the ſweeteſt maiden I ever kiſſed, it being the mean to finiſh my ſin and miſery, and my inlet to glory, for which I long.' Then he prayed a little within himſelf, thrice uttering theſe words, 'Lord Jeſus, receive me into thy glory;' and lifting up his hand, which was the ſignal, the executioner did his work.

Thus died the noble earl of Argyll, a martyr not only to the proteſtant religion, but alſo bearing his laſt teſtimony againſt prelacy as well as popery. His too great compliances with the managers, previous to the affair of the teſt, lay heavy upon him to the laſt; but nothing grieved him ſo much as the unhappy vote he gave againſt Mr Cargil. Paſſing theſe things, as he was executed, not on account of his late attempt, but in purſuance of a ſentence paſſed three years before, for his explication of the ſelf-contradictory teſt, his death was looked upon as no better than murder.

The circumſtances of Monmouth's invaſion on England I muſt leave to the Engliſh hiſtorians. On the 6th of July his army was defeated near Bridgewater, and himſelf ſoon after taken and beheaded. The cruelties committed by Kirk and bloody Jeffries in the weſt are well known. Kirk ordered ſeveral of the priſoners to be hanged up without ſo much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health a new priſoner was hung up. And they were ſo brutal, that, obſerving the ſhaking of the legs of thoſe whom they hanged, it was ſaid among them, they were dancing, and upon that muſic was called for. It is ſaid, 'That Jeffries condemned above 500 perſons in a few towns of the weſt, whereof 229 were executed; ſome found the benefit, I cannot ſay of the king's mercy, but of the judge's avarice, who was ready enough to grant a pardon to ſuch as could pay well for it; and it ſeems pardons were ſold by him at all ſorts of prices, from L. 10 to 14000 guineas; which laſt ſum this judge of iniquity did not ſcruple to take from Mr Sp—s, and with which he bought an eſtate, that may juſtly be called the *field of blood.*' But to return to Scotland.

As ſoon as the marquis of Athole and Breadalbin heard of Argyll's being taken, they exerciſed great ſeverity upon the earl's friends and tenants. Four or five gentlemen of the name of Campbell, after having received quarter and protection when they ſurrendered, were ſent to Athole by one of Argyll's near relations. The marquis ordered them and eighteen more to be put to death. He would have proceeded in that work, had not even the council diſcharged more lives to be taken. Parties were afterwards ſent to pull down houſes, break mill-ſtones, and burn woods, and the whole ſhire of Argyll was dreadfully depopulated, haraſſed and plundered for thirty miles round Inverary The earl's eſtate was given to ſtrangers, his children brought to extreme neceſſity, his creditors defrauded, his brother lord Neil Campbell was forced to go at the peril of his life to America, and leave his lady and family behind. In a word the heritors and gentlemen of the name of Campbell, being generally averſe to popery and prelacy, were univerſally oppreſſed through the kingdom.

On the 9th of July, 15 priſoners of the meaner ſort, taken with Argyll, were baniſhed to New England.

On the 13th Mr Thomas Archer was before the council, and by them referred to the juſticiary; but, as his trial did not come on before the 12th of next month, I muſt relate the intervening tranſactions.

On the 14th the magiſtrates of Glaſgow preſented a petition to the council, ſignifying that their priſon was peſtered with many ſilly old women, who were a great charge to the town; whereupon the council ordered them to be whipt and burnt on the cheek ſeverally, who were guilty of reſett and converſe; and that ſuch of them who were guilty of ill principles ſhould be whipt, and all diſmiſſed.

On the 16th Sir William Denholm of Weſtſhiels, Mr James Stuart, ſon to Sir James Stuart proveſt of Edinburgh, and Mr Gilbert Elliot, who, with ſeveral others, were by the parliament referred to the juſticiary, were tried and found guilty of being concerned with the late earl of Argyll, and condemned to be executed when apprehended. My author tells us, that there is no more in the regiſters concerning the reſt, whom the parliament referred to the criminal court, ſuch as the deceaſed earl of London, Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, Colin Campbell of Ardkinglaſs, John Weir of Newton, John Hay of Park, Sir William Scot younger of Harden, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Hume of Baſſenden, and Walter Lockhart of Kirktoun, who were all forfeited.

The ſame day David (afterwards Sir David) Stuart of Cultneſs, and Mr William Spence ſervant to the late earl of Argyll, were before the juſticiary, and found guilty of being with the ſaid earl, and condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 22d; but providence interpoſed in their behalf, ſo that the ſentence was not executed.

On the 24th the council ordered between 70 and 80 of the priſoners in Edinburgh, Cannongate, &c. to be baniſhed to the plantations, for refuſing the oath of alledgiance, and ordained Thomas Stodhart, James Wilkie, and Matthew Bryce, priſoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and Archibald Campbell priſoner in Paul's work, who, as the ſentence of the council bears, did miſbehave when before them, to be laid in irons, and proſecuted before the juſticiary.

The ſame day they impowered the earls of Marſhal, Errol, Kintore, Panmure, and the lord preſident of the ſeſſion, to examine the priſoners in Dunnotter caſtle, and baniſh all of them, whether men or women, not already baniſhed, who ſhould refuſe the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. A few were ſet at liberty upon taking the oath of allegiance.

On the 28th the council had above thirty more of the priſoners at Edinburgh before them. Twenty nine were ordered to be baniſhed, of whom there were four who had been

been with Argyll, ſix women and nineteen men; the men except thoſe who had been with Argyll, were ſentenced to have one of their ears to be cut off by the hand of the hangman, and the women to be burnt in the cheek, before they were ſent abroad.

According to the order of time I muſt now ſpeak of the followers of Mr Renwick. My author ſays, that ſome eſſays were now made to bring Mr Renwick, and thoſe who adhered to him, from their heights, in order to bring about an union between them and ſome of the preſbyterian miniſters who were wandering up and down the country; and that, for this end, on the 29th of July, theſe two excellent perſons, Mr Robert Langlands, and Mr George Barclay, being informed of one of their meetings, deſired to come to it: accordingly they attended one of the general meetings at Kypes, in the ſhire of Ayr, to ſee what might be done to bring theſe people to hear and join with other ſuffering miniſters; that a good many of the meeting were for this, and ſo the conference began. Theſe two miniſters were on the one ſide, and Mr Renwick, George Hill and others on the other. The miniſters propoſed the laying aſide all debates about former differences and practices, and an union in thoſe things wherein they were agreed; and moved that what they could not agree in ſhould be referred to a competent judicatory. This was refuſed by the other ſide, who inſiſted, that an enumeration of public defections ſhould be drawn up, which the miniſters did not come into, as what would rather widen than heal their preſent breaches. Thus the conference ended, after they had been together ſome days. However, it produced this effect, that many diſcovered their inclinations to join with other ſuffering miniſters.

But it ſeems neceſſary to give the reader the account of this conference as publiſhed in the informatory vindication, in their own words. 'After the defeat of Argyll's expedition, at the deſire of ſome miniſters——we had a conference with them July 22. 1685. in which, inſtead of allaying differences, the propoſals——made for union did heighten our breaches, both with them and among ourſelves;——for though they offered an accommodation, yet, in conference——they maintained, and did not diſown that which bred alienation, 'to wit, a previous information they had ſent to ſtrangers, accuſing us of heavy things; that we had not only caſt off all magiſtrates, but had conſtitute among ourſelves all kinds of magiſtrates, and were for cutting off all, as open enemies, who did not acknowledge our imaginary government; that our ſocieties were only an erroneous faction, and had no power of calling paſtors,' &c. Which information though they did extenuate, alledging that the copy produced was forged, yet they confeſſed ſome ſuch information was written, and went on to proſecute, in effect, the ſame crimination, and ſaid they excerpted all out of our public papers; and farther challenged us for falſely accuſing them in our proteſtation againſt the Scotiſh congregation at Rotterdam, where they, with others, were promiſcuouſly charged with ſundry things in the groſs, which they were not guilty of. We confeſſed it was an overſight, conjunctly to accumulate theſe charges without diſtinction; but taking them ſeparately we offered to make out every thing there charged upon the names inſerted.

Furthermore, in inveighing againſt Mr Renwick's ordination, they accuſed the church of Holland of Eraſtianiſm, and of three ſprinklings in baptiſm, &c. to which he replied, 'That he had received his ordination from the preſbytery of Groningen; and they being foreigners, and not chargeable either with our defections, or any declining from the teſtimony of their own church, but——groaning under ſome corruptions, from which they were never reformed, would come under another conſideration than the miniſters of our own church, defending a courſe of defection'——

The accommodation they offered was upon terms which we thought deſtructive to our teſtimony, to lay aſide all debate, and let all bygones paſs, and go on in the public work, which we did not think was the way to heal our ſore; but we offered, if differences and exceptions could be removed, in a right and honeſt way, we would be moſt willing to join with them, which exceptions were given in in theſe following particulars, *viz.* 'Their leaving the country, and deſerting the public work, when it was ſo neceſſary to concur in the teſtimony, in a time of ſo great a famine of the goſpel; and not only concurring in the teſtimony, but condemning it in Sanquhar and Lanark declarations, even as to the matter of them, and not condemning the paying of the locality impoſed for maintaining ſoldiers againſt the work and people of God; their countenancing the compliers with the time, and, when abroad, joining with the Scots congregation at Rotterdam, and hearing the indulged preach there; their informing againſt us, and aſperſing us with ſlanders, ſuch as theſe in the forementioned information; and their concurring in the earl of Argyll's aſſociation, againſt which we had ſo many things to object, as above hinted.' Which exceptions we thought ſufficient to demur upon, when after many fruitleſs janglings, we could receive no ſatisfaction about them, nor a public teſtimony ſatisfyingly ſtated, wherein we might both agree and concur, albeit we made an overture in the end, that they and we ſhould endeavour it in this ſort, 'that they ſeverally by themſelves ſhould draw up all the ſins of the time, and we by ourſelves, that ſo, when compared together, it might be ſeen where we differed, and how far we could unite;' but though they ſeemed to be as much for it as we at firſt, yet, in the end, when it was offered, they rejected it. So the conference broke up, and thereafter we were more untenderly dealt with by them, and alſo deſerted by ſeveral joined with us in fellowſhip, who, from that time, began to leave off coming to our general meetings, and to keep ſeparate ways, without reſpect to our former conſented to agreement; and alſo did hear, receive, and ſpread falſe reports given forth againſt us, without premoniſhing us about the ſame, and drew many off from our ſocieties by ſuch means.'

The reader cannot but remember, that, ever ſince the unhappy indulgence, diviſions increaſed among the preſbyterians, and no doubt both ſides were guilty of exceſſes towards one another. But though ſome may think that Mr Renwick and his followers were too preſſing to have the others make a public acknowledgement of their defections, yet they cannot be juſtified in ſlandering Mr Renwick and his adherents, who were now divided among themſelves, ſo that ſeveral withdrew from them: but I chuſe to leave theſe things with the reader, and to proceed to other matters.

On the 30th of July the council ordered about 53 more priſoners to be baniſhed to the plantations, of which 47 had been with Argyll; five refuſed the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and were to have one of their ears cut off, and one woman, Grizel Alſtoun, to be burnt in the cheek. Some, who declared their willingneſs to comply and take the oaths, were ſet at liberty.

The ſame day the advocate was ordered to proſecute, before the juſticiary, Thomas Stodhart, James Wilkinſon, and Matthew Bryce, &c. for treaſon, rebellion, and not owning the king's authority. This day the council had a letter from the king, ordering them to baniſh ſuch a number of the meaner priſoners as they ſhould think proper.

On the 31ſt a new committee for public affairs was appointed to ſit during the intervals of council, and about 56, who had been with Argyll, were ordered to be baniſhed, together with 12 others who were to have one of their ears cut off, and four women, for the alledged murder of their baſtard children, and one woman, for refuſing the oaths, to be burnt in the cheek. Several who complied were releaſed, and three were remitted to the lords of juſticiary.

The ſame day orders were given to the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to command their common hangman to cut off the left ear of theſe following men, *viz.* William MacCall, John Finniſon, John Kennedy, James Corſbie, William Marſhall, Andrew Jardin, Alexander Jamieſon, Alexander Reid, John Hay, William Macllroy, Quintin Dun, William Drenham, John Macllvie, John Cunningham, Thomas Lichard, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Maſon, Matthew Hamilton, Walter Howham, James Murray, Malcolm Bryce, James Wilkinſon, John Simpſon, James Gavin, John Mundel, Andrew MacLean, John Elliot, Robert Edward, John Mitchel, Roger MacMichan, John Weir, Robert Muir, John Downie,——Lawſon

Eliſabeth

Eliſabeth Kirkwal, which was executed on Wedneſday the 4th of Auguſt following.

Among others who were baniſhed by the forementioned ſentences, were Gilbert and William Milroys, in the pariſh of Penningham, whoſe ſufferings, being ſomewhat peculiar, may be proper to be briefly related altogether in this place, as my author had them atteſted by the reverend Mr Robert Rowan Miniſter there. When the teſt was violently preſſed laſt year, William took it, and Gilbert compounded with the ſheriff depute to get his name out of the roll: but this year, not being able to take the abjuration, they abſconded with their younger brother Patrick. In the month of June or July the earl of Hume ſent his Merſe militia to their houſes, who plundered them and drove away their cattle. Two days after ſeventy horſemen came in the night time, and carried off what the foot had left, and tortured Gilbert's wife with lighted matches between her fingers. Next morning Gilbert Milroy and his brother William were taken, with a ſervant about 16 years of age, and carried priſoners to Monigaff, where they were brought before the earl of Hume, and examined as to their keeping the church, converſe with the whigs, &c. and, declining to anſwer, were put to the torture of lighted matches between their fingers: but, omitting what they loſt as to their ſubſtance, and ſeveral other circumſtances of cruelty, they were, at laſt, impriſoned at Holy-rood-houſe, all the other jails being crouded. Mr James Colquhoun, the epiſcopal miniſter at Penningham, had no ſmall ſhare in promoting their ſufferings. At laſt, upon their refuſing the oaths, they were ſentenced to have their ears cut off and baniſhed for ten years. When this ſentence was paſſed, they were confined to the iron houſe. The ears of all the priſoners from Monigaff were cut off, except Gilbert Milroy, who was ſo fatigued and weak, that he appeared to be in a dying condition. A little after this Gilbert and the other priſoners in the iron-houſe were taken out, and they who could not walk were carried in carts to Newhaven, and put aboard a ſhip lying there, thruſt under deck, two and two fettered together, to the number of 150. Through hunger, thirſt, and other hardſhips, during their long paſſage of three months and three days, 32 of them died. Mr Evans the maſter of the ſhip was very cruel to them. When they landed at Port-Royal in Jamaica, they were put in an open priſon, and received no ſmall friendſhip from ſeveral in the iſland. After ten days they were ſold for ſlaves, and the money given to Sir Philip Howard, who had a gift of them from the king, but he never had the ſatisfaction of enjoying the price of their liberty, for he was drowned in the Thames, as he was taking leave of his friends, to go for Jamaica. Many of theſe captives died in their bondage; but Gilbert Milroy ſurvived his ſufferings, returned to his wife and other relations, and was alive in 1710. He kept an exact account of the providences he met with. The reader may ſee his remarks in my author.

William Marſhall, ſmith in Glaſgow, was apprehended for wanting a paſs, and was likewiſe baniſhed for no other crime but nonconformity.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, Mr Archibald Campbell, ſon to lord Neil Campbell, was condemned to die by the juſtices; but appearing before the council, and declaring his willingneſs to renounce all rebellious principles, he was reprieved till December.

We are now come to the 6th of Auguſt, when, according to the juſticiary records, 'Mr Alexander Shields, having ſigned the abjuration, owned the king's authority, but not upon oath, is remitted back to the council.' He was in imminent danger at the beginning of the parliament; for having, in a letter to John Balfour, to be by him tranſmitted to ſome of his friends in Holland, declared his ſorrow for his former compliance, and his mind concering authority, and made ſome reflections on the juſticiary, the ſame bands of the perſecutors, whereupon he was of new brought before the council, the lords of the articles, and the juſticiary. And though much altercation, and many threatnings enſued, he openly owned the letter, and declared that he had great ſorrow and grief for what he had done: that he found that he had diſowned things in the complex in that declaration, which, when it came to particulars, he durſt not do: that he did not think that hereditary ſucceſſion was enough to make a king, and that he owned the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms: however, he was overlooked till now, when the appearance of ſome of his fellow ſufferers brought his name and caſe again to remembrance, whereupon order was given to indict him for maintaining 'that it was lawful for ſubjects, upon pretence of reformation, or any pretence whatſoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms againſt the king, or thoſe commiſſioned by him, or to put limitations upon their due obedience and allegiance, &c. and for diſowning the king's authority, and for owning, or refuſing to diſown the late declaration affixed upon ſeveral pariſh churches, in ſo far as it declares war againſt the king, and aſſerts it lawful to kill ſuch as ſerve him.' &c.

Mr Shields on this occaſion wrote two letters, the one to the advocate, and the other to Sir William Paterſon his old maſter, which he believed ſomewhat mitigated the rage of his perſecutors, and drew up the following declaration of his ſentiments.

1. I Do diſown and abhor all war of ſubjects profeſſedly declared againſt a lawful king as ſuch; all war againſt lawful authority; all war without authority or indeclinable neceſſity; all war founded or deſigned for maintaining principles inconſiſtent with policy or piety; all war declared in that ſenſe related in the proclamation about the declaration, or which may bear theſe inferences therein ſpecified. 2. I do diſown not only all ſuch aſſertions, but all ſuch thoughts, as that it is lawful to kill all ſuch as ſerve the king, or any man, becauſe they ſerve him, or becauſe they differ from us in judgment or profeſſion, or becauſe they have injured us any manner of way. I abhor all aſſertions of the lawfulneſs of aſſaſſinations, murders, or any private killing or ſlaying, under colour of law, or without it, upon any pretence, or for any cauſe whatſoever of uſurped power, revenge, rage, or enthuſiaſtical impulſe, as being againſt chriſtianity and humanity. 3. I do diſown my having any hand, or being art and part in that pretended declaration, directly or indirectly, by my concurrence, counſel, knowledge, or contrivance, or any manner of way; and I diſown all intentions, for my own part, to proſecute or perſecute, or endeavour to puniſh any that have ſerved the king in any capacity, becauſe they have injured me, even though my greateſt enemies; but do think myſelf obliged, in chriſtian duty, to pray for all my enemies, and bleſs them, and do all offices of kindneſs to them. 4. But yet I humbly and conſcientiouſly demur to take that oath for private reaſons. (1.) Becauſe I look upon it as an oath impoſed with a ſevere penalty, which, whatever be the matter of the oath, is a thing I have no clearneſs about for the preſent. (2.) Becauſe I humbly conceive it miſrepreſents the declaration itſelf, wherein I am not clear that ſuch things are aſſerted. (3.) Becauſe, whatever be my own thoughts of the thing, I dare not paſs a judgment on the deed of others ſo ſolemnly, or take upon me to cenſure or condemn them, or juſtify any ſeverity exerciſed upon ſome preſbyterians, who cannot or dare not diſown it.

A great many things paſſed between the lords and him; but, when he delivered the above paper, it was handed about among them; and it was declared, that they were good things in general, and that he maintained good enough general principles, but that he drew bad concluſions from the premiſſes. Then they went through the particulars formerly mentioned, and at laſt inſiſted that he ſhould take the oath of abjuration; but this he refuſed. At the concluſion of three conferences they had with him at this time, he agreed to ſign it if it was worded thus, 'If ſo be ſuch things are there aſſerted,' which, he told them, he was ſure was not the caſe. This, with difficulty, was granted to him. As he ſubſcribed this, he proteſted before them, that none were to think, that, by this, he juſtified the act of ſucceſſion, or the abrogation of ancient laws about, or the want of ſecurity for religion and liberty, or that he acknowledged the divine approbation of it. When all this was over, he was told that he was delayed till to-morrow.

But to-morrow he was ſent to the Baſs. And I am well informed, by my honourable friend Sir Thomas

Gordon of Earlſtoun, that he would certainly have ſuffered, if he had not made his eſcape in women's cloaths.

And, ſays the author of the preface to the relation of Mr Shields his ſufferings, 'Though he has wanted opportunity (for what cauſe I cannot determine) to make the like reflections upon the laſt ſtep of that his failing, as he does upon the firſt, yet none has cauſe to queſtion his ſorrow for it: for, after his enlargement out of priſon, it is well known he never failed, on all proper occaſions, with many tears, publickly to own his hearty reſentment of it; particularly, at that ſolemn occaſion of renewing the covenants at Leſmehago, March 3, 1689. he ſtood up before the miniſter, and, in preſence of that vaſt confluence of people, declared his unfeigned ſorrow for that his ſin, to the affecting of the whole multitude, and abundant ſatisfaction of the conſciences of the godly that had been formerly grieved therewith.'

At and after the revolution he was of great ſervice to the army, and much eſteemed by king William. In October 1690, he and other two miniſters offered a large paper to the general aſſembly then ſitting at Edinburgh, containing propoſals for redreſſing ſeveral grievances: and, had the aſſembly either thought it prudent or convenient, at that time, to allow the ſaid paper to be read, or taken the contents of it under their ſerious deliberation, it might poſſibly have produced many valuable effects; but, relying upon the report of their committee of overtures, they judged it inconvenient at that time to read and conſider it. However, Mr Shields, notwithſtanding this, joined in communion with the church of Scotland, and was ſettled at St Andrews, where he continued till he was prevailed with to go with his countrymen to Darien. He was perfectly depreſſed in his ſpirit on account of the fatal diſappointment of that undertaking, which, he ſhews, had it been faithfully and well managed, would have been of great advantage, not only to the nation, but alſo to the chriſtian religion. He died in Jamaica of a ſhort ſickneſs after he left Caledonia. His Hind let looſe, and his treatiſe of church communion, (which laſt was publiſhed after his death by the reverend Mr Thomas Lining,) ſhew him to have been a man of great parts and ſolid judgment. But to return.

The ſame 6th of Auguſt, Thomas Stodhart, James Wilkinſon, and Matthew Bryce, were condemned by the juſticiary to be hanged at the Graſs-market on the 12th. They all three ſuffered according to their ſentence. Thomas Stodhart had been ſentenced to be baniſhed, and yet he was brought before the juſtices, and condemned to die, for no other reaſon but becauſe he owned authority only as far as it was agreeable to the word of God, and would not expreſsly diſown the apologetical declaration. The only queſtions propoſed to the other two, and their anſwers, were theſe: *Q.* 1. Will ye take the oath of allegiance? *A.* We will not take it. *Q.* 2. Will ye own the authority? *A.* We will own all authority according to the word of God. Whence Matthew Bryce inferred, that they had nothing elſe to charge him with, but that he ſpoke of the word of God. The ſame day theſe three were executed, William Cunningham, John Muirhead, and William Jackſon, declaring themſelves willing to be baniſhed, the criminal proceſs was dropt.

On the 7th of Auguſt the laird of Pitlochie petitioned the council for ſome of thoſe under ſentence of tranſportation to go with him, which was granted; and the ſame day a conſiderable number was ordered to be delivered to Robert Barclay of Urie, or his order.

In an original letter, dated Auguſt 10th, John Jamieſon, John Kennedy, Robert Sharp, William MacCall, Walter Home, James Murray, William Marſhall, and James Corſbie, by whom it was ſubſcribed, and who were among the baniſhed, left their teſtimony againſt owning a popiſh king, &c. and gave a great many excellent advices to their ſuffering friends. On the 11th four more were ordered for tranſportation by the council for refuſing the oaths, and the caſe of other ten priſoners was deferred to farther conſideration. On the 12th of Auguſt, Mr Thomas Archer was at laſt brought before the juſticiary. A good deal of intereſt was made for him, but in vain; nay, a deſign was ſecretly formed for conveying him out of priſon: but he would not comply with it, becauſe he reckoned himſelf a dying perſon; and, as he could not ſerve his maſter any other way, he did not think it his duty to decline a teſtimony for him and his truth by a public death. He was brought in guilty and condemned to be hanged on a high gibbet on the 14th: but he was reſpited to the 21ſt, when he ſuffered. In his laſt words and teſtimony, which are in my author, among other things he ſaid, 'It was always my judgment, and I hope to die in it, that the obligation of the covenants is national and indiſſoluble, and that even the poſterity renouncing them ſhall be found guilty of horrid perjury and apoſtacy before God, ſince in them we firſt engaged immediately to ſerve him.——I have ever oppoſed contentions and new differences——I take not upon me to juſtify the indulged miniſters, neither will I rigidly condemn them; but if their ſeparating from their miniſtry, and preſſing the matter with ſuch heat and violence, be good ſervice done to Chriſt, I have read the ſcripture wrong.——I have lived, and deſire to die, hoping that the Lord will yet glorify his grace and goſpel in the land, and that he hath not brought us under the bond of the covenant immediately to caſt us off, (though we deſerve it), but that the children which are yet to be created may praiſe him.' He owned the king's authority, acknowledged his weakneſs in being a witneſs againſt ſeveral perſons, and concluded with his farewell to all created enjoyments. When on the ſcaffold, after he had prayed and read Iſ. lxv. he ſpoke ſeveral things, and, among others, ſaid, 'my motives were the great apprehenſions I had of popery, and my regard to the kingdom and intereſt of Chriſt here; and I wiſh every one were concerned with the evil and danger of popery.' Here one of the magiſtrates interrupted him; whereupon he added, 'I ſhall only refer you to Rev. xiv. 9. 10, 11.' and ſaid to the magiſtrate, 'you cannot deny but popery is hazardous,' who anſwered, It is true, but there is no fear of it here, bleſſed be God.' Mr Archer replied, 'I wiſh to God it be ſo,' and then continued his diſcourſe, 'What I have farther to ſay is, that as Chriſt hath a kingdom wherein and over which he reigneth as King, ſo he will ſuffer none to uſurp that power, which is his own prerogative.' ——— After he was again interrupted he went on thus, 'Well then, I hope none of you, who are the people of God, need ſtumble at our fall, as if God would let the work reſt at us;——for the people of God have got many backſets, one after another: but the Lord has waited for their extremity, which he will make his opportunity——Mic. iv. 10. 'I will bring them to Babylon, and there will I deliver them.' So I pray and intreat you all to be concerned for your ſoul's intereſt; and as for my own part, I know I have no more to do as to that. Fear of death does not fright or trouble me. I bleſs the Lord, for my lot.' Then he prayed again, ſang Pſal. lxxiii. 24. to the end, and died with great cheerfulneſs and joy. He was about 32 years of age at his death, and, ſays my author, was qualified for being a profeſſor of divinity in any univerſity.

On the 17th of Auguſt the council ordered about 72 priſoners in Leith to be baniſhed to the plantations for refuſing the oaths, among whom were ſeveral women. Many of them ſeem to be the Dunotter priſoners; for, as Argyll's invaſion was now over, theſe priſoners were brought from thence to Leith. Quintin Dick and another were left behind as dying men. The council was pleaſed to come to Leith and ſit in the tolbooth, and re examine them. The few that complied with their impoſitions were diſmiſſed; ſome who were weakly, and had friends to make intereſt for them got off upon bond to appear when called; but the generality refuſing the oaths, as the reverend Mr W. Fraſer and others, were baniſhed. The moſt of thoſe who were ordered for tranſportation were made a preſent of to the laird of Pitlochie, who freighted a Newcaſtle ſhip, Richard Hutton maſter bound for New-Jerſey, to whoſe care the baniſhed priſoners were committed.

Mr William Hanna one of the priſoners, got off by giving in the penalty of 5000 merks. When he was threatened with baniſhment, he told them, that he was now too old to work, or to go to war. Old general Dalziel bitterly replied, that he was not too old to hang: but

but that ſame day, being the 22d of Auguſt, that general died ſuddenly. Mr Hanna fell ill, and, being in a dying condition, was releaſed, and got home, after above three years ſufferings.

Mean while, on the ſaid 17th of Auguſt, Sir John Cochran, his ſon, and John called col. Ayloffe, were put a-board a yaught for London. Next day, a royal letter was read, ordering to forfeit and baniſh Charles and John Campbells, ſons to the late earl of Argyll: accordingly they were ordered to be brought to Edinburgh to be tried before the juſt ciary. The ſame day Thomas Ruſſel and John Henderſon were examined on account of the death of Sharp, in which they were ſuſpected to be concerned. They denied the fact, but refuſed to call it murder, and were appointed to be kept cloſe priſoners. On the 20th Ruſſel was baniſhed, and Henderſon ordered to be tried before the juſticiary; but it was well for them both that they found an opportunity to break priſon and make their eſcape.

On the 21ſt Charles Campbell was condemned to die for being with his father in the rebellion, but the day of his execution was left to the council's pleaſure; on the 25th his brother John received the ſame ſentence. And thus, though the managers could not, for ſhame, embrue their hands in the blood of theſe youths, yet they did what lay in their power to leave a ſtain on the children and relations of this noble family of Argyll. But to return to the baniſhed priſoners.

As they generally wrote to their friends, ſo, on the 28th of Auguſt 28 of them, before they ſailed, ſigned a conjunct teſtimony, bearing, 'That now being to leave their own native and covenanted land, by an unjuſt ſentence of baniſhment, for owning truth, and ſtanding by duty, and ſtudying to keep their covenant engagements and baptiſmal vows, whereby they ſtand obliged to reſiſt and teſtify againſt all that is contrary to the word of God and their covenants; and that their ſentence of baniſhment ran chiefly becauſe they refuſed the oath of allegiance, which in conſcience they could not take, becauſe in ſo doing, they thought they utterly declined the Lord Jeſus Chriſt from having any power in his own houſe, and practically would, by taking it, ſay, he was not king and head of his church, and over their conſciences; and, on the contrary, this was to take and put in his room a man whoſe breath is in his noſtrils; yea, a man that is a ſworn enemy to religion an avowed papiſt, whom, by our covenants, we are bound to withſtand and diſown, and that agreeably to Scripture, Deut. xvii. 14. 15.' Then they bore their teſtimony againſt the defections of that day, and for preaching in the fields and houſes, and ſign as follow. John Kincaid, George Muir, George Johnſton, Robert Young, Thomas Jackſon, Andrew Paterſon, John Harvey, John Ford, Chriſtopher Strang, William Spreul, Peter Ruſſel, Robert MacEwen, John Henderſon, John Seton, John Gilfillan, Charles Honyall, James Grierſon, James Forſyth, Walter MacIgne, John MacGhie, Ad. Howie, James Muirhead, Annabel Gordon, Margaret Leſly, Agnes Steven, Margaret Foreſt, Jean Moffat, Annabel Jackſon. In the ſame ſhip were Mr John Fraſer, Robert MacLelland of Barmagechan, William Niven in Pollock-ſhaws, &c. &c.

They ſailed from the road of Leith on the 5th of September. After they turned the Lands end a fever begun to rage in the ſhip, eſpecially among thoſe who had been in the great vault at Dunotter, and in a month's time became malignant, ſo that few in the ſhip eſcaped; moſt of the crew, except the captain and Boatſwain, died, together with the following priſoners: Thomas Graham, Gilbert Monorgan, John Smith, William Cunningham, John Muirhead, Thomas Jackſon, Katha. Kellie, Andrew MacLellan, Thomas Ruſſel, John Hodge, Tho. Gray, John Rama, John Swinton, John Swinton, John Kippen, Will. Spret, James Wardrope, John MacKenman, Tho. Finlater, John Hutchiſon of Wardlaw, Will. MacMillan, Agnes Cohalh, John Kirkland; but, notwithſtanding this mortality, the captain and others greatly abuſed the perſecuted priſoners; for when they who were under deck attempted to worſhip God by themſelves, the captain would throw down great planks of wood in order to diſturb them, their proviſions were exceeding bad. At laſt they arrived at New-Jerſey; but Pitlochie and his lady died on the paſſage. The priſoners met with harſh treatment from the people when they firſt came aſhore; but, a little way up the country, there was a town where a miniſter was ſettled. When the inhabitants were informed of the circumſtances of the baniſhed, they invited all who were able to travel to come and live among them, ſent horſes for thoſe who were not, and entertained them that winter freely, and with great kindneſs. Next ſpring Mr Johnſtoun claimed the priſoners as his property, upon the death of Pitlochie his father-in law, and got them all ſummoned before the court of the province. After hearing both ſides the governor called a jury, who acquitted the priſoners; whereupon moſt of them retired to New-England, where they were very kindly entertained, and employed according to their different ſtations and capacities. Many of them died in the plantations, and the reſt returned to their native country at the happy revolution, as Mr Riddel, William Niven, and Robert MacLellan of Barmagechan.

This laſt-mentioned gentleman underwent a ſeries of ſufferings during this infamous period. In February 1666, a party from Sir James Turner came and lived upon him at diſcretion, till he ſhould pay theſe exorbitant ſums impoſed upon him for his non-conformity. When Mr MacLellan prayed Sir James that the ſoldiers might be removed, he was confined in his court of guard till he ſhould pay his fines, and the ceſs for maintaining the army. At laſt his fine was fixed to 600 merks, and a party of horſe was ſent to quarter upon him, to each of whom he was obliged to give two ſhillings ſterling a day till he paid his fine. This heavy oppreſſion conſtrained him to join thoſe who roſe at Pentland. When that party was diſperſed, he fled to England, where he lived privately four years. He returned again to Scotland, and joined the party at Bothwell. Upon which he was again forfeited, his family diſperſed, and forced to retire to England, where about the end of 1684, he and ſeveral other Scotſmen were apprehended by ſquire Dacres, and ſent priſoner to Dumfries. He lay in irons for ſeveral days in the caſtle there, and was, with ſeveral others, ſent to Dunotter, where he did partake of the ſufferings of that diſmal place, and had his lot with the reſt of the baniſhed. It pleaſed God to preſerve him and his three children, during the voyage, while his wife and other three were left in Scotland to the care of providence. He was ſo weakened by ſickneſs, that he was obliged to be carried aſhore. However, he ſoon recovered, and ſet up a plantation at Wood bridge in New-Jerſey, which he purchaſed, and where he had the advantage of hearing the goſpel preached by the reverend Mr Archibald Riddell. This gentleman continued here from December this year, till June 1689, when he reſolved to return to Britain upon his hearing the good news of the revolution. Accordingly Barmagechan, Mr Riddel and others, ſailed for England, and on the 2d of Auguſt reached the Engliſh coaſt; but they were taken by a French man of War, and carried to Nantz, from thence to a common jail at Rochefort, where were near 200 Engliſh and Dutch priſoners, the moſt of whom were ſent to Thoulon. They were chained two and two by the arm, and at firſt each ten pair were tied with a rope, but, that retarding the journey, after the ſecond day the ropes were no more uſed. Mr Riddell was chained to his ſon, a boy of ten years of age, for whom they were at pains to make three different chains before they could get one ſmall enough for his wriſts. Many died in this journey. When Mr MacLellan, through age and weakneſs, was unable to travel, he applied to the captain for the benefit of one of their carts, but was anſwered by many laſhes of his whip on the face, by which he loſt the ſight of one of his eyes. After a ſix weeks march, they at laſt got to Thoulon, where they were put into a large old ſhip, where he continued 19 months, though all the reſt, after a month's time, returned the ſame way they came to Rochfort, and from thence to Denain near St. Malo, where Mr Riddell continued more than a year, in a vault of an old caſtle, with ſome hundreds of other priſoners.

They lay on ſtraw, and never changed but once a month, and ſo over-run with naſtineſs and vermin. After twenty two months, Mr Riddell and his

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his ſon were exchanged for two popiſh prieſts, which the the council of Scotland gave for them. When the priſoners at Thoulon were releaſed, by another exchange, the French King would not ſuffer them to return through France; but gave them a paſs, and put them on board a ſhip bound for Genoa, where Barmagechan got a Hamburgh veſſel bound for Cadiz in Spain, from whence he came in a fleet bound for Amſterdam; but by a ſtorm they were drove on the back of Ireland, and the ſhip he was in was forced into Bantray bay there. The Iriſh ſeized the company, ſtripped Mr MacLellan of his cloaths, and kept him amongſt them eleven days, ſo that through the hard ſhips he met with, he fell ill; but at laſt he was releaſed, and got ſafe home to his own houſe at Barmagechan, 31ſt October 1691. From the whole it appears, that all the ſufferings of this gentleman were owing to the perſecution in Scotland. But to return.

On the 11th of September, the council ordered the advocate to proſecute more that were concerned in the attempt of the earl of Argyll; but, as I know not the iſſue of it, I paſs it over.

On the 16th they iſſued a proclamation for keeping the king's birth-day, October 14th, as a ſolemn anniverſary thankſgiving, 'and therein to commemorate his moſt conſpicuous entry to his royal government, and miraculous deliverances;' and, that the reader may ſee what ſolid ground there was for this,

On the 19th a letter from the king was read in council, requiring them to call for the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and prohibit them from proceeding to any election of magiſtrates or town-council, for the enſuing year, till his majeſty declares his pleaſure to the contrary. If this was not a direct infringement of the privileges of the royal burghs, let the reader judge. Accordingly the magiſtrates were called, and had the king's pleaſure ſignified to them. Theſe infringements were as a preface to what followed in England as to corporations much of the ſame nature.

From ſome letters that paſſed at this time, between the king and counſel, it appears that the miniſters of ſtate in Scotland were not harmonious among themſelves. Informations were taken from Mr John Veitch, and accounts were ſaid to be given by Sir John Cochran, with relation to a correſpondence carried on between the lord regiſter ſecretary Murray, and lord Melvil, and ſome pieces of miſmanagement of the advocate. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that 'Cochran had a rich father, the earl of Dundonald; and he offered the prieſts L. 5000 to ſave his ſon. They wanted a ſtock of money for managing their deſigns, ſo they interpoſed ſo effectually that the bargain was made; but, to cover it, Cochran petitioned the council that he might be ſent to the king, for he had ſecrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the king himſelf. He was upon that brought to London; and, after he had been for ſome time in private with the king, the matters he had diſcovered were ſaid to be of ſuch importance, that, in conſideration of that, the king pardoned him. It was ſaid, that he diſcovered all their negotiations with the elector of Bradenburgh and the prince of Orange; but this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain, for the prince told the doctor he had never ſeen Cochran; but the ſecret came to be known ſoon after.' Paſſing therefore theſe things.

Executions being now very much over, the old trade of fines for conventicles was revived. For one gentleman was fined this month in no leſs ſum than 60,000l. Scots, or L. 5000 Sterling, for his own and his lady's nonconformity.

On the 5th of October, the above-mentioned Mr John Veitch, miniſter of Weſtruther, was made cloſe priſoner at Edinburgh, and his keeper ſolemnly ſworn never to ſuffer any word to come in to him, or go out from him, without the knowledge of the council or their committee. Two ſoldiers were ordered conſtantly to guard the door, pen and ink were taken from him, and thus he continued for 20 weeks.

The ſame day they made an act prohibiting the printing of any books of divinity till they were reviſed and licenſed by the ordinary of the place, and diſcharging all ſtationers and bookſellers from ſelling any ſuch books, under the penalty of confiſcation.

The ſame day another letter from the king was read, wherein his majeſty recommended Bailie Kennedy as his particular choice, to be elected provoſt of Edinburgh, leaving the magiſtrates to the uſual method of electing the reſt of the town-council; but one might readily think that the King might have named all as well as the chief magiſtrate, and taken upon himſelf to nominate magiſtrates in all the royal burghs through the kingdom.

The council having on the 29th, received information of two field conventicles in the pariſh of Camnethan, where ſeveral were preſent in arms, and Mr Renwick preached, Major Wedderburne of Gosford was ordered to inquire concerning thoſe who were preſent, and the heritors through whoſe lands they paſſed.

On the 12th of November a very extraordinary letter was read from the king, diſpenſing with an act of his very firſt parliament. As it is but ſhort, the tenor of it follows.

JAMES R.

RIght truſty, &c. we greet you well. Whereas, in the 12th act of our current parliament, intitled *Act of ſupply*, there is a clauſe ordaining all the commiſſioners therein named to take the oaths and teſt appointed by law; which clauſe we judge fit, for our ſervice, to require you to put vigorouſly in execution, excepting theſe in the liſt here incloſed, whom we have diſpenſed with from taking the ſame, and ſuch as we ſhall hereafter diſpenſe with under our royal hand. For doing whereof this ſhall be your warrant: and ſo we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 7th day of November 1685 and of our reign the firſt year

By his Majeſty's command,

MELFORD.

The liſt of thoſe diſpenſed with from taking the teſt contains the duke of Gordon, the earls of Seaforth and Tarquair, lord Oliphant, Richard Cockburn of Clerkingtoun, Alexander Irvine of Drum, John Gordon of Rothemay, Patrick Leſly of Balquhain, Sir George Gordon of Gight, William Menzies of Pitfoddels, James Innes of Drumgaſk, Adam Gordon of Auchmacoy, Francis Gordon younger of Craig, Mr Alexander Irvine of Lairny, Mr Richard Irvine of Kirktoun, the laird of Fetterneir, the lairds of Wartle-Leſly, Alexander Frazer of Kinnaries, MacDonald of Bindecula MacDonald of Largy, MacDonald of Caſſiltoun, Patrick Gordon of Glaſſyrum, John Grant of Ballindallach, James Gordon of Camdel, John Gordon of Baldorny, Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul.

It is eaſy to obſerve here that acts of parliament are no ſecurity under a popiſh prince, when he takes upon him to diſpenſe with them in this manner; for the king not only diſpenſed with the act as to the perſons above mentioned, but reſerved a power to himſelf to diſpenſe with it as to others whom he ſhould afterwards name.

John Niſbet of Hardhill, in the pariſh of Lowdoun, was apprehended about this time. This gentleman had been always active for religion, and an encourager of the goſpel as at that time preached in the fields. In 1664, having a child baptized by an ejected preſbyterian miniſter, the curate declared from the pulpit that he intended to excommunicate him next Lord's day, but was prevented by ſudden death. He was both at Pentland and Bothwell. In the former he was ſo grievouſly wounded that the enemy left him for dead, ſo that he eſcaped. At the latter he behaved with great bravery and courage, and eſcaped at that time likewiſe, but, being known, was proſcribed by proclamation, and a large reward offered for apprehending him. His eſtate and goods were ſeized, and his wife and four children ſtript of all and turned out of doors.

He ſuffered all kinds of diſtreſs from 1679. till November this year, when he, with three of his fellow-ſufferers, were ſurpriſed in a houſe in the pariſh of Fenwick, by lieutenant Niſbet a couſin of his own. They defended themſelves till the other three were killed on the ſpot, and Hardhill ſore wounded and taken. The lieu-

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tenant, having ordered him to be bound, aſked him what he thought of himſelf now. He anſwered, 'I think as much of Chriſt and his cauſe, for which I ſuffer, as ever; but I judge myſelf at a loſs, being in time, and my dear brethren, whom ye have murdered, being in eternity.' The lieutenant ſwore he had reſerved him for a farther judgment. John replied, 'If the Lord ſtand by me, and help me to be faithful to the death, I care not what piece of ſuffering I be put to endure.'

He was carried that night to Kilmarnock, and next morning to Ayr, where, by interceſſion of friends, a ſurgeon was permitted to dreſs his wounds; and here he was examined, and from thence ſent to Edinburgh; but that circumſtance is not material. It ſeems ſays an eye witneſs, all this was done that the lieutenant might have the reward publiſhed for apprehending him. My author has given his examination before the council, which, it ſeems, was on the 26th of November, from a letter under his own hand, wherein he ſays 'When he was brought before the council, he knew Perth, Linlithgow, and biſhop Paterſon, &c. The councillors told him that they believed he was acquainted with every thing among the rebels, and would take it as a favour if he would ingenuouſly tell what he knew.——He told them, when they came to particulars, he ſhould ſpeak nothing but the truth; but he could ſay he was more afraid to lie than to die; but he hoped they would be ſo much Chriſtians as to preſs him to anſwer nothing that would burden his conſcience.

'They aſked him what they did in their ſocieties and meetings? He anſwered, they ſung part of the pſalms, read ſome of the ſcripture, and prayed time about. *Q.* Why are they called ſocieties? *A.* I am ſurprized at ſuch a queſtion, ſince the thing is plain, and is the name ſuch meetings had in the beſt times of this church. *Q.* Where are they kept? *A.* In the wildeſt muirs and moſt retired places. *Q.* What do ye at your general meetings! (While ſtopping a little to conſider what to ſay to this, one of them anſwered, and gave a more particular and diſtinct account of every part of their way than he could do.) Will you own the king's authority? *A.* I will not. *A.* Why? do you not own the Scriptures or confeſſion of faith? (naming ſeveral places, and chap. xxiii. of the confeſſion.) *A.* I own both with all my heart; but the king is a Roman catholick, and I have not only been educated a Preſbyterian, but ſolemnly ſworn againſt popery. *Q.* What is that to you? His being popiſh does not bind you to be ſo too, nor hinder you to live in your own religion. *A.* The contrary appears; for no liberty is given to hear the goſpel, and we are put to the hardeſt ſufferings for hearing it. *Q.* It is not ſo: you may have the goſpel, to hear when you pleaſe; but your wild principles will not ſuffer you to hear it. *A.* The contrary is well known: you have taken away preſbyterian miniſters, and left none in the nation within our reach, and put ſuch in their places as are profligate wretches; ſo that poor people neither care nor dare join with them. *Q.* Were you and ſuch as you clear to join with Argyll? *A.* No more than with you. *Q.* Would you have joined with Monmouth? *A.* No. Another ſaid in banter, It ſeems they will have no king but Mr Renwick; and aſked him if he converſed with any other miniſters than Mr Renwick. He anſwered, he did not.——As to praying for their king, one of them ſaid he knew I was that much a Chriſtian that I would pray for all men. I told them that I reckoned myſelf bound to pray for all; but prayer being inſtitute by an holy God, who was the hearer of prayer, no Chriſtian was obliged to pray when every profligate commanded him; and that it was no advantage to their cauſe when they ſuffered ſuch a thing' He proceeded thus:'

'How it may be with me afterwards, I cannot poſitively ſay,——But this I can ſay, the Lord hath not quarrelled with me for any thing ſince I was a priſoner; but hath always waited to ſupply with all comfort, conſolation and ſtrength, as my neceſſity required. And now, when I cannot lay down my head, nor lift it up without help, and the irons are on my legs, yet, of all the caſes I ever was in, I had never more contentment. I can now give the croſs of Chriſt a more noble commendation than ever. ——Under all my wanderings, in all my toilings, a priſon was ſtill terrifying to me; but immediately at my taking he ſo ſhined on me, and ever ſince, that he and his croſs is to me far beyond whatever he was before: therefore let none feare, or ſtand at a diſtance from their duty, for fear of the croſs; for now I can ſay from experience, that it is as eaſy, yea, and more ſweet, to lie in priſon and irons, than it is to lie at liberty. But I muſt break off at preſent.'

The council this 26th of November ordered him to be proſecuted before the juſticiary. Two priſoners were ordered to be releaſed, and five to be baniſhed for conventicles, and refuſing the oaths.

On the 30th, John Niſbet of Hardhill was arraigned before the juſticiary. His own confeſſion was the proof againſt him; in which, among other things they ſaid that he declared, that the reaſon why he and thoſe who were in his company refuſed to join with Argyll, was becauſe one Clelland told them, that the ſaid Argyll, and his party were againſt all kingly government. My author is of opinion, that he declared no ſuch thing, it being very common for the clerks in writing down the anſwers of the ſufferers, to miſrepreſent them. And it is certain, that the only reaſon given by the ſocieties for not joining with Argyll, was, becauſe they could not eſpouſe his declarations as the ſtate of the quarrel, they not being concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottiſh covenants, and becauſe it opened a door for a ſinful confederacy. We have had inſtances of unfair dealings his way before now. Hardhill was brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the Graſs market of Edinburgh on the 4th of December next

The ſame 30th of November, John Welſh of Cornley, and Edward Marſhall of Knemuir, who had been formerly forfeited, and having been apprehended, were ordered to be executed on the 4th of December. The former got off by taking the teſt; but the latter ſuffered with John Niſbet of Hardhill.

Mean while Charles Maxwell was this month ſummoned before ſome court at Glencairn church, for collecting charity to the priſoners at Dunotter. He appeared, and, there appearing no proof againſt him, was diſmiſſed; but that ſame night a party was ordered to his houſe to take ten pounds, or goods to the value, for his wife's abſence from the court, though he knew nothing of her having been ſummoned, and to carry him priſoner to Dumfries. It was with difficulty he prevailed with them to take his bond, and his maſter ſurety, to appear at Dumfries when called under the penalty of L. 1000 Scots.

On the 4th of December, John Niſbet of Hardhill, and Edward Marſhall, ſuffered at the Graſs market of Edingburgh, according to their ſentence. Their laſt teſtimonies are in the Cloud of Witneſſes, *edit.* 4th.

Edward Marſhall left his teſtimony againſt all who had gone contrary to the covenanted work of reformation; owned that he was at Bothwell; but would not acknowledge it to be rebellion. They aſked him if he would own James VII. as king of Britain; he told them, that he owned him as far as he owned God, his cauſe, and people. On which ſome of them ſaid, that was not at all. Then they aſked if he would pray for the king of Britain. He replied, That this was not a place for prayer. Upon which they laughed, and ordered him to remove. After this account he exhorts his friends not to be diſcouraged with theſe threatenings of men for the cauſe of Chriſt; and concludes with recommending his wife and children to God, and taking a comfortable farewell of all worldly enjoyments.

John Niſbet, in his laſt teſtimony, which is in the Cloud of witneſſes, among other things, ſays, 'I have always, ſince the public reſolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their intereſt, thought it my duty to join with the lord's people in witneſſing againſt thoſe ſinful courſes; and now we ſee clearly that it has ended in nothing leſs than ——open doors, that are made wide, to bring in Popery, and ſet up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land. Wherefore it is the—— indiſpenſible duty of all who have any love to God, to his ſon the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,——to witneſs faithfully, conſtantly, and conſcientiouſly againſt all that the enemies have done, or are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of reforma-

tion.——And however it be, that many, both miniſters and profeſſors, are turning their backs upon Chriſt and his croſs, reproaching——you and teſtimony of the day, yet let not this weaken your hands;——for I aſſure you it will not be long to the fourth watch; and then he will come in garments died in blood, to raiſe up ſaviours upon mount Zion to judge the mount of Eſau, and then the houſe of Jacob and Joſeph ſhall be for fire, and the malignants, prelates, and papiſts ſhall be for ſtubble, the flame whereof ſhall be great. But my generation work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me, and waſhed me from all my ſins.' Then he goes on, declaring that he died adhering to the ſcriptures, and all the pieces of reformation attained to in Scotland from 1638 to 1649, and proteſting againſt popery, prelacy, the indulgence and the acceptors of it, and exhorting the people of God to forbear contentions and cenſuring one another, to keep up their fellowſhips and general meetings: and concludes, bidding farewell to all his dear fellow ſufferers, to his children and chriſtian friends, and with committing his ſpirit into the hands of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

And now I have the pleaſure to acquaint the reader, that there is but one execution more of this kind at Edinburgh during this infamous period; ſo that from this, to the beginning of 1688, we ſhall find things taking another turn. Meaſures were concerting for repealing the penal ſtatutes, and it was proper that the perſecution of the preſbyterians ſhould abate for a while, that the papiſts might get footing, and ſo complete the ruin of the reformation. But I ſhall relate things as much in the order of time as poſſible.

On the 9th of December the council baniſhed 17 more priſoners, and next day Mr John Mitchel of Balbardie was ordered to be diſcharged from paying any more fines for his wife's irregularities, becauſe of the king's letter in favour of regular huſbands.

On the 21ſt a proceſs was commenced by the advocate againſt the deceaſed Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth, Fletcher of Saltoun, and the lord Stair. A very long indictment was given in againſt them and read, but the trial was put off till January next. I ſhall now conclude this bloody year with ſome things of which I know not the dates.

Thomas Richards in the pariſh of Ballantrae was at laſt ſurpriſed by a party of Balquhan's ſoldiers while aſleep, who carried him with them to Stranrawer, and brought him back to Ballantrae. His friends not being able to prevail with him to comply, the commander ordered four of his men to ſhoot him in the fields; but things were ſo concerted that his friends again ſurrounded him, and prayed him to comply; but he told them he was not unwilling to die even a violent death, rather than make any ſinful compliances. Upon this his heroic and Chriſtian reſolution, the captain thought proper to proceed no farther. Thomas was taken to Glaſgow, where, after a month's impriſonment, his ears were cropt, and he was ſent with others to Jamaica, where he was ſold for ſeven years. He died juſt as his time of ſervitude was expired.

By order of the ſheriff of Wigtoun, a party came to Barn kirk in the pariſh of Penningham, and apprehended Sarah Stuart, the wife of William Kennedy, after having damaged the houſe and ſpoiled the furniture, and forced her to go out with them a-foot, with a child in her arms not quite nine months old, to Wigtoun, and leave the other three children behind her, without any to look after them, though the oldeſt was not eight years of age. She was kept eleven weeks priſoner at Wigtoun; for though ſhe was a conformiſt herſelf, yet, becauſe ſhe would not engage never to converſe with her huſband, nor to diſcover him, or inform againſt him, ſhe was brought to all this trouble; for the religion and government of this period were calculated to root out the principles of nature. This was very much parallel with the practice of the moſt wicked of the papiſts, who obliged ſome children to kindle the faggots wherewith their parents were burnt.

A party of Balquhan's men ſeized John Wallace of Knockbrae in the pariſh of New Glenluce, ſpoiled his houſe, and took away every thing they could, becauſe he refuſed the abjuration: nay, they brought in number of ſheep to the church, where they killed and roaſted them with a fire made of the pews. My author has this odd circumſtance well atteſted under the hand of the miniſter of that pariſh.

Many this year died in priſons, and in the way to them, and in their baniſhments; and theſe may all be reckoned to have ſuffered unto death, as James Glover of the pariſh of Tinwal, Andrew Ferguſon in the pariſh of Glencairn, John Munil, James Muncie burgeſs in Dumfries, John Muirhead bailie in Dumfries, James Carran burgeſs in Dumfries, Andrew Hunter and John Stock burgeſſes in the ſame town, Elilabeth Glendowning the wife of John Panter of the pariſh of Duriſdeer; John Renwick burgeſs in Dumfries, Andrew MacLeffan a freeman in the ſame town, and James Sittingtoun in the pariſh of Dunſcore, were baniſhed and died abroad. As all theſe were only from the ſhire of Nithſdale, what multitudes might be mentioned from other places is not hard to imagine.

Many honeſt people were ſcourged for their nonconformity, and then ſent to the plantations. Thus two women were ſcourged at Dumfries by the hangman, becauſe they would ſwear no oaths, and the youngeſt was ſent to Jerſey with Pitlochie. About the ſame time a poor woman, with a man whom they had prevailed with to take the teſt, were bound together and ſcourged through the ſaid town, becauſe he would not ſwear what wandering perſons he had entertained. Jean Dalziel, a tenant of Queenſberry's, was baniſhed becauſe ſhe would not ſwear never to converſe with her huſband, who was declared a fugitive; as was Agnes Hareſtanes, another of Queenſberry's tenants, becauſe ſhe would not promiſe to hear the curates, and diſcover the fugitives.

It is farther remarked at this time, that, when people were prevailed with to take the oaths, the managers likewiſe obliged them to promiſe to ſtand at the ſinging of the doxology, give all encouragement to the eſtabliſhed clergy, apprehend all fugitives and wanderers, and, when they could not apprehend them, that they would raiſe the hue and cry after them for three miles.

The rage againſt preſbyterians was not confined at this time to Scotland, but reached even to thoſe miniſters who had retired to Holland for ſhelter, as Meſſ. James Veitch, Alexander Pitcairn, George Campbell, Patrick Warner, and others. Theſe miniſters, and other perſecuted Scotſmen, had a weekly meeting for prayer. One, who called himſelf Robert Smith, attempted to be admitted among them. Mr Warner, not reliſhing his forwardneſs, and ſuſpecting him for a ſpy, put a ſtop to it. This fellow, who pretended to have been at Bothwell bridge, partly out of ſpite, and partly to get his hire, went to London, and, on the 24th of February this year, gave in an information, at Whitehall, which is publiſhed by Sprat in his copies of informations, p. 173 &c. This paper contains a heap of lies and falſehoods. He pretends to have ſeen Mr Warner at the council of war at Bothwell-bridge, whereas, from Drumclog to that defeat, he was never within forty miles of Bothwell. He alſo mentions Gordon of Earlſtoun elder, as being at that council of war, whereas, the action was over, and he was killed as he was riding to join them. I have not room to conſider the ſaid information in all its parts, neither is it material. However, it ſeems, this occaſioned orders to be given to the Engliſh reſident in Holland to inſiſt with the ſtates general, either to apprehend or to remove theſe baniſhed miniſters from Rotterdam, and their dominions. Something was done to pacify the reſident; but care was taken to give theſe miniſters notice of their danger, ſo that, for a little, they ſtept out of the way.

Thus I have, at laſt, got to the end of this bloody year, which has preſented us with a ſcene of perſecution that had not, at that time at leaſt, its parallel, except in France, where Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantz. The French king's edict of revocation, and other things relating to it, the reader may ſee at more length in my author, vol. II. p. 580. &c.

Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that 'this year 1685 muſt ever be remembered as the moſt fatal to the proteſtant religion. In February the king of England declared himſelf a papiſt. In June, Charles the elector Palatine dying without

without iſſue, the electoral dignity went to the houſe of Newburgh, a moſt bigotted popiſh family. In October the king of France recalled and vacated the edict of Nantz; and, in December, the duke of Savoy being brought to it, not only by the perſuaſions, but even by the threatenings of the court of France, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the Vaudois.' But I muſt leave theſe things.

The council regiſters end the 31ſt of December, from which time to the revolution, none of the warrants were booked. Why their actings were not recorded after this, my author does not know the reaſon, but we ſhall now ſoon get to the end of this hiſtory.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the proceedings of the juſticiary and parliament; the King's remarkable letter in favour of the Papiſts; the death and character of Mr Alexander Peden; the ſtate of Mr Renwick and his followers; the various branches of perſecution and acts of indulgence, with other things to the end of the year 1687.

THE perſecution, in ſome of its branches, was not ſo violent, during the three following years, as before. Moſt of the preſbyterian miniſters were baniſhed. The gentlemen and heritors who favoured preſbytery were either dead, forfeited, or baniſhed. Many of the common people were cut off, tranſported to the plantations, ſhut up in priſons, or made compliances; ſo that the government had but few to perſecute, except Mr Renwick and his adherents. But the chief motive of abating the former ſeverities was this: the king, and thoſe about him, had formed the deſign of repealing the penal ſtatutes againſt the Roman catholics, it would therefore have been very indecent to continue the perſecution againſt diſſenting proteſtants; but then, though the acts of perſecution in ſome meaſure ceaſed, yet the ſpirit ſtill remained, and ſome remarkable inſtances of cruelty are recorded by my author.

Many were the fines and exorbitant exactions made upon poor people, of which the following is well vouched from the pariſh of Calder. James Donaldſon portioner of Ralbreſton, for a meeting for prayer at his houſe on a Lord's day, was fined and paid L. 200; John Baxter for ditto, L. 40; Walter Donaldſon for his wife's being preſent, L. 36. Several other people were fined, making in all L. 816. 16 s. Scots. William Stirling, the bailie-depute of the regality of Glaſgow, who impoſed thoſe fines, got them for his pains, which doubtleſs animated his zeal, for he had a gift of all the fines for church-irregularities in that pariſh below heritors. He uſed to threaten the poor people with preſent impriſonment, unleſs they engaged to bring a certain ſum by ſuch a day.

Plunderings and oppreſſions ſtill continued. In the pariſh of Dairy, three men having retired to a wood for ſocial prayer, and, being overheard, a party came and fired upon them, but they happily eſcaped; which ſo enraged the ſoldiers, that they plundered the neighbourhood, and brought the heritors there to much trouble.

In the beginning of this year, a party came to the pariſh of Stonehouſe, in Lanerkſhire, and carried off eight men, and two women who had ſucking infants at their breaſts, for alledged hearing an ejected miniſter. The poor mothers were forced to leave their tender infants to the care of Providence. Another party, commanded by Hallyards, dreadfully oppreſſed the neighbouring pariſh of Glaſford, plundered the houſe, and ſpoiled the goods of one Janet Scot a widow, becauſe it was alledged her ſon had been at Bothwell. Many gentlemen who had been with Argyll, or favoured his cauſe, were forced to conceal themſelves in dens and caves of the earth; and others were forced to pay prodigious compoſitions for their fines.

Beſides Mr Renwick, there were ſome preſbyterian miniſters, both laſt year and this, who preached with the utmoſt ſecrecy, as Meſſ. George Barclay, Robert Langlands, George Guthrie, John Black, and Duncan Campbell.

The lords of juſticiary went on in their forfeitures; and, on the 4th of January, about 80, moſtly of the name of Campbell, were indicted, and ſentenced to be executed when apprehended. Among others were Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, Campbell of Barbreck, &c. &c.

The ſame day the proceſs againſt the deceaſed duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth was put off till February, when he was forfeited, and Mr Fletcher of Saltoun was proſecuted for being with Monmouth, brought in guilty, and ſentenced to be executed when apprehended. Lord Stair's proceſs was put off from time to time, till at laſt a pardon was procured for him. His crimes were receiving rent from rebels and traitors, harbouring Mr Alexander Lenox, Mr Alexander Roſs, Mr Alexander Peden, and Mr Alexander Hamilton, who were all called vagrant preachers, ſuffering them to preach and baptize children in his houſe, and drawing a petition for, and giving his advice to ſome of the rebels. On the 18th Duncan Campbell of Allangreg junior, for his accuſion to the late earl of Argyll, was ordered to be executed, along with his father, on the 9th of July next, but remiſſions were procured before that time.

On the 26th of January, the ſingularly pious Mr Alexander Peden died in full aſſurance of faith, and was privately interred in the church of Auchinleck. He was miniſter of Glenluce before the reſtoration. P. Walker tells us, from eye witneſſes, that, as he came down from the pulpit upon preaching his farewel ſermon, when ejected, he knocked on the door three times with his bible, ſaying, 'I arreſt thee, in my Maſter's name, that never any enter thee but ſuch as come in at the door as I did.' Accordingly it was remarked, that neither curate nor indulged ever entered that pulpit till after the revolution, when a preſbyterian miniſter preached there.

During the laſt year he wandered from place to place through Ayrſhire and Galloway. He was indefatigable in prayer, and was one of thoſe fearers of God's name with whom the ſecret of the Lord was; for he certainly foretold ſeveral things that came to paſs. John Ker of Kerſland, Eſq; in his memoirs, ſpeaking of Mr Peden, ſays, 'Abundance of this good man's predictions are well known to be already come to paſs.'—— Accordingly he mentions the following: 'When he was ſick unto death, in the year 1686, he told his friends, that he ſhould die in a few days; but having, ſaid he, foretold many things, which will require ſome time before they be verified, I will give you a ſign which will confirm your expectation that they will as ſurely come to paſs as thoſe you have already ſeen accompliſhed before your eyes; I ſhall be decently buried by you; but if my body be ſuffered to reſt in the grave where you ſhall lay it, then I have been a deceiver, and the Lord hath not ſpoken by me; whereas, if the enemy come a little afterwards to take it up, and carry it away to bury it in an ignominious place, then I hope you will believe that God Almighty hath ſpoken by me, and conſequently there ſhall not one word fall to the ground.' Accordingly about forty days after his interment, a troop of dragoons came, lifted his corpſe, and carried them two miles to Cumnock, and buried them there under the gallows.

Mr Peden, through the miſrepreſentations of ſome, was much alienated from Mr Renwick, and ſpoke bitterly againſt him. This exceedingly grieved Mr Renwick, ſtumbled many of his followers, and confirmed his adverſaries, who boaſted that now Mr Peden alſo was turned his enemy; but, when he was a dying, he ſent for Mr Renwick, and aſked him if he was that Mr. Renwick there was ſo much noiſe about. Mr Renwick gave him a decent and proper anſwer, and ſuch an account of his converſion and call to the miniſtry, of his principles, and the grounds of his contending againſt tyranny and defections, that Mr Peden was ſatisfied, and expreſſed his ſorrow for giving credit to the reports that were ſpread againſt him. As for thoſe papers which were handed about under Mr Peden's name, they are upon good grounds looked upon as ſpurious.

Mr Renwick was not only expoſed to the reſentment of the managers, but alſo ſuffered exceedingly from the tongues of thoſe who had been formerly perſecuted for the ſame cauſe; particularly one of the miniſters who came over with Argyll accuſed him, and thoſe that adhered to him, '1. Of overturning preſbyterian government even to the foundation, and putting in its room a popular confuſion, in committing the trial, both of the degree of

ſcandal

ſcandal and cenſure, to perſons that are not church officers; 2. Of thruſting themſelves moſt unhappily into magiſtrate's room, making themſelves a convention of eſtates, and managing both civil and church-affairs by the ſame perſons and aſſembly; 3. Of impoſing moſt unhappy reſtrictions on miniſters in the exerciſe of their miniſtry, and, when they cannot own nor preach upon theſe terms, calling them ſilent and unfaithful, and requiring them to be diſowned, there being now not a miniſter in Scotland, England, or Ireland, ſave one, as he (Mr Renwick) ſaith, in a letter to a friend in Ireland, and he no miniſter of that church either, and that by his own confeſſion.'

His anſwer was in ſubſtance as follows. '1. That they never committed the trial, either of ſcandal or cenſure, in a judicial way, to the people, but only——allowed them to judge how they themſelves were to carry towards the ſcandalous, if the ſcandal might bear the weight of withdrawing from him.——Simple withdrawing is not the inflicting of a cenſure, but only teſtifying that it ſhould be inflicted by ſuch as are competent, Rom. xvi. 17 2 Theſſ. iii. 14.——In a broken ſtate of the church, when church judicatories cannot be had, there muſt be ſome ſuch private withdrawing, elſe all muſt go into confuſion; the faithful partake of other mens ſins, private and popular means of reclaiming offending brethren, and the teſtimonies of the faithful, ſhall fall to the ground. This is not to overturn presbyterian government.——2. If declining magiſtrates, becauſe tyrants, be thruſting ourſelves into the magiſtrate's room, then every man declining a prelate, becauſe not of Chriſt's appointment, thruſts himſelf into the prelate's room.—This is all the import of our declarations. How can it be inſtructed that we have acted as a convention of eſtates? The mere diſowning of the preſent government will not infer it.—As to the expreſſion, what needs ſo much fighting about it?——I wiſh theſe words had been otherwiſe expreſſed. Why are men made ſuch offenders for words? Will ſuch a ſpirit be helpful to the healing of breaches?——We hold none of theſe declarations, or any other things, to have been emitted by judicatories. The ſame perſons having eccleſiaſtical authority, and others having civil authority, cannot concur in one action. We leave this to the tyrant's council, made up of lords ſpiritual and temporal, as they call them. 3. We never in the leaſt intended any reſtrictions on miniſters, but only deſired they might declare the whole council of God, and would have them take a liberty to preach up all duties, and down all ſin. This is no reſtriction or impoſition.——I am againſt the people's deſiring any thing of miniſters but what is divinely bound upon them by the word of God, and eccleſiaſtically by our national and ſolemn covenants, and the acts of our general aſſemblies. As to that, that I ſhould have ſaid in a letter, that there is not a miniſter in Scotland, &c. faithful ſave one, I forgive the ſo ſaying of me, but I deny the charge.——If I have written of miniſters unfaithfulneſs in univerſal terms, it is a wide conſequence to infer I aſſerted there was but one.——That by my own confeſſion, I am not a miniſter of this church, I altogether deny. I ſaid, I am a miniſter where ever I have a call from the people and do embrace it. O that all thoſe who ſhall agree together in heaven were agreeing upon earth! I think, if my blood could be a mean to procure that, I could willingly offer it.'

There were ſeveral more letters interchanged between him and the ſame miniſter, beſides ſome from other hands, containing many accuſations, eſpecially a large information, ſtuffed, ſays Mr Shields, with the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations, all accumulated in one draught of a paper, divulged not only in Scotland, but carried over to Holland and very induſtriouſly ſpread by one Alexander Gordon, once a member of theſe ſocieties. Mr Wodrow ſays, that, in the entry of this year 1686, Robert Cathcart, a very pious and knowing chriſtian in Carrick, who had formerly joined with the ſocieties, but who was now very much for union, and quitting their heights, drew up an information relating to Mr Renwick and his party, that he had no thoughts of its going abroad, but, when he had communicated it to a friend, it took air. It is in his appendix; and there he charges the ſocieties with taking upon them the government in church and ſtate, and the management of both civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, aſſuming to themſelves the name and title of convention of eſtates, impoſing reſtrictions on miniſters, making canons, &c. Whether ſuch an information as this was a proper mean for union muſt be left with the reader.

On the 28th of January a general meeting of the ſocieties was held at Frierminion, to which the above-mentioned Alexander Gordon, John Dick, and ſome others, came, who were, ſays my author, for uniting with and hearing other ſuffering miniſters as well as Mr Renwick. There was a long conference with the laſt mentioned perſons about many things which he does not inſert, but tells us, that, after they had owned their hearing of Mr Barclay, when he had ſatisfied them in converſation, and becauſe they would not abſolutely diſown Argyll's declaration, and promiſe to do nothing for the future without the allowance of the meeting, they debarred them in time to come from their meeting, and would have no more fellowſhip with them.

When they returned to their conſtituents there was a large meeting of thoſe who were for union with the other ſuffering miniſters, to which an account was given of the conference at Frierminion, and R. Cathcart's information was read, and a copy of it ſent to ſeveral presbyterian miniſters for their judgment. My author ſays farther, that this ſtep of the general meeting at Frierminion, in breaking fellowſhip with ſuch as were for hearing other honeſt miniſters, and endeavouring to make up breaches among ſufferers, did them much harm in the eyes of ſober onlookers.

The reverend Mr Shields tells us, that there were with Mr Gordon ſeveral others who followed the informing trade; eſpecially in Carrick, one Robert Cathcart, John Dick, and others, who never left off, with their clamorous tongues and ſcribling pens, to ſpread their accuſations againſt Mr Renwick: and that Cathcart, in a particular manner, accuſed him and his adherents, 'as ſuch whom the Lord had given up, in a great meaſure, to the deluſions of their own deceitful hearts, to believe lies, &c. and perſevere in the breach of our known covenants in two points.

I. In that of error and hereſy; for, 1. With the papiſts, they would have their church infallible; their practice teſtifies this, in declining a miniſter, be he never ſo faithful, for the leaſt alledged perſonal failing;—2. With the independents, upon the leaſt failing of a miniſter they take upon them the power to depoſe. I think, ſaid he, they needed not to have troubled the church at Groningen with the ordination of their Rabbi Mr Renwick, they might as well have ordained him themſelves, ordination being as much in their power as depoſition; 3. In very little they differ from the ſeparatiſts.

II. In that of church diſcipline and government;——as, 1. Their ſending over a youth, ſcarce read in the common heads of divinity, to Groningen, a moſt corrupt church,——having declined the faithful miniſters of the church of Scotland, and ſet him up in their room, as Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat did when he made idol calves, crying, 'Behold thy Gods, O Iſrael!'——2. By their meddling with things which only belong to a church judicatory, and the higheſt church-judicatory; not only, being laick men, they examine faults, yea, abſolve the guilty, but alſo conſtitute laws and make acts, which none but a general aſſembly could do.——Muſt the goſpel live and die with Mr Renwick, ſuppoſe he was a miniſter of the church of Scotland, which he is not?—For the church of Groningen had no more power to ordain a miniſter of the church of Scotland, than the clergy of England had, long ago, to conſecrate Sharp archbiſhop of St. Andrews.' This was a ſevere accuſation of being given up of God to believe lies, &c, &c. But I ſhall abridge Mr Shields's account of the anſwers given to the above, and the rather that my author Mr Wodrow has entirely concealed theſe.

Mr Renwick, and thoſe with him, lamented their breach of covenant, and wiſhed their brethren, with whom they contended, were ſenſible of theirs in all its parts and articles, for which they were obliged to diſcountenance them, as in complying with, and conniving at many things averſive of the covenanted reformation, *viz.* the ſupremacy in the former indulgences, &c. their having many of them made

made their peace with papiſts; all have owned the head of papiſts, the great pillar and promoter of popery, &c.—But then, though themſelves confeſſed many breaches, yet they denied theſe mentioned by this accuſer, who, ſays Mr Shields, believes, or ignorantly miſrepreſents thoſe with whom he would compare Mr Renwick and his followers. 'For, 1. The papiſts never pretended that every one of their doctors or laicks were infallible,——and the men he accuſes have been ſo far from pretending to infallibility, that they have not declined to publiſh their reſentments and confeſſions of their miſtakes to the world;——but that error they will not confeſs,——that ever they declined a faithful miniſter for the leaſt alledged perſonal failings.——2. He belies the independents, in alledging they take upon them to depoſe miniſters for the leaſt failing; they will diſown that. Mr Renwick did ever abhor that people ſhould take upon them to depoſe miniſters for any failing, the leaſt or the greateſt, nor did he ever allow people ſo much as to withdraw from miniſters upon the leaſt failing, but upon ſuch ſcandals as did bear the weight of withdrawing according to ſcripture rules. They had reaſon and neceſſity to trouble the church at Groningen, not to make a rabbi of him, but——to ordain him a miniſter of the New Teſtament, ſeeing they could neither have clearneſs in point of duty, nor confidence in point of ſucceſs, to ſeek or obtain ordination for him from miniſters at home;——and they did always diſclaim all power either of ordaining or depoſing themſelves. 3. He does not ſay wherein they either agree or differ from the ſeparatiſts. There were never ſeparatiſts who depoſed miniſters for the leaſt failing.——4. If he had been a youth, ſcarce read in the common heads of divinity, he diſcovers himſelf very ill read, when he calls this a breach of church government, to ſend ſuch a youth to a foreign univerſity to be fitted for ordination,——and then, after trial—to be ordained by a reformed ſiſter church, found in their own, and not contradicting our teſtimony, when ordination could not be had at home, without the breach of ſeveral ſtanding conſtitutions of the government; yea, without yielding to ſeveral corruptions threatening the diſſolution and perverſion of the whole of it, yea, without bowing to ſome of the calves Jeroboam had ſet up; for, without——ſubjecting himſelf, either to the idol of prelacy or ſupremacy, or ſomething equivalent thereunto, he could not have got ordination in Scotland at that time.——5. They whom he accuſes never examined faults, nor abſolved the guilty, in a way belonging to any church-judicature, nor in a way not competent to the meaneſt private perſon——in the kingdom;——nor did they ever make any laws or acts, but ſuch as any two or three in ſociety might make, by common conſent, to determine one another; nor did they ever ſay, or dream, that the goſpel ſhould live and die with Mr Renwick; but that they were content to live and die with him, in partaking of goſpel ordinances,—whom they eſteemed a faithful miniſter of the church of Scotland, and worthy to ſit as member of any church-judicatory therein. The church of Groningen did not make him a miniſter of the church of Scotland, but ordained him a miniſter of Chriſt,——a miniſter of the church univerſal, (which is the primary relation of all miniſters,) a miniſter in any church; and, as a perſecuted people in Scotland called him to be their miniſter, ſo he came to have as good right to be a miniſter of the church of Scotland, as Mr Rough, Mr Knox and ſeveral reformers, who were not ordained by the miniſters of Scotland—and therefore the difference between the church of Groningen's ordaining Mr Renwick, &c. and the clergy of England's conſecrating Sharp——is as great, as between a reformed church ordaining a faithful officer of Chriſt's kingdom, and a deformed church conſecrating a knave, no officer of Chriſt's, but of antichriſt's kingdom.'

Thus I have laid before the reader the ſubſtance of theſe unhappy debates, in the very words of the contending parties, and ſhall leave him to judge for himſelf, and proceed to other things of a more public nature, when I have obſerved that theſe things put Mr Renwick and his followers to publiſh their informatory vindication, which took up ſeveral months before it was ready for the preſs.

About the end of January, or beginning of February, there were ſome tumults in Edinburgh, by which the lord Perth the chancellor was much affronted. Biſhop Burnet gives the following account of it: 'Affairs in Scotland went on much in the ſame way as in England. Some few proſylctes were gained.——The earl of Perth prevailed with his lady, as ſhe was dying, to change her religion, and, in a very few weeks after her death, married, very indecently a ſiſter of the duke of Gordon's——The earl ſet up a private chapel in the court for maſs, which was not kept ſo private but that many frequented it. The town of Edinburgh was much alarmed at this; and the rabble broke in with ſuch fury that they defaced every thing in the chapel; and if the earl of Perth had not been conveyed away in diſguiſe, he had very probably fallen a ſacrifice to popular rage. The guards upon the alarm, came and diſperſed the rabble. Some were taken, and one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When at the place of execution, he told Mr Malcolm, one of the miniſters of the town who attended him, that he was offered his life if he would accuſe the duke of Queenſberry of having ſet on the tumult, but he would not ſave his life by ſo falſe a calumny. The inacautious miniſter did not call any to bear witneſs of this, but went from the execution to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and told him what had paſt. The archbiſhop acquainted the duke with it, and he wrote to court and complained of it. The king ordered the matter to be examined; ſo the poor miniſter, having none to witneſs what had been ſaid to him, was declared the author of that calumny, and turned out: but how ſeverely ſoever thoſe in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the public is apt to judge true.' Thus far the biſhop.

A letter from the king dated the 9th of February, came to the miniſters of ſtate, declaring his reſentment of the affront given to his chief miniſter, and ordering thoſe concerned to be brought to condign puniſhment.

Great care was taken at this time to corrupt the youth. And among other things a bond was deviſed, to be ſigned by the ſtudents of the college of Edinburgh, declaring their abhorrence of all tumults, and engaging for the future to diſcourage and diſcountenance them. How far the ſtudents complied with this bond, my author does not know.

But it is well known that a ſtorm of Popery and ſlavery was ready to deſtroy the three nations; and the poor proteſtants in Ireland lay moſt open to the impending deluge, from the multitude of Papiſts who were ready to act over again their former bloody maſſacres. Some miniſters there, and others, had therefore the juſtice and courage to warn their fellow proteſtants of the danger they were in, which was very diſpleaſing to the earl of Tyrconnel the lord-deputy, who therefore emitted a proclamation on the 21ſt of February, againſt treaſonable ſpeeches; for, it ſeems, it was reckoned treaſon to preach or ſpeak againſt popery, or the danger the king's proteſtant ſubjects were in from the deſigns then evidently formed againſt them; but, as the affairs of Ireland are out of my way, I ſhall not trouble the reader with them. About this time the king wrote to the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, commanding them to enjoin their clergy not to preach upon controverted points *i. e.* againſt popery, according to the directions given by the late king 1662. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

On the 1ſt of March David Robertſon writer in Coupar was declared fugitive. And in this month Mr Renwick, deſiring to ſee his old acquaintances, went, with ſome of his fellow-wanderers, to Carrick, where, ſays Mr Shields, they were unexpectedly rencountered with the forementioned Robert Cathcart, and others, who challenged him for coming and offering to preach there; and told him that the people in Carrick were neither for meeting nor converſing with him. After ſome debate about the breach of former communion, they converſed concerning Cathcart's letter and information, which he owned he had wrote, and intended to explain; but that he had wrote of them not as they were, but as they would be; and that he converſed with Mr Renwick as a miniſter of the goſpel, but not as a miniſter of the church of Scotland, and defended his accuſations againſt the church of Groningen as Eraſtian, and holding three ſprinklings in

baptiſm. Mr Renwick replied, that many in that church, called it a perſecution to term them Eraſtian and that though they were for three ſprinklings in baptiſm, yet without ſuperſtition, ſince they looked upon it as indifferent. Upon this Mr Renwick was exclaimed againſt, as if he defended the practice of three ſprinklings in baptiſm.' But I ſhall not trouble the reader with theſe debates farther than to obſerve, that, if Mr Renwick and his adherents were too ſtiff and rigorous in points which ſome may look upon as indifferent, they who contended with him do not ſeem to have acted a proper part for bringing about a reconciliation. But theſe things I muſt leave with the reader, and go on to things of a more public nature.

It was known in March that the parliament was to meet next month, and the king's deſign to repeal the penal laws was made no ſecret of, and no method was left unattempted to bring the members to a compliance. The earl of Moray was ſent down commiſſioner; but, according to the biſhop of Sarum, two accidents happened before the opening of the parliament, which made great impreſſions on the minds of many.

'Whiteford, ſon to one of their biſhops, before the wars had turned papiſt. He was the perſon who killed Doriſlaus in Holand, and, to get out of Cromwel's reach, had gone into the ſervice of the duke of Savoy, and was there when the laſt maſſacre was committed on the Vaudois. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a ſmall penſion given him after the reſtoration. He died a few days before the parliament met, and called for ſome miniſters, to whom he declared his renunciation and abhorrence of popery for its cruelty, and owned his having been guilty of ſome execrable murders in Piedmont, both of women and children, which had purſued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever after. He had gone to prieſts of all ſorts, who had juſtified him in all he had done, and given him abſolution: but his conſcience purſued him ſo, that he died, as in deſpair, crying out againſt the bloody religion.

The other was more ſolemn. Sir Robert Sibbald, a doctor of phyſic, and the moſt learned antiquary in Scotland, who had lived in a courſe of philoſophical virtue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the earl of Perth to turn papiſt, in order to obtain that certainty which he could not find upon his own principles. But he was aſhamed of his conduct almoſt as ſoon as he made his compliance, went to London, and for ſome months retired from all company, and, after cloſe application to ſtudy, came to be ſo convinced of the errors of popery, that he returned to Scotland ſome weeks before the parliament, and could not be eaſy in his own mind till he made a public recantation. The biſhop of Edinburgh was ſo much a courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might be offenſive to the court, he ſent him to do it in a church in the country; but the recantation of ſo learned a man, upon ſo much ſtudy, had a great effect upon many.'

Many of the moſt noted of the eſtabliſhed clergy were brought over to the meaſures of the court, or at leaſt to be ſilent at this juncture. Vaſt numbers of them were become Arminians, and ſeveral were running headlong into popiſh tenets. The bulk of the inferior clergy through the country were groſsly ignorant, negligent, and many of them ſcandalous and profane; ſo that no ſtand againſt popery could be expected from them. The biſhops were a mixed company, and ſome of them did appear at this time againſt the meaſures of the court: but the only appearance made by the reſt of the clergy, againſt repealing the penal laws, was from the ſynod of Aberdeen, who, after ſome ſtruggle with time ſervers, agreed upon an addreſs to Mr George Haliburton their biſhop, in which they moſt emphatically intreated him not to give his conſent to the taking off or weakening the force of the penal ſtatutes which they looked upon as one of the hedges of the proteſtant religion. Biſhop Burnet ſays, 'the nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and inſenſible in matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal againſt popery. Few proſelytes were made after this.

The epiſcopal clergy were in many places ſo ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about Edinburgh, and in other places, began to mind thoſe matters, and recovered ſome degrees of credit by the oppoſition they made to popery. But the preſbyterians, though they were now freed from the great ſeverities they had long ſmarted under, yet expreſſed on all occaſions, their unconquerable averſion to popery.

The parliament ſat down on the 29th of April, and the king's letter was read, wherein after thanking them for the ſervices they had done in the laſt ſeſſion, and ſignifying how much he had conſidered their intereſt, and ſent down an indemnity for all crimes committed againſt his royal perſon and authority, he adds, 'And, whilſt we ſhew theſe acts of mercy to the enemies of our perſon, crown, and royal dignity, we cannot be unmindful of others our innocent ſubjects, thoſe of the Roman catholic religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, been always affiſtant to the crown, in the worſt of rebellions and uſurpations, though they lay under diſcouragements hardly to be named; them we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end, that, as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, ſo by your aſſiſtance, they may have the protection of our laws, and that ſecurity under our government which others of our ſubjects have, not ſuffering them to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of. By doing whereof you will give a demonſtration of the duty and affection you have for us; and do us moſt acceptable ſervice. This love we expect you will ſhew to your brethren, as you ſee we are an indulgent father to you all.——

We need be at no loſs to underſtand whom the king means by his *enemies*. But it ſeems the favours deſigned for them were to depend upon thoſe he expected for his innocent popiſh ſubjects; but how far they aſſiſted the crown in the worſt of rebellions is not ſo eaſy to conceive, ſince, generally ſpeaking, they have been continually plotting againſt it ſince the reformation. No doubt they were hearty wellwiſhers to king James, and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed at his heartily recommending them to the care of this parliament. 'This love,' ſays he, 'we expect to your brethren, as we are an indulgent father to you all. Upon which my author, who has made many excellent remarks on this letter, well worth the reader's peruſal, ſays, They were mightily obliged to their father's indulgence, for bringing in his butchering children, their baſtard brethren, and making them heirs and portioners with the heirs of the houſe.

The commiſſioner ſeconded this letter with a particular account of the many advantages the king intended for Scotland with reſpect to trade, and endeavoured to perſuade them that his majeſty's deſires were as much calculated for promoting their intereſt as his own ſatisfaction, and concluded with ſaying. By this you will ſhew yourſelves the beſt and moſt affectionate ſubjects, to the beſt, the incomparable, and moſt heroic prince in the world.'

But, notwithſtanding all theſe fine ſpeeches, the parliament was not ſo forward as uſual in returning an anſwer to the king's letter; neither did they chuſe at this time to embarraſs themſelves with their compliments to the throne. Accordingly it was the 6th of May before they agreed on an anſwer; in which, as to what was deſired in favour of the papiſts, they expreſſed themſelves in theſe terms: 'As to that part of your majeſty's letter, relating to your ſubjects of the Roman catholic religion, we ſhall, in obedience to your majeſty's commands, and with tenderneſs to their perſons, take the ſame into our ſerious and dutiful conſideration, and go as great lengths therein as our conſcience will allow, not doubting that your majeſty will be careful to ſecure the proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law.' This is the firſt time, ſays my author, that he remembers that the parliament ſpeaks of their conſcience ſince the reſtoration.

The commiſſioner was at no ſmall pains, during the firſt month of the ſeſſion, in cloſeting the members, after the example of his royal maſter in England, and in uſing both threatnings and promiſes, in order to bring them to a compliance, but could not prevail with the moſt of the nobility and gentry, who continued in their oppoſing the deſired repeal.

No ſtone was left unturned in electing the lords of the articles, that the king's favourite ſcheme might meet with no oppoſition there. It was the 27th of May before any draught of an act was agreed to. When it was laid before the houſe, it was warmly oppoſed, and the courtiers were glad to have it remitted to the lords of the articles: but inſtead of bettering it, they made it more diſagreeable to the court; for, after all their debates, they only came into the following draught of an act.——The eſtates of parliament, taking to their ſerious conſideration his majeſty's deſire,—for granting eaſe and relief to his ſubjects, of the popiſh perſuaſion,—and as they are fully reſolved to adhere to the proteſtant religion,—which is, and always ſhall be dearer to them than all their worldly concerns; yet, ſo far as their religion and conſcience will allow, to yield a humble and dutiful compliance to his majeſty's deſires, therefore his majeſty, with advice, &c. ſtatutes and ordains, that thoſe of his majeſty's ſubjects, who are of the Romiſh religion, are and ſhall be under the protection of his majeſty's government and laws for their private and civil intereſts; and ſhall not for the exerciſe of their religion in their private houſes, (all public worſhip being hereby excluded,) incur the danger of ſanguinary and other puniſhments contained in any laws or acts of parliaments made againſt the ſame. It is always hereby declared that this immunity——to papiſts, for the exerciſe of their religion in their private houſes allenarly, ſhall not import any allowance or approbation of their religion, or any ways evacuate, infringe or prejudice the laws and acts of parliament made againſt popery, or in favour of the proteſtant religion,——particularly—the 6th act, parl. 3. of king Charles II. &c.

The chancellor, finding that this would not ſatisfy the King, and being uncertain whether it would paſs in the houſe, thought proper to drop it entirely, ſo that it was never brought into parliament. What debates were in the houſe, were when the firſt draught was laid before them.

Biſhop Burnet tells us, 'That the dukes of Hamilton and Queenſbery were ſilent in the debate, the former having promiſed not to oppoſe the motion, and the king was made to believe that the latter ſecretly managed the oppoſition. Roſs and Paterſon ſo entirely forgot what became their characters, that they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the parliament to comply with the king's deſire. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow oppoſed it but fearfully. Bruce biſhop of Dunkeld did oppoſe it openly and reſolutely, as did likewiſe Atkin biſhop of Galloway.' But the moſt of them fell in with the king's deſign, and the chief of them were active for the repeal. Biſhop Burnet ſays farther, that 'Roſs and Paterſon, the two governing biſhops, reſolved to let the king ſee how compliant they would be. Accordingly they procured an addreſs to be ſigned by ſeveral of their bench, offering to concur with the king in all that he deſired with relation to theſe of his own religion, (for the courtly ſtile was now, not to name popery any other ways, than by calling it *the king's religion*, provided the laws might ſtill continue in force, and be executed againſt the preſbyterians. With this Paterſon went up; but the earl of Middleton, to whom he ſhewed it, perſuaded him to go back without preſenting it.' My author does not know how the biſhop of Aberdeen acted on this occaſion. Ramſay biſhop of Roſs uſed great freedom with the commiſſioner, for which he was brought into trouble. 'The archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the biſhop of Dunkeld, were both turned out by expreſs order from the king. Paterſon biſhop of Edinburgh was tranſlated to Glaſgow, and one Hamilton, noted for profaneneſs and impiety, that ſometimes broke out into blaſphemy, obtained the ſee of Dunkeld. The king, being diſappointed, ordered his commiſſioner to prorogue the parliament.' I muſt refer my reader to my author's appendix for what was ſaid for and againſt the repeal of the penal laws at this time. Only I cannot but obſerve, that great care was taken that nothing might be publiſhed againſt the king's favourite deſign, or in defence of the ſtanding laws; whereas papers on the other ſide of the queſtion were induſtriouſly diſperſed, and many popiſh books and pamphlets were ſpread for corrupting the the nation,

On the 2d of June, lord Pitmedden was turned out of the juſticiary. His ſteady attachment to the proteſtant religion, and his oppoſition to popery, procured him this. And on the 26th the council emitted a proclamation againſt ſlanderers and leaſing-makers, becauſe ſeveral miniſters, and others, had, in ſermons, and other diſcourſes, alarmed the people, &c.

On the 14th of July Gavin Weir and William MacMillan, who had been in priſon for Bothwell, were releaſed; the former becauſe there was not evidence againſt him, and the latter upon making ſatisfying compliances. But, not to inſiſt now on theſe things,

When the king's project was defeated in this parliament, he fell upon other methods for bringing in papiſts to places of profit and truſt, and overturning the proteſtant religion. Accordingly his majeſty made uſe of a diſpenſing power, and had a party about him that would have us to believe, 'That power in the king to diſpenſe with laws, was law.' To maintain this there were not only mercenary pens ſet a work, but a ſet of judges found out, that, to their eternal reproach, did all that was poſſible for them to compliment the king with the liberties of their country. For theſe gentlemen gave it for law,——'That the kings of England are ſovereign princes; that the laws of England are the king's laws; that therefore it is an inſeparable prerogative in the kings of England———to diſpenſe with penal laws in particular caſes, and upon particular neceſſary reaſons, that of thoſe reaſons and thoſe neceſſities the king himſelf is the ſole judge; and that this is not a truſt inveſted in, or granted to the king by the people, but is the ancient remain of the ſovereign power and prerogative of the kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be.'——— In conſequence of this a new court of inquiſition was erected, under the name of a commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical affairs, which was againſt an expreſs act of parliament: but, as the king was puſhing his deſign with great vigour in England, as the reader may ſee in the Engliſh hiſtorians, ſo he acted in the ſame arbitrary manner in Scotland; for, though he could not get the conſent of the parliament there to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, he did it without them by his own diſpenſing power.

Accordingly he firſt turned the beſt proteſtants out of the council, and ſupplied their place with papiſts. Thus the earls of Mar, Lothian, Dumfries, &c. were made to give place to the duke of Gordon, earls of Traquair and Seaforth, and other papiſts. The council being thus modelled to his mind, he ſent them a moſt remarkable letter, of which the following is a ſhort abſtract.

Right truſty, &c, It was not any doubt we had of our power, in the putting a ſtop to the unreaſonable ſeverities of the acts of parliament againſt thoſe of the Roman catholic religion, that made us bring in our deſigns to our parliament, but to give our loyal ſubjects a new opportunity of ſhewing their duty to us &c in which we promiſed ourſelves their hearty and dutiful concurrence, as what was founded on that ſolid juſtice we are reſolved to diſtribute to all, and conſequently to our catholic ſubjects;——for when unnatural rebellions have been raiſed againſt our royal father, brother and us, by proteſtant defenders of thoſe laws,——the Roman catholics have ſtill adhered to the royal intereſt,——ſupported the crown, died for the peace of their perſecutors, and thought nothing too dear to buy the generous character of religious towards God, and loyal towards their ſovereigns. When all this had appeared,——we could do no leſs than ſecure the innocent catholics from theſe pains.——

We have alſo thought fit to let you know, that, as we have performed our part, in ſupporting thoſe of the proteſtant religion, ſo we are reſolved to protect our catholic ſubjects againſt all the inſults of their enemies, and ſeverity of the laws made againſt them heretofore; notwithſtanding all which, we hereby allow them the free private exerciſe of their religion in houſes, in which we ——require you to ſupport and maintain them.——

And as to the end the catholic worſhip may, with the more decency and ſecurity, be exerciſed at Edinburgh, we have thought fit to eſtabliſh our chapel within our palace of Holy rood houſe, and to appoint a number of chaplains, and others, whom we

require you to have in your ſpecial protection and care — You are likewiſe to take care that there be no preachers, nor others, ſuffered to inſinuate to the people any fears or jealouſies, as if we intended to make any violent alteration; and if any ſhall be ſo bold you are to puniſh them according to law;——for it is far from our thoughts to uſe any violence in matters of conſcience, conſiſtent with our authority and the peace of our ancient kingdom.—

The reſt of this plain letter contains the king's reſolutions to maintain the biſhops and inferior clergy, and all his ſubjects, in their rights and privileges, and therefore he hopes that all compliance and concurrence will be given to theſe things; ſo that, upon the whole, what his majeſty could not get done by the parliament, he was reſolved to do by his own authority; and indeed it muſt be owned, that ſince the reſtoration, the parliaments of Scotland, which ſhould have preſerved the liberties of the ſubject, complimented the king with an abſolute authority. It is eaſy here to obſerve with what contempt he ſpeaks of the laws for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion againſt the wicked deſigns of the papiſts; how mightily he extols their loyalty to his father, brother, and himſelf; how he brands the proteſtants as ſeditious and rebellious; and how he had already performed his part in ſupporting thoſe of the proteſtant religion; and conſequently his reſolutions, from this time forward, to ſupport his innocent catholic ſubjects, do not ſeem conſiſtent with his promiſes to maintain the biſhops and inferior clergy. Theſe and other things cannot but furniſh the proteſtant reader with proper reflections.

In September the council emitted a proclamation containing the king's indemnity to the common people in the ſhires of Argyll and Tarbet; but then this indemnity regarded only their lives; their goods and chattels, were expoſed to every one who ſhould be pleaſed to attack them.

I have given a pretty full account of the ſtate of Mr Renwick and his followers, and how he was deſerted and accuſed by ſeveral who had formerly adhered to him. Notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements he met with, he continued preaching, catechiſing, and baptizing; but, as he travelled through Galloway, a proteſtation was given to him by William MacHutchiſon, in the name of all the profeſſors betwen Dee and Cree, of which the following is the ſubſtance.

'We underſcribers — conſidering—the woful effects of diviſion,—eſpecially among ourſelves,—proceeding partly from ſome paying ceſs, hearing curates, taking the late abjuration-oath, and partly from others condemning theſe things, and adhering to the late declaration on the church doors — and to Mr J. Renwick, without the conſent and approbation of the remnant godly and faithful miniſters— we do hereby refer and ſubmit ourſelves, in all theſe, to an aſſembly of faithful miniſters and elders, — the only competent judges of ſuch debateable principles and practices,—and promiſing, on the one hand to give ſatisfaction to the church,—as we ſhall be found guilty—of any thing done by us to the ſcandal of our dear brethren; and, on the other, to forbear to join with Mr J. Renwick, till —his ordination be ſeen and approved of by a competent number of the faithful miniſters of the church of Scotland, —and are willing, upon his ſubmiſſion to his brethren, to receive him into our boſom; — but if he, at the deſire of ſtrangers, or any of our brethren dividing from us, intrude himſelf on our labours—till—we have the mind of faithful miniſters, we will proteſt againſt all ſuch dealing, as horrid and abominable uſurpation. Subſcribed in the name of the whole, by William MacHutchiſon'

As Mr Renwick told his mind to the two men that brought this paper, which, according to Mr Wodrow, was on the 22d of October; ſo, on the Thurſday following, he read it over at a public meeting in the fields, and animadverted upon it, as a paper that overturned many pieces of the reformation, in calling hearing of curates, paying the ceſs, and ſwearing the abjuration oath, debateable principles; and exhorted them, if there were any there that concurred in it, to retract the ſame, and thoſe who were innocent to proteſt their innocence before the Lord, as in his letter to Earlſtoun 1687.

One Welſh of Cornlee gave in likewiſe a verbal proteſtation againſt him: but ſoon after this, as his work daily increaſed, and his difficulties multiplied, Mr David Houſton from Ireland, and the reverend Mr Alexander Shields, took part with him, and were received by him with great chearfulneſs; by which it appeared that it was an unjuſt reflection upon him, that he never deſired to join with another miniſter. How far Mr Shields was againſt ſome of the heights, as my author expreſſes himſelf, that Mr Renwick, and ſome of his followers, ran into I know not; but this is certain, that he concurred with him in the informatory vindication, defended the chief points in controverſy, in his Hind let looſe, and vindicated the heads of his dying teſtimony, in the hiſtory of his life; but theſe things I muſt leave, and conclude this year with ſome things of which I have not the dates, when I have obſerved, that, on the 9th of December, a proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of L. 100 ſterl. to any who ſhould bring in Mr Renwick dead or alive.

Some time this year Meſſ. William, Patrick, and Duncan Cumings were forced to retire to Ireland. Mr Will. Cuming, after the year 1660, was unanimouſly choſen humanity-profeſſor in the college of Edinburgh, having no other recommendation but his bright parts, in which he outſhone ſix other competitors, and a few years after, was admitted, without trial, profeſſor of philoſophy there. Sharp underſtanding that, before this, he had been licenſed to preach by preſbyterian miniſters, ſo haraſſed him that he was obliged to demit his office, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, to whom his uſual anſwer was, that he would pervert the nation with whiggiſh and fanatical principles. Mr Cuming then went abroad tutor to lord Lorn, afterward the firſt duke of Argyll. When he left that nobleman he paſſed his time in Holland and France till the death of the late king, when he went to Ireland, where he died. His brother Mr Patrick, who was educated under his care, was fixed, while but 18 years of age, at the ſchool of Irvine, where by his pregnant genius and cloſe application, he raiſed a ſchool ſo renowned, that not only the moſt of the noblemen and gentlemens ſons in the Weſt of Scotland, but ſome from England, Ireland, and France, were educated there. After he had continued 12 years remarkably uſeful, and in great eſteem, notwithſtanding his being frequently puſhed at for his principles, he was diſcharged to teach any longer; however, at the preſſing ſollicitations of the inhabitants, he continued another half year, his ſchool being the chief ſupport of the place. Then, a warrant being granted for apprehending him dead or alive, he was obliged to retire to Holland and France; and at laſt, this year, he followed his brother to Ireland, where he preached the goſpel, as colleague with Mr J. Boyſe, till after the revolution, when he returned to Scotland, and was fixed miniſter at Ormiſtoun, where he died 1732. Mr Duncan Cuming, a younger brother, was governor to a young gentleman who was taught at Irvine ſchool, and was for ſome time one of his brother's aſſiſtants. At laſt he was perſuaded by Mr George Hutchiſon, Mr Wedderburn, and other indulged miniſters, to commence a preacher. This coming to the government's ears, he fled with his brother to Holland, where he ſtudied phyſic. After that he followed his brothers to Ireland, where he acted as a phyſician in Dublin. Such was the reputation he gained in that country, that he was employed by the proteſtant diſſenters to go to Holland with their addreſs to the prince of Orange 1688, which his highneſs graciouſly received, and by whom he was afterwards promoted to be one of his phyſicians to his army in Ireland. He was, like his brethren, eminent for piety, a father to the poor, and a great promoter of the diſſenting intereſt in that kingdom, till his death in September 1727. Mr Boyſe preached his funeral ſermon, and gives his character at large.

In December this year, David Steil, in the pariſh of Leſmahago, was ſurpriſed in the fields by lieutenant Crichton, and, after he had ſurrendered upon quarters, was moſt barbarouſly ſhot, and lies buried in the church-yard there. I now go on to the year 1687.

It is eaſy to ſee, from the former proceeding, what quick advances were making towards Rome. The king's promiſes to the Engliſh council, to preſerve the proteſtant religion, were entirely forgot, and none was ſo bold as to remind

remind him of them. It was even dangerous to ſpeak of theſe things in public converſation, for fear of ſome miſchievous conſequences. Proteſtants were turned out, and papiſts ſucceeded them, and none but papiſts, or proteſtants, who were not attached to their own religion, could pretend to any employments; nay, matters were carried on ſo openly, that ſome of the principal catholics could not forbear repreſenting to the king that his proceedings were more dangerous than advantageous to their religion; but James was deaf to all councils which were not violent; theſe only were agreeable to his temper and zeal.

A jeſuit of Liege, in a letter to a jeſuit of Fribourg, dated the 2d of February, gives a clear repreſentation of this, ſaying, among other things, 'It is wonderful to ſee king James's great affection to our ſociety.——Upon father John Keynes's return to England, he gave him a moſt gracious reception, (while earls and dukes were commanded, for ſome hours, to wait for admittance)——and ordered that the candidates for orders ſhould be all exerciſed in the art of preaching; for now, ſays he, England has need of ſuch.——Father Clare being arrived at London——the king forbad him to kneel and kiſs his hand.——ſaying, 'Reverend father, you have indeed once kiſſed my hand; but if I had known then, as I do now, that you were a prieſt, I would rather myſelf, father, have kneeled down and kiſſed your hand; and told him that he would either convert England, or die a martyr.'——Finally, he call'd himſelf a ſon of the ſociety, 'of whoſe good ſucceſs, he ſaid, he was glad as of his own.'——Not long ſince one of the lords objected that they thought he made too much haſte to eſtabliſh the faith. To whom he anſwered, 'I am growing old, and muſt take large ſteps, elſe if I ſhould happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worſe condition than I found you.' When they aſked him, 'Why then he was ſo little concerned about the converſion of his daughters, who were the heirs of the kingdom?' He anſwered, 'God will take care of that. Leave the converſion of my daughters to me. Do you, by your example, convert your tenants and others to the faith.' The reſt of this well known letter ſhews what progreſs the king had made in favour of papiſts, which I need not here repeat. Therefore I ſhall briefly relate the affairs of Scotland this year, the moſt remarkable of which was the toleration.

The artillery of the government was chiefly directed againſt Mr Renwick and his followers. Accordingly, as James Cuningham merchant in Glaſgow, and John Buchanan cooper there, were returning from hearing a ſermon in the fields, they were ſent priſoners to Edinburgh, and baniſhed to Barbadoes.

On the 1ſt of February Sir David Dalrymple was admitted king's advocate, in the room of Sir George Mac-Kenzie, who was turned out, becauſe as my author thinks, he had not been hearty in the repeal of the penal ſtatutes.

The ſame day James Sloſs merchant in Glaſgow, and a great many people from the pariſh of Kilbryde, who had been confined for alledged acceſſion to Bothwell, were releaſed; but things of a more public nature require our conſideration.

As all methods were uſed, that the preſent circumſtances could permit, for eſtabliſhing popery in England, ſo the like attempts were made for promoting the ſame cauſe in Scotland. The king, by his royal prerogative, had laſt year eſtabliſhed a popiſh chapel at Holy rood houſe, and allowed the papiſts the exerciſe of their religion in private houſes; and multitudes of ſeminary prieſts having come from abroad, and not a few of the nobility and gentry, and the moſt active perſecutors during the former years, having profeſſed popery, on the 17th of February the council received a letter from the king, with a remarkable proclamation incloſed. In the letter, he tells them, among other things, that, while he thinks fit to give eaſe to tender conſciences, he, at the ſame time, expreſſed 'his higheſt indignation againſt thoſe enemies of chriſtianity, as well as government and human ſociety, the field-conventiclers, whom he recommends to the council to root out with all the ſeverity of the laws, and the moſt vigorous proſecution of the forces, it being equally his and his people's concern to be rid of them.' The king in the proclamation, among other things, ſays,

'We have thought fit to grant, and, by our ſovereign authority, prerogative royal and abſolute power, which all our ſubjects are to obey without reſerve, do hereby give and grant our royal toleration to the ſeveral profeſſors of the chriſtian religion after named, and under the ſeveral conditions, &c. after mentioned. In the firſt place, we——tolerate the moderate preſbyterians to meet in their private houſes, and there to hear ſuch miniſters as either have or are willing to accept of our indulgence allenarly, and that there be not any thing ſaid or done contrary to the well and peace of our reign, ſeditious or treaſonable, under the higheſt pains their crimes will import; nor are they to preſume to build meeting houſes, or to uſe out houſes or barns——It is our royal will and pleaſure, that field conventicles, and ſuch as preach at them, or who ſhall any way aſſiſt or connive at them, ſhall be proſecuted according to the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws made againſt them.——In like manner we tolerate Quakers, &c. and by the ſame abſolute power, we ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all laws, or acts of parliament, cuſtoms or conſtitutions againſt any of our Roman Catholic ſubjects;——ſo that they ſhall in all things be as free, in all reſpects, as any proteſtant ſubjects whatſoever, not only to exerciſe their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, &c. which we ſhall think fit to beſtow upon them, in all time coming.——and——do caſs, annul, and diſcharge all oaths whatſoever, by which any of our ſubjects are——diſabled from holding places, &c. and all laws enjoining the ſaid oaths,—and, in place of them, the following oath only is to be taken. 'I A. B. do acknowledge, teſtify, and declare, that James VII. by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. is rightful king, and ſupreme governor of theſe realms, and over all perſons therein; and that it is unlawful for ſubjects, on any pretence, or for any cauſe whatſoever, to riſe in arms againſt him, or any commiſſionated by him; and that I ſhall never ſo riſe in arms, or aſſiſt any that ſhall ſo do; and that I ſhall never reſiſt his power or authority, nor ever oppoſe his authority to his perſon, as I ſhall anſwer to God; but ſhall, to the utmoſt of my power, aſſiſt, defend, and maintain him, his heirs and lawful ſucceſſors, in the exerciſe of their abſolute power and authority againſt all deadly. So help me God.' And by our authority foreſaid——we give our ample and full indemnity to all the foreſaid ſorts of people,——and think fit to declare, that——we will never ſuffer violence to be offered to any man's conſcience, nor will we uſe force or invincible neceſſity againſt any man on account of his perſuaſion, but will protect our biſhops in their functions, rights, and properties, &c——and employ indifferently all our ſubjects of all perſuaſions,——ſo long as we find unity and charity maintained.'

This proclamation, called king James's firſt indulgence, ſpeaks for itſelf. Here he not only ſets himſelf above all laws, by claiming an unreſerved obedience to his abſolute power and authority, but requires all his ſubjects to ſwear to maintain him in it; but though he requires obedience without reſerve, yet he has a very evident reſerve in his promiſes to uſe no invincible neceſſity to force his ſubjects to change their religion. In ſhort, this was ſo glaring a ſubverſion of the liberties of mankind, that it was diſregarded by all, except moſt of the counſellors, who, having publiſhed the proclamation with all ſolemnity at the croſs of Edinburgh on the 18th, returned an anſwer to the king's letter on the 24th, acquainting him with their ready obedience to his commands, and their reſolution to purſue the ends of his royal proclamation, and ſignifying their approbation of papiſts being put into places of truſt, and thanking him for his royal word for maintaining the proteſtant religion, as the beſt ſecurity they could have. This obſequious letter was ſigned by the chancellor, the two archbiſhops and others; but the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Panmure and Dundonald, had the honour to refuſe to ſubſcribe it. Wherefore the king, in a letter of the 1ſt of March, ordered the two laſt of theſe noblemen to be put from the council-board, and declared, that, though he was diſpleaſed with the conduct of duke Hamilton, yet he ſuſpended his reſentment for the preſent. In the ſame letter he charged them to ſuffer no preſbyterians to preach without their allowance, and until they had taken the oath enjoined by proclamation; ſo that the papiſts were the only perſons

that had the benefit of his majesty's favour at this time, unless it was the Quakers whose affirmation would, I suppose, be accepted. And thus matters stood till the end of March.

Mean while, on the 4th of March, the lords of justiciary passed sentence of death on Campbell of Oab, Campbell of Drumfunish, Campbell of Dalton, and Campbell of Ulva, and ordered them to be executed when apprehended. And on the 8th they passed the like sentence on Lawmont of Meandrynan, Campbell of Aitarich, MacFun of Invernydan, MacCallum of Reanlochtean, MacFun of Drup, and Campbell of Sonachan. All these for their accession to Argyll.

This month of March the informatory vindication of the societies, written conjunctly, as the title bears, by Mr Renwick and Mr Shields, was agreed to. It was printed in Holland, and they took care to disperse as many copies of it as they could. It has been several times reprinted since, and therefore I refer the reader to it.

For reasons best known to the court, the king, on the 31st of March, wrote another letter to the council, called the second indulgence, with an appearance of mitigating some things in the former, in which he says, 'It is now our will and pleasure, and we do hereby authorise and require you, to grant them, or any of them, our said indulgence, without being obliged to take the oath, with power unto them to enjoy the benefit of the said indulgence, (during our pleasure only) or so long as you shall find they behave themselves regularly, or peaceably, without giving any cause of offence to us, or any in authority or trust under us, in our government.'—None of the presbyterian ministers accepted of this indulgence.

Mr Rapin, upon the first proclamation, says justly, The council of Scotland blindly obeyed the king, not only by publishing his proclamation, but even by thanking him for it as a signal favour; and adds, this ought not to appear strange, because the council wholly consisted of men entirely devoted to the king, nor was there any person in public office, who was not, or at least pretended not to be, of the same principles. And a little farther, it is not therefore to the whole Scots nation that this blind obedience is to be imputed, but to their governors, who were but a small part of the people; but if Mr Rapin, who was but a stranger, had traced this matter to its true original, he would have landed it in prelacy; for it is well known that the first parliament after the restoration vested the king with a power to order all things relative to the external government and policy of the church.

The king, finding matters go so well in Scotland, called a council in England, and declared his resolution to issue out a declaration for a general liberty of conscience to all persons of what persuasion soever; and, among other things, said, 'That it was his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of christianity, that no man should be persecuted for conscience sake; for he thought conscience could not be forced; and that it could never be the true interest of a king of England to endeavour to do it.' Accordingly, on the 4th of April, he caused his declaration for liberty of conscience to be published; only he took care to soften his expressions with respect to his absolute power; but this I leave to the English historians. Matters continued much on the same footing in Scotland till July, when a most ample indulgence was published.

Mean while, in the month of April, 16 men and 5 women were banished to America, because they would not own the present authority to be according to the word of God nor disown the Sanquhar declaration, nor engage not to hear Mr Renwick. Their testimony against the evils of the times is signed thus: James Hamilton, James Douglas, John Brown, George White, Alexander Bailie, Gil. MacCulloch, Thomas Brown, John Wight, John Russel, William Hanna, John Stuart, James Richart, John White, John Aitkin, Robert Mitchel, William Howie, Isabel Cassils, Agnes Weir, Isabel Steel, Margaret Weir, Bessie Weir.

On the 4th of May a long process against many country people, for their accession to Bothwell, commenced before the lords of justiciary, who after all the pains that were taken, were obliged to acquit the prisoners for want of sufficient evidence. On the 7th of May others were indicted for hearing Mr Renwick, but the process, for ought appears, came to nothing.

In this month Mr Spreul, who had been prisoner in the Bass for near six years, gave in a petition to the council, craving to be set at liberty. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, the council made an act empowering Charles Maitland the governor of the Bass to release him, in regard of his majesty's late proclamation upon his finding bail to appear before them next June. Mr Spreul signified to the governor, that he did not chuse to accept of liberty upon any terms that signified his approbation of the said proclamation, and therefore was continued in prison till a letter came requiring the governor to set open the doors to him, and tell him he might go or stay as he pleased: wherefore after so long confinement, he came out, protesting against what he took to be wrong in the orders and proclamation, went to Edinburgh, waited on the councillors, thanked them for his liberty, and verbally renewed his protest against the said proclamation and orders. Thus ended the troubles of this good man.

On the 30th of June several were indicted for accession to Bothwell, but the process was dropt.

During these things a process was carrying on against Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Sarum. He tells us, 'That his continuing at the Hague made the king conclude that he was managing designs against him.' Some papers printed in Holland, and dispersed through all parts of England, reflecting on the proceedings there, most of them wrote by the doctor, inflamed the king the more against him. But that which gave the crisis to the king's anger was, that he heard of his going to be married to a considerable fortune at the Hague. So a project was formed to break off the match, by charging him with high treason for conversing with Argyll and other outlawed persons. The king therefore ordered a letter to be wrote, in his name to the advocate in Scotland, to prosecute him for some probable thing or another; which was intended only to make a noise, not doubting but that would break the intended marriage. The doctor, getting timely notice of this, petitioned the states to be naturalized in order to his intended marriage; which being complied with, he wrote several letters in his own vindication, to the earl of Middleton, which the reader may see in Wodrow's history, Vol. II. p. 609, 610, 611. In the first of these, dated at the Hague, May 3. 1687 he said, That, his being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance, during his stay there, was transferred from his majesty to the sovereignity of these provinces, and that he would be sorry if any judgment that should pass in Scotland against him, should oblige him, in his own defence, to appear in print, and make a recital of the share he had in affairs for twenty years past, and therein mention many particulars that he was afraid must be displeasing to his majesty. The doctor's first citation or indictment, dated April the 19th, had not then reached him, containing his converse with Argyll, &c. as above; but, when it did, he wrote his second letter to the secretary, and, in a most particular manner, shewed the falsehood of every thing laid to his charge: but, his adversaries willing to make a handle of every thing, the first citation was dropt, and another indictment was drawn up against him, founded upon his saying that his allegiance was transferred from his majesty to the states. He gave a most distinct answer to this in a third letter to the secretary; but no regard was paid to any thing he offered in his own justification, however just and equitable, so that, at last, in the beginning of July, a sentence of outlawry was given against him; upon which Albeville said, that, if the states would not deliver him up, he would find such instruments as would carry him away by force. It must be owned that the doctor had shewn no small zeal against popery; and therefore, as things were then, the reader cannot be surprised though he was singled out as one of the objects of the resentments of a popish king and his complying courtiers. But, to proceed to things of another nature.

At length, on the 5th of July, the council received another proclamation from the king, for liberty of conscience, which they ordered to be published with all due solemnities, and of which the tenor follows.

JAMES

JAMES. II. &c.

WE now taking into our royal conſideration the ſiniſtrous interpretations which either have, or may be made of ſome reſtrictions, (mentioned in the laſt,) have thought fit, by this,—farther to declare, that we proteſt our archbiſhops, &c. in the free exerciſe of their proteſtant religion.—and we do likewiſe, by our ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and abſolute power, ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all penal and ſanguinary laws made againſt any for nonconformity to the religion eſtabliſhed by law in that our ancient kingdom.—And to the end that, by the liberty thereby granted, the peace and ſecurity of our government, in the practice thereof, may not be endanger ed, we—hereby ſtrictly charge all our loving ſubjects, that, as we do give them leave to meet and ſerve God after their own way, be it in private houſes, chapels, or places purpoſely hired or built for that uſe, ſo that they take care that nothing be preached or taught which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government; and that their meetings be peaceably and openly held, and all perſons freely admitted to them, and that they do ſignify and make known, to ſome one or more of the next privy councillors, ſheriffs, &c. what place or places they ſet apart for theſe uſes, with the names of the preachers.—and that no diſturbance of any kind be made, or given them, under the pain of our royal diſpleaſure:—provided always that their meetings be in houſes or places appointed for the purpoſe, not in the open fields, for which now, after this our royal grace and favour, (which ſurpaſſes the hopes, and equals the very wiſhes of the moſt zealouſly concerned, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of excuſe left, which meetings in the field we do hereby prohibit,—againſt all which we do leave laws and acts of parliament in full force and vigour, notwithſtanding the premiſes: and do farther command all our judges and magiſtrates, and officers of our forces, to proſecute ſuch as ſhall be guilty of field-conventicles,—— for we are confident none will, after this,—preſume to meet in theſe aſſemblies, except ſuch as make a pretence of religion to cover their treaſonable deſigns againſt our royal perſon, and the peace of our government.——

This liberty was accepted by the generality of the preſbyterian miniſters in the kingdom. For, though they were perſuaded that it was not granted from any regard to them, or their adherents but rather for introducing popery; yet they conſidered that they had a right to it, and that their right had been unjuſtly invaded for many years, and that it would have been a ſtrange thing if they ſhould have been backward to preach and hear the goſpel, when a door was opened for it, becauſe ſome men had a deſign againſt the goſpel in their opening it. Beſides, if they had peeviſhly refuſed this liberty, that would never have hindered the papiſts from reaping the benefit of it, but, on the contrary, would have ſtrengthened popery, by putting themſelves out of capacity to oppoſe it, and the papiſts would have had the the faireſt occaſion imaginable to miſlead the people: and therefore they looked on themſelves as bound to make the beſt uſe of it, becauſe it brought for the preſent a great and ſingular relief to thouſands, who had for many years been groaning under heavy oppreſſions, and gave an opportunity to moſt of the miniſters, who had either retired, or been baniſhed, to return to their native country, as Mr J. Veitch, Mr G. Campbell, afterwards profeſſor of divinity in the college of Edinburgh, Mr P. Warner, Mr Alexander Pitcairn, a perſon of ſingular abilities, Mr James Kirktoun, Mr Alexander Haſtie, Mr Thomas Hog, Mr John Harroway, Mr Andrew Cameron Mr William Moncrief, Mr Patrick Cowpar, and o thers.

The preſbyterian miniſters from different parts of the country met at Edinburgh about the 20th of July, and agreed to accept the benefit of this toleration; and, after ſome reaſoning upon addreſſing the king, which ſeveral were averſe to, a conſiderable number of them agreed to the following addreſs.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, the miniſters of the preſbyterian perſuaſion in your ancient kingdom of Scotland, from the deep ſenſe we have of his majeſty's gracious and ſurpriſing favour, in not only putting a ſtop to our long ſad ſufferings for nonconformity, but granting us the liberty of the public and peaceable exerciſe of our miniſterial function, without any hazard; as we bleſs the great God who hath put this into your royal heart, do withal find ourſelves bound in duty to offer our moſt humble and hearty thanks to your ſacred majeſty, the favour beſtowed being to us and all the people of our perſuaſion, valuable above all our earthly comforts, eſpecially ſince we have ground from your majeſty, to believe that our loyalty is not to be queſtioned upon the account of our being preſbyterians, who, as we have amidſt all former temptations, endeavoured, ſo are firmly reſolved ſtill to preſerve an entire loyalty in our doctrine and practice, (conſonant to our known principles, which according to the holy ſcriptures, are contained in the Confeſſion of Faith, generally owned by preſbyterians in all your majeſty's dominions,) and, by the help of God, ſo to demean ourſelves, as your majeſty may find cauſe rather to enlarge than to diminiſh your favours towards us, thoroughly perſuading ourſelves, from your majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs, that, if we ſhall at any time be otherwiſe repreſented, your majeſty will not give credit to ſuch information until you take due cognition thereof; and humbly beſeeching that thoſe who promote any diſloyal principles and practices (as we diſown them) may be looked upon as none of ours, whatſoever name they may aſſume to themſelves. May it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty graciouſly to accept this our moſt humble addreſs, as proceeding from the plainneſs and ſincerity of loyal and thankful hearts, much engaged by this your royal favour to continue our fervent prayers to the King of kings for divine illumination and conduct, with all other bleſſings, ſpiritual and temporal, ever to attend your royal perſon and government; which is the greateſt duty can be rendered to your majeſty by

your Majeſty's
moſt humble,
moſt dutiful,
and moſt obedient ſubjects.

Subſcribed in our name, and in the names of the reſt of the brethren of our perſuaſion, at their deſire.

This meeting of miniſters ſays my author, was but an occaſional meeting, wherein every one acted as he ſaw good, and withdrew when he was not ſatisfied, and was not by delegation from the reſt in Scotland, nor any judicatory; and, if that was the caſe, one would be apt to think they took by far too much upon them. About this time many of the preſbyterians in and about Edinburgh drew up an addreſs ſtill more florid than the above.

This meeting of miniſters at Edinburgh, having thus agreed to addreſs the throne, laid down the ſeveral rules in order to make the beſt of the liberty now granted them. And looking upon themſelves as now freed from bonds and fetters, they ſet up, ſays my author, not only worſhip, but alſo diſcipline and government; their judicatures met, and every thing was done as far as circumſtances would permit. And, at a ſynod that met in a houſe at Glaſgow, Mr William Violant was choſen moderator, and the care of ſtudents of divinity was committed to the reverend Mr James Woodrow, under whom great numbers had their education, and became very ſerviceable to the church of Chriſt in Scotland, and elſewhere In ſhort the friends of liberty, by this toleration, had acceſs to be together, and to ſtrengthen one another's hands. The prince of Orange, on this occaſion, had theſe words to the reverend Mr Patrick Warner before he returned to Scotland: 'I underſtand you are called home upon the liberty granted there; but I can aſſure you that liberty is not granted from any favour or kindneſs to you, or your party, but from favour to papiſts, and to divide you among yourſelves; yet I think you may be ſo wiſe as to take the good of it, and prevent the evil deſigned, and, inſtead of dividing, come to a better harmony among yourſelves; when you have liberty to ſee one another, and meet freely together.

But Mr Renwick and his followers paid no regard to this toleration, and were much offended with those who complied with it, and addressed the king on account of it; and indeed, notwithstanding all this shew of clemency, they were as much exposed as ever. And, as I have shewn the grounds upon which the accepters of the toleration went, I cannot but in justice shew likewise the principal reason why the others did not comply.

1. They considered the granter as a person with whom they could not communicate in any transaction of this nature, being bound by his principles to keep no faith with heretics, and having in this practice discovered, in several instances, his treachery and dissimulation. 2. They considered that accepting a toleration from him was a bargaining with an apostate, bigotted, excommunicated papist, and, as such, under the mediator's malediction, yea, and heir to his own grandfather's imprecations, who wished the curse of God to fall upon such of his posterity as should, at any time, turn papists; and therefore they could not be at peace, associate, or bargain with him. 3. They considered that they could not owe him in the relation of a magistrate, because they had not only renounced him, but, by the laws of the land, he was incapable of government, having neither given, nor could give the oath and security indispensibly required; whereas, did they accept of his toleration, they owned his magistratical authority. 4. They considered this toleration as flowing from his absolute power, a power which all were to obey without reserve, which cannot be limited by laws, &c. and therefore they could not accept of it, without acknowledging a power inconsistent with the law of God and liberties of mankind. 5. They considered that they could not accept of this toleration, without giving a virtual approbation of the dispensing with the penal laws against papists. 6. They considered that the proper tendency of it was to introduce a lawless loyalty, establish the king's tyranny, unite the hearts of protestants to papists, who are called their neighbours. 7. They considered the effects already produced by it. Papists were encouraged, their numbers increased, the executive power was put into their hands, &c. 8. They considered the nature of this pretended liberty as most dishonourable to the cause of Christ: for, though nothing is more desirable than when true liberty is established by the government, yet nothing can be more vile than when the true religion is tolerated under the notion of a crime, and when the exercise of it is only allowed under such and such restrictions. 9 They considered the extent of it, as taking in not only the archbishops bishops, but all quakers and papists, and so opening a door to idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy. 10. They considered the terms as what they could not comply with, especially because they were forbid to speak any thing contrary to the well and peace of his reign, or which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from him and his government, which they looked upon as a prohibition to preach against popery or prelacy. 11. They considered that the acceptance of it was a scandal, and could not but offend the generation of the righteous. 12. They considered the addresses of thanks, made on this occasion, as a train of fulsome and blasphemous flatteries, to the dishonour of God, the reproach of his cause, the betraying of the church, the detriment of the nation, and the exposing themselves to contempt. As to the address formerly mentioned, they say, among other things, that there never was an address of this strain from presbyterian hands, seeing the contents of this address were so contrary to their known principles. Thus, say they, 'It is contrary to presbyterian principles to congratulate an antichristian usurper, for undermining religion and overturning laws and liberties. It is contrary to presbyterian principles to justify the abrogation of the national covenants. in giving thanks for a liberty whereby all the laws are casted and disabled therein confirmed. It is contrary to presbyterian principles to thank the king for opening a door to bring in popery, which they are engaged to extirpate by the solemn league and covenant, &c. &c.' The reader may see all these things enlarged at considerable length in the Hind let loose I shall make no remarks, but only acquaint him, That Mr Renwick and his adherents were not the only persons who were against king James's toleration; for though many of the protestant dissenters in England were pretty forward to congratulate the king for the English declaration, yet Mr Coke says, that it was so drawn in the sight of every bird, that (of his knowledge) many of the sober thinking men did both dread and detest it. And Dr Calamy tells us, that there was not many that could be charged, [viz. with addressing], and that, among the rest, Mr Baxter had no concern in addressing, but set himself at Rutland-house in Charter-house-yard, where he exercised his ministry in conjunction with Mr Sylvester, to make a peaceable improvement of the liberty afforded, so as to do all the good he could. The like did his brethren in other places. But to proceed to other things.

On the 15th of July, John Anderson younger of Westertoun was indicted before the justiciary for speaking in favour of defensive arms, and, being found guilty by the jury, was condemned to die, only the time and place were left to the king. Though it does not appear that the sentence was executed, yet nothing could be a clearer evidence of cruelty than a sentence like this.

On the 5th of October the council published a proclamation against field conventicles, 'declaring, that not only all such persons, whether preachers or hearers, that shall presume to be at any conventicle in the open fields, but also all dissenting ministers, who shall take upon them to preach in houses, without observing such directions as are prescribed by our said late proclamation,——shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour and severity of the laws,' &c. This proclamation was occasioned by the complaints which the archbishop of St Andrews made of great meetings of people without doors in his diocese, and by the bishop of Glasgow's representing Mr Renwick's frequent field conventicles in the west country.

On the 14th, while the king's birth day was observed at Glasgow with great demonstrations of joy, a narrow search was made in the town, and several were taken, and brought to no small trouble.

Mr Renwick still went on preaching, notwithstanding the hazard he ran from the persecutors on the one hand, and the reproaches wherewith he was loaded by many, even of presbyterians, on the other; but these I shall entirely pass over, since the reader may have recourse to the history of his life written by Mr Shields, who tells us, that in less than five months after the toleration, there were fifteen most desperate searches, particularly for him, both of foot and horse, and that all encouragement might be given to any who should apprehend him, a proclamation was issued, dated October the 18th, 'authorising all officers, civil and military, to apprehend and secure, in firmance, his person, with some others; and for encouragement, ensuring the sum of a hundred pounds sterling for taking him or them dead or alive.'

Sometime this month of October, John and Robert Summers, two brothers, together with William Speir, all in the parish of Cambuslang, were taken out of their beds and imprisoned at Glasgow, on suspicion of being at some field conventicle; and, after ten days confinement there, they suffered a month's imprisonment at Edinburgh, and were brought to great charges, though nothing could be proved against them.

On the 4th of November Pensionary Fagel wrote from the Hague to Mr Stuart, in answer to several letters which that gentleman had wrote to him, in order to know the sentiments of the prince and princess of Orange concerning the taking away the penal laws, in which he told him, 'that it was the opinion of the prince and princess, that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the established religion, and therefore they should consent that the papists in England, Scotland and Ireland, should have as much liberty as is allowed them in Holland. And as to protestant dissenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty for the full exercise of their religion, without any trouble or hindrance; and that if his majesty desired their concurrence in repealing the penal laws, their highnesses were ready to give it, provided that those laws still remained in force, by which the Roman catholics were excluded out of both houses of parliament, and out of all

all public employments eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, likewiſe thoſe other laws which confirm the proteſtant religion, and ſecure it againſt all the attempts of the Roman catholics; but that they could not conſent to the repeal of the teſt, and the other laws that tended to the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion,' &c. And thus king James and his miniſters were exceedingly diſappointed by this full declaration; for, had they only got the opinion of the prince and princeſs according to their mind, they doubtleſs would have made a great handle of it.

On the 7th of November, James Boyle was condemned to be executed at the Graſs market, on the 7th of December, for having been at Bothwell, and for hearing Mr Renwick; but it does not appear that the ſentence was executed.

There is nothing more material that occurs during this year, only in the beginning of it, the ſoldiers continued their ravages, till ſome regiments were called up to England; and, among others that ſuffered by them, the family of Muſſield was greatly oppreſſed.

And, as an evidence that the perſecuting ſpirit ſtill continued, Alexander Keir, ſometime bailie of Stranraer, was impriſoned ſome time this year for alledged irregular baptiſms, as were William Mactyre and Nathaniel Johnſton for being preſent. But I now go on to

CHAP. XV.

Of the proceedings of the juſticiary: the execution of Mr James Renwick: the acts and proclamations of council, and other remarkable things to the ever memorable revolution, with ſome account of the proceedings of the convention of eſtates.

IT is now with pleaſure I am come to the year 1688, which will ever be famous in the annals of Great Britain, on account of the glorious revolution, brought about by divine providence, by which theſe nations were reſcued, not only from oppreſſive tyranny, but alſo from a deſtructive form of popery, deva ſtation, and blood, that was juſt ready to break in upon them; and Scotland, in particular, was freed from the bloody hands of Prelatiſts and their abettors.

The Romiſh prieſts at this time beſtirred themſelves to propagate their faith, filled the country with their catechiſms and manuals of devotion. Popiſh ſchools were erected up and down England, and, in a particular manner, at the Abbay of Holy-rood-houſe, which was not only contrary to law, but an open inſult on the reformation. The better to gain their ends, the ſcholars were to be taught *gratis*; and it was pretended, that no regard was to be had to difference in religion, and no leſs title was given to this popiſh ſeminary than that of the *royal college*.

Notwithſtanding the toleration laſt year, all methods were taken to hinder many from reaping the benefit of it. When people hired barns or other houſes for places of worſhip, they were upon ſome pretence or another, greatly vexed and haraſſed; and they who would not go to church were brought to no ſmall trouble, and quarrels were continually picked with preſbyterians; ſo that, had it not been for the revolution, even this toleration had been rendered of no ſervice. Mr Alexander Auchmoutie and Mr Alexander Orrock were diſcharged from preaching any more at Dundee. The latter had once prayed, that the Lord would purge the king from heart idols; which words were miſrepreſented, as if Mr Orrock had ſaid the king was an idolater. In a word, all occaſions were ſought againſt preſbyterians; but,

The grand deſign of the court was to eſtabliſh popery on the ruins of the proteſtant intereſt; but here was the great bar in the way, the apparent heirs of the crown were proteſtants, and all attempts to induce them to change their religion, or even to approve the taking off the penal laws, had been in vain: and therefore a proclamation was publiſhed on the 2d of January 1688, to notify the queen's being with child, and to order public thankſgiving to God, on the 15th, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and on the 29th in all other places in England.

In the form of prayer appointed for the occaſion were theſe expreſſions. 'Bleſſed be that good providence, which has vouchſafed us freſh hopes of royal iſſue by our gracious queen Mary. Strengthen her, we beſeech thee, and perfect what thou haſt begun; command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents, that what ſhe has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our ſovereign lord the king, the farther eſtabliſhment of his crown, the happineſs and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name.'

The privy council of Scotland appointed the 29th of January to be obſerved as a thankſgiving for the dioceſe of Edinburgh, and the 10th of February for the reſt of the kingdom. There were, however, very few of the tolerated preſbyterians that paid any regard to this, and indeed there was no particular mention of them in the act enjoining this thankſgiving.

This, ſays Mr Neal, ſtruck all the proteſtant part of the nation with conſternation, except a few ranting tories, whoſe religion was at the ſervice of the king whenever he ſhould pleaſe to call for it; and though the jeſuits looked upon the conception as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the queen had made to the lady of Loretto, and propheſied that it would certainly be a prince, yet the proteſtants ſighed in ſecret, and ſuſpected a fraud; the grounds of which are related at large by the hiſtorians of theſe times.

On the 17th of January Mr James Renwick, with the conſent of others concurring, delivered into the hands of Mr Hugh Kennedy, a reverend and learned miniſter, whom he ſuppoſed to be the moderator of the meeting at Edinburgh, a teſtimony which he had drawn up againſt the toleration, and for the covenants, and the expediency of preaching the goſpel in the fields.

The ſtrength of what is therein ſaid againſt that toleration being exhauſted in what is borrowed from Mr Shields, a few pages before this, I ſhall not here reſume what they ſay upon that head, but ſhortly deduce the ſubſtance of the other two.

'In the next place, conſidering (ſay they) how our covenants are ſlighted, the obligations of them forgotten, and they like to be buried in oblivion, we judge we are neceſſarily called to ſpeak a word of our covenants;——deſiring to bleſs the Lord, who put it in the hearts of his people,——to enter into holy covenants,——and we do teſtify our cordial approbation of, and real adherence unto theſe memorable engagements;——and we are alſo no leſs convinced in our conſciences, that the obligation of our covenants is perpetual, and binding upon poſterity;— theſe engagements are national promiſes, laying in pledge the public faith. Certainly that of the jewiſh nobles, not to exact uſury of their brethren, would have brought their poſterity under the curſe, if they ſhould have done it, Neh. v. 12. 13. They are national vows, whereby they devoted themſelves and their poſterity to be the lord's people:——the Rechabites were bound to obſerve the vows of their forefather Jonadab. They are national oaths, and theſe do oblige poſterity. Joſeph took an oath of the children of Iſrael to carry up his bones to Canaan, Gen. l. 25. which the poſterity——found' ſtraitly ſworn to obſerve, Exod. xxx, 19.——They are national covenants, wherein king, parliament, and people, do covenant with each other to perform their ſeveral and reſpective duties as to religion and liberty; theſe oblige poſterity, as Iſrael's covenant with the Gibeonites, Joſh ix. 15. 19. for the breach whereof, many ages after, the poſterity was plagued, 2 Sam. xxi. 1.' Several other things are advanced to the ſame purpoſe; and then they go on, ſaying, 'We cannot but profeſs the ſorrow of our hearts, and teſtify the abhorrence of our ſouls againſt all the breaches, injuries, or affronts, that have been, or are offered, or done to our covenants, national and ſolemn league, which now (alas) are like to be deſpiſed and buried in forgetfulneſs.——Particularly, we teſtify againſt the ſinful, ſhameful, and ſcandalous defections of many miniſters in this point, by their laying by theſe ſacred covenants, forbearing to preach plainly the obligation of them, to diſcover particularly the breaches of them, and to mention them in the engagements which they require of parents when they preſent their children to baptiſm.——

'In the last place, because field meetings for gospel ordinances—are now, by wicked and sanguinary laws—interdicted and discharged under pain of death, therefore we must testify our abhorrence of this cruelty, when others are silent, and signify also our reasons of endeavouring to maintain these interdicted meetings 1.—It is necessary at all times, that Christians should meet together for gospel ordinances, whether the magistrate will or not,—if they cannot get the gospel in houses, they must have it where ever they can.—2 These meetings must be as public as may be with conveniency and prudence, especially—when wickedness is encouraged, and a witness for truth suppressed;—for then the call of God is—for public and solemn humiliation, which cannot be done in private; the nature and end of meetings for gospel ordinances is for a public testimony for Christ against all sin, and every dishonour done to the Son of God—The nature and business of the gospel-ministry is such, that it obliges them that exercise it to endeavour all publicness, without which they cannot discharge the extent of their instructions.—3 Keeping of field-meetings now, is not only most convenient for testifying, but a very significant testimony, in itself, against the popish toleration,—against that wicked law that discharges them as criminal: it is a testimony for the headship, honour, and princely prerogative of Jesus—since, in these meetings, there is a particular declaration of our holding our ministry, and the exercise thereof, from Christ alone, without any dependence on, or subordination to, or license from, his usurping enemies.—It is a testimony for our covenants, the owning whereof is declared criminal by the same law that discharges these meetings.—4. To give over field meetings altogether, at this time, would be very stumbling to friends,—and to enemies prove very hardening and encouraging in their wicked design of banishing all meetings out of the land.'—They conclude with the epilogue of the ministers of Lancaster, used by them in their testimony against the toleration.

Thus the reader may judge for himself whether Mr Renwick and his followers, or those who accepted the foresaid toleration, acted most consistent with their principles.

I shall only add, that this worthy minister was in a little time called to seal his testimony with his blood of; which I shall give an account, when I have observed, that, on the 3d of February, Mr David Williamson, who had a numerous congregation in the west-kirk parish, was, without being ever told the cause, apprehended, and kept a fortnight in prison at Edinburgh, and in July brought before the council, at the malicious accusation of one Mushet, for not praying for the pretended prince of Wales; but nothing could be made appear. Sir Patrick Nisbet of Dean, who countenanced Mr Williamson's ministry, was fined in L. 300 sterling, for words Mushet declared he had spoke disrespectfully of the government.

The order of time leads me now to relate the last part of the sufferings of Mr Renwick, who still continued preaching and catechising. At last, after he delivered the above testimony, he went to Fife, where he continued preaching till the last of January, when he returned late at night to Edinburgh, and lodged at a friend's house on the Castle-hill, who dealt in English goods. One Thomas Justice, a custom-house officer getting notice of a stranger's being there, came next morning with some other officers, on pretence of searching for prohibited goods. Mr Renwick, upon hearing the noise, came out of his room Justice, standing at the door, said, My life for it, this is Mr Renwick. Upon this Mr Renwick went to another door, and finding it guarded, discharged a pistol, by which he got out, and, had it not been for a blow he received in the breast, he would have made his escape; but, as he was running, he fell several times, and at last was taken and carried directly to the court of guard; from thence before a committee of the council, who ordered him to be laid in irons. Then he had an opportunity of spreading his case before God, and of praying for grace to enable him to bear what he might be called to suffer, and that his enemies might be restrained from torturing his body.

Before he received his indictment, he was taken to the viscount of Tarbet's chamber and there examined concerning his owning the authority of king James VII. the cess, and carrying arms at field meetings, and delivered himself with freedom and boldness to the astonishment of all present. He was the first that was examined concerning the cess. A pocket book was found about him in which were the notes of two sermons he had preached on these points, which he owned. There was also some capital letters in the same book, such as, AS. MS. JW. AW. PR. PA. MM. at G. where a hat was left. The committee was very urgent to know these names; and Mr Renwick, partly to avoid torture, and partly because he could not make them more obnoxious than they were, ingenuously declared that they were the names of Mess. Alexander Shields, Michael Shields, James Wilson, Archibald Wilson, Peter Rayning, Peter Aird, who were all out of their reach. He made some demur as to the last, till he was assured, that he should come to no trouble, and then he told that it was one Mr Miller at Glasgow. This openness greatly softened the rage of his enemies. Being asked what persuasion he was of? He answered, of the protestant presbyterian persuasion, adhering to the old presbyterian principles, which were once generally professed by the church and nation from 1640 to 1660.

On the 3d of February he received his indictment, in which it is said, 'That, having shaken off the fear of God, and regard to his majesty's laws and authority, and having entered into the society of rebels of most damnable and pernicious principles and disloyal practices, he had taken upon him to be a preacher to these traitors, and had become so desperate a villain, as openly to preach in the fields, declaiming against the king's authority, asserting that he was an usurper, and that it was unlawful to pay cess, but lawful for subjects to rise in arms and make war against him, and those commissioned by him; for which crimes he had been denounced and intercommuned, and a reward of L. 100 sterling offered to any that should apprehend him; but, notwithstanding all this, he still persisted in his obstinacy, keeping conventicles in the fields, and requiring his hearers to come armed to these rendezvouses of rebellion.——And, being apprehended within the city of Edinburgh, he did desperately fire upon the officers, that came to take him; and, being brought before the lord chancellor, did openly deny and decline the king's authority, asserting him to be an usurper, and owning that he had preached these things, and had traiterously declared at the viscount of Tarbet's, that he could not in conscience acknowledge the king to be his lawful sovereign, and that the lineal succession did not give a right to govern, and that it was unlawful to pay cess, because it was imposed for maintaining of forces to suppress the gospel; and that all who paid the cess were involved in that guilt, and adhered to his preaching-book, declaring the same to be his hand writ.' To all which he was to answer on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a list of 45, out of which 15 were to be chosen to be the jury, with a list of the witnesses to be brought against him, for which I must refer the reader to the history of his life.

After receiving his indictment, his pious mother, Elisabeth Carsan, was permitted now and then to see him. He frequently declared his grief on account of his leaving his flock; but on sabbath, February 5. he declared that, if it was his choice, he could not without terror think of continuing much longer in this conflict with a body of sin and death; and yet he durst not vary in the least from his testimony. In a letter February 6. he desired that the persons whose names he had deciphered might be acquainted with it, and concludes, 'I desire none may be troubled on my behalf, but rather rejoice with him, who, with hope and joy, is waiting for his marriage and coronation-hour.' Another time his mother asked him how he was. He answered he was well; but that, since his last examination, he could hardly pray. At which, when she seemed to be surprized, he added, 'I can hardly pray, being so much taken up with praising, and ravished with the joy of the Lord.' When she farther expressed her fears, saying, 'How shall I look to that head, and these hands set up among the rest upon the ports of the city? I have

so

ſo much of ſelf that I ſhall never be able to endure it.' He ſmiled, telling her that ſhe ſhould not ſee that; for, ſaid he, 'I have offered my life to the Lord, and have fought that he may bind them up, that they may do no more; and I am perſuaded that they ſhall not be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one hair of my head farther.' He was always afraid of torture; but now his fears were all over. Some other friends were allowed to viſit him, whom he exhorted to make ſure their peace with God, and to ſtudy ſteadfaſtneſs in his ways: and when they were regretting their loſs of him, he ſaid, 'That they had more reaſon to bleſs the Lord, that he ſhould now be taken away from theſe reproaches which had broken his heart, which could no otherwiſe be wiped off, even though he ſhould get his life without yielding in the leaſt.' He told them alſo, that, when he was firſt taken and brought before the council, he intended to wave them, and not be poſitive in his anſwers; but that he was ſo filled with darkneſs of ſpirit, that he durſt not continue in theſe reſolutions, but found himſelf obliged to be plain and free, as he had always been in his ſermons, in which he had found great peace.

On Wedneſday the 8th of February he appeared before the juſticiary, and, when his indictment was read, the juſtice clerk aſked him, if he adhered to his former confeſſion, and acknowleged all that was in his libel. He anſwered, All, except where it is ſaid, I have caſt off all fear of God; that I deny; for it is becauſe I fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here ſtanding ready to be condemned.' Then he was interrogated if he owned authority, and king James VII. to be his lawful ſovereign. He replied, 'I own all authority that hath its preſcriptions and limitations from the word of God; but cannot own this uſurper as lawful king, ſeeing, both by the word of God, ſuch an one is incapable to bear rule; and likewiſe by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland until he ſwear to defend the proteſtant religion, which a man of his profeſſion could not do.' They urged, Could he deny him to be king? Was he not the late king's brother? Had the late king any children lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be ſucceſſor by act of parliament? He anſwered, he was, no queſtion, king *de facto*, but not *de jure*: that he was brother to the other, he knew nothing to the contrary. What children the other had he did not know; but from the word of God, that ought to be the rule of all laws, or from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be ſhewn that he had, or ever could have, any right.' Then they aſked, if he owned, and had taught it to be unlawful to pay ceſſes and taxes to his majeſty. He replied, 'For the preſent ceſs, exacted for the preſent uſurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppreſſive to the ſubjects, for the maintenance of tyranny, and becauſe it is impoſed for ſuppreſſing the goſpel. Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews, in the days of Nebochadnezzar, to have brought every one a coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the three children, if ſo they had been required by that tyrant? And how can it be lawful, either to oppreſs poor people for not bowing to the idols the king ſets up, or for their brethren to contribute to what may help forward their oppreſſion?' Next, they enquired if he owned that he had taught his hearers to come armed to their meetings, and, in caſe of oppoſition, to reſiſt. He anſwered, 'It were inconſiſtent with reaſon and religion both to do otherwiſe. Yourſelves would do it in the like circumſtances. I own that I taught them to carry arms to defend themſelves, and to reſiſt your unjuſt violence.' Farther, they aſked if he owned the note-book with the two ſermons in it, and that he had preached them. He ſaid, 'If you have added nothing, I will own it, and am ready to ſeal all the truths contained therein with my blood.' All his confeſſions being read over, he was required to ſubſcribe them. He ſaid he could not do it, ſince he looked upon that as a partial owning of their authority, After ſeveral times refuſing, he ſaid, with proteſtation. 'I will ſubſcribe the paper, as it is my teſtimony; but not in obedience to you.'

Next thoſe of the jury were called in by fives and ſworn, againſt whom he made no objection, but proteſted, 'That none might ſit on his aſſize that profeſſed proteſtant or preſbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation.' He was brought in guilty, and ſentence was paſſed, that he ſhould be executed in the Graſs-market on the Friday following. Lord Linlithgow, juſtice-general, aſked if he deſired longer time. He anſwered, that it was all one to him; if it was protracted, it was welcome; if it was ſhortened, it was welcome; his Maſter's time was the beſt. So he was returned to priſon.

Though none who ſuffered in the former part of this diſmal period ſpoke with greater freedom and oppenneſs than Mr Renwick, yet none were treated with ſo much moderation. The lenity of the juſticiary was much admired beyond their ordinary: for they admitted him to ſay what he pleaſed, without threatenings or interruptions, even though he gave none of them the title of lord but Linlithgow, who was a nobleman by birth.

It is farther remarkable, that, without his knowledge, and againſt his will, nay, after his open refuſing to the advocate to deſire it, he was reprieved till the 17th day, which gave occaſion to ſeveral to renew their reproaches.

Though Mr Renwick's friends (which was not uſual after ſentence) were denied acceſs, yet both papiſts, Epiſcopalians, and others, were permitted to ſee him. Biſhop Paterſon often viſited him; nay, he ſought another reprieve for him, which would eaſily have been granted, had he only petitioned for it. The biſhop aſked him, 'Think you none can be ſaved but thoſe of your principles? Will you kill yourſelf with your own hands, ſeeing you may have your life upon ſo eaſy terms?' He anſwered, 'I never ſaid nor thought that none could be ſaved except they were of thoſe principles; but theſe are truths which I ſuffer for, and which I have not raſhly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long time have been confirmed that they are ſufficient points to ſuffer for.' The biſhop took his leave, declaring his ſorrow for his being ſo tenacious, and commended him for a youth of parts. The night before he ſuffered he ſignified his readineſs to ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power. Mr Renwick thanked him for his civility; but knew nothing he could do, or that he could deſire. Mr MacNaught, one of the curates, made him a viſit in his canonical habit, which Mr Renwick did not like. The curate, among other things, aſked his opinion concerning the toleration, and thoſe that accepted it. Mr Renwick declared that he was againſt the toleration; but as for the men that embraced it, he judged them to be godly men. Sir D. Dalrymple the advocate, ſeveral popiſh prieſts, and ſome of the gentlemen of the guard, together with ſome of the tolerated miniſters, were permitted to converſe with him. The prieſts, at leaving him, were overheard, ſaying that he was a moſt obſtinate heretic. All the time he was in priſon after his ſentence, he was kept ſo cloſe that he could get nothing wrote. His begun teſtimony, which he was writing, was taken from him, and pen, ink, and paper refuſed. However, he got a ſhort paper wrote the night before he ſuffered, which is in the Cloud of Witneſſes.

On Tueſday the 14th he was brought before the council on account of the informatory vindication; but what paſſed there cannot be learned, farther than their ſignifying how much kindneſs they had ſhewn him, in that they had reprieved him without his ſupplication, a thing never done before. He returned with extraordinary cheerfulneſs, rejoicing that he was counted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for the name of his Maſter. He was much in obſerving the goodneſs of God in reſtraining the perſecutors from putting him to torture. Being aſked what he thought God would do with the remnant left behind him; he anſwered, 'It ſhall be well with them; for God will not forſake nor caſt off his inheritance.'

On the day of his execution, the chief jailor begged, that, at the place of his execution, he would not mention the cauſe of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Mr Renwick told him, that what God would give him to ſpeak, that he would ſpeak, and nothing elſe, and nothing leſs. The jailor told him, he might ſtill have his life if he would but ſign that petition which he offered him. He anſwered, 'That he never read in ſcripture, or hiſtory, where martyrs petitioned for their lives when called to ſuffer for truth, though they might require them not to take

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their life, and remonſtrate againſt the wickedneſs of murdering them; but, in the preſent circumſtances, he judged it would be found a receding from the truth, and declining a teſtimony for Chriſt.'

At laſt his mother and ſiſters had liberty to ſee him. He took a refreſhment with them, and, in returning thanks, ſaid, 'O Lord, now thou haſt brought me within two hours of eternity, and this is no matter of terror to me, more than if I were to lie down in a bed of roſes; nay, through grace, to thy praiſe I may ſay, I had never the fear of death ſince I came to this priſon, but from the place I was taken I could have gone very compoſedly to the ſcaffold. O! how can I contain the thoughts of this, to be within two hours of the crown of glory.' He exhorted them much to prepare for death, expreſſing his own joyful aſſurance of endleſs glory; and, perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her to remember, 'that they who loved any thing better than Chriſt were not worthy of him. If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not ſeen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' Then he went to prayer, wherein he run out much into praiſes, and pleaded in behalf of the ſuffering remnant, that the Lord would raiſe up witneſſes that might tranſmit the teſtimony to ſucceeding generations, and that the Lord would not leave Scotland; aſſerting, with great confidence of hope, that he was ſtrengthened in the faith of it, that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

When the drum beat he fell into a tranſport, ſaying, 'Yonder the welcome warning to my marriage, the Bridegroom is coming, I am ready, I am ready.' Then, after having in a moving way parted with his mother and ſiſters, he was taken, as uſual, to the low council houſe, where they deſired he would ſpeak what he had to ſay there. He told them, I have nothing to ſay to you, but that which is written in Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. 'As for me behold I am in your hand, &c. He was told that the drums would beat at the ſcaffold all the time, and therefore they adviſed him to pray there, which he refuſed, and declared that he would not be limited in what he would ſay; that he had premeditated nothing, but would ſpeak what was given him. They offered him any miniſter to be with him; but he choſe to be attended by one friend who was then in company.

He went to the place of execution, with great cheerfulneſs, in the midſt of an innumerable multitude, which was the greater, that executions had not been ſo frequent of late. There was a curate near the ſcaffold who tempted him, ſaying, Mr Renwick, own our king, and we ſhall pray for you. He replied that he wanted none of his prayers, ſince he was come to bear his teſtimony againſt him, and ſuch as he was. The curate ſaid, Own our king, and pray for him, whatever you ſay againſt us. His anſwer was, I will diſcourſe no more with you. I am, within a little, to appear before him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, who will ſhortly pour ſhame, contempt, and confuſion on all the kings of the earth who have not ruled for him. He ſang Pſal. ciii. read Rev. xix. and then prayed, recommending his ſoul to God through the Redeemer, and his cauſe to be vindicated in his own time. He declared that this was the moſt joyful day he ever ſaw, a day he had greatly longed for, and bleſſed the Lord who had honoured him with the crown of martyrdom, an honour which the angels are not capable of. He complained of his being diſturbed in worſhipping God; but, ſaid he, 'I ſhall be above thoſe clouds; then ſhall I enjoy thee, and glorify thee without interruption or intermiſſion for ever.' Prayer being ended, he ſpoke to the people, and what was remembered is as follows.

SPectators, (or, if there be any of you auditors,) I muſt tell you, I am come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Chriſt, for which I am neither afraid nor aſhamed to ſuffer; nay, I bleſs the Lord that ever counted me worthy, or enabled me to ſuffer any thing for him; and I deſire to praiſe his grace that he hath not only kept me free from the grois pollutions of the time, but alſo from the many ordinary pollutions of children; and for ſuch as I have been ſtained with, he hath waſhed and cleanſed me from them in his own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for theſe three things. 1. For diſowning the uſurpation and tyranny of James duke of York. 2. For preaching that it was unlawful to pay the ceſs expreſsly exacted for bearing down the goſpel. 3. For teaching that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themſelves in their meetings for the perſecuted goſpel-ordinances. I think a teſtimony for theſe is worth many lives; and if I had ten thouſand I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the ſame.

Dear friends, ſpectators, if any of you be auditors, I muſt tell you I die a preſbyterian proteſtant. I own the word of God as the rule of faith and manners. I own the Confeſſion of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechiſms, Sum of ſaving knowledge, Directory for public and family worſhip, Covenants national and ſolemn league, Acts of general aſſemblies, and all the faithful contendings that have been for the covenanted reformation. I leave my teſtimony approving the preaching in the fields, and the defending the ſame by arms. I adjoin my teſtimony to all thoſe truths that have been ſealed by bloodſhed, either on ſcaffolds, fields, or ſeas, for the cauſe of Chriſt, I leave my teſtimony againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm, &c. againſt all profanity, and every thing contrary to ſound doctrine and the power of godlineſs; particularly againſt all uſurpations and encroachments made upon Chriſt's rights, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone muſt bear the glory of ruling his own kingdom the church; and, in particular, againſt this abſolute power uſurped by this uſurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah, and againſt his toleration flowing from this abſolute power.'

Here he was ordered to have done. He anſwered, I have near done; and then ſaid, 'Ye that are the people of God, do not weary to maintain the teſtimony of the day in your ſtations and places; and, whatever ye do, make ſure an intereſt in Chriſt; for there is a ſtorm coming that ſhall try your foundation. Scotland muſt be rid of Scotland before the delivery come. And you that are ſtrangers to God, break off your ſins by repentance, elſe I will be a ſad witneſs againſt you in the day of the Lord.

Here they ſtopt him, and made him go up the ladder, where he prayed; and this expreſſion was diſtinctly heard, 'Lord, I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witneſſes to be ſeed of thy church, and return again and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am ready, the bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made herſelf ready.' When the napkin was tying round his face, he ſaid to his attending friend, 'Farewell, be diligent in duty, make your peace with God, through Chriſt; there is a great trial coming. As to the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me not to weary, nor be diſcouraged in maintaining the teſtimony, Let them not quit or forego one of theſe deſpiſed truths. Keep your ground, and the Lord will provide you teachers and miniſters. And when he comes he will make theſe deſpiſed truths glorious in the earth.' Then he was turned over with theſe words in his mouth, 'Lord, into thy hands I commit my ſpirit: for thou haſt redeemed me, Lord God of truth.'

Thus died Mr James Renwick, the laſt that ſealed the teſtimony for religion and liberty, and the covenanted work of reformation, againſt popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm, and tyranny in this period, a young man and miniſter, being juſt turned his 26th year, but a ripe chriſtian and martyr of Chriſt.

After his death the reverend Mr Alexander Shields ſucceeded and preached in the fields, and in April had a very numerous field meeting upon Diſtinkcorn-hill, which occaſioned many ſearches to be made by the ſoldiers for thoſe who were preſent. But to return.

On the 13th of February the reverend Mr John Hardy, miniſter at Gordon, was tried before the juſticiary for high treaſon; but the proceſs was dropt. The great crime was his preaching againſt popery, and warning his hearers of the danger they and the whole nation were in. This was conſtructed to be high treaſon.

On the 17th Sir George MacKenzie was reſtored to his place of being lord advocate, and Sir John Dalrymple was made juſtice clerk and a lord of ſeſſion. In March ſome country people were brought in priſoners, and examined by

by Sir George about owning the king's authority; but though they owned it only with limitations, yet the new advocate was more eaſy with them than he had been with others in former years. But to proceed to things of a more public concern.

On the 27th of April king James iſſued out another declaration for liberty of conſcience in England, which the reader may ſee in the Engliſh hiſtorians. This declaration, ſays Dr. Welwood, was of a much higher ſtrain than the former, and in it the Roman Catholics were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their ſake alone it was granted. However, the king not being ſatisfied with having this publiſhed in the uſual method, emitted an order of council, enjoining the biſhops to cauſe it to be ſent and diſtributed throughout their ſeveral and reſpective dioceſſes, to be read at the uſual time of divine ſervice in all churches and chapels. Though 'ſome of the biſhops,' ſays Burnet, 'carried their compliance to a ſhameful pitch,' the generality of the clergy refuſed to obey ſo unjuſt a command, and ſeven of them, on account of a petition they preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would not inſiſt upon their diſtributing and reading the ſaid declaration, were committed to the tower, where we muſt leave them for ſome time.

Mean while, that matters might correſpond in Scotland with thoſe in England, on the 15th of May a new proclamation was publiſhed there, called the 4th indulgence, in which he pleads ſeveral acts of parliament, eſpecially the 2d act of his parliament there for acting by virtue of abſolute power; ſo that he pretended to law in diſpenſing with the ſtanding laws of the nations. Then he repeats his former proclamations, and ſignifies that he has diſſolved all judicatories and magiſtrates in royal burghs, and declares that he will maintain all his former proclamations, and threatens thoſe who would not comply with his meaſures.

But, notwithſtanding all this pretended liberty of conſcience, yet in many places all methods were taken to hinder preſbyterian miniſters from reaping the benefit of it, as appears not only from ſome inſtances already given, but alſo from the caſe of the reverend Mr Thomas Cobham, who was born in Dundee, and came thither on the 23d of May to ſee his friends. He performed family worſhip at his couſin's, for which he was brought before one of the magiſtrates, on pretence of his keeping a conventicle; but was preſently bailed, elſe he muſt have gone to priſon. Next day the information being found falſe, his bail-bond was given up, and he gave in his name to the magiſtrates, and preached the Sabbath following; but the Saturday after he was called, at ten at night, before ſome of the magiſtrates, and ordered to find bail, though they had nothing to lay to his charge; and, becauſe his friend Mr Smith took upon him to ſpeak in his favour, and remonſtrate againſt this illegal proceeding, he was ſent along with him to priſon. Though Mr Smith was let out, yet Mr Cobham was kept a priſoner till July, when he was ſent to Edinburgh, where, after ſome farther confinement, he was releaſed by the council, they finding nothing againſt him.

On the 10th of June, while the biſhops were in the tower, and the princeſs Anne at the Bath, the queen was ſaid to be delivered of a prince of Wales; but there were ſo many circumſtances that rendered this birth ſuſpicious, that the nation in general looked upon it as an impoſture, and as the laſt efforts of the papiſts to ruin the reformation in theſe lands. The illuſtrious prince of Orange, in his declaration for Scotland, ſpeaks of this in the following terms: 'But, to crown all, there are great and violent preſumptions inducing us to believe that thoſe evil counſellors, in order to their carrying on of their ill deſigns, and to the gaining to themſelves more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their accomplices, and the diſcouraging of all good ſubjects, have publiſhed that the queen hath brought forth a ſon, though there have appeared, both during the queen's pretended bigneſs, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible grounds of ſuſpicion, that not only we ourſelves, but all the good ſubjects of thoſe kingdoms, do vehemently ſuſpect that the pretended prince of Wales was not born by the queen. And it is notoriouſly known to all the world, that many both doubted of the queen's bigneſs and the birth of the child, and yet there was not one thing done to ſatisfy them, or put an end to their doubts.'

On the 14th the council of Scotland, conſidering that 'it having pleaſed the Almighty God, by whom kings reign, to bleſs his ſacred majeſty, our auguſt and glorious monarch, and in him us, his dutiful and happy ſubjects, with the birth of the moſt ſerene and high born prince, the prince and Stuart of Scotland, &c. by his royal conſort our gracious queen Mary,'——made an act appointing the 21ſt of June for the dioceſs of Edinburgh, and the 18th for the reſt of the kingdom, to be obſerved as days of ſolemn thankſgiving. The day was obſerved at Edinburgh with all ſolemnity.

About the 20th of June they of the united ſocieties, having been informed that Mr David Houſtoun, who had joined with Mr Renwick, had been apprehended, a good number of them aſſembled in arms, attacked the ſoldiers who were carrying him to Edinburgh, and after killing ſome, and wounding others, reſcued the priſoner; and, if they had not, it is very probable he would have ſuffered as Mr Renwick had done. The ſocieties afterwards, having informations againſt him, turned him out from amongſt them.

The news of this reſcue coming to Edinburgh, the council iſſued a proclamation on the 22d, ordering the nobility, freeholders heritors, and indulged miniſters, in the ſhires of Ayr, Lanerk, Renfrew, and Nithſdale, to be aſſembled on the 29th inſtant, and thoſe of Wigtoun on the 6th of July, in order to find out thoſe concerned in the ſaid reſcue; but, after all the inquiry that could be made, few or none concerned were found out, though the country was brought to no ſmall trouble on account of thoſe meetings.

Some time in June, John Reid a trooper, once belonging to Craigie's troop, finding one George Wood, a youth of about 16 years of age, ſhot him on the place. When Reid was challenged for this, he ſaid, he knew him to be a whig, and theſe ought to be ſhot where-ever they were found.

In June or July Claverhouſe and colonel Douglas made a moſt violent ſearch in Edinburgh. Every private ſoldier had power to examine, upon oath, all ſuſpected perſons, and whoever refuſed to renounce the covenants were forced to priſon.

The followers of the late Mr Renwick ſtill kept up their ſocieties. Accordingly, at a general meeting on the firſt of Auguſt, they collected near L. 240 Sterling in order to ranſom ſeveral of their brethren who were ſold for ſlaves to Barbadoes. Accordingly James Douglas, Thomas Brown, John Buchanan, Alexander Bailie, George Paton, John White, Gilbert MacCulloch, R. Mitchel, John White, George White, Agnes Keir, James Baxter, and another, were, in conſequence of this, actually relieved. But it is proper to take a ſhort view of what was tranſacting at this time in England.

The aſſurance of a popiſh ſucceſſor filled the king with hopes of accompliſhing his deſigns, and, in order to get a parliament to his mind, cloſeting was once more put in practice, promiſes and threatenings were made uſe of, ſome entire regiments were ordered from Ireland, and many vacancies in the Engliſh regiments were filled up with Iriſh and popiſh officers; and, during the public rejoicings for the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of St Aſaph, Bath and Wells, Ely, Chicheſter, Peterborough, and Briſtol, were brought to their trials at the king's-bench bar on the 15th of June; but, upon a motion for a delay, the matter was put off till the 29th, and in the mean time they were ſet at liberty upon their recognizance. On the ſaid 29th Weſtminſter-hall was crouded with great numbers of lords, gentlemen, and others. The biſhops were tried, and the trial laſted ten hours; then the jury withdrew, and, after ſitting up all night, brought in their verdict, next morning, Not guilty.

Upon this the marquis of Hallifax, waving his hat over his head, cried, Huzza! The lords and gentlemen took the ſhout from him. It in an inſtant filled the whole hall with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, which were im-

mediately taken by the crouds waiting in Palace yard and in Weſtminſter, from whence it was carried through the city of London and places adjacent, and, as faſt as it could fly, over the whole kingdom. The ſoldiers encamped on Honſlow heath gave ſuch an univerſal ſhout, that it ſtartled the king, then at an entertainment in the earl of Feverſham's tent, whom he ſent to know what was the matter. Feverſham coming back, told the king it was nothing but the ſoldiers ſhooting upon the news of the biſhops being acquitted. The king ſtamped with his foot, and ſaid, Do you call that nothing? But ſo much the worſe for them. A proteſtant roar like this could not be agreeable to his majeſty.

All true proteſtants, being now convinced that they were on the very brink of ruin, had no other expedient but to apply to the prince of Orange. Accordingly ſeveral great men, upon ſundry pretences, both from England and Scotland, repaired to the Hague to confer with his highneſs; and in July, one flight brought over to England about 80 letters from perſons of quality and credit, and carried back anſwers to the Hague. Many of the biſhops and clergy of England began now to forget the principles of paſſive obedience and non reſiſtance. The prince readily embarked in the quarrel, and the ſtates cheerfully agreed to give their aſſiſtance, for they were equally concerned in the affair with the Engliſh themſelves, becauſe the ruin of Holland would doubtleſs have ſoon followed the ſlavery of Great Britain.

While matters were thus concerting for reſcuing the nation from popery and ſlavery, the managers in Scotland did what they could to oppoſe them. Accordingly, on the 15th of Auguſt, the council publiſhed a proclamation againſt the following books and pamphlets, *viz.* all tranſlations of Buchanan *de jure regni*, *Lex Rex*, *Jus populi*, Naphtali, the Cup of Cold Water, the Scots Miſt, the Apologetical Relation, Mene Tekel, the Hind let looſe, the treaſonable proclamations iſſued out at Sanquhar, and thoſe iſſued out by the late duke of Monmouth and the late earl of Argyll. All were ordered to bring in theſe books by a limited time, under ſevere penalties. At Edinburgh ſeveral went in the council's name through the bookſellers ſhops, and not only ſeized theſe, but alſo whatever books were wrote againſt popery, alledging that the vending of theſe tended to alienate the people's minds from his majeſty. Either the advocate, or ſome other of the counſellors, went to the ſhop of a firm whig, and aſked him if he had any prohibited books. The bookſeller deſired him to ſearch; which having done, and found nothing, he aſked him if he had any books againſt popery; he anſwered he had a great many. The counſellor told him that was the king's religion, and that ſubjects ought not to be alienated from him on that account, and deſired to ſee them. Upon which the bookſeller directed him to the place where his bibles lay; and he, taking up one after another, ſaid, Theſe are bibles. 'They are ſo,' ſaid the bookſeller, 'and from the one end to the other are all againſt popery.' This was reckoned ſuch a high crime, that the bookſeller in the afternoon was ſummoned before the council, and brought to ſome trouble.

The preparations making in Holland being by this time pretty much talked of, and the king receiving repeated advices of them, he judged it convenient to flatter the people with the expectation of a parliament. Accordingly, on the 24th of Auguſt, he declared in council his intention to call a parliament for the 27th of November; and the chancellor had orders to iſſue forth writs on the 5th of September. But that was not done, the king only deſigning to amuſe the public. In the mean time the marquis of Aſboville at the king's command, preſented a memorial to the ſtates, to demand what they meant by their warlike preparations at this time; to which they gave ſuch an anſwer as made James begin to think of taking ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for his own defence.

The council in Scotland, being compoſed of men hearty in his ſervice, on the 18th of September publiſhed a proclamation for rendezvouzing the militia in ſeveral ſhires, ſetting up of beacons in ſeveral places, to give notice when any number of ſhips were ſeen on the coaſts, and for ordering the heritors, lifeſcutters, and others to be ready, with their beſt horſes and arms, to attend the king's hoſt when deſired.

Though the king had promiſed to iſſue out writs for a new parliament, yet he was not ſo good as his word; however, he ſtill continued to amuſe the people with the hopes of it. Accordingly, on the 21ſt of September, he emitted a proclamation, wherein 'he thought fit to declare, that it was his royal purpoſe to endeavour a legal eſtabliſhment of an univerſal liberty of conſcience for all his ſubjects, as was alſo his reſolution inviolably to preſerve the church of England, by ſuch a confirmation of the ſeveral acts of uniformity, that they ſhould never be altered any other ways than by repealing the ſeveral clauſes which inflict penalties upon perſons not promoted, or to be promoted, to any eccleſiaſtical benefices within the meaning of the ſaid acts.——And that, for the farther ſecuring not only the church of England, but the proteſtant religion in general, he was willing the Roman Catholics ſhould remain incapable to be members of the houſe of commons.'

But this proclamation was too obſcure and ambiguous to produce any great effect; for his repealing the penal laws, and at the ſame time preſerving the acts of uniformity, implied a contradiction. Beſides the king only ſpoke of excluding papiſts from the houſe of commons, but not from the houſe of lords.

At laſt the king had unqueſtionable aſſurances that the preparations making in Holland were againſt him; upon which he turned pale, and for a while remained ſpeechleſs; and, ſays a modern hiſtorian, may not one now imagine the injured ghoſts of Ruſſel, Sidney, Baillie, Cornſh, and the hecatombs in the weſt, and in Scotland, haunted his dreams amidſt the extremity of his diſtreſs and deſpair, &c.

In this fright he applied to the biſhops then in town for advice. They deſired time to conſult what was proper to be done in ſuch circumſtances. Mean while, on the 28th, he iſſued a proclamation, ſetting forth the advices he received of the prince's intended invaſion to conquer theſe kingdoms, and ſubdue them to a common power, which obliged him to recall his writs for electing members of parliament. A moſt unaccountable ſtep! for, had he known his own intereſt, he ſhould rather have haſtened the meeting of his parliament.

About this time he publiſhed his indemnity, out of which were excepted, Mr Andrew Fletcher, colonel Ramſey, Titus Oates, Dr Gilbert Burnet, &c. This pardon, it is ſaid, was drawn up by Jefferies; and, in the mean time, by ſeveral clauſes, it excepted the whole nation; but none regarded it; for the thunders of Whitehall were no more minded now than thoſe of the Vatican.

On the 3d of October the biſhops adviſed the king 'to put the management of the government into the hands of qualified perſons, to annul the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, to ſet aſide all faculties and licences for papiſts to keep ſchools, to deſiſt from his diſpenſing power, to inhibit the four pretended vicars apoſtolical invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, to fill up the vacant biſhopries, to reſtore the charters, to call a free and regular parliament; and, above all, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to permit his biſhops to offer ſuch motives and arguments, as they truſted might, by God's grace, be effectual to perſuade his majeſty to return to the communion of the church of England.'

The ſame day the biſhops gave the king this good advice, the Scots council ſent up an offer of their lives and fortunes, and aſked advice how to behave on this occaſion; for which they had the royal thanks, and were deſired to impriſon all ſuſpected perſons; and, ſince he had ordered the regular forces there to repair to England, he left it to them to raiſe ſuch as they ſhould think fit, and to augment the garriſons, and to do all other things as they ſhould judge convenient. The ſame day the council ordered all the heritors to get ready their beſt horſes and men, and to aſſemble them at the time and in the places appointed in the proclamation; and on the 19th made an act concerning the deſerters from the militia, which I ſhall not trouble the reader with.

About this time the reverend Mr Charles Gordon was brought to no ſmall danger for not owning the legitimacy of the pretended prince of Wales. This Mr Gordon was then miniſter at Campvere in Zealand, and after the revo-

lutions

lation miniſter firſt at Dalmenie, and after that at Aſhkirk, a gentleman of unaffected piety and ſolid learning. He came to Scotland in Auguſt to ſee his friends in the north. He repaired to Edinburgh, in his way to Campvere, in September. In the beginning of October, when there was great noiſe about the prince of Orange's intended expedition, the council emitted a proclamation, diſcharging all ſubjects to leave the kingdom without a licence from the council, or one of their number. Mr Gordon therefore applied, by a friend, to the regiſter for a paſs. The regiſter engaged to uſe his intereſt with lord Perth the chancellor, and, on the 12th of October, deſired Mr Gordon to attend in the parliament cloſe. When attending there the regiſter came out, and told him that he had quite forget his affair, but promiſed to mind it when he met with the chancellor at three o'clock in the treaſury.—— Mean while Mr Gordon went to the caſtle, and got the duke of Gordon to uſe his intereſt likewiſe. Both the duke and the regiſter ſpoke to the chancellor. Mr Gordon, all of a ſudden, was called in, and examined before the lords of the treaſury, and, among other things, he was interrogated as follows. *Chancellor.* Do you own the king's authority? *Gordon.* Yes, my lord. *Ch.* Have you preached ſince you came to the country? *G.* Yes. *Ch.* Do you pray for the prince of Wales? *G.* No. *Ch.* Why not for the prince of Wales? *G.* There is no particular order for praying for him, and I have not uſed to pray for all the particular branches of the royal family by form. *Ch.* It is no limiting the ſpirit to pray for all the branches of the royal family by form. *G.* My lord, I have not been uſed to pray by forms. *Ch.* Whom do you mean when you pray for the royal family? *G.* All the princes and princeſſes of the family. *Ch.* Do you not include and intend the prince of Wales? *G.* My lord, I do not exclude him. *Ch.* But do you not include him? Mr Gordon was ſilent, and the chancellor proceeded, ſaying, There is the matter. Sir, I perceive I have not been miſtaken and miſinformed concerning you, what for a man you are. *G.* I am ſorry if your lordſhip apprehend ill concerning me. *Ch* Do you not think that the king hath a ſon, or that the prince of Wales is heir to the crown? Mr Gordon was ſilent, *Ch.* Why do you not anſwer? Do you doubt of ſuch a thing? *G.* My lord, I do not meddle in theſe matters, nor am I a competent judge of them. After a few more queſtions Mr Gordon was diſmiſſed, and in an hour called in again, and required to ſign the following paper. 'I Mr Charles Gordon, miniſter of the goſpel at Campvere, do own and acknowledge the king's ſon, prince of Scotland and Wales, as apparent heir of the crown, and promiſes to pray for him as ſuch.' He refuſed to comply with this, ſaying, he could not in conſcience ſign it. *Ch.* What, do you pretend conſcience in refuſing to own the king's ſon as apparent heir? *G.* I cannot help my weakneſs; conſcience cannot be conſtrained. *Ch.* Whether or not, failing the prince of Wales, would ye acknowledge the princeſs of Orange as apparent heir of the crown? *G.* Yes, my lord. *Ch.* And why not the prince of Wales now? Mr Gordon was ſilent. In ſhort, they were very preſſing upon him to give his reaſons, but he ſtill declined. He was then removed, and, in a little, ſent up under a guard, and committed priſoner to the caſtle. However, it was not thought proper to keep him confined, and therefore, upon his begging to be ſet at liberty, and declaring, that if in any thing he was miſtaken, or had offended his lordſhip, he was ſorry for it, for he deſired to give no offence to Jew, nor Gentile, nor to the church of God, he was releaſed, and returned to his charge the beſt way he could. I ſhall only obſerve here, that had Mr Gordon been before the managers, ſome time ago, he had not got ſo eaſily off; but now their power was near a period.

By this time every body almoſt beginning to be taken with the propoſals made by his highneſs the prince of Orange, publiſhed in his excellent declaration for England, the king found it his intereſt to retract ſome of his arbitrary and deſpotic proceedings. Accordingly the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion was taken off, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was diſſolved, the city-charter and the fellows of Magdalen-college were reſtored, and other illegal practices renounced; but, upon the news of the prince of Orange's fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, his majeſty put a ſtop to all further redreſs of grievances.

But the prince, having repaired his damages, put to ſea a ſecond time, on the 1ſt of November; and, after a remarkable paſſage, in which the wind almoſt miraculouſly favoured him, he landed at Torbay on the 5th, with about 14,000 men. What paſſed in England on this remarkable occaſion is particularly recorded by the Engliſh hiſtorians, and therefore I ſhall not inſert it here.

While theſe things were a-doing, the Scots biſhops, on the 3d of November, ſent a letter of a peculiar ſtile to the king, from whence the reader may ſee the difference between the Engliſh and the Scots biſhops; the ſubſtance of it is as follows.

May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty.

WE proſtrate ourſelves to pay our moſt devout thanks and adoration to the ſovereign Majeſty of heaven and earth, for preſerving your ſacred life and perſon, ſo frequently expoſed to the greateſt hazards, and as often delivered, and you miraculouſly proſpered with glory and victory, in defence of the rights and honour of your majeſty's auguſt brother, and of theſe kingdoms; and that, by his merciful goodneſs, the raging of the ſea, and the madneſs of unreaſonable men, have been ſtilled and calmed, and your majeſty, as the darling of heaven, peaceably ſeated on the throne of your royal anceſtors, whoſe long, illuſtrious, and unparalleled line, is the greateſt glory of this your ancient kingdom. We pay our moſt humble gratitude to your majeſty for the repeated aſſurances of your royal protection to our national church and religion, as the laws have eſtabliſhed them.——We magnify the divine mercy in bleſſing your majeſty with a ſon, and us with a prince, whom we pray heaven may bleſs and preſerve to ſway your royal ſceptres after you; and that he may inherit, with your dominions, the illuſtrious and heroic virtues of his auguſt and moſt ſerene parents. We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invaſion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an univerſal repentance from all orders of men, that God may yet ſpare his people, preſerve your royal perſon, and prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and to give ſuch ſucceſs to your majeſty's arms, that all who invade your majeſty's juſt and undoubted rights,——may be diſappointed and clothed with ſhame; ſo that on your royal head the crown may ſtill flouriſh.' They conclude with profeſſions of unſhaken loyalty, and with wiſhing the king the hearts of his ſubjects, and the necks of his enemies; and they received a proper anſwer, which needs not be inſerted.

In conſequence of a letter from the king, dated November 5. the council iſſued a proclamation againſt ſpreading of falſe news, with a deſign to prevent the ſpreading of the prince's declarations; but it had now but little weight, the people being more fond to ſee theſe excellent papers.

The prince in his declaration for Scotland, among other things, ſays,——'The lamentable effects of an arbitrary power, and of evil counſels, are ſo manifeſt, in the deplorable ſtate of the kingdom of Scotland, that both our reaſon and conſcience do prompt us to an abhorrence of them. For when we conſider the ſad condition that nation, though always affectionate to the royal family, and governed for many ages, by laws made for the authority of their kings and of the eſtates of parliament, and by common cuſtoms, is reduced to, by endeavours—to change the conſtitution of the monarchy regulated by laws, into a deſpotic or arbitrary power, which doth evidently appear, not only by the actings of evil councellors in power, but by—public declaration, bearing that the king is an abſolute monarch, to whom obedience ought to be given in all things without reſerve, thereby to make way to introduce what religion they pleaſe.—Whilſt we conſider theſe things, as we cannot but be touched with a tender ſenſe of theſe miſeries, ſo the giving ſuch a remedy to them, as may——anſwer the expectation of all good men and true proteſtants, is the great thing which we propoſe to ourſelves in this undertaking.—

It is well known that the laws, privileges, and rights of the kingdom have been overturned,—and—what have been the arbitrary procedures of an encroaching privy-council;

cil; —for theſe evil councellors have ordered or ſuffered young noblemen to be taken from their relations, and to be ſent abroad to be inſtructed in jeſuits colleges, and have likewiſe cauſed ſchools to be erected under the conduct of popiſh prieſts, and that in the capital city of the kingdom.

In an open contempt alſo of the known laws of the kingdom, the papiſts are put into places of the higheſt truſt, both civil and military, and entruſted with all the forts and magazines. The rights and privileges of royal burghs, the third eſtate of parliament, having as many deputies in it as all the ſhires of the kingdom, are taken away, and they hindered in the free election of their magiſtrates —to the manifeſt violation of their charters eſtabliſhed by law and immemorial poſſeſſion; and all this done by mere arbitrary power, without any citation, trial, or ſentence.

And whereas no nation can ſubſiſt without the adminiſtration of good and impartial juſtice,—yet thoſe evil councellors have ſubjected theſe to an abſolute and deſpotic power, having turned out judges, who by law, ought to continue during life, or their good behaviour,—and put others in their place—without any regard to their abilities.——

By the influence of the ſame evil councellors hath a moſt exorbitant power been exerciſed, in impoſing bonds and oaths, in permitting free quarters to the ſoldiers,—in impriſoning gentlemen without any ſo much as alledged reaſon, forcing many to accuſe and witneſs againſt themſelves, impoſing arbitrary fines, frighting and haraſſing many parts of the country with intercommuning and juſtice-airs, or circuit-courts, making ſome incur forfeiture of life and fortune for the moſt general and harmleſs converſe, even with their neareſt relations outlawed,——impowering officers and ſoldiers to act upon the ſubjects—the greateſt barbarities, in deſtroying them, by hanging, ſhooting, and drowning them, without any form of law, or reſpect to age and ſex, not giving ſome of them time to pray to God for mercy; and this for no other reaſon, but becauſe they would not anſwer or ſatisfy them in ſuch queſtions as they propoſed to them, without any warrant of law, and againſt the common intereſt of mankind, which frees all men from being obliged to diſcover their ſecret thoughts; beſides a great many other violences and oppreſſions to which that poor nation hath been expoſed, without any hope of having an end put to them, or to have relief from them.'

The reſt of his highneſs's declaration, which is no mean confirmation of the proceeding part of this hiſtory, relates to their aboliſhing the penal laws, and then to take away the toleration to diſſenters, to the impoſture of the pretender, and his highneſs's intention to redreſs all their grievances; and therefore it is no wonder though it had a great influence on the moſt part of the nobility, gentry, and common people in Scotland, who very ſoon heartily declared themſelves for the prince.

After this there is very little concerning the proceedings of the managers in Scotland. The body of the nation hated them, and the ſurpriſing progreſs of the prince in England threw them into ſuch a conſternation, that they began to think how to provide, in the beſt manner, for their own ſafety. In ſeveral places the prince of Orange's declaration was publicly proclaimed, as at Glaſgow, Irvine, And Ayr, and moſt other burghs. The reverend Mr Lining in his preface to Mr Shield's tract on church communion, ſays, 'that the weſtern people encouraged this proclamation at Glaſgow before it was publiſhed in any other place in the kingdom, and that theſe people prayed publicly for the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, even before he landed in England.' On the laſt of November the earl of Lowdoun, and ſeveral other young gentlemen, at that time ſtudents in the univerſity of Glaſgow, burnt the pope's effigy, together with the effigies of the archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, without any oppoſition.

In the beginning of December, the mob ſhewed a keenneſs of reſentment againſt popery at Edinburgh. When a popiſh meeting in the Canongate was diſmiſſing, ſome apprentices and others affronted them; information being given againſt them on Monday, ſome ſoldiers were ordered to apprehend them, and accordingly two ſervants of the bakers, with a woman, were taken up, and cruelly whipt from the tolbooth to the Abbay, then remitted to priſon, and afterwards baniſhed.

While the ſoldiers apprehended the laſt mentioned perſon, a ſtruggle was made by the apprentices, and one Alexander Keith a fencing maſter, happened to cry out to the young men, Lads, have you no ſwords? Next night he was taken out of bed, and, for theſe or the like words, was, a very few days after, hanged at the croſs. This, and ſome other things, exaſperated the people in ſuch a manner, that, to prevent riſings, guards were kept in twenty or thirty places of the town: and, as there were no regular forces, but an independent company under capt. Wallace at the Abbay, the reports of maſſacres and the like were ſpread, and the people greatly alarmed.

On Sabbath, December the 9th, ſome idle perſons, after walking in the park and St. Anthony's gardens, came to the Abbay to paſs that way as the neareſt road, but found all the avenues ſhut, and canon placed at every gate, and were charged by the centinels not to come near. This, with the report that the court was full of armed men, increaſed the jealouſies of the populace, and the fears of the more inconſiderate. In the evening ſome young men got together, and began to huzza; upon which the ſtudents and apprentices gathered at the college. The magiſtrates ordered all the gates of the city to be ſhut, and the keys to be delivered to provoſt Prince. The youths ſurrounded his houſe, and threatened to burn it if he refuſed the keys. From thence they marched to the croſs, broke open the doors, and proclaimed an offer of L. 400 Sterling to any who ſhould bring Perth or Melford dead or alive.

Next day, in the forenoon, the magiſtrates iſſued a proclamation againſt tumults. It was no ſooner read than the mob tore it in pieces. The chancellor and his family, ſeeing how matters were like to go, thought proper to retire. Matters continued quiet till towards the evening, when the mob gathered at the Cowgate, and marched down to the Netherbow; and, finding the Canongate guard friendly, they proceeded, and at the Canongate croſs took down the earl of Perth's picture, and carried it with them to the Abbay. Capt. Wallace advanced with ſome ſoldiers. This made them halt: however, they ſent to demand acceſs to the court; and, upon his refuſing, beat their drum, and, with a cry, run in upon him. He ordered his men to fire, by which ſome were killed, and ſeveral wounded. The apprentices, and the reſt, after ſuſtaining his fire, ruſhed in upon him, killed two of the ſoldiers, and forced the reſt to flee to the Abbay; the gates of which being preſently ſhut, they could get no farther at that time.

Upon this they retired a little, and ſent a detachment to take care of the dead and wounded, and to require farther aſſiſtance. This party carried with them ſome of the arms and hands of the dead and wounded, and ſhewed them to ſome gentlemen then at a vintner's in the city, who immediately applied to the magiſtrates for help, but were refuſed. This ſo exaſperated theſe commiſſioners from the apprentices, that they threatened to burn the town. At laſt, by the intereſt of the ſaid gentlemen, a quorum of the council ordered the magiſtrates to raiſe the trained bands, and ſent two heralds with them to require capt. Wallace to ſurrender and to uſe force if he ſhould refuſe.

The captain was ſummoned to ſurrender the abbay in the council's name; but, not thinking proper to yield, the town-guard and trained bands, commanded by captains Macgill and Graham, attacked him; and, after ſome firing on both ſides, captain Graham broke in by a back paſſage, which being obſerved by thoſe in the abbay, they fled, and thirty ſix were taken priſoners.

The youths, obſerving this, ruſhed in and killed all the ſoldiers they met with, to the number of about fourteen. Then they rifled the chapel and ſchools, brought the timber work, library, and whatever they could lay their hands on, and burnt them in the court. In like manner they ſerved the images, after carrying them in proceſſion through the ſtreets. They razed the new work in the church, turned up the marble pavement, rifled the Chancellor's apartments, and committed every thing to the flames.

Next

Next day, for there was no power to reſtrain them, they went through all the houſes of papiſts they could hear of, and required their books, beads, croſſes and images, which they ſolemnly burnt in the ſtreets. Next day a mob of common thieves got up and plundered ſeveral houſes, but that was ſoon over.

On the 14th of December the council met, and made an act, ordering the ſheriffs and other magiſtrates to ſearch the houſes of papiſts within their juriſdictions, and ſecure all arms and ammunition they ſhould find there; recommending to them to protect their perſons and houſes from public tumults and private inſults. On the 24th they made their laſt act, wherein they required all proteſtant-ſubjects to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, for ſecuring their religion, lives, liberties, and properties, and all heritors to repair to the head burghs of their reſpective ſhires and ſtewarties, to be rendezvouſed under proper perſons mentioned in the act; and now the reader cannot but obſerve a great alteration. The council had been haraſſing and perſecuting the ſubjects for 28 years paſt for that very thing which they now call them to: but the truth is, the managers had now loſt their power; they had no army to ſupport them, and, to uſe the words of a noted enemy to the revolution, (the earl of Balcarras,) 'they were forced to overlook what they had no force to ſuppreſs;' for, during the whole adminiſtration of the party, things were carried on by force.

The people in the weſtern counties ran immediately to arms. 'They thought (ſays biſhop Burnet) that the time was now come, not only to procure themſelves eaſe and liberty, but to revenge themſelves upon others. They generally broke in upon the epiſcopal clergy with great inſolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the pariſhes in mock proceſſion, tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houſes; nor did they treat thoſe of them who did appear zealouſly againſt popery with any diſtinction.' Theſe mobbing doings began on Chriſtmaſs-day 1688, and continued for ſeveral weeks; and it is certain the prelatical clergy ſuffered not a little. However, they have aggravated the matter beyond all the bounds of truth and modeſty, by repreſenting the outrages of thoſe weſtern tumults as ſuch, that even the French dragooning could not equal them: But the many lies and falſhoods they publiſhed upon this point have been ſufficiently expoſed by the reverend doctor Rule, and others.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate what was done by mobs and tumults; but then I cannot help offering theſe following things to the conſideration of the reader. 1. The people who did theſe things were under the higheſt provocations, conſidering the ſufferings they had endured. How many of them had loſt fathers, mothers, children, huſbands, and wives, during the period of the late tyrannical adminiſtration? 2. Thoſe miniſters, or curates, as they were called, who now felt a little of their reſentment had not only been intruded on the people without their conſent, but were the chief inſtruments of the moſt horrid perſecutions and barbarities that people had endured: And, as 'oppreſſion makes a wiſe man mad,' was it any wonder though it made a provoked mob ruſh into ſome practices that are not to be juſtified in any civilized Chriſtian nation? It is rather ſurpriſing that they did not carry their reſentments much higher. 3. Theſe things were acted in an *interregnum*, when there was neither civil nor eccleſiaſtical government. One king had run away, another was not yet eſtabliſhed, matters were all in confuſion; and, the poor people being now able to ſhake off the intollerable yoke they had long groaned under, can we think it ſtrange that they relieved themſelves, when there was none elſe that either could or would? But ſuppoſe unjuſtifiable violences were committed by theſe tumults what is that to the church? It was done by no act either of church or ſtate. But, not to inſiſt farther on this.

While theſe things were a doing in Scotland, the king withdrew to France; the Prince of Orange was put to poſſeſſion of the government of England; the chancellor the earl of Perth had reſigned, ſeveral Scots noblemen and gentlemen had gone to London to deſire a free parliament. On the 7th of January 1689, his highneſs aſſembled ſuch of the Scots lords and gentlemen as were there, and aſked their advice what was to be done for the ſecuring the proteſtant religion, and reſtoring their laws and liberties according to his declaration. The prince then retired, and they went to the council-chamber at White hall, and, having choſe the duke of Hamilton their preſident, agreed upon an addreſs to his highneſs. As they were going to break up at that time, the earl of Arran, ſon to the duke of Hamilton, propoſed that they ſhould move the prince of Orange to deſire the king to return and call a free parliament; however it was unanimouſly rejected, and by none more than by his own father. Next day they met in the ſame place, and agreed upon an addreſs thanking his highneſs for his pious and generous undertaking, and deſiring him to take upon him the adminiſtration of the government of Scotland, and ſummon a convention of eſtates to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March next; and that the electors and members of the ſaid meeting be proteſtants, without any other exception or limitation whatſoever. The addreſs was ſubſcribed by above 30 lords and about 80 gentlemen. The duke of Hamilton preſented it to the prince, who thanked them for it, and, on the 14th, ſignified his compliance with it, aſſuring them that they ſhould always find him ready to concur in every thing that may be found neceſſary for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, and reſtoring the laws and liberties of the nation. The earls of Crawford and Lothian, who came to town after the addreſs was preſented, waited on the prince, and deſired that they might be allowed to ſubſcribe it, which was granted.

In the mean time the lords and commons of England, having finiſhed their debates as to the vacancy of the throne, declared the prince and princeſs of Orange king and queen of England, France and Ireland; and they were accordingly proclaimed on the 13th of February, to the univerſal joy of all true and hearty proteſtants.

On the 3d of March the people of the weſtern ſhires had a large meeting at Leſmahago, where they renewed the national covenant, and, in a ſolemn manner, ſwore to ſtand in the defence of his highneſs the prince of Orange, his perſon and authority, when lawfully choſen and eſtabliſhed as king, or ſupreme magiſtrate over them; ſo that however they were enemies to tyranny, yet they were hearty friends to legal government.

On the 14th of march the convention of eſtates ſat down at Edinburgh; and it is well known that the members of it were of the beſt families and fortunes in the kingdom, and generally of as great piety and virtue as could be reaſonably expected after ſuch a debauched period. In the author of the memoirs of *N Brit.* p. 29. 32,. the reader may ſee a liſt of them. There was a very ſmall party of them that adhered to the intereſt of king James, as will preſently appear. The biſhop of Edinburgh ſaid prayers, and, being of the Tory ſtamp, he prayed for the ſafety and reſtoration of king James. The houſe then proceeded to chuſe a preſident; the Tory party were for the marquis of Athole, the Proteſtant party for the duke of Hamilton, who carried it by 40 votes; ſo that the whigs had a great majority before the biſhops and malecontent peers left the houſe.

As the duke of Gordon a papiſt, was in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Edinburgh, the convention gave a warrant to the earls of Lothian and Tweddale to ſummon the duke to ſurrender. All the biſhops and diſcontented lords concurred in this vote, as they did in another next day, that he ſhould be proclaimed traitor, and the caſtle blocked up. And now, as the duke had king James's commiſſion in his pocket, the reader is to judge, whether theſe paſſive-obedience gentlemen did not act inconſiſtent with their principles, and the intereſt of their abdicated maſter; however, this is, and has always been the way of Jacobites. But I muſt haſten to a concluſion.

The meeting had a letter from king James delivered to them two days after they met; and the earl of Leven brought them another letter from king William. Then it was debated which ſhould be read firſt; but king William's carried it by a great majority) and, before the other letter was read, it was enacted, That, notwithſtanding any thing contained in it, they ſhould proceed, till they had ſettled the proteſtant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. This was ſigned by ſeven

or eight of the biſhops, and all the Jacobite and Tory members, ſix or ſeven only accepted. How inconſiſtent this was with the ſcots biſhops letter to king James, (p. 475.), muſt be left with the reader. Not a member of the houſe moved for an anſwer to king James's letter. ſo little did they regard his threatenings, of which it was full; but, on the 23d, they returned a dutiful anſwer to that of king William, in which they congratuled his majeſty for the ſucceſs of his undertakings, thanked him for taking upon him the adminiſtration of public affairs, and aſſured him that they would come ſpeedily to proper reſolutions for eſtabliſhing the government, laws, and liberties, upon ſolid foundations, and agreeable to the general good and inclinations of the people.

On the 26th of March a committee was named for ſettling the government, conſiſting of nine lords, nine knights, and nine gentlemen. The biſhops were excluded; for the houſe was ſo jealous of them, that they ordered them not to inſinuate in their prayers any thing againſt their acts and proceedings; for they had juſtly offended the generality of the ſtate by their former compliance with king James's arbitrary government, by their prayers at the beginning of the ſeſſion, and other things that diſcovered their diſſatisfaction to king William, and the ſettlement now to be made.

During the conſultations of this committee, ſome Scots regiments under the command of Gen. MacKay, came from England; whereupon the convention, on the 28th of March, agreed that the earl of Leven, who was one of thoſe noblemen that came over with the prince of Orange, ſhould return their thanks to the people, who came upon their own charges from the weſt to guard the convention, and to diſmiſs them, and ſuffer them to return to their reſpective habitations with their arms. It appears, from the act of the convention, that theſe people, after they came to Edinburgh, were under the command of the ſaid lord Leven.

As theſe people, however reproached by their enemies, as the wild antimonarchical, enthuſiaſtic, lunatic, Cameronians, were among the firſt in Scotland who took up arms for the prince of Orange, ſo they were the firſt men in Scotland that addreſſed or petitioned the convention of eſtates to place the crown of Scotland on the head of their deliverer king William; from which it appears, that, though they were enemies to tyranny and arbitrary power, yet they were not enemies to legal government, or the conſtitution of their country. The tenor of their petition is as follows.

To the meeting of the eſtates of the kingdom of Scotland, viz. *the noblemen, barons, and burgeſſes, lawfully called and choſen, now aſſembled at Edinburgh for eſtabliſhing the government, reſtoring and ſecuring the true religion, laws, and liberties of the ſaid kingdom,*

The humble petition of the poor people who have ſuffered grievous perſecution for their religion, and for their revolt from and diſowning the authority of king James VII. *pleading for devolving the government upon the prince of Orange, now king of England,*

Sheweth, &c.

Here they rehearſe the ſufferings of Scotland under the tyranny of king James VII. and proceed thus:

WE proſtrate ourſelves, yet under the ſorrowing ſmart of our ſtill bleeding wounds, at your honours feet, who have a call, a capacity, and, we hope a heart to heal us; and we offer this our petition enforced, and conjuring your honours to hearken to us.

By all the formerly felt, preſently ſeen, and, for the future, feared effects and efforts of popery and tyranny, by the cry of the blood of our murdered brethren, by the ſufferings of the baniſhed free born ſubjects of this realm now groaning in ſervitude, being ſold into ſlavery in the Engliſh plantations of America; by the miſeries that many thouſands forfeited, diſinherited, haraſſed and waſted houſes have been reduced to; by all the ſufferings of a faithful people, for adhering to the ancient covenanted eſtabliſhment of religion and liberty; and by all the arguments of juſtice, neceſſity, and mercy, that ever could join together, to begin communication among men of wiſdom, piety, and virtue.

Humbly beſeeching, requeſting, and craving of your honours, now, when God hath given you this opportunity to act for his glory, the good of his church, of the nation, your own honour, and the happineſs of poſterity; now, when this kingdom, the neighbouring, and all the nations of Europe have their eyes upon you, expecting you will acquit yourſelves like repreſentatives of a free nation, in redeeming it from ſlavery, otherwiſe inevitable, following the example of your renowned anceſtors, and the pattern of the preſent convention and parliament in England; that you will proceed, without any delay, to declare the wicked government diſſolved, the crown and throne vacant, and James VII. whom we never have owned, and reſolved, in conjunction with many thouſands of our countrymen, never again to own, to have really forfeited, and rightly to be deprived of all right and title he ever had, or could ever pretend to have thereto, and to provide that it may never be in the power of any ſucceeding ruler, to aſpire unto, or ariſe to ſuch a capacity of tyrannizing. Moreover, ſince anarchy and tyranny are equally to be deteſted, and the nation cannot ſubſiſt without a righteous governor, as alſo that none can have a nearer right, or fitter qualifications, than his illuſtrious highneſs the prince of Orange, who the Moſt High has ſingularly owned, and honoured to be our deliverer from popery and ſlavery; we cry therefore to your honours, and crave that king William, now proclaimed king of England, may be choſen and proclaimed alſo king of Scotland; and that the legal authority may be devolved upon him, with ſuch neceſſary proviſions and limitations as may give juſt and legal ſecurities for the peace and purity of religion, the ſtability of our laws, privileges of parliament, and liberties of the people, civil and eccleſiaſtic, and may thereby make our ſubjection both a clear duty and a comfortable happineſs. (Here they enlarge upon the king's being obliged to profeſs and preſerve the pure religion and the work of reformation, and conclude thus:) Upon ſuch terms as theſe we render our allegiance to king William, and hope to give more pregnant proofs of our loyalty to his majeſty, in adverſe, as well as in proſperous providences, than they have done, or can do, who profeſs implicit ſubjection to abſolute authority, ſo long only as providence preſerves its grandeur.

Here the reader may ſee how willing theſe people were to ſubmit to legal government, in oppoſition to tyranny and arbitrary power; and though they were accuſed of going heights and lengths, in diſowning the tyranny of the royal brothers, yet now the whole nation concur with them; nay, ſo hearty were theſe people, that, in one day, without the beat of drum, or expence of levy-money, they raiſed the earl of Angus's regiment of 800 men, and offered to complete two or three regiments more, if his majeſty ſhould have occaſion for them. The reverend Mr Linning ſays, that they muſtered in one day 1140 men; and it is well known what ſervice this regiment did both in Scotland and in Flanders. But I now return to the convention.

The committee above mentioned having come to a reſolution among themſelves, after a few days ſitting, reported it to the houſe. After the debate was over, the queſtion was put, whether the houſe agreed with the committee. It was carried in the affirmative by a great majority, there being only eight or nine negative voices, of whom ſeven were biſhops, and 13 or 14 *non liquets*, of whom two lords, one knight of the ſhire, and the reſt burgeſſes; ſo that the houſe came to the following reſolution.

"The eſtates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James VII. being a profeſſed papiſt, did aſſume the royal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law, and hath, by the advice of wicked and evil counſellors, invaded the fundamental conſtitutions of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an abſolute and deſpotic power, and hath exerciſed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he hath

hath forfaulted the crown, and the throne is become vacant.' The reaſons for declaring the throne vacant, containing 15 articles, were read and debated article by article, and were explained by Sir John Dalrymple and Sir James Montgomery, with ſo much learning that they gave almoſt general ſatisfaction, none ſpeaking againſt them but the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Mr James Ogilvie afterwards earl of Findalater.

The convention having thus far proceeded, immediately ordered a bill to be brought in, 'to ſettle the crown on king William and queen Mary, and to conſider the terms of the deſtination of the heirs of the crown, and to prepare an inſtrument of government for ſecuring the people from their grievances.' When this vote was paſſed, and the bill ordered to be drawn, the biſhop of Dundee offered to ſay prayers. Upon this a member moved, that, king James being no more their king, he muſt pray for him at his peril. The cautious prelate thought proper to ſay only the Lord's prayer. Their majeſties were accordingly proclaimed king and queen of Scotland on the 11th of April, the ſame day they were crowned in England.

The inſtrument of government, or claim of right, the reader may ſee among the acts of that convention, and in my author's appendix, No 154. in which, among other things, it is declared, 'That by the laws of this kingdom no papiſt can be king or queen of this realm, nor bear any office whatſoever therein; nor can any proteſtant ſucceſſor exerciſe the regal power until he or ſhe ſwear the coronation oath.——That prelacy, and the ſuperiority of any office in the church above preſbyters, is, and hath been a great and inſupportable grievances and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever ſince the reformation, they having been reformed from papery by preſbyters, and therefore ought to be aboliſhed.'——

The act of ſettlement being thus paſſed, the convention ordered a dutiful letter to be drawn up, and ſent with it, in which a clauſe was put, at the motion of the earl of Crawford, of an humble requeſt to the king to turn that meeting of the eſtates into a parliament, and that the earl of Crawford was to preſide. This act was accordingly paſſed the ſame day, and the parliament was prorogued to the 17th.

The parliament ſat down on the 17th, and in July paſſed an act aboliſhing prelacy, which is as follows:——

'Whereas the eſtates of this kingdom, in their claim of right on the 11th of April laſt, declared that prelacy, &c. Our ſovereign Lord and lady, the king and queen's majeſties, do hereby aboliſh prelacy, and all ſuperiority of any office in the church above preſbyters in this kingdom: and hereby reſcind, caſs and annul the 11t act of the 2d ſeſſion of the 1ſt parliament of king Charles II. and the 2d act of the 3d ſeſſion of the 2d parliament of king Charles II. and the 4th act of the 3d parliament of king Charles II. and all other acts, ſtatutes, and conſtitutions, in ſo far only as they are inconſiſtent with this act, and do eſtabliſh prelacy, or the ſuperiority of church officers above preſbyters. And the king and queen's majeſties do declare, that they, with the advice and conſent of the eſtates of parliament, will ſettle by law, that church government in this kingdom which is moſt agreeable to the inclinations of the people.' And thus the great grievance of the nation was removed.

The next ſeſſion of parliament, to which the earl of Melvil was his majeſty's high commiſſioner, carried this farther: for, by their firſt act, they reſcinded act 1. parl. 2. Charles II. *viz.* the act aſſerting his majeſty's ſupremacy, as inconſiſtent with preſbyterian government, and what ought to be abrogated. By their 2d act they reſtored preſbyterian miniſters thruſt from their charges ſince 1661. By their 5th act they ratified the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſettled preſbyterian government. By their 23d act they aboliſhed patronages. By their 27th and 28th they repealed the laws for conformity, and ſeveral other unjuſt acts during the two laſt reigns; And, in one word they reverſed all the acts by which ſo many had been forfeited. And thus an end was put to a moſt cruel and bloody perſecution, and the church of Scotland reſtored to the freedom of her government, by general aſſemblies, ſynods, preſbyteries, and church-ſeſſions, as ſhe was ſettled by the 114th act, Ja. VI. parl. 12. 1592.

From the whole, it appears that all the true members of the church of Scotland, nay, and all true hearty proteſtants, have unſpeakable reaſon to bleſs God for the remarkable interpoſition of his providence at this revolution. Muſt not the hand of God be owned in preſerving a people even in the furnace, to be inſtrumental in bringing about ſuch a glorious event? By this an end was put to perſecution on the one hand, and ſlavery on the other; by this the religious and civil rights of the people were reſtored, nay, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed for tranſmitting theſe things to poſterity. But then it was but too evident that due care was not then, nor has to this day been taken to improve thoſe invaluable bleſſings then beſtowed upon us. May a good and gracious God give all ranks and degrees of perſons a ſenſe of their departures from him, revive a work of reformation, and appear glorious in theſe iſlands.

F I N I S.

The LIFE of ROBERT BOLTON, who died *Anno Chriſti*, 1631.

ROBERT Bolton was born at Blackborn in Lancaſhire, *Anno Chriſti* 1572. His parents finding in him a great promptneſs to learning, though they had no great means, yet they intended him for a ſcholar, the rather having an opportunity of a good ſchoolmaſter in the town, where he profited exceedingly, and at twenty years old, he went to Lincoln college in Oxford, and was maiſter Randal's pupil (afterwards a famous preacher) there in a ſhort time (being well grounded before, and induſtrious) he became an excellent logician, and philoſopher. But about that time his father dying, and his means failing, he took exceſſive pains, and wanting books, he borrowed of his tutor, and others, read them over, and abridged them; and to perfect his knowledge in the Greek, he wrote out all Homer with intollerable pains, ſo that he could with as much facility diſpute in the ſchools in Greek, as in Latin or Engliſh.

From thence he removed to Braſen-noſe college, becauſe the fellowſhips in that houſe belonged to Lancaſhire, and Cheſhire men; yet for want of acquaintance, he ſtayed long without a fellowſhip, which made him to languiſh through want; but his deſerts being known, Dr Bret, and ſome others, together with ſome ſmall ſtipends he had for his lectures in that houſe, ſupported him, till he got a fellowſhip, about the thirtieth year of his age; then alſo he commenced maſter of arts, and being choſen lecturer, he performed it with ſuch exactneſs, that he grew very famous. His diſputations in the univerſity were performed with ſuch acuteneſs of wit, and profound learning, that he was choſen by the vice-chancellor (at king James's firſt coming to the univerſity) to be one of the diſputants before him, and to read natural philoſophy in the public ſchools: he was alſo well ſtudied in metaphyſics, mathematics, and ſchool-divinity; yet all this while he had nothing in him for religion, he loved ſtage-plays, cards, dice, was a horrible ſwearer, Sabbath breaker, and boon companion; he neither loved goodneſs, nor good men. Yet hearing the fame of Mr Perkins, he went to Cambridge at a com-

a commencement that he might hear him preach, and having heard him, said, 'That he was a barren empty fellow, and a paſſing mean ſcholar; but when God changed his heart, he changed his tune, and ſaid, 'That Mr Perkins was as learned, and godly a divine as our church hath in many years enjoyed in ſo young a man.

He had familiar acquaintance with one Mr Anderton, a good ſcholar, his countryman, and formerly his ſchool-fellow, but a ſtrong papiſt, yea, a prieſt; this man knowing Mr Bolton's good parts, and outward wants, took that advantage to perſuade him to go over with him to the Engliſh ſeminary at Rome, where he ſhould be furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and have gold enough. This motion he accepted of, and a day, and place was appointed in Lancaſhire, to take ſhipping from thence, and be gone; thither Mr Bolton repaired at the time prefixed, but Anderton came not, whereby eſcaping that ſnare, he returned to Oxford, where he fell into acquaintance with Mr Peacock, a learned and godly man, whereby it pleaſed God to bring him to repentance, but by ſuch a way as the Lord ſeldom uſeth, but upon ſuch ſtrong veſſels, as he intendeth for ſtrong encounters, and rare employments, for the Lord ran upon him as a giant, taking him by the neck, and ſhaking him to pieces, as he did Job; beating him to the ground, as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly viſage of his ſins, which lay ſo heavy upon him that he roared for anguiſh of heart; yea, it ſo affrighted him, that he roſe ſometimes out of his bed in the night, for very anguiſh of ſpirit; and to augment his ſpiritual miſery, he was aſſaulted with foul temptations, *Horribilia de Deo, terribilia de fide*, which Luther called *colaphum Satanæ*. This continued for many months, but God at laſt gave a bleſſed iſſue, and theſe grievous pangs in his new-birth produced two admirable effects in him: an invincible courage in the cauſe of God; and ſingular dexterity in comforting afflicted ſpirits. Hereupon he reſolved to enter into the miniſtry, and was accordingly ordained the thirty fifth year of his age; and about two years after, the perſonage of Broughton in Northamptonſhire falling void, ſergean Nicols the patron, preferred him to it.

About the fortieth year of his age he married miſtreſs Anne Bois of an ancient family in Kent, and to her care committed the ordering of his outward eſtate, and applied himſelf wholly to his ſtudies, and the work of the miniſtry, and for twenty years together preached twice every Lord's day, and catechiſed; and on every holy-day, and Friday before the ſacrament, he expounded a chapter, whereby he went over moſt of the hiſtorical books of the Old and New Teſtament; and therein prepared nothing for his people, but what might have ſerved a very learned auditory.

In all his preaching, next after God's glory, he aimed at the converſion of ſouls, and God crowned his labours by making him an inſtrument to beget many ſons, and daughters unto righteouſneſs. He had an excellent art in relieving afflicted conſciences, ſo that he was ſought to far, and near; yea, divers that lived beyond ſea deſired his reſolution in divers caſes of conſcience. Though in his preaching he was a ſon of thunder, yet to thoſe that mourned in ſpirit, he was a ſweet ſon of conſolation, with a tender heart pouring the oil of mercy into their bleeding wounds. He had a ſingular ſkill in diſcovering Satan's ſleights, and in battering down his kingdom. In all his ſermons he uſed to diſcover the filthineſs of ſin, and to preſs hard upon the conſcience the duties of ſanctification; yea, he would ſpare none, great or ſmall, in their ſins; yet in reproving ſin, he never perſonated any man to put him to ſhame.

His life was ſo blameleſs that he could not juſtly be taxed by any, of any ſcandalous ſin. He prayed conſtantly ſix times a-day; twice with his family, twice with his wife, and twice in ſecret. He kept many days of private humiliation; always before the ſacrament, and upon the occaſions of the miſeries of the church at home, and abroad, which he performed with much ardency of ſpirit; and being adviſed by phyſicians, for his healths ſake, to break off the ſtrong intentions of his ſtudies, he rejected their counſel, accounting it greater riches to enjoy Chriſt, by thoſe fervent intentions of his mind, than to remit them for his healths ſake.

He was of a comely preſence, his countenance was ſo mixed with gravity, and auſterity, that it commanded reſpect from others. He oft refuſed preferment, that he might not be divorced from that country where his miniſtry found ſuch entertainment, and effect. He was univerſally bountiful; but eſpecially he exceeded in thoſe public diſtreſſes of Germany, France, Bohemia, &c. He always ſpent all the revenues of his living (which was of good value) in the maintainance of his family, hoſpitality, and charity.

He fell ſick of a quartane ague in September, *Anno Chriſti* 1631, whereupon finding his diſeaſe to get ſtrength, and his vigor to grow weaker, he reviſed his will, and then wholly retired himſelf from the world, and ſolaced his ſoul with the meditation of the joys of heaven; and having compiled a diſcourſe *de quatuor noviſſimis*; of death, judgment, hell, and heaven; having preached over the three former, he told his people, that the next day he would preach of heaven, but the Saturday before he fell ſo ſick that he never preached after. Though his ſickneſs was long and ſharp, yet he bore it with admirable patience; often breathing forth theſe ſpeeches, 'O when will this good hour come! when ſhall I be diſſolved! when ſhall I be with Chriſt?' Being told that it was better for the church (if God would) for him to ſtay here, he anſwered, 'If I ſhall find favour in the eyes of God he will bring me again, and ſhew me both it, and his habitation, and if otherwiſe, lo here I am, let him do what ſeemeth good in his eyes, 2 Sam. xv. 25, 26.' And being aſked of another, if he could be content to live if God would grant it him; he ſaid, 'I grant that life is a great bleſſing of God, neither will I neglect any means that may preſerve it, and do heartily deſire to ſubmit to God's will, but of the two I infinitely more deſire to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt.' To thoſe that came to viſit him in his ſickneſs, he gave very godly and wiſe exhortations. He thanked God for his wonderful mercy in pulling him out of hell, in ſealing his miniſtry by the converſion of ſouls, which he wholly aſcribed to his glory. A week before his death he called for his wife, and deſired her to bear his diſſolution with a chriſtian fortitude; and turning to his children, he told them, that they ſhould not now expect, that in regard of his weakneſs, he ſhould ſay any thing to them; he had formerly told them enough, and hoped they would remember it, and he verily believed that none of them durſt think to meet him at the great tribunal of Chriſt in an unregenerate ſtate. Some of his neighbours moved, that as he had in his miniſtry diſcovered to them the exceeding comforts that were in Chriſt, ſo he would now tell them what he felt in his ſoul; 'Alas! ſaid he, do you look for that now from me, that want breath and power to ſpeak? I have told you enough in my miniſtry; yet to ſatisfy you, I am, by the wonderful mercies of God, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my ſoul but Chriſt, with whom I heartily deſire to be.' Then ſeeing ſome weeping, he ſaid, 'O what a deal ado there is before one can die?' When the very pangs of death were upon him, ſome of his dear friends coming to take their leave of him, he cauſed himſelf to be raiſed up, and after a few gapings for breath, he ſaid to them, 'I am now drawing on apace to my diſſolution; hold out faith, and patience, your work will quickly be at an end.' Then ſhaking them by the hand, he deſired them to make ſure of heaven, and to remember what he had formerly taught them, proteſting that it was the truth of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at the tribunal of Chriſt, before whom he ſhould ſhortly appear: and a dear friend taking him by the hand, aſked him if he felt not much pain: 'Truly no (ſaid he) the greateſt I feel is your cold hand;' and then being laid down again, not long after he yielded up his ſpirit unto God, *Anno Chriſti* 1631, and of his age 60.

He was one of a thouſand for piety and courage, which were ſo excellently mixed with wiſdom, that they who imagined miſchief againſt his miniſtry, were never able by all their plottings to do him any more hurt, than only to ſhew their teeth.

He wrote a diſcourſe of true happpineſs. Directions for a comfortable walking with God. Inſtructions for comforting afflicted conſciences. A threefold treatiſe, of the word, ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and faſting, *De quatuor noviſſimis.*

The

The LIFE of ZISCA, who died *Anno Chriſti*, 1424.

ZIſca was born in Troſnovia, in the kingdom of Bohemia, of an ancient, and noble family, and from his youth was brought up in the king's court, and was much employed in military affairs; wherein he profited ſo well, that he became an able, and ſkilful captain; and fighting valiantly in a battle againſt his enemies, he loſt one of his eyes; but it pleaſed God to recompence that outward loſs by enlightening his mind with the knowledge of the truth, by the help of Wickliff's books (at this time riſe in Bohemia) and by the miniſtry of John Hus, and Hierom of Prague were ſo cruelly, and unjuſtly burned by the counſellor of Conſtance, to the diſhonour of the Bohemian nation, and king Wenceſlaus, that had permitted it, dying ſhortly after; Ziſca reſolved to revenge the wrongs which the council had done to them, upon their complices and adherents, and for that end he raiſed an army of forty thouſand proteſtants, by whoſe help he ſubverted the monaſteries, and their idolatrous temples, pulling down, and breaking in pieces their images, and idols, driving away the prieſts, and monks, which he ſaid, were kept up in their cloiſters, like ſwine in a ſtie to be fatted, then he attempted to take the caſtle of Wiſegrade, and being not able preſently to carry it, he left part of his army before it, and marched with the reſt to Pelzina, where were many proteſtants, which town he took in, and fortified the ſame very ſtrongly, and in the mean time his party that he left behind him, took in the caſtle of Wiſegrade.

Hereupon the queen ſent to the emperor, and to other nobles adjoining to her, for help. But the emperor being preparing to go againſt the Turk, that had lately taken ſome caſtles from him, could not aſſiſt her. She therefore taking all the king's treaſure, fortified the caſtle of Prague, and the leſſer city adjoining unto it; making gates, and towers upon the bridge over the river, to ſtop the paſſage of the proteſtants that way; in the mean time the number of proteſtants encreaſing in Prague, they fought for the bridge ſo furiouſly, that many were ſlain on both parts, but at length the Huſſites won the bridge, and the nether part of the leſſer Prague; the popiſh party for the queen flying into the upper part, and then turning again, the battle was renewed, where they fought continually, day, and night, for five days together; but during this bickering, ambaſſadors came from the emperor, which made a truce amongſt them, and agreed that certain places being by Ziſca delivered back into their hands, they ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor Sigiſmund, to treat with him about the ſettling of their eſtate. This both ſides conſented to, and thereupon peace enſued for the preſent: but the emperor being now at better leiſure, that he might ſhow his zeal for the popiſh cauſe, and perform his promiſe to the fathers at the council of Conſtance, raiſes a great army, wherewith he reſolved to root out all the Huſſites in Bohemia, but before he enters into that kingdom, he goes with his army to Uratiſlavia, the chief city in Sileſia, where he baniſhed ſome, impriſoned others, ſeized upon the eſtate of others, and many he put to cruel deaths, and all this (as himſelf gave out) that he might ſtrike a terror into the Bohemians, and make them obedient to the church of Rome; this coming to the ears of the Bohemians, and they ſhortly after meeting with ſome of the emperor's letters, wherein he wrote, that he would come ſpeedily, and rule them after the ſame order, and manner as his father Charles had done before him. Thereupon they ſeeing that their religion, liberty, and all that was dear to them, lay at ſtake, reſolve to arm for their own defence, and to repel unjuſt tyranny by lawful force, and choſe this noble Ziſca for their general; and drawing the governor of the caſtle of Prague, Gencho, to their part, they ſent letters into all the realm, that no man ſhould ſuffer the emperor to enter, who was an enemy to Bohemia, ſeeking nothing elſe but to deſtroy the kingdom, and one that had put by the marquis of Brandenburg, whom they had choſen for their king, and had not only ſuffered John Hus, and Hierom of Prague to be burned at the council of Conſtance, contrary to his faith given, but had alſo procured the ſame, and with all his endeavour ſought to extirpate the doctrine, and faith which they taught, and followed: in the mean time Ziſca was ſet upon by the imperialiſts, who were all horſemen, and Ziſca's ſoldiers were all on foot; the place where they fought was rough, and rugged, ſo that the horſemen were fain to alight, and fight on foot; hereupon Ziſca commanded all the women that followed his army, to throw their kerchiefs on the ground, wherein the horſemen being intangled by their ſpurs, were ſlain before they could unlooſe their feet; and by this policy he got a great victory over them; then he went to Auſca, out of which town, Ulricius, a papiſt, had caſt out the proteſtants.

This place Ziſca took by ſtorm, ſet it on fire, and razed it: he took alſo a caſtle which was five miles off, whither Ulricius was fled, putting him, and all his family, ſave one, to the ſword; then conſidering that he had no walled, or fenced town to inhabit, he choſe out a mountain that was fenced by nature between two rivers; this place he compaſſed in with walls, commanded his followers to build them houſes, where they had pitched them tents, and named the city Thabor, and the inhabitants his followers, Thaborites; the way to it by land was ſcarce thirty foot broad, in which neck of land he made a deep trench, and a triple wall of ſuch thickneſs, that it could not be broken with an engine. At this time the Thaborites had no horſemen, but the emperor ſending one of his officers with a thouſand horſemen into Bohemia to reſiſt Ziſca, he fell upon them in their quarters in the night, took away all their horſes and armour, and ſet the town on fire where they lay; and then he taught his ſoldiers to mount on horſeback; to leap, run, turn, caſt in a ring, ſo that after this, he never led an army without his wings of horſemen: in the mean time the emperor Sigiſmund gathering together the nobles of Sileſia, entered into Bohemia with a great army, marched to Prague, and enticed Gencho that kept the caſtle, to ſurrender it to him; hereupon the citizens of Prague ſent for Ziſca, who came with his Thaborites to aſſiſt them, and received the city under his government. His firſt deſign was to beſiege the caſtle, which was ſo ſtrongly fenced, that it could not be forced but by famine, whereupon he blocked up all the paſſages to it; but the emperor coming with a very great army, opened them again, and laid ſiege to the city of Prague, and aſſaulted it often for ſix weeks; he ſent out alſo a part of his army to ſeize upon the tents of the Thaborites, againſt whom Ziſca ſent forth ſome power under the command of Nich. Hus, who beat the imperialiſts, and took in Gracium, the queen's city alſo. Near to Prague there is an high hill, on the top whereof Ziſca planted a ſtrong garriſon, that it ſhould not come into the power of his enemies:

Againſt this garriſon the emperor ſent the marquis of Miſnia, with many ſoldiers, who getting to the top of the hill, were ſo luſtily ſet upon by Ziſca's men, that they were beaten into a corner, where the rock was very craggy, and ſteep, and there they ſet fiercely upon them, that when the Miſnians could no longer reſiſt, they were driven down the ſteep rock, where they were broken to pieces. Hereupon the emperor, raiſing his ſiege, departed, and Ziſca with his men returned to Thabor. But conſidering that the popiſh clergy in Bohemia were the procurers of the cruel burning of John Hus, and Hierom of Prague at Conſtance, and that now alſo they had ſet on the emperor againſt the Huſſites, helpt to pay his army, and had joined with him in murthering the innocent ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, drowning ſome, roaſting others before a ſoft fire, thruſting others into the metal mines; yea, that their malice, and hatred was grown to that height, that they ſold them like cattle, giving a Florence for an ordinary chriſtian, and five Florences for a miniſter, whom they excruciated with all manner of torments; he thereupon reſolved to pay them back in their own coin, and in proſecution thereof, he burnt, deſtroyed, and overthrew three hundred monaſteries, and amongſt the reſt the famous monaſtery called the king's court, a mile from Prague, in the walls whereof the whole bible was moſt exquiſitely written in letters of gold; the monks, and friars he drave out, and cauſed either to betake themſelves to labour, or to ſeek to other places for ſhelter.

Shortly after he took in many places, and then beſieged the caſtle of Viſgrade, the beſieged were brought to great ſtraits, inſomuch as they were forced to live upon their horſes; at length they came to compoſition, that if they were not relieved by the emperor by a certain day, they ſhould ſurrender the caſtle to him; the emperor hearing

hereof, marched to the relief of it with a ſtrong army, but entering into a narrow paſſage near the caſtle, he was ſuddenly ſet upon by the proteſtants, who gave him a great overthrow, which cauſed him depart without effecting his purpoſe, and ſo the caſtle was ſurrendered to Ziſca; preſently after he took one of the Imperial captains in a ſtrong town; he alſo took, and burned down five monaſtries, and ſat down before the ſtrong monaſtry of Saint Clare. Thither alſo came the emperor with a great army, but when Ziſca drew forth his power againſt him, he moſt cowardly fled, and departed out of Bohemia: From thence Ziſca went with his army to the famous city of Commitavia, which he took by ſtorm, burning all the prieſts therein; then he beſieged the ſtrong town of Raby, where he was ſtricken with an arrow in the eye, and ſo was carried to Prague to the phyſicians, who cured him of his wound, but he loſt his ſight, and ſo was ſtark blind, yet would he not leave his army, but ſtill took the charge of them; after this the proteſtants took many of the emperors garriſons, which cauſed him to ſend to all the princes electors to raiſe forces, and to join with him for the ſubduing of the Bohemians: himſelf with an army of Hungarians entred on the eaſt part of Bohemia, and he appointed the electors to enter on the weſt; the emperor at his firſt coming took in ſome towns. But when Ziſca (although he was blind) came towards him, he was in a great fear, yet a battle was fought, wherein Ziſca ſlew many of his nobles, and common ſoldiers, inſomuch as the emperor fled, and Ziſca purſuing of him a day's journey, got great and rich ſpoils; in his return, he took the ſtrong town of Broba by force, and burned it down, ſo that it lay deſolate for fourteen years after; the emperor in his flight made ſuch haſte, that himſelf paſſing over a bridge, Piſo, a Florentine, that had brought fifteen thouſand horſe out of Hungary to theſe wars, adventuring to paſs the river upon the ice, the ice breaking by reaſon of the number and weight of the horſemen, moſt of them were there drowned, at which time and place, periſhed a great number of the Hungarian nobility.

Ziſca having obtained this victory, would not ſuffer any images, or idols to continue in the churches, neither would he ſuffer the prieſts to wear copes and veſtiments; after this Ziſca marched with a great army into Auſtria, where the huſbandmen drave, and carried a great number of their cattle into an iſland in the river Danubius, but leaving, for haſte, ſome calves, and ſwine behind them, Ziſca cauſed his ſoldiers to drive them to the river's ſide, where they made them, roar and bleat, which the cattle in the iſland hearing, ſwam over to them, whereby Ziſca got a great booty, and ſo returned home. Then the emperor delivered to the marquis of Miſnia, the bridge, and town of Aſca upon the river Albis, to plant a ſtrong garriſon in; thither Ziſca went, and beſieged it; whereupon the marquis raiſed a great army out of Saxony, Thuringia, Miſnia, and both the Alſatia's to relieve the beſieged: Ziſca fought a great battle with them, the victory remaining doubtful for a great while, but it pleaſed God at laſt to make the proteſtants conquerors, in which battle Ziſca ſlew many noblemen, and nine thouſand of the common ſoldiers, and thereupon Aſca was ſurrendered to him, which he utterly razed: at laſt there aroſe ſome diſſention between them of Prague and Ziſca; whereupon they raiſed a great army againſt him, and he knowing himſelf to be too weak to withſtand them, retreated into certain mountains, but when his enemies purſued him into a narrow plain, he knowing that they could not ſpread out their army in that place, commanded his ſtandard to ſtand ſtill, exhorting, and encouraging his men to give them battle, which accordingly they did.

The battle was very fierce, and cruel on both ſides, yet at laſt Ziſca had the upper hand, and ſlew three thouſand of them, putting the reſt to flight, and ſtrait he took the city of Cuthna by force, which they of Prague had garriſoned, and burnt it down, and ſo with all ſpeed he marched with his army to beſiege Prague; but his ſoldiers being not pleaſed with it, began to murmur, ſaying, that it was not reaſonable that the regal city ſhould be oppreſſed, eſpecially not diſſenting from them in opinion; that the emperor would make great advantage of theſe their diviſions, &c.

Theſe ſpeeches coming to Ziſca's ears, he called together his army, and ſpake thus unto them, 'Brethren, blame not me that have ſought your health and ſafety; the victories that you have obtained under my conduct are yet freſh in memory, neither have I at any time brought you to a place from which you have not gone conquerors: you are become famous, and rich, and I for your ſakes have loſt my ſight, and dwell in darkneſs: I have got nothing to myſelf but a vain name; for you have I fought, and vanquiſhed, &c. I do not perſecute them of Prague for mine own cauſe; it's your blood that they thirſt after, it would avail them little to deſtroy me, an old and blind man; it's your valour and courage which they fear; either you or they muſt periſh; civil ſedition is dangerous, let us ſubdue Prague, and baniſh the ſeditious citizens before the emperor hear of it, and then when but few of his faction are left, we may fear him the leſs; but, becauſe you ſhall accuſe me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If you will let them of Prague alone, I will not be againſt it, ſo there be no treaſon wrought; if you determine of war, I am alſo ready; look which part you incline to, Ziſca will be your aid and helper.

Upon this ſpeech, the ſoldiers minds were changed, ſo that ſpeedily betaking themſelves to their arms, they ran to the city walls, to provoke their enemies to fight: Ziſca in the mean time provided all things ready for the aſſault; but it pleaſed God to ſtir up one of the city miniſters, called Johannes de Rochezana, famous for his life and learning, by the conſent of the citizens to go out to Ziſca, and he dealt ſo effectually betwixt them, that he reconciled them to other, and ſo put an end to that diſcord. The Emperor conſidering the wonderful ſucceſs that God gave to Ziſca in all his undertakings, and that the whole ſtate of Bohemia did depend upon him alone, he ſent to him, promiſing him the government of the whole kingdom, and making many other large promiſes if he would come to him, &c. Hereupon Ziſca began his journey towards the emperor, but it pleaſed God by the way that he fell ſick at the caſtle of Priſcavia, where he alſo died, 1424.

Eneas Silvius (afterwards Pope) complains, that to the great diſhonour of the imperial majeſty, and diſgrace to the catholick religion, Sigiſmund, born of an empreſs, and himſelf an emperor, whoſe name was ſo famous, and ſo much feared in Italy, France, and Germany, yea amongſt the very Turks themſelves, ſhould thus baſely, and unworthily truck with an old blind man, by promiſing him gold, government, and what not, if he would but ſubmit unto him.

In the time of his ſickneſs, his attendants demanded of him, where he would be buried, whom he commanded to pull the ſkin from his dead corpſe, and to make a drum of it, which they ſhould uſe in their battles, affirming, that as ſoon as their enemies ſhould hear the ſound of that drum, they would not abide, but preſently flie away: he was buried honourably at Caſtavia, by his Thaborites; but Anno Chriſti 1623. the popiſh army under the emperor Ferdinand, two hundred years after, coming into the church, and ſeeing the epitaph upon his tomb-ſtone, they brake it in pieces, and digging up the duſt of his grave, they carried it out, and ſcattered it abroad in the wind, raging againſt him ſo long after his death, whom they could never overcome in his life.

In the life time of king Wenceſlaus, he had a purpoſe of diſarming the citizens of Prague for ſome offence that he took againſt them, which Ziſca hearing of, called together the citizens, bidding them arm themſelves and follow him; which they doing, he went preſently with them to the king in his caſtle, who being aſtoniſhed at their ſo ſudden coming in that manner, Ziſca ſaid to him, 'Sir, where are thoſe enemies which your majeſty fears; for theſe your faithful ſubjects, and citizens of Prague are reſolved to ſpend their blood in the defence of their king,' whereupon the king diſmiſſed them, and the citizens kept their arms, and were freed from their fears.

TABLE

TABLE of CONTENTS.

	Chap.
Perſecution of the church from the earlieſt ages,	1
——From Nehemiah to Antiochus's time,	2
——Under Antiochus Epiphanes,	3
Life of Judas Maccabeus,	4
Martyrdom of the Maccabees,	5
Perſecutions of the church under the New Teſtament,	6
——Under the heathen Roman emperors, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,	
——In Perſia under Sapores,	17
——Under Julian the apoſtate,	18
——Under the Arian heretics,	19
——By the Donatiſts,	20
——In Afric, by the Arian Vandals,	21
——Of the Waldenſes, *Anno Chriſti* 1160	22
——Of the ſame in Calabria,	23
——Of the ſame in Provence,	24
——Of the Albingenſes,	25
——In Bohemia,	26
——In Spain,	27
The original, progreſs and practice of the Spaniſh inquiſition,	28
The life of Dr Aegidio,	ib.
——Of Dr Conſtantine,	ib.
Perſecution of Nicholas Burton, an Engliſhman, by the inquiſitors,	ib.
Perſecution of the church of Chriſt in Italy,	29
Life of John Mollins,	ib.
Perſecution raiſed by the Pope in Venice,	ib.
Life and martyrdom of William Gardiner, in Portugal,	30
Martyrdom of a chriſtian Jew, in Conſtantinople,	ib
Perſecution of the church in Germany,	31
——In the low countries,	32
——By the duke of Alva in the Netherlands,	ib.
Martyrdom of William Naſſau, prince of Orange,	ib.
Modern perſecution in Germany,	33
Prodigies before it,	ib.
Perſecutions of the church in France,	34
——In the time of the civil wars there,	35
Hiſtory of the maſſacre at Paris,	36
The ſiege of Sancerre,	37
——Of Rochel *Anno Domini*, 1573.	ib.
Perſecution of the church of Chriſt in the Valtoline,	38
——In Scotland,	39
Life of Mr George Wiſeheart,	40
Perſecution of the church in Ireland,	41
——In the valleys of Piedmont,	42
Marquiſate of Saluces deſcribed,	43
Artifices and wicked practices uſed to conſume and deſtroy the faithful in the valleys of Piedmont,	44
Motives of the late perſecution there, &c.	ib.
Narrative of the bloody cruelties there,	45
Declaration monſieur du Petit Bourg,	ib.
Narrative of the war in Piedmont,	46
Brief account of the interceſſors to the duke of Savoy in the behalf of thoſe poor people,	47
Deſcription of Piedmont,	48
Relation of the diſtreſſed ſtate of the church of Chriſt, in Lithuania,	49
Perſecution of the church of Chriſt in Poland,	50
Hiſtory of the deſtruction of Leſna,	51
Brief repreſentation of the proteſtant cauſe in Germany,	52
Peſecution of the church in Britain,	53
——Of the Britiſh church under the heathen Saxons and Engliſh,	54
——Under the Danes,	55
——Under the papacy,	56
——Continuation of it,	ib.
——Of the Engliſh church after Martin Luther,	57
The life of Thomas Benet,	ib.
——Of Mr John Lambert,	ib.
——Of Dr Barnes,	ib.
The perſecution of the Duke of Somerſet in the reign of King Edward the ſixth,	58
——Of the Engliſh church under Queen Mary,	59
Life of Mr Julines Palmer,	60
——Of Sir John Check,	61
Scourging of ſome in the reign of Queen Mary,	62
Story of divers worthy ſervants of Chriſt who eſcaped burning by the death of Queen Mary,	63
Troubles and deliverance of the Dutcheſs dowager of Suffolk,	64
——Of many which fled in Queen Mary's days,	65
God's judgments upon perſecutors,	ib.

LIVES.

Life of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour,	p. 243
Of Ignatius,	256
Dionyſius Areopagita,	260
Juſtin Martyr,	261
Irenæus,	263
Tertulian,	264
Clemens Alexandrinus,	265
Origen,	ib.
Cyprian,	269
Euſebius,	271
Lactantius,	272
Athanaſius,	ib.
Cyril,	281
Ephrem Syrus,	282
Baſil,	ib.
Gregory Nazianzen,	284
Epiphanius,	285
Ambroſe,	ib.
Gregory Niſen,	287
Theodoret,	288
Hierom,	ib.
Chryſoſtom,	291
Auguſtine,	294
Cyril of Alexandria,	298
Peter Chryſologus,	ib.
Proſper,	ib.
Fulgentius,	299
Gregory the Great,	302
Iſidore,	303
Bede,	ib.
Damaſcen, Theophylact, Anſelm, Nicephorus, Bernard,	304
Lombard, Wales, Bonaventure, Aquinas,	306
Wickliff,	307
John Huſs,	310
Hierom of Prague,	315
Martin Luther,	316
Quinglius,	324
John Frith,	327
William Tindal,	329
Thomas Cromwell,	330
John Bradford,	345
Nicolas Ridley,	347
Hugh Latimer,	348
Thomas Cranmer,	349
Sir Philip Sidney,	353
John Calvin,	354
John Knox,	368
Galeacius Carracciolus Marquis of Vico,	372
Lord Harrington,	378
Philip de Mornay,	379
John Bruen,	387
John Fox,	393
Mrs Katharine Bretterg,	395
William Perkins,	397
Theodore Beza,	398
Dr Collet,	403
Dr Sandi,	404
Mr Richard Greenham,	407
Thomas Cartwright,	408
William Bradſhaw,	411
Richard Rothwell,	427
Dr John Preſton,	430
Mr Arthur Wilderſham,	447
Dr Taylor,	452
Mr John Carter,	454
Dr Sibs,	458
Dr Laurence Chaderton,	459

CONTENTS:

Mr John Bast, 460
Dr Potter and Mr Richard Sedgwick, 464
Mr Julines Herring, 465
Mr John Dod, 469
Mr Robert Balsom, 474
Mr Herbert Palmer, 475
Mr John Cotton, 482
Dr Thomas Hill, 489
Dr William Gouge, 491
Mr Thomas Gataker, 497
Mr Jeremy Whitaker, 504
Dr James Usher, 509
Mr Richard Capel, 520
Dr Robert Harris, 525
Mrs Jane Ratcliffe, 536
Mrs Elizabeth Wilkinson, 542

Lives of Christian Emperors, Kings, and Princes

OF Constantine the great p 547
Jovianus the Emperor 552
Theodosius senior 553
Theodosius the second 556
Justinian 557
Huniades Prince of Transylvania 563
Scanderberg 565
Mathias Corvinus 573
Edward VI. King of England 574
Queen Elizabeth 576
Gustavus Adolphus 587
Gaspar Colinius 596
Joan Queen of Navar 615

History of the state and sufferings of the Church of Scotland.

THE Introduction p. 625
CHAP. I. Of the apprehending of the Marquis of Argyll; the proceedings of the committee of estates; the supplication of the ministers, and their imprisonment, and the sufferings of others, to the end of the year 1660 641
CHAP. II. Of the acts of the first session of parliament; conduct of the church judicatories; the sufferings of the Marquis of Argyll, Mr James Guthrie and several others 644
CHAP. III. Of the proceedings of the council and the regal erection of Prelacy, together with the sufferings of gentlemen and ministers during the rest of the year 654
CHAP. IV. Of the discharging of church judicatures, the consecration of the bishops, the acts of the parliament, and the proceedings of the council, particularly the act of Glasgow, and other things during the year 1662 656
CHAP. V. Of the dismal effects of the ejection of near 400 ministers. Of the acts and proceedings of the council and parliament, the execution of lord Warristoun, and the sufferings of others during the year 1663 662
CHAP. VI. Of the erection and proceedings of the high-commission and the acts of council, together with the state and sufferings of the presbyterians till the year 1666 666
CHAP. VII. Of the occurrences preceeding the rising at Pentland, of the rising itself, the executions and other consequences of it, together with several other transactions during the year 1666 673
CHAP. VIII. Of the cruelties of Dalziel, &c. The forfeitures of gentlemen, &c. The disbanding of the army, and the bond of peace.—Mr. Mitchel's attempt on Archbishop Sharp,—the proceedings of parliament,—the first indulgence, and other things to the end of the year 1669 686
CHAP. IX. Of the indulged, the proceedings against conventicles, the actings of the western committee, Leighton's accommodation, the laws and acts of parliament; with an account of the second indulgence, and other things, till the end of the year 1673 698
CHAP. X Of the state and sufferings of the Presbyterians during the years 1672 and 1675 731
CHAP. XI. Of Mr Mitchell's torture; the proceedings of the council; the circumstances of the indulged; the prosecutions for conventicles; the occasions of the Highland host, and other occurrences to the end of the year 1677 719
CHAP. XII. Of the trial and execution of Mr James Mitchel; the proceedings of the council and committe; the bond of conformity; together with the ravages of the Highland host during the months of January and February 1678 728
CHAP. XIII. Of the proceedings of the council and their committee after the return of the Highland host; the appointment of garrisons; the convention of estates; the cess; the progress of the persecution and other things to the end of the year 1678 734
CHAP. XIV. Of the persecution for conventicles, and other branches of non conformity, together with the violent death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, till the rising at Bothwel 742

PART. II.

CHAP. I. Rising at Bothwel, and the attempts made against Lauderdale 749
CHAP. II. Execution of Mr King, Mr Kid, the five that suffered at Magus-muir, the circuit courts, the third indulgence, &c. 755
CHAP. III. The sufferings of gentlemen for not attending the king's host, repeal of the third indulgence, Queensferry paper, Sanquhar declaration, &c. 761
CHAP. IV. Skirmish at Airsmoss, execution of Mr Hackstoun of Rathillet, Torwood excommunication, proceedings of the council upon it, &c. 766
CHAP. V. Executions of Isabel Allison, Marion Harvey, Mr Cargill and others, followers of John Gib, sufferings of heritors, &c. 771
VI. The duke of York's parliament, the test, trial, condemnation and escape of Argyll, execution at the Gallowlee, &c. 778
VII. Declaration at Lanerk, acts of council against conventicles, public executions &c. Anno 1682 784
CHAP. VIII. The commissions, persecutions, Rye-house plot, circuit-court, public executions during 1683 791
CHAP. IX. Persecutions in general, proceedings of the council and justiciary, sufferings of particular noblemen and gentlemen, public executions, &c. till August 1684 803
CHAP. X. Torture of Mr Carstairs, apologetical declarations, &c. 813
CHAP. XI. Proceedings of the council, murders in the fields, trial and execution of Mr Robert Baillie of Jerviswood and others to the death of king Charles IId 819
CHAP. XII. Accession of king James VII. murders in the fields, unsuccessful attempt of the earl of Argyl, sufferings of prisoners in Dunnotter, drowning of two women, &c. 828
CHAP. XIII. Execution of Argyll, Rumbold, Mr Thomas Archer and others, proceedings of the council and justiciary, sufferings of the banished, &c. 841
CHAP. XIV. Proceedings of the justiciary and parliament: the kings letter in favour of the papists, death and character of Mr Alexander Peden, state of Mr Renwick and his followers, persecution, acts of indulgence, &c. till 1687 851
CHAP. XV. Proceedings of the justiciary, execution of Mr James Renwick, acts and proclamations of council, and other remarkable things to the ever-memorable Revolution. 861

Here she died in peace having received the promise
and having the satisfaction of one of her children
that many, that believe altho not having seen
Him, to him imputed; they will not loose their
reward. For what says our Savior himself
that they shall be truly blessed. Upon your
head rest my blessing. Blessed are they that
have not seen yet believe.

From the perusal of this book the greatest
consolation of the contrite may be received,
that in the last moment of life, he knows
there his forsaken by that God, if he keeps
commands forsakes or forgets him, is the
reason of prosperity & of health.

Re-animate for this piety as well as
this virtues are the hair of the Man, who
composed this book. In the darkest hour of
Affliction, when their hopes in this world, were
almost at an end, yet still if they thought proper
they may have received the joys of Heaven, & big blest
Jealousy (in the language of Holy Writ) they would
have God their best reasoning aided as this
temptation but doubtless have long ere now fully
found them attaining this integrity & not thinking
it too great a sacrifice to seal that Religion
with their blood for which in their life time
they zealously & successfully battled.

Again in reading the persecutions of the
Church of Britain Ireland and Scotland in the
first Ages of Christianity, we cannot but perceive